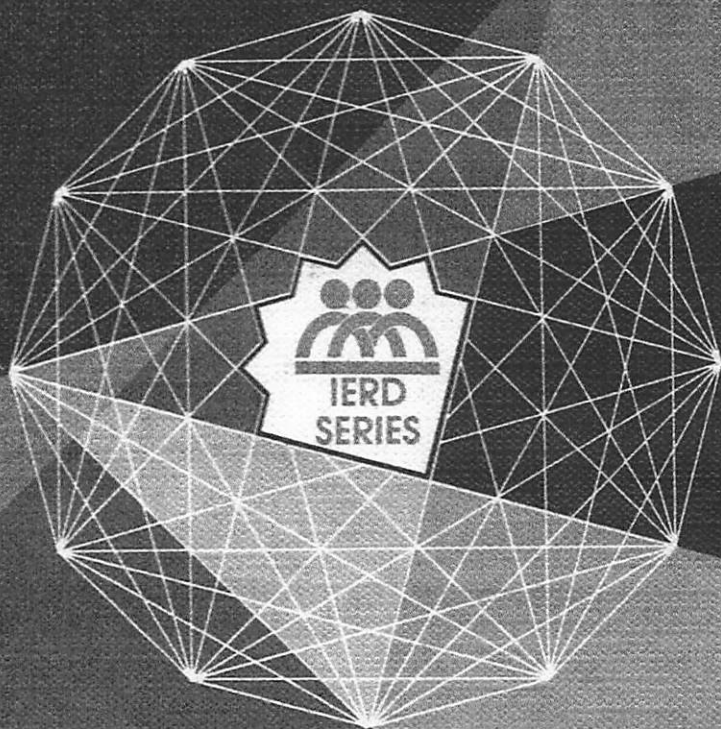


# APPROACHES THAT WORK IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1st edition



Edited by  
Institute of Cultural Affairs International, Brussels

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Institute of Cultural Affairs International, Brussels



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# APPROACHES THAT WORK IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Emerging trends, participatory methods  
and local initiatives

Edited by John Burbidge  
Institute of Cultural Affairs International

1st edition

K · G · Saur München · New York · London · Paris

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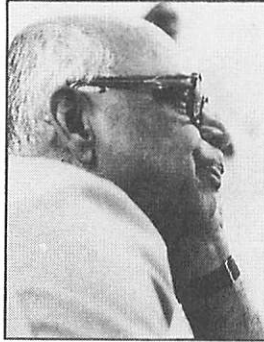
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jill eglund

Dedicated to

**Shri B. Rudramoorthy M.Sc., MS (Agronomy, USA)**

Shri B. Rudramoorthy died on 27th June 1987, at the age of 65. He is remembered and revered as a close colleague, a tireless worker and a deeply religious man.

He had a prodigious knowledge of the Indian rural scene. Among the many positions he held, he was Managing Director of the Agricultural Finance Corporation, Adviser to the Asian Institute for Rural Development, Director of the Gujarat State Rural Development Corporation Limited, Chairman of the India Development Service (International) and Rural Development Adviser to Mafatlal Industries Limited.

As Chairman of India's National Steering Committee for the International Exposition of Rural Development, his wealth of know-how was invaluable. To help his committee select India's delegates and the thirty host projects, he personally toured the length and breadth of the country to inspect and report on all of them.

His contribution to the follow-up phase of the Exposition was unstinting. He put his own time and the resources of his company generously behind the ongoing efforts. Shortly after the IERD's climax in India, he participated in the writing of the booklets entitled *Voices of Rural Practitioners*, later to become Volume Two of the IERD Series. He contributed to all aspects of the work and his personal warmth suffused the group.

As a tribute to this remarkable man, we dedicate to him this series of three volumes on the IERD process. This is but a small token of our respect for someone who gave so totally of himself to this effort. Let us be reminded of his many gifts by sharing a few of his words to us.

*"Today humanity is caught in a web. We are trying to use spirit methods as a way of reorienting our outlook on life and the planet. How do we relate this to the last person in the village? The path is self-analysis and introspection and the ability to live in harmony with others. How do we promote this harmony? Both the government and the people recognise the human factor as lacking . . . This is where, if local people are aware of their own potential, and are helped to organise themselves, miracles can happen. How do we collaborate with others to multiply the impact of development?"*



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From start to finish, this book was an incredible team effort. What is more, it was a totally new team from the one that produced Volumes One and Two of this series. The decision taken half-way through the editing process to produce our own text by desk-top publishing, simply intensified the sense of risk and adventure that we had in taking on this task.

In the midst of this strong cooperative effort, I would like to acknowledge the contributions of particular individuals and groups who helped bring the book to completion. To the authors themselves, both those on the staff of the Institute of Cultural Affairs and from other organisations, I owe a great deal for the richness they bring to the content of this publication. Most contributors were drawing on their own experience, often from 20 years or more in the development field.

For their unending technical assistance with computers, laser printers and software problems, I am indebted to the staff of Service Ventures, especially Lin Wisman, Bernhard Knutsen and Russell Fouts. For their graphic art and design skills, I am most grateful to Ilona Staples and Beverly Gazarian. For their hours of computer inputting, my thanks go to Jean Long and Andrea de Suray. Valuable contributions to copy-editing and proof reading were made by Adam Thomson and Alan Berresford. And for her tireless efforts in mastering the complexities of desk-top publishing, I would particularly like to acknowledge the services of Linda Alton.

Much of the editorial and design work on Volume Three was carried out with the help of my colleagues in the International Development and Funding Team of the ICA International - Linda Alton, Richard Alton, Jill Eglund, Aminah Mwamose and Donna Wagner. They were ably assisted in these tasks by several stagiaires who served apprenticeships with the IDF team - David Harrison, Martin Leusen, Frits Paagman and Rita Viel.

Like development work itself, writing a book about development is a learning and growing process. It means inventing and re-inventing, working together with a diversity of people and finding ways of surmounting difficulties to reach the intended endpoint. Those of us involved in the creation of this book are extremely grateful for this experience. We trust that we have produced a book that will make an important contribution to development and that in so doing, we have developed significantly ourselves.

John Burbidge  
Editor

## FOREWORD

The first two volumes of this series on the International Exposition of Rural Development were devoted to descriptions of the participating projects and the methods used by village practitioners in them. In contrast, this third volume looks outward to the impact the Exposition has had on development policy and to compatible thinking that has emerged from ongoing work in the development community at large.

For many people the Exposition was a watershed. It highlighted the fact that bottom-up processes at the grassroots level are an indispensable part of any serious long-term effort to improve the quality of rural life, especially in the South. The underlying culture of the local people, their sense of identity and their confidence to take initiatives that relate to their expressed needs, are factors of paramount importance.

The Exposition demonstrated that the methods by which local people are inspired to take charge of their own destinies are many and varied. Specific approaches differ widely according to circumstances and culture. Nevertheless, it also showed that processes and principles exist which have common application across all continents.

If these are to be implemented with urgency, and on a global scale, intensive networking is needed. This realisation has dramatically changed the rural strategies of the Institute of Cultural Affairs International. Before the Exposition, fieldwork almost wholly devoured its energies and resources. There was intensive training activity but it was focussed inward on its own staff, on villagers and their leaders. Now many ICAs find themselves working to strengthen other organisations as well. Conducting regular in-house meetings has been supplemented by vigorous participation in and facilitation of other conferences. Documentation and evaluation of programmes have shifted from being requirements of funding agencies to an integral part of the whole development process.

The list of such changes is long and growing. If the IERD has done for other organisations what it has done for the ICAI, then much is to be said for it. Clearly, from the material presented in this volume, it has made a significant contribution to a number of critical areas of development policy and practice, in a variety of situations across the world.

In the light of this, I strongly commend this book to you. It deserves the serious attention of all concerned with development, whether from the perspective of policy, research, training or implementation.

Sir James Lindsay  
President  
ICA International

## PREFACE

For more than three decades, rural development has been a prime concern of Third World governments and international donor agencies. During this period, some impressive advances have been recorded. India has achieved self-sufficiency in food. Smallpox has been eradicated throughout the world. The average life expectancy in Third World countries has increased from 42 to 54 years. The proportion of literate countries has risen from 30 to 52 per cent in the world as a whole.

But while nobody wishes to deny the significance of these achievements, if taken alone, they may be misleading. First of all, they do not tell us at what price success has been reached. Billions of dollars have been spent on projects and programs that never achieved their objectives. For each official success, there are probably at least ten failures. Second, the story of success tends to reflect on the outcome of official investments and interventions. It overlooks the countless anonymous contributions made by ordinary people, individually or in groups. Third, success is unevenly distributed. While rural progress has been impressive in parts of South and Southeast Asia, it has been the exception rather than the rule in sub-Saharan Africa. Governments and donors have tried particularly hard there but it is also where the largest graveyard of public investments in rural development can be found.

A major reason for the lack of success in Africa is that rural progress has been "engineered" from above through projects and programs designed with little regard for the social and material realities on the continent. Development architects have rarely asked themselves whether the historical circumstances are such that their ideas and concepts can flourish. They have usually preferred to rely on designs derived from successful experiences elsewhere. In short, rather than taking the difficult and time-consuming approach of developing an activity with "roots" in the specific context of implementation, these architects have borrowed from their own store of ideas.

This is how consultancy firms and donor agencies work. They depend on being able to sell good designs and promote their replication in a technical fashion. Their search for data tends to be project-specific. To a distressing degree, neither concepts nor facts included in the design are being challenged. Concern about the need to move funds promptly is usually a major reason for keeping the formative "gestating" period of a given project or program as short as possible. Being dependent on donor funds for their development

work, African governments have accepted the notion of rural development as a task of outside social engineering. Its acceptability in those circles is reinforced by political patronage considerations. Nothing enhances political legitimacy in an African rural community like the ability to "deliver" a development project.

To the contemporary generation of rural developers, history is not a series of dialectical moves over visible social space but rather a race through the woods. Ambitions are high, but visibility low. The danger of getting lost, therefore, is particularly great. Neither African intellectuals nor anybody else has been able to put a stop to this mad race. Yet, there is increasing evidence that Africa is tired of serving as an international laboratory. The economic crisis that has afflicted the continent in the 1980s has made more and more Africans aware that development must come from within, i.e. build on local initiatives. There is also a growing realization that vitalizing both economy and culture is a precondition for influence and respect in the global arena.

The rural development debate finds itself at an important watershed. The perceptions and prescriptions of what Robert Chambers - one of the strongest advocates of a new, more people-oriented approach - calls "normal" professionalism are not enough. Thus, there is growing pressure to take the issues out of the professional preserve in which they have been kept. But will governments and donors accept a new direction that is not set by themselves? This appears to be the principal challenge and question-mark as the rural development debate rolls into the 1990s.

To facilitate adjustment, it may be helpful to trace the rural development "race" to date. Although in actual practice it has been characterized by zig-zag movements in and out of blind alleys, the aggregate picture of its evolution may be charted in a spiral fashion. It suggests that we haven't just moved in circles without learning anything from our mistakes. We do move forward with an accumulated experience that is difficult to discount. That is why there is, after all, some foundation for optimism and hope that the continued search for answers is not in vain.

The rural development debate has been determined by two main parameters. One indicates the extent to which the objectives of rural development activities are oriented towards *growth* or *equity*. The second suggests the extent to which such activities are directed and *managed* by government institutions as opposed to being open to *participation* by people through other institutions. The period since the mid-1950s may be divided into four phases, each characterized by a principal thrust and key actor.

The first of these periods, lasting into the mid-60s, earned its name from the belief in the "trickle down" effect, with government serving as the principal engine of development. It coincided with the early years of independence when politicians in new states in Africa and Asia were anxious to create strong governments. Their inclinations also received support from Western sources which, in the spirit of the Marshall Plan and Keynesian economics, treated government as a principal development actor. Emphasis was squarely on economic growth which could be achieved by selectively targeting inputs on well-endowed and entrepreneurial individuals. "Progressive" farmers, for instance, were expected to modernize their farming practices and thereby encourage others to adopt the same innovations. To ensure this "trickle down" effect, rural cooperatives were viewed as key instruments. Kept under close scrutiny by government, these institutions would provide credit and other necessary inputs to interested and willing members.

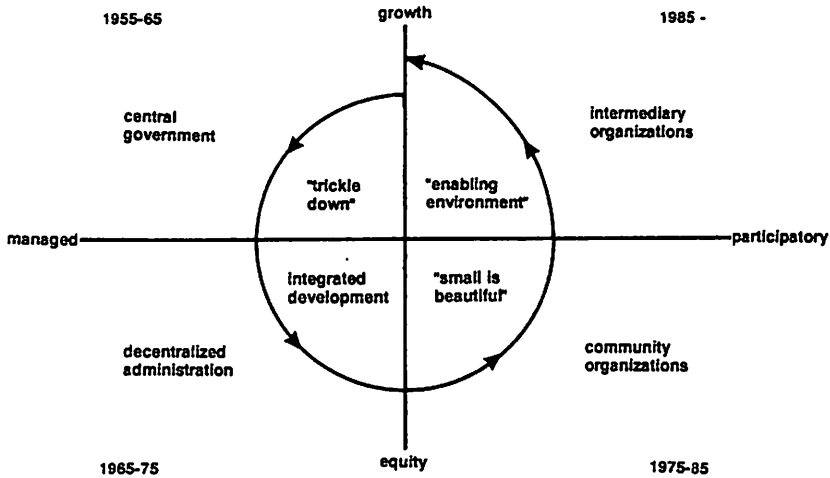


Figure 1. The search for answers in the development debate since the mid-1950s

Back-up services were provided by government extension services. Agricultural instructors, equipped with advice derived from findings obtained at research stations, provided valuable support for this drive towards agricultural modernization. Even community development in those days was a government affair. The Indian and Pakistani governments were the first to hire large numbers of community development workers to direct local development activities in the villages. African governments were quick to adopt the same approach.

The notion of a directive government was carried particularly far in Africa where it was universally agreed that in the absence of a strong private-voluntary sector, government had to take a leading role. The concept of development administration thus emerged in this period. It denoted the possibility of a qualitatively different type of government administration: flexible and innovative. It also paved the way for a direct government involvement in a broad range of public activities. The result of this rapid expansion was a complex set-up with donor-funded special projects competing for attention with regular government programs.

The second period - *integrated development* - coincided with the radicalization of the development debate in the latter part of the 1960s. "Development" was no longer just a matter of growth. Analysts began to argue that growth without equity was growth without development. With this redefinition of development the progressive farmer was abandoned in favour of the poor peasant. "Trickle down" had proved inadequate. Dissemination of information and diffusion of innovation were too slow to suit the mood of the time.

Development, therefore, could only be achieved with more drastic interventions. Governments willing to give priority to redistribution in favour of poorer categories of people received special attention from the international community. Even otherwise conservative institutions like the World Bank changed their tune in these years, supporting ambitious land reform projects in several Third World countries.

Growing equity concerns also meant greater attention to social development issues. Governments in the Third World and donors shifted their investments towards health and

education, responding to the emerging notion that without their basic needs satisfied, rural people could not participate effectively in national development.

The debate stressed the importance of determined political will and a strong benevolent government to carry out the redistributive policies. Questions were raised, however, about the organization of government. The centralized nature of decision-making that had evolved in the previous period was now regarded as a major obstacle to the realization of the objectives of a development administration.

Under the banner of taking the government to the people, Third World leaders engaged in reform measures that were meant to ensure more effective and rapid delivery of public goods and services. In various forms, these moves were characterized by delegation of authority to agencies better placed than departmental headquarters to make decisions concerning rural development. To bolster the authority of those in the field, many countries tried out integrated schemes that left the final decision in the hands of a development director in charge of a given geographic area.

The concept of an integrated approach captured particularly well the thinking about rural development at the time. It confirmed the key role of government but emphasized also the importance of approaching the rural population not only as producers but as ordinary human beings. Thus, plans had to be developed that incorporated a broad range of concerns. The delivery of one type of input could not take place in isolation from the delivery of others. The inevitable consequence of this outlook was the refinement of the planning instrument. Development without a plan was still considered inconceivable, even though macro economic planning was beginning to have its critics. Proper design of projects as well as identification of linkages and relations to other activities and to relevant institutions were seen as preconditions of successful implementation. Not surprisingly, during this period the "blueprint" approach to development reached its culmination.

The second period had been very much a logical continuation of the first. Both were characterized by a strong belief in government as the key actor, responsible initially for growth only, but subsequently for a much broader range of development activities. Furthermore, both periods had been characterized by government control over the provision of inputs for rural improvement, thus reinforcing the top-down approach.

The break between the second and third periods is much more dramatic, reflecting as it does the change in outlook that followed in the wake of the first oil crisis in 1973. Although for some time governments of the poorer Third World countries retained the belief that they would be the beneficiaries of a nebulous Third World solidarity, it was clear already by 1975 that a new era had dawned on the poor nations of the world. The optimistic spirit that both liberals and socialists had shared in earlier years was increasingly called into question. Politics was no longer the magic tool of development that everybody in the 1960s had thought it would be. Nor could ordinary people sustain their belief that government would continue to serve as the sole dispenser of resources and benefits. With the growing realization in government circles that funds were not enough to sustain the same public sector activities as in earlier years, it became imperative to identify alternative mechanisms.

Feeling deceived, it is only natural that people in the latter part of the 1970s turned towards things proximate and known. Faced with declining public services, people developed a greater readiness to explore alternatives. In the rural areas, health services were increasingly treated as a local community affair. Public utilities, such as the provision

of water, were also being taken over by community organizations. More appropriate technologies were being developed with community involvement. Environmental protection was another field where people increasingly got involved on their own. Finally, this search for alternatives could also be found in the economic sector where local groups of producers, notably women, engaged in income-generating activities for their own benefit.

In some countries where the economic crisis hit particularly hard and government services, therefore, literally came to a standstill, this search for alternatives turned into a matter of survival. Parallel economies and organizations developed in response to the crisis so as to cope with the range of activities previously handled by public institutions. Third World governments and donors have increasingly come to recognize the importance of appropriate scale so as to facilitate local initiative and growth. While the notion that "*small is beautiful*" hasn't come easy to policy-makers and government officials, the economic crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s turned the development debate around. People continue to discover that they can do things on their own, individually as entrepreneurs or organized in groups or communities. Some would even go so far as to argue that the economic crisis that has afflicted the Third World in the past ten years has served as a blessing in disguise because it has forced people to discover their own potential.

It would be wrong to assume, however, that local initiatives can flourish without supportive linkages. Small may be beautiful but left on its own remains insignificant. In situations where the legacy is a bureaucracy used to acting at its own pace and in its own interest, spontaneous local efforts cannot expect much support and encouragement. That is why in the past few years, the search for answers has come to emphasize the creation of new support structures outside government.

What is increasingly happening in many Third World countries, though not always without opposition or suspicion in government circles, is the creation of a new social climate in which the local seeds, i.e. the indigenous initiatives can flourish and become viable alternatives to the many hybrid solutions that have been implanted with assistance from foreign advisers in earlier periods. Key actors in this work are intermediary, usually non-governmental organizations with the ambition to assist groups of people who do not qualify for support from formal sector agencies or, even if they do, fail for other reasons to obtain such support. Rather than doing actual development work, these intermediary organizations provide incentives and support for local initiatives through the provision of credit or technical advice. Some also engage in building management capacity at the community level.

While economists are right in stressing the importance of getting agricultural producer prices right, it is no panacea for solving the problem of food deficits and sluggish economies. Rural development is a problem with many complex dimensions. As African observers are the first to point out, peasants, while not insensitive to price incentives, are also guided by many other considerations. For instance, in making decisions about what and how much to produce, African peasants are influenced by such factors as availability of labour, quality of soil, access to technology, and the nature of social institutions. The emerging "*enabling environment*" approach recognizes the existence of these constraints and aims at identifying means that enable local people to overcome them on their own.

It recognizes the importance of providing appropriate inputs, but unlike earlier approaches, it stresses the need to make them available on conditions and in forms that suit potential users. Intermediary organizations try to avoid making the potential beneficiaries

dependent on their services and often have specific plans for disengaging from client groups. Representatives of these organizations complain that such dependencies are difficult to reduce. Rural people accustomed to patronage politics often start from the assumption that non-governmental organizations are there to do things for them. This legacy is beginning to give way but it constitutes a principal obstacle to more effective rural development as long as the international community insists on devising blueprint schemes that can be applied without much regard for conditions specific to a particular locality.

An enabling environment, then, is one that promotes new ways of learning. The outside expert is not the only source of knowledge and ideas, as important as may be the experience gained by others who have been in a similar predicament. Such lateral learning opportunities are increasingly part of the present thinking about rural development.

The International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD), and the follow-up activities it has given rise to in various countries around the globe, constitutes a particularly significant initiative marking this latest period in rural development. Concerned with highlighting rural development approaches that work, the IERD effort is aimed at demonstrating the potential for progress that exists in so many places but which tends to be forgotten because of skewed power structures and professional biases.

The IERD is unique in that it is the only broad-based rural development "movement" where the rural practitioners occupy the centre stage, with the professionals and functionaries taking the back row. It helps to elevate to greater significance the community-based efforts while simultaneously preparing the local people for new challenges that follow from being increasingly involved in interaction with other, more powerful social or political actors.

In this important sense, it breaks with the "normal professionalism" that Chambers and others consider an obstacle to rural development. It deliberately tries to avoid the "hit-and-miss" fashion, in which rural development has been pursued in the past. The IERD stresses what so many policy makers and development professionals have forgotten, namely, that where rural progress has taken place, it has been the result not so much of population control, artificially enforced food self-sufficiency, or socialist strategies, but of hard work by millions of men and women scattered on small farms, in dull villages and dirty metropolises and suburban shanty-towns, who are determined to improve their own lives and whose governments have provided the stimulus and wherewithal to do so.

Thanks to the IERD and similar efforts, this point is now becoming part of the evolving spiral of development practice. Sustaining it, however, requires considerable adjustment by both donors and recipient governments. Rural development today has been primarily a matter of asking for sacrifices and adjustments from the rural poor. The burden is now shifting to the other end of the social spectrum. While some institutions will find these changes hard to make, the IERD is showing the way and proves that a new "people-oriented" approach to rural development is not only a dream but increasingly also a reality.

Goran Hyden

**NOTE:**

Several concepts referred to here were first mentioned in an article by Dr. Hyden, "Enabling Rural Development: Insiders and Outsiders", published in *Third World Affairs*, London: Third World Foundation, 1986.



## INTRODUCTION

When the International Exposition of Rural Development was first conceived, it was formulated as a process rather than a single event. Without doubt, the Central International Event held in India in 1984 was a pivotal part of the process, but much work went into its preparation and much has flowed from it.

The fundamental purpose of the IERD was to promote lateral exchange of people and ideas that would allow those actively engaged in rural development to maximize their effectiveness. It emphasized the role of the practitioner and highlighted successes that could be built on. It also attempted to bring together the various parties involved in development, from local villagers to funding agents and policy makers.

In these and other aspects, the IERD represented a unique venture in networking amongst the development community. It is probably too early to assess its effectiveness and its impact on the longer term direction of development policy and practice. But already, some new patterns are beginning to emerge amongst those involved in the IERD.

To trace the journey of the IERD to this point, we have described it in three phases. Phase One, from 1982 to 1984, was a period of testing out the idea of such a programme and the establishment of national steering committees and a global advisory board. In each participating nation, rural development symposia (RDS) were held and project description laboratories (PDL) were carried out to help document the experience of the projects chosen to represent their nation in India.

Phase Two was highlighted by the Central International Event in India, from February 5-15, 1984. During this time, 650 delegates from 55 nations gathered in New Delhi to share exhibits, participate in workshops and visit 30 selected projects across the subcontinent. Although the logistics of such an undertaking were mind-boggling, the impact of the event on participants certainly merited the effort made and the risks taken.

The third phase of the IERD followed the experience in India, as delegates returned to their own countries to explore further avenues of networking amongst themselves and with others. The publication of Volume I of this series, *Directory of Rural Development Projects*, was a significant step forward, with the documentation of 291 projects. Another parallel development was the formation of the database *RURALNET*, which has gone on line through ECHO - the Commission of the European Communities Host Organisation.

More recently, Volume II of the IERD Series, *Voices of Rural Practitioners*, provided a comprehensive coverage of topics discussed during the India programme, illustrated by numerous case studies from projects around the world.

### The Journey of Phase Three

In addition to the publication of books and a database, much more has happened during Phase Three in many of the participating nations around the world. Several "landmarks" deserve mention here.

Perhaps foremost amongst these was the *Asia-Pacific Regional Assembly of the IERD* held in Taiwan in November 1985. Attended by over 100 participants from 13 countries, it resulted in the formation of a network to further the exchange of information, people and training throughout the region.

In Nigeria, IERD delegates formed themselves into an indigenous organisation, *NIRADO, the Nigerian Integrated Rural Accelerated Development Organisation*, to serve the interests of rural development in that country. Comprised of representatives of business, government, the academic community, non-governmental organisations, the media and others, it has been instrumental in bringing attention to the urgent needs Nigeria faces in rural development and proposing new directions for the future.

In the Pacific island nation of Tonga, another important development has taken place. Working together with the Ministry of Agriculture, the United Nations Volunteers Domestic Development Service, ICA and the national broadcasting system, an indigenous non-governmental organisation, the Tupou Young Farmers Association, undertook a programme to upgrade the image of farming as a desirable occupation amongst the country's youth. This collaborative effort has resulted in a marked increase in the number of young men and women returning to agriculture as a viable means of livelihood. It has now been extended into an 18-month venture - *The Pacific Youth Economic Development Project* - highlighting locally-based economic development projects across the South Pacific.

In Peru, Rural Development Symposia were held across the country at the regional and micro-regional level. Under the name of *The Peru Potential*, this programme of ten symposia involved 780 people. At the conclusion of the regional events, a national assembly was held in Lima, which brought together 160 local practitioners and government officials from across the country. This unique process allowed for a cross-fertilisation of information and ideas and helped the creation of new proposals for the future of rural development in Peru.

In Kenya, the success of the documentation of the six projects which represented their nation in India, led to a further programme of documentation of 37 local projects across the country. This effort was jointly carried out by the Kenyan National Council of Social Service, the Ford Foundation, UNDP and the ICA:Kenya, in collaboration with the grassroots organisations themselves. Further work to provide basic management and training to these projects was subsequently initiated.

The list of such examples of Phase Three activities is long and growing. There is obviously no basis for saying that these activities would not have happened outside the framework of the IERD, but it is clear that the exposition has helped to accelerate the growth of

local collaborative development programmes, and facilitated the exchange of information and ideas between people and organisations.

What is harder to gauge is the degree of networking between individuals and its effect on those people and their organisations. From interviews with participants at the New Delhi event, one thing has emerged very clearly. Those who benefitted most from that experience were people for whom it was a first, or at least rare opportunity to share experiences face-to-face with others engaged in development work. They have continued to remain in touch with other delegates and to pursue ideas they gleaned from their time in India and after. In many cases, their projects have grown from single sector to multi-sector and have expanded in size and geography, often due to an expanded funding base.

### **The Contents of Volume Three**

As the editorial team worked with the material in this book, its usefulness as a development aid became clearer. It addresses a number of key questions facing people working in development today. It gives some very concrete examples of how to do some much-talked-about processes. Also it raises profound questions about the direction development is taking. As such, it provides a rich digest of material for field-worker and student alike. We commend it for use as a development studies textbook, as well as a valuable reference guide and a stimulating contribution to current development debates.

As we reflected on what we were doing in creating this book, we became clear that the process was a symbol of what development, and the IERD process, is all about. The experience was a highly participatory one which called on the cooperation of numerous individuals and organisations. As the book itself took shape, several features emerged which are important for development today - more than half its contributions are women, it presents multi-cultural perspectives and it combines the wisdom of local people with the insights of scholars in an attempt to bring the theoretical and the practical together.

This volume has several distinct but related emphases, which attempt to capture the variety and depth of work that has taken place during Phase Three of the IERD.

First of all, we have interspersed reports on activities and programmes about IERD-related organisations with presentations by a variety of contributors. These presentations highlight issues and concerns that have emerged as important in the course of the last few years. They are written by field workers, representatives of non-governmental organisations, academics, members of multilateral and bilateral funding agencies and private consultants.

Secondly, we have approached this volume as a dialogue between local initiatives in development practice and emerging trends in the wider development community. In Part One, the focus is on broad development trends. One of the most prominent of these is the increasing importance being attached to the role of non-governmental organisations in development and the need to enhance their institutional capacity. Another is the desire to find ways for all "the players in the game" to talk, plan and work together. The frequently-asked question of "Development for What?" is addressed here, along with other related issues under the rubric of "The Cultural Dimension of Development".

Part Two describes the processes or methods whereby various approaches to rural development in the IERD have led to successful results. The intention here is to share some of the more practical "how-tos" of recent development experiences, from a variety of

perspectives and a number of different countries. It probes the vast array of human resource technologies that have been developed and are being practised by development organisations around the globe today. These include participatory planning and problem solving, people-centered evaluation, training of trainers and innovative conferencing.

In Part Three, the emphasis is on what is happening at the grassroots and its impact on the development process. There is an increasing acknowledgement that the grassroots is the basic building block for effective and lasting development. Not only is there an awareness of the need to strengthen indigenous institutions but village-based initiatives themselves are calling for more attention and support. We examine this key area from the perspective of the individual, small-scale projects, organisations and networks.

The concluding chapter weaves together some of the insights contained in the three parts of the book and points to new directions for the future of development. The last part of the book contains appendices which list activities, programmes and resource materials that have been used in the third phase of the IERD.

An additional feature of this volume is the publication of interviews with six participants at the Central International Event of the IERD in India in 1984. Coming from a variety of countries and cultures, these men and women exemplify the countless thousands of individuals whose commitment and expertise make development a living reality. We have included these six profiles to acknowledge the critical contribution such people make to the entire development process.

**Note:**

A word on spelling. With contributions from all corners of the English-speaking world, the editors were faced with the dilemma of deciding which form of English to use. After much discussion, it was decided to honour the tradition of each contributor and go with his or her preferred form. Hence, both "American" and "British" English occur throughout the text.

## **Part I**

# **EMERGING DEVELOPMENT TRENDS**

## INTRODUCTION

This book is a dialogue between the macro-level of development and the micro-level, between the broad trends of development and examples of local initiatives. In fact, it might be more correct to describe it as a "trialogue" between the emerging trends, grassroots initiatives and the intermediary role played by development practitioners and facilitators.

In this part of the book, the focus is on emerging development trends. We have not tried to present an exhaustive list of these, but rather, we have selected several that seem to be of particular significance.

Willis Harman introduces the section by posing the crucial question, "Development for What?" His description of the dilemma facing global development, the need for a fundamental change in the world system and the characteristics of the new societal paradigm, provide a solid foundation for not only this part, but indeed, for the entire book. He underscores the need to go to the roots of development issues and to acknowledge that a major shift in values is being called for.

The growing recognition of the importance of the private voluntary sector is acknowledged as a major trend in development. Calling on his own extensive research into the subject, Hendrik van der Heijden outlines the historical role of private voluntary organisations, describing their strengths and weaknesses as agents of development. Coming from the perspective of active members of a non-governmental organisation, Mildred Robbins and Glen Leet add their experience in working to create a climate of acceptance of NGOs in the UN system.

Another emerging trend is the promotion of greater cooperation between the various parties involved in development at international, local and intermediary levels. In her chapter, Sandy Powell distinguishes between cooperation, collaboration and coordination. She also points out the immense amount of effort it takes even to begin dialoguing seriously with one another, between parties which ostensibly share common interests. Anne Yallop focusses on the question of collaboration, drawing her conclusions from several case studies and other sources, notably the work of the International Council on Social Welfare.

One of the most critical areas of concern in development today is how to enhance the capacities of indigenous development organisations. This issue is addressed by Terry Bergdall in his chapter, where he points to the need but recognizes the pitfalls involved in strengthening indigenous institutions. His examples from Kenya, Tonga, Nigeria and Zimbabwe give reason for encouragement. The summary of the ICSW case study, "Strengthen-

ing Project - Africa", shows how this is also happening at the level of national councils of development organisations.

A crucial dimension of the strengthening process is the provision of organisational and personal management skills in indigenous organisations. As one who has been instrumental in creating the NGO Management Network, Piers Campbell is well qualified to write on this topic. His chapter covers an array of issues that must be dealt with, if longer-term sustainable development is going to emanate from indigenous organisations.

Part One of the book closes by returning to the questions raised by Willis Harman at the outset. These are the "deeper" questions that are often bypassed or taken for granted in many development discussions. In the chapter on the cultural dimension of development, Joseph van Arendonk and Sony van Arendonk-Marquez provoke us into examining our own preconceptions about development. Usha Bambawale reminds us of the oft-forgotten but critical role played by women in development. These writers cause us to reflect on what it is we intend with our development efforts. John Epps provides us with a framework for such reflection with his five theses that form "a hologram of humanness". There is obviously much more to be said on this topic but to become self-conscious of one's own standing point is a commendable first step.

# 1

## DEVELOPMENT - FOR WHAT? EMERGING TRENDS OF PROMISE AND CONCERN

Willis W. Harman

*What does viable global development look like? This is the fundamental question demanding an answer in these times of transition. Behind this question is the attempt to articulate changing values and perspectives that are giving form to a new paradigm of consciousness. Willis Harman spells out the characteristics of this paradigm in the context of the emerging trends shaping society today.*

There is perhaps no more misused word in the English language than "development". We speak of land development, and typically mean stripping the land of vegetation and paving it over with asphalt. We speak of human development, and typically mean destroying traditional community and conditioning people to survive in an urban environment. We speak of economic development, implying that it is equivalent with improvement of well-being, but typically mean increase of economic production and consumption.

It is abundantly clear that the concept of development which held sway during the two decades immediately following World War II (industrialization plus modernization) does not lead to a long-term viable global future, and in most cases does not produce shared well-being even in the medium term. There is, indeed, a development dilemma of global proportions.

### **The global development dilemma**

The dilemma is that it does not appear that the global system in anything like its present form is compatible with an ecologically sustainable global society or to a satisfactory resolution of the plight of the poorest countries. Of the easily imaginable paths of global development, those that seem to be economically feasible do not look to be ecologically and socially plausible, and those that appear ecologically feasible and humanistically desirable do not seem economically and politically feasible.

To illustrate, imagine that all the developing countries were somehow to be successful in following the examples of the industrialized and newly industrializing countries (as was assumed in the 1950s and 1960s to be the "normal" course of development); the planet



would be hard-pressed to accommodate six or eight billion people living high-consumption lifestyles, and one could anticipate intense political battles over environmental and quality-of-life issues. We may try to picture another path where the high-consumption societies remain so, but the poorer countries remain low-consumption (i.e. poor), with low per-capita demand on resources and environment. It is hard to see how a global system with such a persisting disparity on income and wealth could avoid vicious "wars of redistribution", with terrorism as one of the main weapons. A third conceivable path in which high-consumption societies voluntarily cut consumption to ameliorate some of the problems is equally difficult to make plausible, partly because of the severe unemployment problems those societies would face. Some developing nations are attracted to the prospect of a global socialist hegemony, but this seems mainly to change the relative severity of the various problems, not make them less grave on the whole.

The plain fact of the matter is that all past assumptions about the future of the planet are being challenged by the present reality. There is no consensus on what constitutes a viable pattern of global development, and it is increasingly clear that present trends do not. The modern (Western) paradigm appears in the end to be incompatible with wise relationship to the earth and her resources; systematically to produce marginal people who have no meaningful roles in the society (being termed unemployed or underemployed), to result in a society that habitually confuses means (e.g. economic and technological achievement) with goals; and persistently to endanger the future of the human race with arms races which appear to be endemic to the system. In other words, present economic, corporate, and social policies are, by and large, inconsistent with viable long-term global development, and are being made without a picture of a satisfactory future in mind.

*It is essential to recognize the unresolvability of the development dilemma without some sort of fundamental change in the world system.* The required change is so fundamental, in fact, that it is almost impossible to imagine its being initiated and managed from the top. Throughout history, whenever the social system has undergone such basic change, it has come not from the top down, but through vast numbers of people changing their minds and demanding change. (On occasion when this happens, "leaders" rush out in front and may seem to have been leading the parade.)

As regards the fundamental change of which we presently see only the beginning stages, there appear to be two important components. We may speak of them as a "fairness revolution" (as Harlan Cleveland has termed it) and a "paradigm revolution". (Paradigm: a society's basic way of thinking, valuing, and doing, based on its particular view of reality.) The former is not a new phenomenon, although it may be proceeding now at a greatly accelerated pace. The latter type, on the other hand, has happened only rarely in history, the most recent familiar example being the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times.

### **Dimensions of the "fairness revolution"**

One of the most portentous developments on the face of the globe today is the awakening of the "sleeping giant" known as the developing world. Those multitudes who had, for so long, accepted the role of privation, inferiority, and servility, are less and less willing to do so.

For two decades following World War II this awakening took a dual form, as a demand for political liberation and a yearning for economic development. It gradually became

clear that the former by no means assured the latter, and liberation was not simply a matter of shifting from political colony to member of the United Nations. The goal of economic liberation, involving needs satisfaction and equitable distribution of riches, was announced in the form of demands for a "New International Economic Order".

In a series of documents relating to the NIEO, emanating from the International Labour Office and other United Nations agencies, a set of universally felt needs has been defined, being in essence:

- basic human needs ("enough" food, shelter, health care, education, employment, and security of the person);
- sense of the dignity of being human;
- a sense of becoming (a chance to achieve a better life);
- a sense of justice or equity;
- a sense of achievement, related to something worth achieving;
- a sense of solidarity - of belonging to a worthy group and of
- participation in decisions that effect the group's, and one's own, destiny.

National-level programs aimed at guaranteeing the right to satisfaction of these basic needs have been adopted by over 120 countries, in most cases within the last four decades. In some of the countries, including the United States, the programs were preceded by years of debate over the appropriateness such guarantees and the kinds of programs and policies involved. Behind the rhetoric of the demands for a NIEO is the proposition *that this concept of welfare which has been accepted and applied within a majority of individual nations should now be extended to the entire family of humankind.* Despite inevitable opposition, ultimate acceptance of this proposition appears likely, in that it is an extension of an already accepted basic trend.

It should be noted that this demand amounts to much more than a mere adjustment of the existing economic institutions for more equitable distribution. It implies no less than a restructuring of international society around a newly recognized fundamental right. It is a demand as profound in its implications as was the concept of democratic government, two centuries ago.

The "fairness revolution" is related to the concept of rule by legal system, replacing more arbitrary and authoritarian forms of government. Practically all the nations of the world have been moving, to some extent at least, in this direction. The Rule of Law is expressly assumed as an essential precondition in the 1950 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The United Nations' 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares that "it is essential if man is not compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the Rule of Law." The first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, saw the Rule of Law as "synonymous with the maintenance of civilized existence."

The doctrine of the Rule of Law has been a cornerstone of the Anglo-American common law system, but it has been characteristic of all modern nations. It is fair to say that the Soviet Union has lagged somewhat behind because of the peculiarities of its history; nevertheless the direction is apparent. But one thing has been clear throughout the history of the United Nations: however, much the more powerful nations may be committed

to the Rule of Law and to democratic institutions within their boundaries, not even the United States believe strongly in the Rule of Law for the world.

It is not casually that the fundamental documents of the United Nations have linked development with protection of human rights, the Rule of Law, and global security.

American sociologist Ralph Turner has suggested a useful way to look at the motive force behind such a historical evolution as this "fairness revolution". It is, he says, a matter of perception shift. Throughout history there have been numerous conditions - religious or political authoritarianism and tyranny, subjugation on the basis of class, race, or sex, extreme disparities of economic power or privilege, abuse and mutilation of women, cruel and unusual punishment - which may have for a long time been accepted as *misfortunes*, as regrettable circumstances which are unlikely to change. When a change in perception occurs such that these same conditions are perceived, not as misfortunes but as *injustices*, as wrongs which must be righted, then the motive force is present for a fundamental change or revolution.

Such a change in perception (from misfortune to injustice) results in a challenge to the legitimacy of the old order and an insistence on the new. Since the power of any institution depends in the long run on the public's perception of its legitimacy, a challenging of legitimacy is an extremely powerful social force for change. (Turner has interpreted in this way such major transformations as the Reformation, and the liberal, democratic, and socialist revolutions.)

This kind of shift in perception has been happening, as well, in the "paradigm revolution" to which we now turn.

### **Origins of the "paradigm revolution"**

Although the "fairness revolution" and the "paradigm revolution" are both global, a great deal of the motive force for the former comes from the developing countries, whereas the primary motive force for the latter comes from the developed world.

Two kinds of evidence make the "paradigm revolution" a plausible scenario. One is the spreading doubt that the serious global problems of our day (ecological, induced climate change, environmental deterioration, resource depletion, toxic chemical concentrations, widespread chronic hunger and poverty, threat from advanced weaponry, etc.) are solvable within the present paradigm. The other is the many signs of a changing view of reality - which show up both in various indicators of cultural change, and in a ferment within modern society's official knowledge-validating system, namely science.

To understand better understand the significance of these signs, let us remind ourselves how modern society came about. The 17th century in Western Europe can reasonably be taken as the end of the Middle Ages and the birthdate of modern times. That century saw an "economic revolution" centered on the flourishing city of Amsterdam, with evolution of the early capitalist institutions and the concept of markets for both goods and labor. In that century there was also the first of the modern liberal-democratic revolutions, in England. And there was the "invention" - with the Treaty of Westphalia - of the autonomous nation - state, free to do anything it has the power to impose. But most importantly, that is the century of the "scientific revolution."

From these developments stem the defining characteristics of modern society: centrality of economic and technology-based institutions, rising demand for democracy and equity,

unbridled national sovereignty, and - most fundamental of all - "reality" defined by empirical science. By now these characteristics have influenced practically every other society on the globe. They account for the present dominance of Western (European) society. They are also the source of the global dilemmas we now face.

Life for the person living in the medieval world (as in many traditional societies) is a seamless whole; the world is enchanted, infused with spirit (as Morris Berman reminds us in *The Reenchantment of the World*). Events are explained by divine purpose or by their function in a meaningful world. Humans feel at home in nature; the universe is alive and imbued with purpose. The kinds of dichotomies that come so naturally to the modern mind - man versus nature, facts versus values, science versus religion - simply don't exist.

This image of reality was displaced by the scientific revolution - one of the great watershed epochs in history, marking the end of medieval times and the beginning of the modern era. The world perceived by the typical educated person in Western Europe in 1600 was still the world of the Middle Ages. By 1700 the "scientific heresy" had become so widely accepted that the informed person literally perceived a different reality, much more like today's. He saw essentially a dead universe, constructed and set in motion by the Creator, with subsequent events accounted for by mechanical forces and lawful behaviors. Man was seen as separate from, and potentially controlling of, nature.

Just as the hypnotized person may see things that aren't there or fail to see things that are, so when the "cultural hypnosis" shifts, "reality" is transformed. It was not just that after the 17th century men now believed that the earth went around the sun, and scientists began to explore the world around them. The change was far more fundamental. It essentially consisted of a different perceived universe, and a different basis on which truth was to be decided - a shift from the religious authority system of the Middle Ages to the authority system of empirical science. As we now know, as a result of this shift in the underlying picture of reality, every institution in society was affected by the scientific revolution. The spread of the scientific heresy affected not just scientists, but everyone.

As time went on, confidence in the "reality" of empirical science grew. The new knowledge was astoundingly successful at providing the power to predict and control in the physical world, as our present technological prowess attests.

Yet by the latter third of the 20th century it was becoming apparent that, however useful science might be for some purposes - such as generating new technologies - the modern paradigm was having a serious negative effect on our understanding of values. Science was undermining the common religious base of values and replacing it with a set of moral relativism. Into the vacuum came, as a kind of "pseudo-values", economic and technical criteria - material progress, efficiency, productivity, etc. Decisions that would affect the lives of people around the globe, and generations to come, were decided on the basis of short-term economic considerations. The "technological imperative" to develop and apply any technology that could turn a profit or destroy an enemy endangered both the life-support systems of the planet and human civilization. Thus at the same time, developing nations were beginning to ask "Development - for what?" the developed world was being forced to ask "Economic growth and technological progress - for what?"

Spirituality and religiosity have not disappeared, of course. The churches still play a role in people's lives, and privately many a scientist has guided his/her life by deep spiritual beliefs. But *modern man was attempting the impossible - namely, to manage society, and the planet, on the basis of two conflicting and mutually contradictory pictures of reality. These*

were the mechanistic universe of empirical science, and the spiritual universe assumed in society's spiritual traditions.

The root of this problem was certain assumptions that had, over time, come to characterize the scientific enterprise. Three of these are particularly important:

- the **objectivist** assumption, that there is an objective universe which the scientific observer can explore and approximate, progressively more precisely, by quantitative models;
- the **positivist** assumption, that what is scientifically "real" must take as its basic data only that which is physically observable; and
- the **reductionist** assumption, that scientific explanation consists in explaining complex phenomena in terms of more elemental events (e.g. human behavior in terms of stimulus and response).

These assumptions have seemed so integral to the scientific method that it was hard to imagine they would ever be displaced.

And yet these assumptions set the stage for an almost inevitable crisis. The prestigious and influential scientific establishment became increasingly adept at exploring the external, physical world and increasingly neglectful of the world of inner experience. This was extremely serious, because it is from this deep intuitive experience that all individuals and all societies have always derived their sense of ultimate meanings and values. Industrial society became more and more like a ship with ever-increasing power and speed, but with no compass and charts to guide it.

By the beginning of the present decade the situation had indeed become a crisis. A "new heresy" was heard in the land. The scientific heresy of the 17th century had amounted to a widening group of people observing that reality was not the way the religious authorities had been telling it. The new heresy opined that *reality was not the way the secular authorities had been telling it either!* The controlled experiments of empirical science were not the road to ultimate truth; and so technological accomplishments of science do not necessarily lead to good effects. The three underlying assumptions of Western science introduced a bias which was useful to industrializing society but was disadvantageous with regard to the future.

Just as the modern perception of reality differed from the medieval, so a growing band of individuals today are betting their lives on a different picture of reality than that of reductionistic science. It is not just that some "New Age" values are spreading through the populace. Rather, a fundamentally different and competing picture of reality infuses holistic health care approaches, new concepts of business management, and people seeking to replace the lost meaning in their lives.

### **Key characteristics of the emerging paradigm**

In addition to those sectors, we see in many other signs of changes in values and perspectives throughout society - particularly in North America and northern Europe. The value emphases represented by the "Green" political movements, "deep ecology", the "feminine perspective", and the "inner peace" end of the spectrum of peace movements, are reinforced by - and partly rooted in - the spreading shift in basic assumptions. Thus not only

are the new value emphases and perspectives likely to have staying power, but they appear to be part of a whole-system change that will include major institutional changes.

From these various indicators we can summarize an overall change of mind, which is in the direction of:

- an awareness of the inextricable interdependence of all human communities and dependence on the planetary life-support systems, and awareness that resolution of the world's dilemmas will come only from a whole-system view;
- an affirmation of the co-creativity of man/woman and of a non-exploitive stewardship relationship to the planet;
- a stand that social institutions (the economy, the military) are legitimate only when they are guided by the highest values and principles;
- a growing global awareness, and a willingness to have rights that have long been guaranteed within the nation (e.g. Rule of Law, freedom of association, minimal satisfaction of basic needs) apply globally;
- an insistence that the legitimacy of war and of preparation or mass destruction as instruments of national policy is obsolete in a nuclear age;
- a rejection of extreme positivism and reduction in science, and a reassertion of the value of the inner search;
- an affirmation of the existence of consciousness in the universe, and of the essential spirituality of the individual;
- sensitivity to the need to counterbalance "masculine" competitive, aggressive, exploitative values with "feminine" nurturing, cherishing, conserving, cooperative values and appreciation of the feminine perspective;
- conviction that achievement of high quality of life will require decentralization of much social and political activity, rebuilding of community, and an appropriate technology (i.e. human scale, ecologically compatible, "kind" to human beings and to the planet);
- conviction that the richness of cultural diversity, is a planetary resource just as much as the richness of diversity of plant and animal life, so that the tendency of the world industrial economy to stamp out competing cultures must be curbed;
- commitment to global change through a spreading awakening the political manifestations of which must use non-violent means;
- an emphasis not on goals but on process - on people becoming empowered to take responsibility for their own lives and for changing society as necessary; the process is an evolutionary one, and the goals are emergent.

### **Yes - development for what?**

We have observed that all countries are developing countries. The highly industrialized countries such as the United States face a different set of development options and questions from the non-industrialized countries. But because of the interconnectedness of the modern world, we need to explore development paths for the richer industrialized countries in order that it may become clear what the context is for the others.

In this we need to recognize that the world economy in its present form has as one of its main products *marginal people*: the unemployed, the disfranchised people who lack what traditional society provided, a sense of belonging and of having a recognized role. In modern society one tends to be defined, and to define oneself, in terms of role in the mainstream economy - one's job, one's spouse's job, the job one is training for. As a result, there is tremendous pressure to increase economic reproduction - and to use it up through promoting consumerism and arms races - in order to create jobs. This is an aspect of the old paradigm which we find it particularly difficult to face squarely.

Modern society has rightly considered employment (that is, constructive and satisfying social roles) to be essential to the well-being of all its citizens. Yet capitalist societies have also considered employment to be a mere byproduct of economic production, the amount of which is a function of various economic variables. Some socialist societies, on the other hand, attempt to so manipulate the economy so much as to create full employment opportunity, but they often pay a high price in featherbedding, inefficient makework, low morale, and such social consequences as alcoholism.

We have to go deeper to find the source of this dilemma. The fundamental concepts of business and labor, of employment and welfare theory, of liberal and Marxist analysis, are all based in *production-focused society*. It may have seemed to make sense in the past to think of economic production as the *de facto* goal of society - to think of an ever-increasing fraction of overall human activity being treated as commodities in the mainstream economy, to assume that the individuals primary relationship to society is through a job, to have social thinking dominated by concepts of scarcity, commercial secrecy, competition, and money exchange. However, that is not the case in the future when one of our main "problems" is our capacity to over-produce.

The fundamental question as we look ahead is not how we can stimulate more demand for goods and services and information, nor is it how we can create jobs in the mainstream economy. The key question is a much more fundamental one. It is basically a question of meaning: *What is the central purpose of advanced societies when it no longer makes sense for that central purpose to be economic production - because that is no longer a challenge and because in the long run focusing on economic production does not lead to a viable global future?*

The answer becomes apparent from the emerging value emphases and beliefs about the nature of human beings. It is to advance growth and development to the fullest extent, to promote human learning in the broadest possible definition. The motivations implicit in the emerging paradigm fit with this; they do not fit with mindless consumption, material acquisition, and endless economic growth.

This answer only seems impractical and idealistic from the standpoint of our modern prejudice. As the "two revolutions" proceed, the definition of development will depart more and more the equation with "modernization" and materialistic economic development. Development will be defined differently for different cultures and different societies. Human and cultural development will be central factors in these definitions, with economic development demoted to the status of means rather than end.

Up to now it has been extremely difficult for a society or a nation to pursue a development path different from the path dictated by the mainstream world economic system. Several factors will make diverse development paths more feasible in the future.

One of these factors is the increasingly evident conclusion that the past ways of development are, in the end, not good for the planet and not even good for people. The highly industrialized countries are going to have to find some development path for themselves that, without unduly sacrificing quality of life, does not make such voracious demands upon the resource base, and effect such gross insults to the ecological and life-support systems of the planet.

A second important factor is the growing sense of a crisis in meaning in the developed world. Somewhat as individual riches are not always found to produce a happy life, so the allurements of affluent industrial society fail to provide the kind of shared meanings that make a society cohesive and inspire mutual loyalty.

Then too there is the growing sense in the "lesser developed" societies that modernization does not necessarily bring about the development that is best for them in human terms. This concern is reflected in the industrialized countries in a growing appreciation of the value to the world that arises through having a diverse ecology of cultures.

### **Weathering the transition**

While it is important to see as clearly as possible the long-term resolution of development-related problems, it is equally important to understand the constraints that will be operating during the transition period. It is not improbable that this period will see some sort of partial breakdown of the world economic system. This could be triggered by any of a number of factors, but the oppressive debt structure is a likely candidate.

Such signs of fundamental change tend to be threatening to many people, particularly if they lack understanding of the cause. Response to perceived threat is likely to lead to unconstructive actions.

There are two common forms of such response. One is an attempt to "turn back the clock", and return to an imagined time when family and community values were strong, consensus was easily come by, and in general, things "worked". The other involves an irrational strengthening of faith in the old ways of dealing with problems - through technological advance and centralized management approaches.

The evolutionary path outlined here will by no means be automatically achieved. It could be achieved, if enough people see its promise and work toward it. Failure to achieve it will mean that the future will unfold along some far less desirable path. Thus there is nothing more crucial to this time of transition than sharing with one another our interpretations of why the transformation is necessary or seems to be happening. There is no conversation more critical today than that around the question:

Development - for what? What is right development for a country? What is viable global development? What is a "world that works for everyone"?

#### **Selected Relevant Readings:**

Fritjof Capra *The Turning Point*. New York: Bantam, 1982.

Morris Berman *The Reenchantment of the World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.

Willis Harman *Global Mind Change*. Indianapolis: Knowledge Systems, 1988.

Robert Theobald *The Rapids of Change*. Indianapolis: Knowledge Systems, 1987.

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## THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE VOLUNTARY SECTOR: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Hendrik van der Heijden

*The private voluntary sector is increasingly attracting attention as a key component in the entire development process. In this chapter, Hendrik van der Heijden points out that this phenomenon has historical roots deeper than most of us realise. He describes the capacities of private voluntary organisations and the constraints facing them as they work together with governments and profit-making organisations to affect long-term sustainable development.*

I write this with some degree of humility because I am at the present time no longer directly concerned with the poor who themselves are working very hard to secure a decent living but who, on the whole, fail to do so. This is not because of lack in effort, but rather, because of imperfections in the society we live in, imperfections in policy. As a result, they fail to receive adequate income, in spite of the fact that they work harder than most people. Thus the poor are not in a position to acquire the basic goods and services that they need for themselves and for their children. Some of these goods and services are, at times, provided by governments.

Efforts to help the poor have gone on for a long period of time. I have only been involved with these efforts for the last twenty-five years. While this is a relatively short period of time, it has been possible to draw some lessons from experience over that period. More recently, I have been devoting myself exclusively to the issues of what I call the "private voluntary sector", of which non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or private voluntary organizations (PVOs) are a sub-sector. That is because my observations of the past 25 years have indicated the key importance of the private voluntary sector in development. When I arrived in the field for the first time in Haiti in 1962, it became quite clear that just about the only group that was seriously concerned with development consisted of PVOs, which in those days were mainly religious organisations. They concentrated on making a contribution to finding a solution to the problems of the poorest farmers and their children.

The people of Haiti were then, as they still are today, very much handicapped by a long tradition of poverty. "Development" at that time could hardly be considered to be taking place in the country except for the efforts of the external private voluntary sector. One

could observe very little in the way of indigenous development efforts and one could foresee very little in the way of prospects for a solution for the people of Haiti. Whatever we have seen or read about Haiti or what we read currently about Haiti can only be interpreted as a "development failure". This failure is the result of inadequate action and/or inadequate interaction between the private for-profit sector, the private voluntary sector, and the government sector, reflecting the total failure of those three sectors to forge the energetic participation of the people in the country's development.

In discussing today the role of the private voluntary sector in strengthening indigenous development capacities, I would like to offer a number of propositions. I will return to these at the end of the paper to summarize my presentation.

### **Development - A Problem of Solving Pervasive Poverty**

First of all, social and economic development is an urgent task, since it deals with large and growing problems of poverty which are of a pervasive nature. In developing countries, we are dealing with the problem of the poor majority of the population. In the case of the developed countries, development is essentially dealing with the poorer minorities, and this is an important difference to be kept in mind. Notwithstanding, there is much that we can learn from both situations.

Even though poverty is a pervasive problem in the Third World, it is a problem to which there are solutions. These solutions are to be provided by: the governmental sector, the private for-profit sector, and the private non-profit sector.

The *governmental sector* has a number of comparative advantages in the discharge of its obligations. These are in the design of general policies that affect development, since government sets the framework for development. It also has the capacity to reach a large number of people.

The *private for-profit sector* is often the largest sector in any country. It includes the many agricultural producers, micro-entrepreneurs, industrialists, tradesmen, bankers and others whose principal activities consist of producing goods and services, thus generating employment, production, income and exports. This sector's problems, strengths and weaknesses are well known, and do not need to be elaborated here.

The *private voluntary sector*, the non-profit sector, including non-governmental organisations, is the third sector as far as development is concerned. This sector is characterised by:

- the compassionate nature of its involvement with development issues.
- its closeness to people actually living in poverty conditions.
- an ability to work with the poor, which has not been developed to the same extent by the private for-profit sector or by the governmental sector, and an ability to deliver development services at a relatively low cost to a large number of people.

### **Governments Cannot Go It Alone**

As far as the government sector is concerned, it is quite clear that governments tend to take principal responsibility for policy framework. On the whole governments have not

been able to deal satisfactorily with the legitimate basic needs of the entire population for which they are responsible. This is for a number of reasons:

First, public finances are short. We are dealing with developing countries where poverty is pervasive. Governments thus find it difficult to raise tax revenues; hence there is a public resource constraint. This constraint will not easily go away. I make this point explicitly because at times there is a tendency to confuse, what I call, financial resource constraint with a governmental unwillingness to provide. As an example, with all the best will in the world, it is simply not possible for quite a number of governments in developing countries to supply all the educational, health and other services that are needed by their populations.

Second, governments face organizational constraints. They do not easily organize effectively for large-scale poverty alleviation. For example, it is virtually impossible for the Ministry of Health in Thailand by itself to organize and reach the entire population in the country - 45,000 villages. The civil service is simply not equipped to deal with this task. Those organizational constraints will not go away either in the foreseeable future.

Third, there are situations where there is unwillingness to deal vigorously with issues of poverty. We can all point to cases where we have governments in power that concentrate their programs on the richer middle-group of their populations and which do not emphasize poverty alleviation in their countries. Governments, thus, face "unwillingness" constraints which are of an entrenched political nature, financial constraints which are very pronounced and organizational constraints which are critical. As a result, poverty alleviation does not receive the priority which it deserves, and the poorest population groups do not, at times, participate in the benefits of development.

### **Private Voluntary Action - Difficult To Start**

The private voluntary sector on the other hand - which typically moves forward to help fill the gaps left by governmental inaction - also faces a number of problems.

Because it is of a non-profit nature, it faces difficulties in mobilizing seed capital. Mobilizing capital to start, mobilizing capital to expand, mobilizing capital to maintain. That is because of the very nature of PVO activity. It is of a non-profit nature. You cannot promise anyone dividends. That is not your motivation. Your motivation is to provide, as it were, in a compassionate way, a variety of services that deal with the poor and sometimes with the not-so-poor. You simply cannot go out and promise someone an attractive remuneration, and in return get his capital to start your school or start your health project. That is a problem the private voluntary sector faces.

The difficulty of raising funds also explains why the developmental activities of the private voluntary sector grow out of organizations that have an ability to provide seed capital. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large majority of the initiatives that were taken in the past fifty to a hundred years have originated from the religious sector. There was a capacity there to mobilize capital and entrepreneurial capacity.

### **Sectoral Emphasis of PVO Programs**

The private voluntary sector tends to concentrate on a limited number of areas, particularly in the human services development area which accounts for at least one-half of PVO programs. These are education, health, social welfare and entrepreneurial institutions.

More recently, others have been added - integrated rural development, income generating projects and production projects that are designed to generate income which will permit the poor to buy the services they need - including food, clothing, shelter etc, - to satisfy their basic needs. That is a recent phenomenon. It is not the traditional segment for the involvement of the private voluntary sector, but it has grown to represent 25 percent of total PVO activity.

### **Indigenous PVOs - Their Growth and Development**

In most developing countries, there are two development structures at work - the indigenous PVOs and the foreign. This is a topic that is exceedingly important. It is the centre of attention in the development community, especially when dealing with the role of the indigenous private voluntary sector. It is clear that genuine development can only come from the vigorous development of the indigenous PVO sector.

In order to look more closely into this matter, I have gone back into the history of a number of Western countries - the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France. In researching the last hundred years, I have been absolutely impressed to see how important the role of the indigenous private voluntary sector has been in these countries. It has been crucial, critical.

As one example, in my own country, the Netherlands, in 1840, something of the order of 40 percent of the population lived below what we now call the poverty line. The poor were dependent upon support from other groups of the population. They were receiving their support to an overwhelming degree from the private voluntary sector - the churches and other groups that generally tended to represent the richest 20 percent of the population. In those days, therefore, the richest 20 percent of the population engaged in what we would call today, in economic terms, voluntary income redistribution. They themselves - not government, took principal responsibility for correcting some of the excesses that economic development processes of those days produced. So we find that 75 percent of poverty alleviation programs in those days were provided privately. We can go back as far as 1810 and we find just about the same phenomenon in the United Kingdom.

What form did it take? Primarily, it involved the charitable provision of food, clothes and shelter; programs were fairly limited. Programs were started then that still continue until today. In the Netherlands, primary health care today is almost 90- 95 percent provided by the private voluntary sector. It started in 1850. Ninety percent of education at the primary level is currently being provided by the private voluntary sector. These facts tend to be forgotten and tend not to be known by those involved in development cooperation, because of the typical phenomenon of fragmentation that plagues us all.

A similar pattern exists in the United States. Very early on universities were set up by the private sector. Today, some 70 percent of all four-year colleges are operated by the PVO sector. You will also find in the United States that 50 percent of all hospital beds even today are under the control of the non-profit sector.

The basic point is that the private voluntary sector has played (and continues to play) a very important role in the development of these four countries and I would not be surprised if one could generalize beyond those countries. I submit that it is because of the important role played by the private voluntary sector that economic and social advance has been faster than otherwise would have been the case.

What did the private voluntary sector do? Starting over a century ago, it supplemented the limited financial, organizational and political constraints which government faced. Similarly, about 25 years ago, when development started on a meaningful scale in most of the currently underdeveloped world, the indigenous private voluntary sector also moved in, thereby permitting accelerated economic and social progress.

### **PVOs Grow With Public Funding**

Admittedly, the private voluntary sector initially provided, resources - time, energy, creativity, finances etc. - on a charitable, thus privileged, basis only. These programs were obviously limited. But, as and when government resources became more abundantly available, and as and when the conviction grew that social services such as education and health had to be made available, not as a question of privilege but as a matter of rights to the population at large, indigenous and efficient private voluntary institutions were already in place and government had in fact a relatively easy choice to make.

This it did in the case of the Netherlands. There, rather than providing these services itself, it channelled government funds through the private voluntary institutions, to the extent that now in the Netherlands, while 90 percent of primary health care is being provided by the private voluntary sector, 90 percent of that primary health care is financed by government. The government channels its resources through the private voluntary sector, through the various institutions at the local level that have contact with the people who are in need of those services.

### **Public/Private Interaction**

Thus you have the working together of the public sector with the resources it has available (principally through taxation), with the private voluntary sector that operates at the local level providing what I call compassionate care, capable of designing and distributing low cost, very appropriate and personalised services. That, in a broad brush, is the history of development in much of the currently "developed" world. Until today, the private voluntary sector is characterised by institutions themselves capable of mobilizing resources from their communities or beneficiaries, capable of effectively producing and delivering their services and working together with government.

More recently, it has also been working together with the enterprise sector which is channelling resources toward the private voluntary sector and therefore also indirectly playing a role in social advancement. An example of the latter phenomenon is provided by the Dutch agricultural credit banks. They are devoting one percent of their profits to a foundation which is making funds available to various institutions in the Third World that deal with development issues and income generation projects.

### **PVO Self-Reliant Development**

I will now turn my attention to the issue of strengthening indigenous development capacities, in particular, indigenous private development capacities. The latter is, I said before, crucially important for economic and social advancement in the developing world. Fortunately something is already happening with the private voluntary sector, not only in the more traditional fields of activity such as education, health and social welfare but also

with organizations implementing projects dealing with production and income generation. In short, there appears to be an explosion in indigenous PVO activity in the Third World!

A number of the problems I have referred to before, including difficulties in mobilizing seed capital, are obviously also affecting the indigenous private voluntary sector in developing countries. As a result, there is quite a disturbing, even unhealthy dependence on the part of the private voluntary sector in developing countries on financing from abroad. Estimates are that a number of PVOs in developing countries are receiving as much as 90 percent of their resources from PVOs abroad.

However, there is one important difference between the private voluntary sector in developing countries and developed countries. In developed countries, the private voluntary sector has become dependent upon government financing. In developing countries, the private voluntary sector has become very dependent upon external PVO financing.

There's an African proverb that says: "If you have your hand in someone's pocket, when he moves, you move." Dependency creates problems. When dependency on external PVOs reaches levels of 90 percent, who determines the PVO agenda? That is a problem. When dependency indeed is 90 percent on government financing, there is also a problem.

At the present time, the private voluntary sector is dominated to a considerable degree by the large PVOs in Europe and North America. Over the last twenty years these organizations have been playing an important role in channelling something on the order of \$4 billion to developing countries. That amount is of great significance in terms of overall development financing - approximately 15%. Governments of developed countries have made these funds available because of the recognition that something of importance is being done.

### **Strengths and Weaknesses in PVO Programs**

There is little in the way of documentary evidence that tells you what is being done by the PVO community. I have been collecting some evidence that would indicate what the relative strengths and weaknesses of the private voluntary sector are. I started off by saying that development deals with the problem of the poor in the world. Large numbers of people remain in very poor conditions and it is likely to stay that way unless, during the coming 25 years, we do things differently from what we did in the past. Therefore, one of the first steps in discerning what the contribution of the private voluntary sector has been, is to see to what extent programs have been successful in reaching large numbers of people. 800 million people are living in absolute poverty today. That number is going to go up to 900 million or a billion people by the year 2000. So far we are not making a dent in this.

I have come to the conclusion that reaching a relatively large number of people, a growing number of people, is an accomplishment that can only be claimed by very few organizations. We are currently not dealing with large numbers of people and unless things change, neither the private voluntary sector nor the government sector will make a significant impact on poverty in the future. That is not what happened in development a hundred years ago.

What can be done to change this situation? Do we limit ourselves to experimenting with small-scale projects? Do we have our eye on scaling-up or replication by government right

from the start? In most projects I have seen, that question is to be answered in the negative.

But not everywhere. In Thailand, the community-based family planning and primary health care services, has scaled-up and is currently reaching 15,000 villages. Organizations like the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, and others, have been aiming at making an impact on poverty right from the beginning. The numbers involved are quite significant. But those organizations are in the minority. It is very important to design projects right from the start with a view to seeing to what extent they can be replicated and to what extent they can be scaled-up to reach larger numbers of people.

What is standing in the way of this?

First, scaling-up means an ability to think "big" and an ability to manage a whole process. Scaling-up is also a function of cost. Costs of PVO projects on the whole tend to be high, a fact which stands in the way of replication and scaling-up of development. However, scaling-up may mean obtaining economics of scale. If not, we soon run up against the financing constraint and we simply cannot scale-up.

Second, very few organizations feel the pressure to scale-up. I have seen a number of organizations where PVOs are satisfied with dealing with a few villages and leaving it at that. In the case of the "Six S" program in the Sahel, one does see a different attitude. One sees a development service delivered to the village and reaching the beneficiaries who repay the loans, thereby permitting extension of the service to other villages. But, on the whole, this is the exception.

## **Improving PVO Action to Enhance Poverty Alleviation**

What are the lessons we can learn here?

First of all, when designing a project, it is important to consider aiming at replication by government. This requires the early involvement of government in the project. It is obvious, that if one moves in the direction of having someone else take over, that someone else has to be involved in the early stages of project design. Scaling-up is also concerned with scaling-up by oneself. This is important, too. It requires an effective management process and the documentation of one's efforts. I have seen very little of this in a number of projects I have visited. The whole crux of the matter is reaching large numbers of people. It is important that we recognize the limited accomplishments we have made in the past in this direction and ensure we find ways of correcting our approach in the future.

Secondly, the poor are the victims at times of forces that discriminate against them. PVOs can play a very important role in documenting the suffering of the poor as a result of discriminatory policies. I have seen too little of this. This aspect has been crucial in countries such as the United Kingdom, as long as a century ago. The PVOs used to get together with the Oxford dons and analyze the particular problems of the poor and the solutions that were possible. The results of this work was used as evidence for testimonies in front of Royal Commissions of Enquiry that led to changes in legislation.

Third, not only are PVOs in a position to analyze the problems of the poor, as well as the lessons of experience in reaching the poor, they are also much better able than the poor themselves to reach people in power, the economic and social policy makers. Few PVOs at the present time are effectively doing this. It is important that the experience which

PVOs have in development practice is transmitted to the policy makers. I call this increasing the macro-impact of one's operations.

Many projects we are discussing today are very complex. The problems of integrated rural development and of integrated urban development are very complex. But this does not mean that we must find complex solutions through complex projects. There are organizations that are capable of dealing with complex issues. Usually, however, the ability to deal with complex issues does not come easily. I have noted that there are organizations which, rather than replicating or scaling-up projects by exposing other villages to the same answers, start developing different projects with added complexity.

Specialization is the hallmark of the private for-profit sector. It is also the hallmark of the private voluntary sector. Some experiences I have accumulated indicate that extending simple approaches to new groups of beneficiaries is preferable to what we all have as a tendency, namely to unnecessarily complicate our life, and that of others.

The relationship of the government and the private voluntary sector is paradoxical: the private voluntary sector expands on the basis of government financing. There is hardly an exception to this. It requires continuous contact and involvement with government at an early stage. I have found a good many projects of the private voluntary sector in developing countries, whose leaders maintain only minimal contact with government. People working for PVOs tend to shy away from government. They position themselves to ignore the government. This has an important effect because when the moment for replication or scaling-up comes, difficulties arise.

The dependence of the private voluntary sector on government financing, more in the developed than the developing countries, is a fact. I have been applauding the comparative advantages of the private voluntary sector - an ability to reach the poor, not operating at a financially prohibitive cost, appropriate technologies, doing better than government in terms of reaching the poor, etc. And this is recognized by everyone other than by developing countries' governments themselves. Why is that?

Part of the answer, which we only have ourselves to blame for, is our unwillingness to be seen with or involved with government. Fortunately, there are countries where we see the beginnings of involvement of a number of different parties, both governmental and private, in the development effort. Brazil is one such case. Another is the Fifth City project in Chicago (Project NA-17, Volume One, IERD Series). There we see the participation of the city government of Chicago, the Federal Government of the United States, the State Government of Illinois, a number of corporations and foundations, in addition to private individuals.

### **The Future Role of International PVOs**

Finally, as indigenous institutions in developing countries gradually bear more of the brunt of development efforts at the grass-roots level, foreign PVOs can put their energies more into organizing the financing of indigenous PVO activity and actively influencing policy at the international level, particularly in developed countries. In many international forums, PVOs are poorly represented. This was certainly true at the recent UNCTAD gathering. Insufficient attention is being drawn to the macro-questions of world poverty and equity, and international PVOs can play a major role in addressing these issues explicitly.



## Concluding Propositions

To conclude, I would like to make ten main propositions:

1. Poverty is a pervasive problem in the Third World. Small-scale experiments, while useful, do not suffice. Right from the start we need to have an eye on replication by government, or on scaling-up by the PVO community.
2. Experience indicates that most PVOs are not under pressure to scale-up and do not easily succeed at replication. This is due to:
  - an excessive emphasis on innovation and too little emphasis toward the extension of known programs and technologies;
  - costs that are sometimes too high for governments to replicate
  - projects that are too complex;
  - PVOs not maintaining contact with governments at the design stage of their projects.
3. Strengthening the macro-impact of PVO action. PVO's need to produce and disseminate documented evidence which can be transmitted to the policy makers as an indirect approach to poverty alleviation.
4. Indigenous PVOs are far too dependent on uncertain external financing which means they lack a base for forward planning. Increased contributions could come from the beneficiaries themselves, governments - both local and foreign, external PVOs and other domestic financing structures including local corporations and foundations and wealthy private citizens.
5. While integrated development is important, much can also be done in the fields of health, education and social welfare that tends to be forgotten today.
6. PVOs which are successful specialize in a particular sector or with a particular method. That is how they reduce costs and determine points and ways of intervention.
7. Neither the government nor the private voluntary sector can go it alone. Currently, linkages between PVOs, business and government are weak and need strengthening.
8. We must learn better. Lessons of experience are not sufficiently drawn, analyzed and disseminated.
9. It is important, for diffusion, not to shy away from people in power. They must be contacted and the poor cannot do it themselves. Getting the rich into institutionalized giving is also important.
10. Indigenous organizations are increasingly going to bear the brunt of development at the grassroots level. Foreign PVOs will, and need to become more effective as financial intermediaries and as active advocates for the poor.

### NOTES:

Drs. van der Heijden presented this paper at a conference for PVOs entitled "Under The Pipal Tree", organized by the Institute of Cultural Affairs: International, Brussels, August 1987.

## THE GROWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NGOs AND THE U.N. SYSTEM

Mildred Robbins Leet and Glen Leet

*One particular arena where cooperation has become more evident has been in relationships between NGOs and United Nations organizations. In this article, Mildred Robbins and Glen Leet take a close look at this development, as two people uniquely qualified to do so. Their own work with the Trickle Up Program has helped to forge links between NGOs and the UN system.*

With the end of World War II, countries joined together to form the United Nations, recognizing that there were many problems that could best be solved by an international approach. With the UN Charter stating: "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom and for these ends . . . to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people," the intergovernmental specialized agencies were formed to carry out these development goals. Indeed, agencies such as the International Labour Office (ILO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), The World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the World Health Organization (WHO) have all helped further the economic and social advancement of people.

In the First United Nations Report on the World Social Situation, the one observation that most impressed the minds and emotions of the world was by historian Arnold Toynbee, who said, "In the broad sweep of history, this Century may well be remembered, not for the technological advances, but because it was the time when people dared to think about well-being in terms of the whole world."

Article 71 of the UN Charter recognizes the non-governmental organization (NGO) and provides for the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) to consult with NGOs concerned with matters within its competence. There are about 350 NGOs registered with UN/UNESCO, having consultative status. However, in addition, many of the UN specialized agencies have their own registry of NGOs which greatly increases the number of NGOs cooperating with the UN and its specialized agencies. In the

fifties and sixties, massive amounts of aid poured in at the top with the expectation that the benefits would trickle down. By the time the seventies rolled around, it was apparent that the gap between the rich and the poor was widening, resulting in political, social, and economic imbalance and unrest. Thus, the seventies was a decade of re-evaluation amid the rapid spread and growth of communications, information, and transportation technology.

The UN, made up of over 160 governments, launched a series of international conferences seeking answers to commonly shared, yet unmet, basic needs. It started with the Conference on the Environment in Stockholm, continued with the meetings on Population in Rumania, Food in Rome, Women in Mexico City, Habitat in Canada, Water in Argentina, Science and Technology for Development in Austria, and rounded out the decade with the Second Global Conference on Women in 1980 in Copenhagen.

Out of these conferences emerged some new, specialized agencies such as the World Food Council, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the United Nations Volunteers Programme (UNV) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) - perhaps more bureaucracy, but also more focus on special development needs.

However, from the onset in the seventies, the private sector - people representing NGOs - played influential roles. This they did by conceptualizing the conferences, then by shaping the agendas, at the meetings themselves, and in drafting the resolutions. It was all done quietly, and with diplomatic discretion. It is the NGOs who have persisted and persevered, trying to move resolutions that were passed with recommendations for international bodies, governments, and NGOs, to an action mode.

Slowly this has been happening. And slowly the intergovernmental agencies and governments have been seeking out the NGOs to work with on a more cooperative basis in their efforts to bring their programs more directly and effectively to the people. Because of the work and experience of the NGOs, they are being recognized as facilitators, as activators, and as useful partners in the search for self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and means to improve lives and productivity.

Within the NGO community there are international umbrella organizations such as the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) and the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WIFUNA) in Geneva, and national umbrella organizations such as InterAction in the US and the Canadian Council for International Cooperation. These organizations hold annual conferences and focus on areas of critical common concern about transnational issues.

Then there are international organizations that hold conferences, such as the International Association of Business and Professional Women, the Society for International Development (SID) and the Institute of Cultural Affairs International (ICAI). When the ICAI began planning the conference on "Sharing Approaches That Work" in rural development, it started a lot of decision-makers thinking. Perhaps there were ways of erasing poverty that they were overlooking. The ICA meeting in India surpassed the planners' hopes, for there was a multitude of successful approaches, and an openness to admit failure that was unique. It was an example of people, world-wide, organizing themselves to do what governmental organizations were not doing. It became apparent that the NGOs were

meeting the challenges of hunger, poverty, and malnutrition in a most cost-effective way, and in many cases, in a more humane and direct fashion.

The intergovernmental agencies that have participated in such meetings are recognizing that NGOs represent that link to the people they seek to reach, yet whom they often fail to reach.

In this decade, more and more, NGOs are being sought out by governments and inter-governmental agencies to work together with them. At the same time, NGOs are also reaching out to them. When two parties feel a mutual attraction for each other, often a happy union will take place, and this is happening more and more.

For example, in 1981 the UN publication *Development Forum* wrote an article about the new NGO, the Trickle Up Program (TUP), whose process is designed to reach the poorest of the poor in order to help themselves out of poverty by creating businesses of their own design. The power of this international journal was seen in the response to the article from many agencies in many countries worldwide. It was a pivotal factor in the growth of TUP, which is now working in 95 countries.

In 1982 the UNDP gave a small grant to the Trickle Up Program to assess its effectiveness in reaching the poorest of the poor. In the 1986 Annual Report of UNDP, TUP was cited as "a dynamic organization." Slowly, this relationship has grown in size and outreach. TUP's relationship with UN Volunteers in a number of countries has been a most productive one, with the TUP process helping UN Volunteers carry out their development mission.

Within the UNDP in 1986, a new Division for Non-Governmental Organizations was created to work with NGOs, encouraging their cooperation with governments and specialized agencies, each learning to respect the other's capacities, capabilities, and skills. It has encouraged NGOs to move in areas where they had not been before. Resident Representatives in the 113 countries in which UNDP operates provide opportunities for NGOs to meet with local voluntary and governmental agencies.

Also in 1986, the UNDP Administrator, William H. Draper, aware of the alarming statistics on women's economic situations, created a Division for Women in Development. This has permitted women's needs and capabilities to be introduced into the initial design and programming of projects. Increased participation of NGOs and women was called for by the UNDP's 1987 Governing Council.

Concurrent with the UN General Assembly Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa, held in New York in May of 1986, non-governmental organizations met outside the regular sessions, published a newspaper that was distributed to the delegates, and developed a statement that the General Assembly permitted an African NGO representative to make. An NGO Memorandum was circulated at a crucial point in the negotiations and highlighted the popular participation of people in decision-making as well as calling for a commitment for self-sufficiency and addressing debt and environmental issues.

With UNIFEM playing a pivotal role in its organization, a special task force made up of NGOs, governmental organizations and UN development agencies has evolved from a "Symposium on the Role of Women Farmers in African Food Security", held in May, just prior to the Conference. A "Food Security People's Declaration" to the Special Session was circulated, which called for the inclusion of women in development decision-making,

planning implementation and evaluation, as well as other measures to lessen women's burdens while increasing their productivity.

The Symposium demonstrated the effectiveness of women's organizations working with other organizations and sectors on a common objective, one of which was the recognition that women are the principal custodians of Africa's food system. Policies which minimize women's critical role spell disaster. The words have been written, but much more time will elapse before they are acted upon.

The meeting provided the NGOs with an opportunity to strengthen their networks among the African NGOs and donor country NGOs, and to make plans for subsequent international meetings. International conferences provide the setting for strengthening personal contacts and establishing working relationships with other NGOs, as well as playing a role with the official governmental or intergovernmental bodies in shaping the programs and policies to emerge from the meetings. It is a slow political process, where persistence is needed to effect change and perseverance to sustain it.

Founded in 1977 as a result of the World Food Conference (1974) in which the NGOs played a constructive role, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) was created for the benefit of the rural poor. In 1987, in collaboration with an NGO, the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, IFAD organized a series of workshops in Kenya, Tunisia, and Nepal to promote greater involvement in agricultural development projects and to establish and strengthen farmers' organizations.

IFAD's President Jazairy said that IFAD was determined to strengthen its cooperation with NGOs and had set up an allocation of \$350,000 annually for grants for this purpose. He invited interested governments and NGOs to consider matching this amount. IFAD stresses the "critically important" input of NGOs as "front-lines" of development efforts. It advocates participatory and grassroots-based institutional development, with great emphasis on the far-reaching role of women and the effectiveness of NGOs.

With the establishment in 1982 of the World Bank - Non Governmental Committee, relations between NGOs and the Bank have become wider and deeper. They feel that developments in four areas are particularly noteworthy. First, trilateral operational consultations involving governments, NGOs, and the Bank are increasing. Secondly, new initiatives are being taken. One of these was when the NGO Co-Chair originated the "Africa 2000" proposal, which was taken as the basis for a significant Canadian initiative at the Special Session.

Another was when two Committee members, the Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement (OISCA) International and the Aga Khan Foundation obtained the Committee's endorsement for two international conferences they planned. Both meetings were held with the Bank's support, and were successful. Third, structural improvements were made in the Committee. The NGO members decided on a rotation system that will extend Committee exposure to new NGOs, and fourth, the Bank intensified its information program with NGOs in the U. S., Europe and Japan.

On September 30, 1986, Mr. Barber B. Conable, in his first address as President of The World Bank, said that he confirmed the Bank's commitment to "global cooperation to reduce poverty". He promised increased Bank attention to population, environment, and women's issues - all areas in which NGOs have pioneered - and noted the need for closer partnership with voluntary organizations.

In the Safe Motherhood Conference held in Nairobi in February 1987, co-sponsored by the World Bank and International Finance Corporation, Mr. Conable acknowledged the cooperation and support of the World Health Organization, the UN Population Fund, the UN Development Program, and all other donors. He said: "We can make this Conference the beginning of a new commitment to common decency and common sense . . . Safe motherhood initiatives, from local and national leaders, from women's groups and civic organizations, from the new media, schools and universities, even from the theatre are important. But the effort that poor women make themselves to take charge of their productive and reproductive lives is what will matter the most . . . We believe that through the joint efforts of the developing countries, the Bank, other donors, non-governmental organizations and private groups, we can reduce by half the number of women who die in pregnancy or childbirth by the year 2000."

Thus, just as NGOs are joining together to give support and strength to each other, so are the specialized agencies recognizing the value of cooperation that such networking provides. It is not an easy path to follow. The Report of the UN World Food Council's 13th Session, held June 8-11, 1987 in China, urges agencies to cooperate with each other. In the conclusion of the World Food Council's Report, the Ministers observed "that the continuing increase in the number of the world's hungry and malnourished was testimony to the fact that past efforts to eliminate hunger and malnutrition have failed. One of the Council's responsibilities should be to probe the causes of that failure and propose remedies. The Council must review the hunger-related activities of the UN agencies and assess their impact." NGOs were cited in one sentence of paragraph 69 where mention was made of the fact that international non-governmental organizations acted as conduits for the diffusion of information on improved farming techniques and better use of available food and productive resources.

This is an era in which major development agencies are looking to NGOs, hoping that together we can find solutions to the problem of how to reach the poorest of the poor. What can be done about the widening gap in a world in which the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer? In donor countries with budgetary problems of their own, the public is becoming intolerant of programs in which massive resources are poured in at the top with the expectations that benefits will filter down and make life better for the ever-increasing number of people caught between growing unemployment and rising living costs. And in third world countries there is greater intolerance as they learn of big projects that are supposed to help them but produce disappointing results.

Specialized agencies such as UNICEF, ILO, and WHO, that have worked in the development field for many years, are working more and more constructively and actively with NGOs, both on an advocacy basis and on an operational basis. The results are proving most satisfactory. They are recognizing the growing assertiveness of nations and their people, of popular participation and local initiative. The program of UNICEF which, for years, relied heavily on the delivery of food, equipment, and technical services, has become more effective and dynamic since it has involved the direct participation of people. The consciousness-raising effect of the global crisis conferences has resulted in the rapid growth of small indigenous organizations that are seeking ways to get things done without bureaucratic red tape.

And, putting the shoe on the other foot, the NGOs see advantages to the international institutions and look forward to working with them. It has become apparent that if we are to address the question of poverty and find answers to the question most often asked: "How

do you reach the poorest of the poor? "The cooperation of all organizations, at all levels, working together to find the answers will be required. The grassroots actions that trickle up and produce solutions are most effective when an environment where people are respected is enhanced by enlightened policies that trickle down. For there is no one solution to ending poverty.

Thus, moving into the 1990s, there must emerge in the international community expanding cooperative efforts to find and replicate new development approaches and to apply the solutions on a larger scale. As future historians look back, examining events over thousands of years, they may note that this was the era in which people sought to veer away from a course that could have extinguished all life on this planet, and instead, started on a course toward ending poverty.

# 4

## PARTNERS IN DIALOGUE

Sandra Powell

*A growing trend towards dialogue between the various players in the development game is establishing itself. Why is this so? How has it come about? What are the constraints inherent in this process? And what is the promise it holds for the future? All these questions are addressed in the introduction to this chapter by Sandra Powell, who herself is actively engaged in building partnerships between development organisations in east and southern Africa. Several recent examples of efforts at dialogue are examined in more detail.*

This chapter examines a trend that is having greater and greater impact on the perspectives and processes of development - that is, the trend toward new levels of dialogue among the members of the Development Community. This dialogue is designed to enhance the effectiveness of development efforts and is taking place across sectors, across organisational levels, and across nations.

The impulse toward active linking and networking activities is not confined to the area of development. A number of current books and articles highlight a new activism in relation to expanded modes of cooperation. Within politics, science, health, and business there is a fresh acknowledgment of interrelatedness and the necessity of holistic approaches to problems.

In global development, several factors are catalysing the growing concern for creating an atmosphere of active cooperation. The desire to avoid duplication of efforts, the crying need for uniformity and simplicity in policies and procedures, limited human and financial resources - these and other factors illuminate the necessity of breaking down some well-established barriers to communication. I would like to explore briefly the situation of interdependence, some categories for defining where the dialogue begins and a few of the constraints.

The experience from which I speak has been varied, and I have had the opportunity to work at many levels of the development process in Southeast Asia, Africa, Australia, the U.S. and Europe. Whether promoting cooperation in a village or among a gathering of policy-makers or within a business, I have found that (a) it is harder than it looks and (b) the results are worth the effort. To decide to cooperate requires letting go some cherished personal and organisational tenets. Such a decision is made only when there is a glimmer



that the benefits are worth the sacrifice. It is easier to continue doing things in a relative vacuum, and it may be said without anger that some simply have not seen the reality of interdependence, much less the necessity for encouraging it. At the risk of sounding naive, however, most of my experience indicates a deep longing among people to work together for a greater good. The question is how to tap that longing and give it practical form.

### The Reality of Interdependence

Goran Hyden<sup>1</sup> provides us with a helpful diagram of the evolution of approaches to development over the past 40 years. He suggests that images of what constitutes effective development have shifted from a highly centralised trickle-down approach, to greater decentralisation, to "small is beautiful", to the current mode of building an "enabling environment." In this latter phase, intermediary organisations, e.g. private development agencies, assume a more prominent role in the process of development, and the necessity of multi-sectoral cooperation and "lateral" exchange events between development practitioners becomes more apparent. Hyden stresses that each stage leaves a residue which is carried into the next phase, and in fact, in most actual situations, there are very distinct elements of "previous" phases.

In Kenya, for example, the central government continues to play a strong role in development planning. Simultaneously, the District Focus Strategy is a key element of the national development plan. There is a plethora of community-based organisations (e.g. women's income-generating groups) and a growing number of indigenous NGOs joining an already large number of international organisations. There have been many conferences stressing the benefits of a multi-sectoral approach to development, among them The Enabling Environment Conference organised by the Aga Khan Foundation, and the Collaboration at a Crossroads Workshop sponsored by the International Council on Social Welfare. Other agencies, including government ministries, United Nations organisations and NGOs are equally involved in promoting the idea of cooperation. In a word, it is fashionable.

Why this turn toward dialogue? There is no single answer. It seems, however, that for many groups and individuals, it is a symptom of maturation. Twenty years ago, many people thought development was relatively logical, relatively quick, and relatively simple. Over time, it became clear that it is a much longer, more difficult and more ambiguous process than previously imagined. As people documented the money spent, the projects done, and the subsequent impact, they saw great gaps between the inputs and the actual outcomes. The question of sustainability assumed tremendous importance, and it became apparent that development must be viewed in terms of generations rather than weeks or months or years. It also became clear that development is something which is hard, if not virtually impossible, to measure.

In tandem with disappointment over the gap between objectives and results, organisations have become aware of their own limitations. One group finds that it is excellent in a certain arena of technical assistance, but does a poor job of catalysing participation by the people; another one discovers that it is strong in planning, but weak in implementation. It seems clear that an individual organisation is unable to address the complexities of development single-handedly. Thus, we see the reality of interdependence. It is not simply a thing we *ought* to do, but it is part of the reality of what we do.

The question becomes how most effectively to share our particular areas of expertise if we are to optimize our limited resources. Some have money, some have technical expertise,

some have grassroots networks. The questions posed in the process of development require a pooling of perspectives, experience and know-how. Organisations are increasingly conscious of the collaborative nature of effective development.

Another reason behind the expanding dialogue lies in the area of human development. We have seen the need to *develop people* to do development. The fascination with the 'hardware' of development has been modified by a new consciousness of the 'software' of development - namely, providing training, context, and basic skills to the people who will be expected to sustain the work. There is a mindset that if we simply "show them the right way", they will jump for joy and change.

But development practitioners the world over have learned that *demonstration* alone is not enough. Organisational strengthening and leadership and management development are two additional factors which enable demonstration to be replicated and sustained. No one quickly alters their patterns or attitudes or behaviour, whether those patterns be the residue of centuries or of a mere lifetime. A mindset which suggests that people always have to be "taught" either arises from or results in great cross-cultural misunderstandings. It assumes a "right" way, when experience has shown that there is no single system for development. What works very well in one place may not work at all 20 kilometres down the road.

The belief that I/we/you can show the way is generally supported by a sincere conviction that our objectivity allows us to see more clearly what others need, but we often leave out the step of asking the so-called beneficiaries what *they* think they need. It is extremely important to demonstrate new alternatives, but it is equally critical to elicit local vision and advice in an atmosphere of mutual learning. Then, the necessary training and context can be given to the people who are expected to sustain the effort.

Development is difficult. To continue to hope and to work in the face of numerous setbacks, to seek knowledge where there has been none, and to learn new skills that may be the antitheses of old ones requires courage, resilience and discipline. To achieve deep change - often characterised as a "change of heart" - is subtle, yet it is an essential ingredient in the ongoing process of development. Such change is not the result of unilateral efforts. It results from both chance and intention, from direct and indirect learning activities, from quick, visible accomplishment and long-range, invisible strategising. Effective development requires a sense of time and timing, a sensitivity to the appropriateness or inappropriateness of an action. These are "soft" skills, difficult to measure, and most noticeable when they are absent. The ability both to embody and to impart these skills is crucial to the future.

Other trends that intersect with and give impetus to the desire for dialogue will not be discussed here. But one more should be mentioned, namely, the increasing sense of national identity and awareness of *national* priorities on the part of recipient governments. Manifestations of this trend may include more direct indigenisation policies, additional limitations regarding extranational personnel, and stronger and clearer national plans. A positive result of this new-found selfhood is that more opportunities are being provided for dialogue between government and 'operational' agencies. The intent is to integrate national priorities with the aid priorities of donor governments and with the field activities of both national and international development organisations. At this point, the area of aid coordination is difficult to implement. It is somewhat threatening to everyone involved, yet it seems to be an idea whose time is coming. Again, it is a trend that highlights

the need for new ways of listening, synthesising, and deciding among the diverse actors in the development process.

### Defining the Starting Point

One of the first difficulties in deciding actively to move into a mode of dialogue revolves around questions like With whom?, With what frame of reference?, To what end?, Using what process? Perhaps it would be useful to suggest some categories that can be used in defining intents.

In the early seventies, the Institute of Cultural Affairs used a simple schema for determining the comprehensiveness of its work. Having always been biased toward the grassroots, we soon discovered that it was equally important to provide service to other sectors. We therefore used an image of the *public, private, voluntary* and *local* sectors to define the scope of our work. This has been useful and easy to remember, and a similar schema can be applied to the Development Community using categories of *donors, non-governmental organisations, national governments*, and *local* communities. Such categorisation must be recognised as a sort of shorthand. As such, it is limited and does not do justice to the extreme complexity one actually encounters in day-to-day situations.

Within the category of "donor", for instance, there are first world and third world, government and private, bilateral and multilateral, secular and religious, general and specific, and on and on. Within the category of "non-governmental organisations", there are indigenous and international, large and small, relief and development, operational and umbrella, not to mention innumerable philosophies, target groups, and areas of expertise. The difficulties entailed in merely creating a directory of NGOs in Kenya have been staggering. What are the most useful categories? What criteria define an "NGO"? What if a group shows up in eight different categories? Programmes change so quickly that data is outdated by the time of publication. Even the directories aimed at specific groups, e.g. environmental organisations or those concerned with women, have been hard pressed to produce a truly complete product.

One must also have the universities and research organisations in the picture, not to mention regional and global networking institutions. There is increasing overlap between the private sector, national governments, and private voluntary organisations. This is all to the good, but it makes it difficult to clarify the initial 'entry point' for a given dialogue.

It is useful, however, to have as complete a picture as possible when thinking through the participants, aims and objectives involved in partnership. For one thing, we often get locked into a sector. If I am part of an NGO, my primary contacts are with other NGOs. If a donor, the key relationships are with other donor organisations and the government. Having a comprehensive screen allows a fresh thinking through of who is part of any given dialogue. Even within a particular sector, such as the NGO sector, it is important to step outside of your own narrow domain, e.g. a "health NGO" working on nutrition awareness would do well to join hands with an "education NGO". When the time comes for planning an actual event, such a schema may help clarify and focus the key participants. Even if everyone isn't invited, there is a clearer rationale for who needs to be present.

Another dimension of planning a strategy for dialogue is to look seriously at where the potential partners are standing in a spectrum of commitment to the process. All too often the words "cooperation", "collaboration", and "coordination" are used interchangeably. I would like to suggest the following differentiations:

- **Cooperation** is largely an *attitude* or a *stance*. It entails a positive recognition of the need for some level of interaction; a nod to activities which further the 'cause' of working together. It is a state of mind and a crucial pre-requisite to moving further, but it represents the most basic level of commitment and is often more talk than action.
- **Collaboration** implies an *actual working relationship*, an active partnership in which two or more groups are doing something together. In the past, this has been confined to donor/recipient relationships, but there is an increasing number of examples of diverse organisations banding together to work on a common problem, project, or programme. Recently, for instance, several NGOs, the City Commission, the Ministry of Health, a UN agency, and a private sector organisation organised and co-funded a conference on action planning for maternal-child health care in the urban slums of Nairobi. Everyone acknowledged the additional complexity of decision-making, but felt without exception that the event had much more impact than if it had been organised by a single group. Each organisation had a slightly different gift to offer - money, networks, footwork, transportation, documentation capabilities, etc., and this pooling of resources ensured a more complete outcome.
- **Coordination** suggests a process of *defining parameters for action* by a coalition of organisations. It reflects a quantum leap in commitment since it means that a given organisation is no longer completely self-determining. It may be done from within a group of groups; it may be trusted to an umbrella organisation; it may be mandated by someone from above. If coordination is self-generated within a given group, it can be extremely positive. Duplication of effort can be avoided, greater impact can be achieved, and more imaginative solutions can be devised for common problems. If coordination is imposed, however, there is generally active or passive resistance to the *control* inherent in such a move.

These three categories reveal a spectrum of commitment to a cooperative mode of development. It is unhelpful to try to force an actual working relationship on someone who has barely conceived of the need for such. An effective strategy, therefore, will start from where participants actually *are*, and will seek to move them along the journey to greater mutual trust and commitment.

In summary, it is important to have a complete picture of the Development Community in which one is actually operating - both who comprises it and where they are in the process of partnership. Using the above categories in light of an actual situation can provide a helpful starting point for building a strategy that enhances dialogue.

### Constraints To Dialogue

Why is this so much harder than it looks? Anyone who has tried to promote cooperation knows that it is one of those things that appears fairly straightforward on the surface, but, once into it, numerous undercurrents appear. I want to highlight four key blocks to the process of cooperation. This is not meant to be a complete list, but it is intended to illuminate some of the common problems.

First is simply the fact of *overwhelming complexity*. As mentioned earlier, we tend to categorise organisations, and thus we imply a homogeneity that *does not* exist. Across

Africa, there are attempts being made to decentralise to a district level. It seems that it would be relatively easy to get everyone who is working in a given geographical area together to discuss who is doing what, where and how to work together more effectively for the good of the people.

There are, of course, examples of this being done successfully, but, in the main, it has been very uneven. It is difficult to pinpoint the initiator of such a process, to define who will be invited to such events, to clarify aims and objectives and anticipated products, to do the logistics, to compile the results - blocks *ad infinitum*. At the macro level, an incredible number of conferences are held to look at policies and procedures, but the complexity of participants' expectations reduces many of these efforts to a lot of talk, a few resolutions and a little action.

This is not meant to imply that such efforts should be shelved. It is simply to illustrate the difficulty of holding a balance between being comprehensive and yet specific enough to achieve actual results. It stresses the importance at such conferences of setting initial objectives which are relatively easy to attain and measure. If this is not the case, there is often a vacuum and little follow-up, despite laudable intentions.

A second constraint - obvious but worth mentioning - is *institutional incompatibility*. The diversity of policies, constituencies, philosophies, priorities, personalities, and arenas of expertise is enormous. Added to this diversity is the competition that results from limited money, power-grabbing, feudal relationships to geography, or general bull-headedness. All of these factors contribute to various difficulties experienced in dialogue. Some of the incompatibilities are quite objective, and it is essential to realise that some gaps *cannot* be bridged. A serious analysis of potential partners needs to be made, being careful that the more subjective elements of incompatibility do not always win the day.

The third block has been previously alluded to and lies in the area of a *lack of readiness for*, or *low priority* on exploring new modes of cooperation. This is sometimes mainly a problem of creating awareness. It simply has not occurred to some people that there is another way to do things. At other times, the root problem lies in a more aggressive isolationism and/or a deep conviction that there is only one way to do development. Cooperation cannot be forced, and, therefore, additional waiting or searching for partners may be required. It may also be that the political environment is not conducive to the process of dialogue, e.g. a group of NGOs getting together can often be seen as a threat to a government. Any one of these is a real limitation, and any effective strategy must take real limitations into account.

Finally, there is the *difficulty of sustaining the dialogue*. At least part of the problem here is that there is very little "infrastructure" for cooperation built into organisations. There is no one assigned to encourage collaborations; the number of demands on those in senior positions results in inconsistency of follow-up; there are endless transfers of personnel which disrupt needed continuity; the fact that there may be few immediately visible benefits or results is demotivating for many. Building a climate of confidence and creating the will to share power takes time - and at least a little bit of money. There must be a deeply individualised commitment to the process itself and a willingness to explore uncharted territory before sustained dialogue is possible.

Above all, there must be a commitment to communicate. Particularly in collaborative relationships, we often find that it is only in the actual doing of a project that the partners

discover what each other's *real* expectations are. The trust factor enters in full force and keeping the lines of communication open is essential.

### The Promise

So, why bother? Can't we really just keep going the way we've been going and hope it will all work out in the end? Perhaps. Yet a growing number of people believe that the creation of new practical modes of cooperation is life or death for effective development. If we continue to pursue our own organisational ends in a vacuum, the people we are hoping to serve will continue to be battered by conflicting demands and promises; we will continue to devise bigger and better macro projects that rust two years after the experts have left; or we will decide that our work is not worthwhile and give up.

Increased dialogue does not provide a problem-free panacea. It simply seems to be the next step in the evolution of the development process. It is a sign of maturity that we can entertain the notion of letting go of some of our cherished ways of operating and open ourselves both organisationally and individually to the fresh breeze of other perspectives. As in any maturation, there is a kind of dying that is never completely logical. This dying is, paradoxically, both inevitable and willed; that is to say, a new definition of development is emerging, and we can decide - or not decide - to participate in the redefining process. In developing new forms of working together, we find that our interrelationship with others is both fact and creation.

The challenge and the promise lie in a belief that nowadays, unity comes via diversity - not in spite of diversity and certainly not because of it - but rather *through* it. As we learn to appreciate and fully utilise different approaches, resources and perspectives, we will grow in our ability to be of service to the poorest of the poor. What more can we hope for than to be forever growing, learning and improving our methods?

#### NOTES:

1. Hyden, Goran "Enabling Rural Development: Insiders and Outsiders" in *Third World Affairs*, London: Third World Foundation, 1986. See also the preface to this volume.

## INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

During the 1980s, a number of initiatives have been taken to promote dialogue between the multifarious parties involved in development. Some of these initiatives have been on a grand scale, involving numerous participants from a variety of countries and of course, large investments of money, time and energy. Others have been quite local affairs, with representatives of development organisations at a region, district or even community level, coming together to discuss common concerns and possible avenues of cooperation.

In the remainder of this chapter, we have chosen to highlight three particular dialogue events that have proven significant for different reasons. Each is described in terms of its background, objectives, process, output and significance. In and of themselves, these three events may not be of long-lasting importance but each is part of an ongoing and expanding process of dialogue. When put together, they help to shape the thinking and practice of the international development community.

It is very difficult to assess the value of seminars, workshops and consultations. Certainly, the written reports that come out of them are one indicator and any new programmes that emerge might be another. But at this stage in the journey, perhaps the greatest outcome of these meetings is simply that we learn how to come together, trust each other and talk openly. In this regard, the process of dialogue becomes as important as the content itself and has a large influence on the outcome of the discussions. In the following case studies, this aspect of the dialogues is emphasized, along with the preparation and the follow-up to the events themselves.

## **THE ENABLING ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE**

Nairobi, Kenya 21-24 October, 1986

### **Background**

More than two decades ago, newly independent African nations embarked on programmes of modernization aimed at accelerated social and economic development. Many of these governments turned away from private enterprise and centralized development efforts in the state. However, optimism for rapid growth has long since faded and African leaders, especially in the past few years, have been engaged in an intensive examination of the roots of economic and social crisis. Faced with a range of complex national problems, African governments have not only declared their intentions to strive for reforms in the functioning of the public sector but have in many countries already taken steps towards policy reforms aimed at greater incentives in the private sector and greater efficiency in public investment and resource management.

This trend indicates a spirit of receptivity to new approaches in Africa today. In this atmosphere of pragmatic assessment of accomplishments of the past, the Submission to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis was an important statement. Jointly authorized by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity and by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa in May 1986, it acknowledged that the twin challenges of survival and development, in terms of employment, health, education and other basic needs, cannot be met by state initiatives alone.

The bold development process outlined in the submission, with fundamental restructuring and policy reorientation, should launch Africa on the path of self-sustaining development. Among the approaches being considered is the creation of an environment that will enable the private sector to play a more positive role in the development process through well-defined and consistent policies.

### **Objectives**

Receptivity to new ideas and a new spirit of pragmatism represented a rare opportunity to inaugurate a dialogue among governments, businesses and private non-profit agencies referred to as private development agencies (PDAs). The Enabling Environment Conference was intended to facilitate that dialogue and to suggest a range of practical policy options that might enhance the relationships between governments and the private sector.

## Process

The conference format - plenary sessions followed by working groups - was designed to stimulate informal interaction on the principal issues being considered.

To provide an intellectual framework for conference discussions, the co-sponsors commissioned a series of papers from a range of independent African and international specialists and organizations including the African Development Bank, the World Bank, UNICEF, the International Finance Corporation and the Council on Foundations. To promote constructive thinking and debate, the commissioned papers were divided into three broad topic areas, which were also the broad themes for the conference sessions:

1. The relationship between African governments and private business.
2. The relationship between African governments and PDAs,
3. The building of a meaningful dialogue among all three sectors based on the concept of "social mobility".

An Overview Paper synthesized the issues and recommendations contained in all other papers and formed the basis of workshop discussions. As a further aid for each workshop, participants were provided with separate lists of Issues for Workshop Discussion, abridged from the Overview Paper. Rapporteurs, selected from among conference participants, provided detailed notes on all plenary and workshop sessions. These notes were the basis of the Summary of Discussions and the final *Nairobi Statement*.

## Output

The conference output was summarized in *The Nairobi Statement*. Here, the implications for government, business and private development agencies (PDAs) were spelt out and collaboration amongst all three partners was strongly encouraged. Discussions were summarized under the following headings:

1. Indigenous and international business
  - the new recognition
  - policy reform
  - administrative reform
  - promotion of entrepreneurship
  - the small-scale sector
  - regional markets
  - the special case of privatisation of parastatals
  - policy dialogue: government/business consultation
2. Indigenous and international private development agencies
  - the challenge
  - PDA relationships with government
  - PDA relationships with business
  - relationships among PDAs



### 3. Social Responsibility

- the issue
- doing business in a socially responsible way
- other possible elements of social responsibility

For a complete copy of this report and other details pertaining to the conference, please contact:

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### Significance

This conference was a watershed in the international development community. So often, development practitioners, from grassroots fieldworkers to multi-lateral agency bureaucrats, have regarded the business community with suspicion, if not contempt. The word "multinational" has been associated with big brother politicking, profit-at-all-costs motives, foreign manipulation and much more.

The fears associated with such an image are not entirely without justification. Preoccupation with growth and production, we-know-best attitudes, westernization of traditional cultural patterns and more have been the hallmarks of a number of private businesses, both multinational and national, and often with disastrous results.

But it is equally true that many instances exist where expertise, finance, far-sightedness and commitment on the part of the private sector have contributed to lasting development. One only has to look at the record of the Tata group of companies in India or the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria, to see examples of this. (See Chapter 17, "Cooperatives: Key to Nigeria's Rural Mobilization" by Chief R.O.M. Offor.)

What is more, in a continent such as Africa, the private sector, both the for-profit and the not-for-profit, has a vital role to play in the development of nations, communities and individuals. Even a number of so-called "socialist" states have come to recognize this in recent years.

For the first time, representatives of government, business and voluntary agencies were able to come together in an open and non-threatening environment to discuss issues of common concern for Africa, and map out future directions. While the implementation of these directions calls for another level of commitment and participation altogether, the fact remains that a corner has been turned in the development dialogue process. At last, the private sector has been acknowledged as a fully participating and valuable member of the team.

In other parts of the world, particularly Asia and Latin America, where the private sector continues to play a strengthening role in the development of nations and regions, this participation is of crucial importance also. Examples of genuine cooperation and collaboration between representatives of the private, public, voluntary and local sectors are much

needed. The beginning point for this is getting all the parties around the same table and talking to each other.

## **PRACTICAL MODES OF COOPERATION**

Hunoldstal, West Germany 4-7 June, 1986

### **Background**

As a result of the success of the IERD event in India, the West German Government's Department for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) asked the ICA International to work with it to initiate a dialogue between bilateral development agencies and non-governmental organisations, to promote closer cooperation at the international and local levels. It was intended that this process begin on a very informal basis, building on relationships already existing between individuals in different organisations. Perhaps later it would evolve into something more formal, with structural implications for participating organisations.

### **Objectives**

The intent of the initial workshop was "to discuss the possibilities and constraints to cooperation among organisations in implementing Integrated Rural Development approaches".<sup>1</sup> The desired product for the event was "the elaboration of a process whereby those engaged in implementing Integrated Rural Development approaches (donors and recipients, GOs and NGOs) might move towards harmonisation of approaches and activities generally and in specific regions on an experimental basis."<sup>2</sup> The phrase "integrated rural development", which carried a number of varying connotations, was amended to simply "rural development".

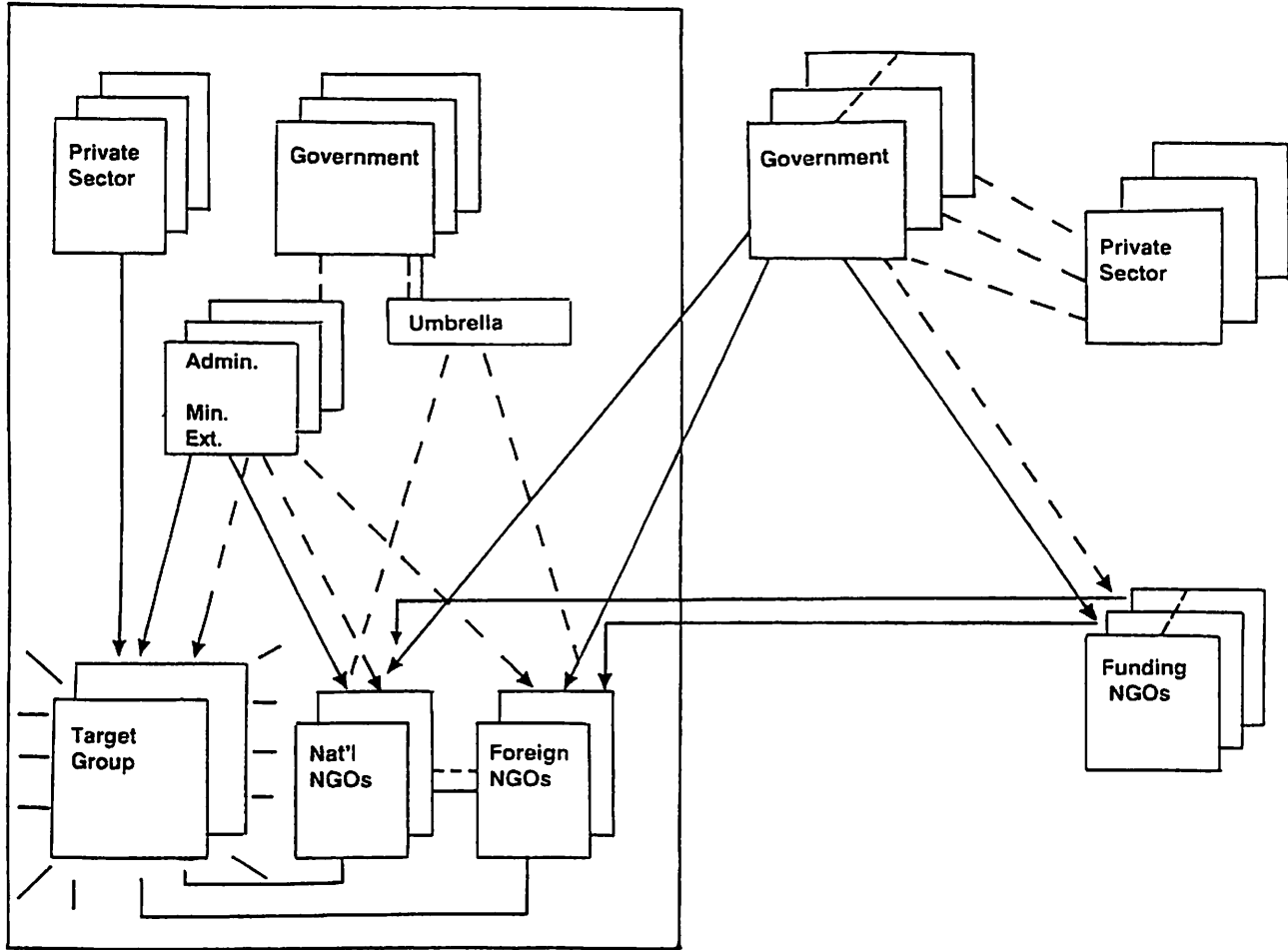
### **Process**

Participants came to this workshop in their own capacity, not as representatives of their organisations. They included academics, NGO administrators, bilateral development agency directors, private consultants and researchers. Countries present included Canada, Sweden, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany. The ICAI facilitated the workshop, which lasted four days.

The process was an innovative one that incorporated participant input to guide it as it proceeded. Beginning with introductions, everyone named what they considered to be the "edge" in rural development cooperation, and what questions remained unresolved in this area. The next step was to spell out each person's future vision for cooperation and the obstacles preventing that from happening. Summary charts were then made that pulled together the group's insights into a common picture.

In the next step, participants outlined the situation of NGO/GO relations in their own countries, which clarified the similarities and differences existing around the world. A matrix chart of the various organisations involved in project implementation was drawn up, along with a schema of the key relationships among them. (See Figure 2).

The final stages of the workshop looked at key fields of cooperation that need to be explored by those present in this working group. People were asked to name these fields, the problems they could expect to encounter and the practical next steps *they* could take to initiate activities.



**Figure 2. Key relationships in the development community**

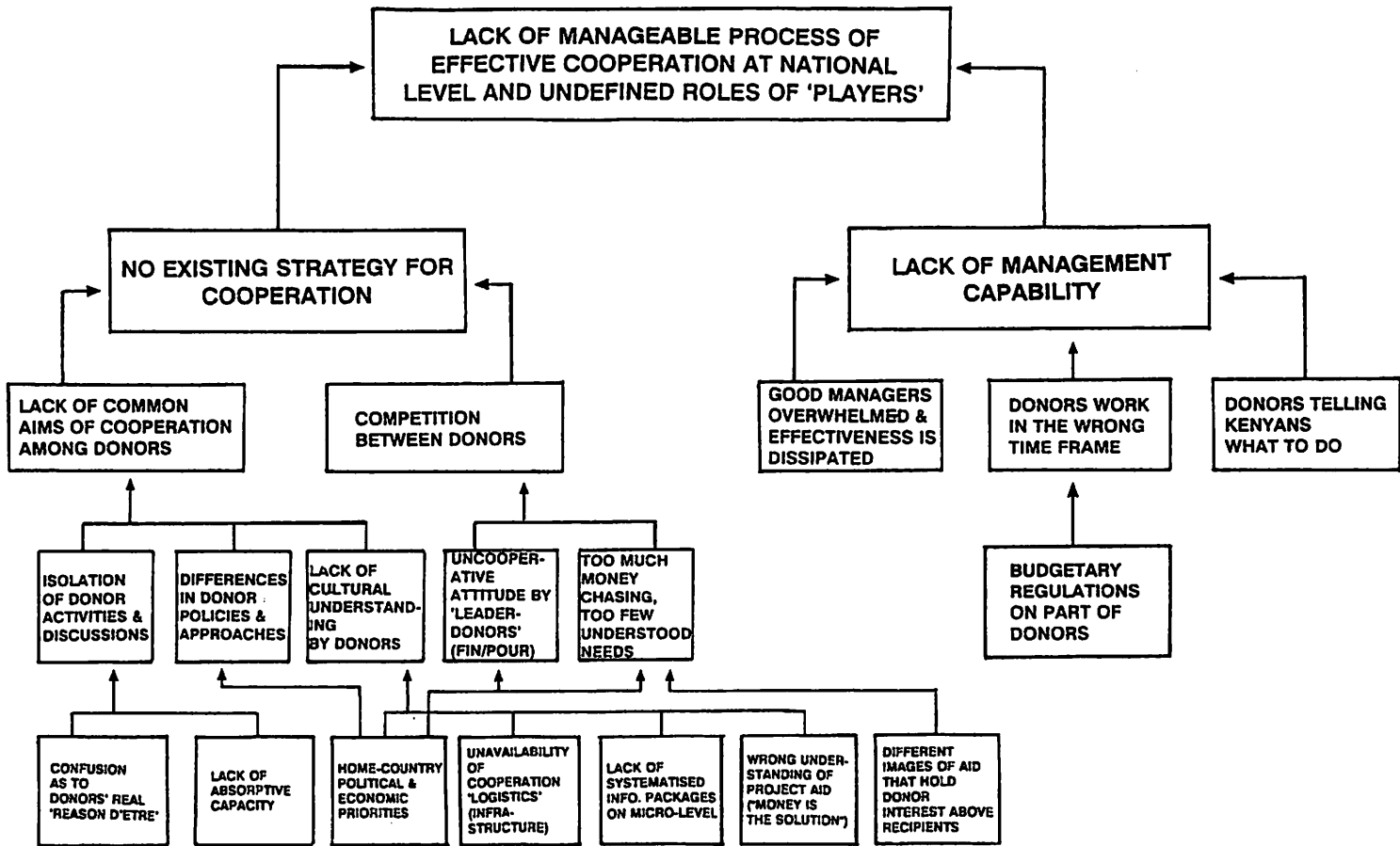


Figure 3. The problem tree

### Output

The group decided to move ahead in two arenas:

1. Publication of "state of the art" reports in the arenas of evaluation/accountability systems and social/village forestry.
2. Exploration of the possibility of a similar meeting on Practical Modes of Cooperation, between GOs and NGOs in Kenya, as a way of extending this dialogue to the in-country level.

The latter outcome was pursued by the ICAI and GTZ and resulted in a gathering of ten people held in Kenya in March 1987. They represented a small cross-section of bilateral and non-governmental organisations. The meeting focussed on problems of cooperation in Kenya, once again using those present as the starting point. It was held in an informal environment where people had the chance to get to know each other outside the narrower confines of their organisational roles and routines.

After some discussion, a core problem statement was articulated. It was "a lack of a manageable process of effective cooperation at the national level and undefined roles of the players in it."<sup>3</sup> Participants then asked themselves what were the contributing causes to the core problem. The discussion on this question followed the method of a "problem tree". (See Figure 3). People realised that the solution lay "not in designing an efficient decision-making system but in the creation of a complex, though well-defined interaction among the many participants in the development process."<sup>4</sup>

Several major themes emerged out of the workshop. One was the need for sustainable self-reliance and ultimate independence on the part of the beneficiary. Another was the need for greater aid coordination by the Kenyan Government. A third was an emphasis on greater donor/NGO coordination, perhaps by way of government formulation of sector or sub-sector strategies and programmes, which donors could decide to support. A fourth major theme was for increased information exchange which resulted in a proposal to create a coordinated information base amongst the different agencies. Since the initial meeting, the group has continued to meet to pursue these directions and further the dialogue.

### Significance

The Practical Modes of Cooperation (PMC) dialogue was initiated as an experiment involving different parties working in rural development. It was intended to be a very low-key, informal method of increasing trust and cooperation amongst such parties on a global and a local scale. The first efforts produced a desire on the part of most participants to continue the process.

One of the key aspects of the PMC process was the creation of appropriate methods for such a dialogue. In both Europe and in Kenya, a lot of individual conversations preceded any public announcement of the event. When it was clear that there was a groundswell of support to go ahead with the idea, the next steps were taken. After the proceedings, every participant was reported back to and in the case of Kenya, many others who could not attend were visited as well.

Although the facilitators brought a high degree of skill to both events, no doubt their greatest skill was flexibility. In the Hunoldstal meeting, the proposed format was modified

in the first session. Papers distributed before the meeting were put aside and those around the table agreed on a revised agenda. One thing that became very clear in bringing together such a diverse group of people for the first time was that they needed a way to articulate their *raison d'être* and to establish the common denominator that existed amongst them. These learnings and others were invaluable in the longer term task of designing a process whereby trust amongst different parties is built, cooperation becomes a real possibility and concrete action can ensue.

#### NOTES:

1. Institut für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten (1987), p. 3.
2. *Ibid.*
3. ICA: Kenya (1987), p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*

### EXPERTS' CONSULTATION ON "PROMOTION OF AUTONOMOUS DEVELOPMENT"

Noordwijk, The Netherlands, 27-30 October, 1987

#### Background

In 1983, the Ministry for Economic Cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany set up a task-force (ES-31) to study how development cooperation could be improved. The study focussed on how to support poor populations in their development, incorporating to a great extent the experiences of non-governmental organisations. The report "Approaches to overcoming poverty through self-help and target group-oriented financing instruments" contained the major findings of case studies. It was discussed at an international conference held at Feldafing, West Germany, in January 1985.

In the spring of 1984, Cebemo, the Dutch Catholic organisation for co-financing of development programmes, decided to follow the German model and started a reflection on the promotion of economic activities in rural areas through self-help organisations. Field studies were conducted in close collaboration with three partner organisations in Brazil, Indonesia and Thailand. The general findings of these studies were published in "Self-help Promotion, a Challenge to the NGO Community" by Dr. Koenraad Verhagen, the research coordinator.

In June 1986, a three-day meeting was hosted by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris, on the subject of "The Role of NGOs in Agricultural and Rural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa".<sup>3</sup> All government delegations also included representatives of the NGO sector in their respective countries. A number of African NGOs were invited and participated as special consultants. Themes of the discussions were: economic and income-generating projects, cooperation between NGOs and government, institution building and external financing.

On this occasion, the Dutch government representative informed the meeting that he intended to bring together the above-mentioned research experiences of Cebemo and the West German Ministry for Economic Cooperation. In February 1987, in consultation with the Directorate General for International Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands and the Dutch NGOs Cebemo, HIVOS, ICCO and NOVIB, it was decided to organise a consultation on a limited number of themes related to the earlier research and investigations.

### Objectives

The two studies (Cebemo and ES-31) left little doubt that there was a need to rethink, restructure and reorganize interaction among the various parties operating within the NGO system, and between them and government organisations. The objectives of the consultation were:

1. To widen the conceptual and empirical basis of the discussion on operational problems relating to self-evaluation, financing self-help and reshaping the NGO-government relationship.
2. To generate specific guidelines and measures intended to facilitate implementation of these new orientations in development cooperation.

It was suggested that these three themes be discussed from at least the following three perspectives:

1. A multi-level view, incorporating self-help organisations (SHOs), intermediate organisations (local NGOs, SHPIs) and funding agencies (INGOs, bilaterals and multilaterals).
2. Empowerment of the poor, including raising the voice of grassroots groups within the NGO system itself.
3. Creating space for "another development", i.e. taking a more holistic approach that includes social, economic, political and cultural factors.

### Process

It was assumed that the discussion and formulation of guidelines and proposed measures, if they were to be workable, realistic and effective, needed substantial inputs from all participants from both the South and the North. This was reflected in the final make-up of the participants, who came from governmental and non-governmental organisations in South and North countries, OECD representatives and members of universities and scientific institutions in the Netherlands.

In respect of each of the three themes, two participants were invited to prepare position papers, which were circulated before the start of the consultation. In addition, for each theme, there were two "discussants" who prepared short written comments on the papers. Input was provided by Mauro da Costa Souza, Rodrigo Egana Baraona, Thandiwe Henson, Bernard Lecomte, Horacio Morales, Jan Neggers, Karl Osner, Jan Paulus, Rajesh Tandon, Norman Uphoff, Koenraad Verhagen, F.L.A. Ward and Frits Wils.

The consultation itself lasted three days. On the first day, position papers were presented in two plenary sessions and one participant was asked to comment on the connections between them. Then participants broke into discussion groups, which were catalysed by the discussants presenting their short contributions.

By the end of the first day, working groups formulated the main problems and questions to which they wanted to address themselves on the following two days. They could split up into smaller groups to facilitate in-depth discussion of certain issues if they wanted to. The second day was entirely devoted to group discussions. During the third day, the working group began to consense on guidelines and implementation measures related to the specific themes of their discussion.

A small team of rapporteurs drawn from the participants was responsible for synthesizing the outcome of the various group discussions. Subsequent plenary discussions focussed on some of the major issues which emerged from the group discussions and which related to all three consultation themes. Presentations and discussions were facilitated by use of audio-visual aids.

### **Output**

It would be repetitious and not do justice to the quality of the work done simply to reproduce here the contents of the report on the consultation. Those wishing to pursue this matter further can obtain a copy of the report from:

The Secretariat  
 Cebemo  
 Rhijngeesterstraatweg 40  
 P.O. Box 77  
 2340 AB Oegstgeest  
 The Netherlands

A brief overview of its contents might be helpful. It contains the following sections:

1. An introduction with a summary of the two studies, Cebemo and ES-31, plus a discussion of the main themes, possible perspectives and key questions.
2. Preface by Mr Pieter Damen, Chairman of the Organizing Committee for the consultation.
3. Opening address by the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation, read by Mr J.B. Hoekman, with a report on subsequent discussion.
4. Abstracts of the six position papers on self-evaluation, new models of financing and relations between governmental and non-governmental organisations.
5. Synthesis of issues and linkages, by Mr Koenraad Verhagen.
6. Written contributions from the discussants on the three themes.
7. Reports from the working groups.
8. Plenary session report.
9. Appendices - programme and participant list.

### **Significance**

Under the rubric of being an "experts" event, this consultation brought together a number of highly experienced and well-informed people to discuss the topics at hand, all of which



are important issues in development at the present time. There is certainly a need for this kind of activity, involving diverse parties from both North and South countries.

However, such gatherings should not overshadow the fact that there are many others who could, and probably should bear the title of "expert", when it comes to development. Most likely, many of these people do not belong to known organisations and are to be found in a multitude of out-of-the-way places around the world. The exchange of experience and ideas amongst these people also needs to be fostered today. The IERD process itself was one attempt to do this.

Having said this, this consultation marks an important step in the promotion of dialogue amongst development partners. The fact that it was initiated by a government, the fact that the four major Dutch NGOs worked with the Netherlands government to organise the event and the fact that it attracted participants from both South and North countries, are all significant aspects of the programme. There are many hidden assumptions and biases that easily prevent such occasions from happening at all.

As stated previously, it is almost impossible to gauge the impact of a consultation like this. Certainly, the issues grappled with are pertinent to current concerns in development worldwide. But so much of the value of these exchanges lies in the sense of trust which is built amongst participants through face-to-face encounters. If other countries could take the lead set by the Netherlands in this direction, it will have been worth a great deal.

## THE COLLABORATIVE MODE

Anne Yallop

*Coordination, cooperation and collaboration - three aspects of a growing trend in the development community which acknowledges the reality of interdependence and the necessity of working together to enhance the effectiveness of development activities. In this chapter, Anne Yallop explores various dimensions of the collaborative mode - its emergence, its purpose, the pitfalls inherent in it and the phases it goes through. She draws on five examples of collaboration to illustrate her points and leaves us with some very practical lessons learnt from collaborative experiences.*

In his book *Community Management: Asian Experience and Perspectives*, David Korten points to both the potential and the necessity for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to consider that collaboration may be the most effective approach to ensure a maximum impact of their work in meeting society's needs. He notes that "private voluntary and humanitarian assistance efforts directed to the relief of Third World poverty have undergone important changes over the years as their practitioners have grown in sophistication and professionalism. Yet the true potential of the private voluntary development community to be a major force for self-sustaining broadly based development has yet to be realized."<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say that "the successful outcomes of a rural development initiative may depend on the PVO accepting a catalytic role involving collaboration with government, and a wide range of other institutions - both public and private - to put into place new policies and institutional linkages which enable rather than constrain self-sustaining local private initiative."<sup>2</sup>

As we contemplate the much unchanged plight of the masses still living in extreme poverty, it becomes imperative that something be done beyond the small-scale experiments in which NGOs have tended to involve themselves. As was stated at the "Collaboration at a Crossroads" workshop coordinated by the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) " . . . collaboration is not just a matter of pragmatic good sense or enlightened self-interest. Nor is it just a question of methods and techniques. Collaboration is a key component of strategies of development for the empowerment of local people through their full participation in development processes."<sup>3</sup>

## Fears of Collaboration

In November 1985, an international meeting was held in Geneva on NGO action to deal with the African crisis. Representatives from African and Northern NGOs, the United Nations, multilateral agencies, donor country umbrella organisations (EC, OECD) and several Ministries of Cooperation were present. A number of representatives of the World Bank and multilateral aid institutions "embarked on a big campaign to charm the NGOs. Let's work together, let's collaborate, let's agree, they proposed to the NGOs." The argument was put forward to the NGOs that ". . . if there is no coherent consensus among development agencies, governments will not be impelled to act to make absolutely necessary reforms."<sup>4</sup>

This and other statements, rather than encouraging NGOs to "work together", raised many of the fears that are present within NGOs as they contemplate "collaboration." "Neither the International Monetary Fund nor the World Bank care about the local populations and the African farmers," said a representative of one African NGO. NGOs rely primarily on genuine participation of the people by strengthening their capacity for self-management and resistance whereas the World Bank and the big international institutions tend to operate by means that perpetuate the African's status as a person on public assistance."<sup>5</sup>

Other fears were raised at the Geneva conference. One of these was the possibility that multilateral organizations were looking for "partners that come cheaper than expert bureaus." Another was that collaboration is just a "fad" that will go out of style in a few years. And a third fear was that multilateral agencies tend toward definite projects that must have short-term visible results while NGOs view the development process as "essentially creative and it eludes the iron choker of programming."<sup>6</sup>

The image of collaboration raises questions or anxieties in any configuration, not just those collaborations between NGOs and multi-lateral or government organizations. In any collaboration, if there is a dominant player, the others fear a loss of their identity. Another issue commonly raised is how to ensure that the local people's needs are the major aims of all collaborators and that the aims of the different organizations do not confuse the overall purpose.

## Emerging Consensus for Collaboration

In the previous chapter, "Partners in Dialogue", Sandra Powell makes the distinction between cooperation, coordination and collaboration. The latter implies an "actual working relationship, an active partnership in which two or more groups are doing something together."<sup>7</sup> It assumes the attitude of cooperation and can lead to coordination of activities between a coalition of organisations.

As we look back over the last 10-15 years in the development community, we can see indications that the pathway to collaboration was being laid. Many channels for cooperation and coordination were set up, and much has been learnt about partnerships in the process.

There are a number of signs that all sectors involved in development are now aware that collaboration is not just desirable but critical for the future. As early as 1975/76 the UN Non-Governmental Liaison Services (NGLS) were established in Geneva and New York. At first, their role was "to open, improve and sustain channels of communication between

the United Nations system and the publics of industrialized countries on the issues embodied in the call for a new international economic order.<sup>8</sup>

The NGLS has played an important role in bringing members from the UN and NGO organizations together at conferences for the first time. As well as helping NGOs identify other networks to join in collaboration efforts, the NGLS has itself become involved in collaboration with Third World NGOs.

1976 was also the year for the initiation of cooperation between development NGOs and the Commission of the European Communities (CEC). An Annual General Assembly has been held each year with its principal aim " . . . to give concrete shape to official European support for efforts to build solidarity between the citizens of Europe and the peoples of the Third World, devoid of all governmental or geopolitical constraints."<sup>9</sup> The importance of this is revealed by the fact that as well as the NGOs, ". . . many observers from regional and international NGOs and networks, national governments and inter-governmental institutions" are also present for each Assembly.<sup>10</sup>

Other signs of growing cooperation include the work between the Kiteredde Construction Institute and the Government of Uganda (See example 3, following), the International Municipal Cooperation Program joining First and Third World municipal administrators and NGOs together, as well as the many networks now established by NGOs themselves such as the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and Development Innovations and Networks (IRED). As another sign of increasing openness to collaboration, UNDP issued a booklet in 1985 on "Cooperation for Development: Guide for Non-Governmental Organizations wishing to collaborate with UNDP and associated programmes."

### Why Collaboration?

Writing from an NGO perspective, it is perhaps easier to identify why government agencies would benefit from collaborating with NGOs. The article, "Shelter for the Homeless in Africa: Joint Government-NGO Action" in the *Development Forum* (March 1987), summarized the reasons well:

*"NGOs have an advantage over government in that they can concentrate on specific issues as they arise, free from the morass of official regulations, procedures, committees, demarcations of authority and the delays of statutory bodies and departments. They can be more responsive to real life situations and can investigate new areas that are not yet the subject of official policy and procedure . . . NGOs can play an advocacy role identifying problems that the public sector should be addressing - and demonstrating how to go about it."*<sup>11</sup>

However, as the article goes on to say,

*". . . it would be wrong to suppose that support NGOs are a form of opposition to government. Ideally they are an extension of its capability, helping to deliver the national system of support to communities more effectively. They are specialist, sectoral, expert, task-oriented organizations, which sharpen the edge of public policy and administration."*<sup>12</sup>

NGOs however are usually limited in their ability to impact a large area. Collaboration with government and multilateral organizations can enable a much wider impact. Government agencies have the possibility of forming new policies to ensure a broad impact and

usually have the infrastructure to ensure the impact on a national scale. Multilateral agencies can play a similar, although less direct role. Both government and multilateral agencies can add credibility to the work of NGOs.

## Examples

### **The Development of People's Foundation, Inc.**

"In the Philippines, on the island of Mindanao, the Development of People's Foundation, Inc. (DPF) has grown out of a programme to train medical students by sending them out to provide health care in nearby villages. Eventually it evolved into a "second generation" strategy, forming community groups able to define their own health needs and assume the initiative in addressing them. This led to recognition of a need to prepare government health care providers to respond to the resulting community demands for new types of services. Consequently, DPF now gives major attention to working with government agencies at municipal, provincial and regional levels to create an enabling setting for self-help initiative in dealing with a variety of local needs. By special invitation, one of its senior staff serves as a member of the government's regional development council normally comprised exclusively of government officials."<sup>13</sup>

### **Cooperative Members Participation Programme**

In Kenya, collaboration between the Swedish Cooperative Centre (SCC) and the Institute of Cultural Affairs:Kenya (ICAK) led to the Cooperative Members Participation Programme (CMPP). It began when SCC approached ICAK to discuss incorporating ICAK's participatory planning seminars with management committees of six urban cooperatives in Nairobi under the auspices of the Kenya National Federation of Cooperatives (KNFC). This resulted in a series of eighteen such seminars with rural cooperatives over the next two years. These seminars included follow-up meetings and the training of facilitators from each of the cooperatives. This led to the following steps in 1986/87:

- Establishment of the CMPP as an ongoing operation by KNFC.
- ICAK sub-contracting services of its staff to conduct seminars in the field through a contract between ICAK and KNFC.
- The secondment of a senior ICA staff person to SCC to coordinate the CMPP. After the operation of CMPP for one year at KNFC in Kenya, CMPP has been expanded to "regional programme" status by SCC. This included the implementation of CMPP in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania, as well as in Kenya.<sup>14</sup>

### **Kiteredde Construction Institute**

This is a collaborative effort between the Experiment in International Living and the Banakarole Brothers, an all-African Catholic religious organization. The collaboration began as a response to a desperate need in education in Uganda. "Schools and institutions lacked books, materials, facilities and faculty. Tools and equipment were worn out. Vocational centres and construction firms were reduced to roughly 10 per cent of their former productivity."<sup>15</sup>

The Kiteredde Construction Institute (KCI) was established with a curriculum designed to provide practical hands-on training, specializing in the improvement of use and application of local building materials for construction of durable low-cost structures in urban and rural areas, as well as ordinary classroom work. KCI provides a comprehensive practical and theoretical programme covering all aspects of masonry, carpentry and building techniques. Other important elements are: scholarship assistance, the provision of tool kits to each graduate; the placement of each graduate in a job; the establishment and support of small business enterprises by graduates in the building field; and the development of standards of professionalism and positive attitudes towards work.

As a result of its success, KCI is being called upon by members of the public, government, business and private and local institutions to assist in the transfer of the knowledge and skills resulting from KCI's training activities. This in turn has led to the establishment of an extension service. This service is working closely with the Government of Uganda. Various agriculture, forestry and livestock district officials have worked side by side with KCI in developing outreach programmes to the rural areas. Government and KCI extension officers work together in solving problems that arise in the field.

#### **Chicago's Neighborhood Business Development Partnership**

Collaboration is also happening in urban and developed countries. The Chicago's Neighborhood Business Development Partnership (CNBDP) was established "to strengthen the ailing neighborhood economy through business retention, growth, attraction and creation for the purpose of retaining and increasing the jobs for local sectors."<sup>16</sup> This includes many different organizations from 4 main sectors: the "Public Sector" (e.g. Department of Economic Development); the "Local Sector" (e.g. 100 Neighborhood Development Organizations - NDOs); the "Private Sector" (e.g. banks, utilities, credit institutions) and the "Technical Assistance Sector" (e.g. NDO Coalition [CANDO], educational groups, Institute of Cultural Affairs: Illinois).

This collaboration has included strategic planning sessions, provision by public sector of funds to assist in the implementation of local development programmes, providing credit and assistance in feasibility studies, and "inside" information to assist potential business movements . . . the partnership is more informal than formal . . . Within the overall partnership, mini-collaborations are formed around specific topics. Included are: enterprise zones, small business development, women . . . protected manufacturing districts . . . early warning plant closing networks, etc."<sup>17</sup>

#### **The Dondolo/Mundonzovo Credit Scheme**

In Zimbabwe, eleven indigenous NGOs supported by one international donor, are cooperating effectively in organizing a low-cost credit scheme for rural women. "They initiated and operate the Dondolo/Mundonzovo Credit Scheme (DMCS), which provides loans from \$200 to \$1000 for small projects that reach into villages and rural areas where local groups are working hard to increase food production and economic self-reliance. The NGOs include several women's groups networks, cooperative and savings agencies, adult literacy organizations, and rural agencies."<sup>18</sup>

As well as credit, the DMCS also offers training in management and planning, technical skills, group leadership and identification of markets. The Credit Scheme operates through Provincial Committees formed by members, which are responsible for assessing

loan applications and allocating and collecting funds as well as organizing the training. Projects supported include crafts, farming, gardening, pottery, bakeries, pig raising and poultry. Most loans are being repaid, and many projects are also sharing information and helping each other in the cooperative spirit of the whole venture. Real benefits are resulting for rural women, who have had marginal access to credit.

## Learnings

During 1987, several workshops were held which brought together a number of different types of organizations involved in development to look at collaboration. Two of these are featured here. The first, "Collaboration at a Crossroads" was coordinated by the International Council on Social Welfare in Nairobi, Kenya, April 1987.<sup>19</sup> The participants for this included national NGOs and Councils, International NGO development agencies and funders, government agencies, UNICEF and UNCRD. The second, called "Under the Pipal Tree" was coordinated by the Institute of Cultural Affairs: International. The participants here were members of national Institutes of Cultural Affairs and also representatives of other Northern and Southern NGOs, religious organisations, private companies, academic institutes and research scholars. Excerpts from the reports of these two workshops are included here. The first is from the ICSW Conference.

## Key Findings

### 1. Empowerment

Collaboration is not just a matter of pragmatic good sense or enlightened self-interest. Nor is it just a question of methods and techniques. Collaboration is a key component of strategies of development for the empowerment of local people through their full participation in development processes.

### 2. Formal Mechanisms

Empowerment through participation requires organized collaboration, including formal collaborative mechanisms (councils, consortia) in addition to informal processes, forums and networks.

### 3. Coalitions of Change

Collaboration entails building alliances and coalitions for social change by the largest possible range of groups, interacting with each other on a regular basis. It requires conscious efforts to initiate, facilitate and promote linkages among development agents aimed at maximizing both actual and potential opportunities for complementary action, based on mutual self-help, for the benefit of the target populations of development.

### 4. Costs of Not Collaborating

In reality, collaboration for empowerment is not occurring as frequently, as adequately, as effectively and as appropriately as it should. As a result, there are many failures, including: a lack of involvement of target groups, especially in basic planning; over-looking of equity issues in policy planning and service delivery; confusion, conflict and misunderstanding in goal setting, planning and organizational relationships; inadequate

research and information sharing; duplication, waste, gaps in use of and failure to mobilize and optimise development resources; and poor performance by all sectors.

### *5. Recognize Different Interests*

In promoting and facilitating collaboration it is essential to recognize that different groups and different agencies have real, varied and often differing roles, interests and objectives. These must be identified as a first step in negotiating the possibility of mutual or complementary interests being achieved through collaboration. Failure to recognize this will result in failed collaborative efforts.

### *6. Strategies, Techniques and Skills*

Collaboration does not just happen. Like every other aspect of organized activity, it has certain basic requirements. There are strategies, techniques and methods which facilitate it, and there are particular skills which enhance our ability to create collaboration.

### *7. Essential Requirements*

Some essential requirements for collaboration include: specific and ongoing investment of time, financial and human resources; adequate and effective communication; consistent sharing of information; forums and channels for regular interaction between development agents; and respect for diversity and individual identity among all partners.

### *8. Guidelines*

Collaboration will benefit from the identification of clear and mutually agreed guidelines which establish basic ground rules for interaction between different sectors and organizations. The workshop proposed a draft set of such guidelines for relations between external and indigenous bodies, between governments and NGOs and among national NGOs.

### *9. External/Indigenous Relations*

The relationship between external and indigenous agencies (both NGO and governmental) is a critical area in development at this time. Three basic questions for international agencies are:

- a. Where does the primary allegiance of internationals lie?
- b. Who or what gives internationals a mandate to have an instrumental or operational role in other people's development?
- c. Can internationals play a useful role in facilitating and strengthening the national NGO sector as the main operational channel for development in collaboration with national government?

National NGOs also need to clarify and reassess the objectives, the respective interests and the terms of their relations with internationals. Only from such basis can the possibility of genuine collaborative partnership emerge.

### *10. Not Either/Or*

Collaboration is not an "either/or" concept or practice, in at least three regards. First, collaborative efforts don't have to start by trying to involve everyone at once - they can be initiated by small groups and then built up over time. Second, collaboration can begin with



specific, concrete and even short-term issues and initial successes can be used to promote broader, ongoing cooperation. Third, collaboration can vary in its degree of intensity of interaction - it is important to start at a mutually acceptable level and not have unrealistic experiences.

## Helpful Hints For Collaborators

Collaboration is *not* the lowest common denominator.

- The Beginnings
  - Start with a small group of collaborators with acknowledged commonality and diversity and vision.
  - Avoid elitism and encourage new participation.
- Self Awareness
  - "Know thyself" - what is fundamental and what is negotiable.
  - Be clear and realistic about the scope of collaborative effort.
  - Remember that organizations' identities are important to them.
  - Accept the limitations and constraints of others.
  - Openness of your agenda (vs. hidden agendas) is a key variable.
  - Have a long-term vision, but use the opportunities that present themselves.
  - Have the patience to wait for them.
  - Listen to criticism and take it seriously.
  - Informal work is *hard* work!
  - Don't "hog" the work yourself, and don't shirk it (i.e. leave it to others).
- First Steps
  - Have the group identify needs/concerns for collaboration .
  - Have the players clarify their objectives and plans.
  - Start with small steps and openness to being flexible.
  - Ensure early successes (probably small).
  - Provide regular information to the whole group on what is going on.
- Widening The Net
  - Promote shared ownership of the collaborative process - e.g. by sharing around assigned roles.
  - Get early involvement of people who will be implementing the plans.
  - Don't try to force cooperation.
  - Increase awareness of the future and anticipation of the benefits of mutual action.
  - Find pockets of informal time for talking.
  - Encourage overlapping networks within the whole group.
- Formalising The Process
  - Recognize the role of government in setting frameworks and guidelines.
  - Avoid identification with political factions.

- Form a broad-based coordinating body for guidelines and policy determination, and as a supportive constituency.<sup>20</sup>

The second extract is from a summary presented after the presentation of a number of case studies during "Under the Pipal Tree", including examples two and four in this article.

## Phases

Although each collaboration is unique, several common phases are recognizable:

### *1. Acquiring Credibility*

For an implementing agency, this means having something on the ground or acquiring a track record in training, local project implementation or some other arena. For a multi-lateral agency this means having recognition internationally, legally or financially. This applies to government or UN agencies, companies or indigenous organizations.

### *2. Discerning Common Interests and Goals*

This is the mark of the second phase in developing a collaborative relationship. Each party must have qualities that the other lacks, such that the collaboration allows these qualities to complement each other.

### *3. Formalising the Relationship*

At this point the trust between individuals within the different organisations and the common interest is built upon, and an agreement is made clarifying the roles of each party, setting particular goals and objectives, and determining an implementation and evaluation scheme.

### *4. Implementation*

A regular system of reporting is followed so that each party can monitor progress and alterations can be decided upon as necessary. Reporting is essential to maintaining the trust between the organizations.

### *5. Future Implications and Relationships*

These become evident, and each party finds itself in a new strategic position. A new phase of implementation might be decided upon, or links with other organisations might become possible. The results of the collaboration might have policy implications for government. In the case of a group of people working together informally the collaboration could lead to more defined relationships or goals.<sup>21</sup>

## Conclusions

Certain matters of organisational style must be addressed when considering the collaborative mode. Staff relationships, such as sub-contracting, seconding, must be considered. Length of staff appointments must be examined when individuals are foundational to the relationship with the partner. Methods may need to be adapted to fit the situation, and the organization must consider how much of its programmatic potential will be consumed by the collaboration.

To be effective in the collaborative mode, techniques and processes of collaboration must be understood or developed. Reporting and informing partners becomes a challenge but is critical in maintaining an effective collaboration. It may help to create objective criteria for inter-organisational understanding. Roles must be clearly defined and common evaluational standards must be set.

Collaboration seems to be an emerging trend in the development community. It is not an end in itself but a means to enabling development efforts to have a greater impact on society and on the policies that affect society. It has come to be acknowledged as a necessary direction for development to move in, notwithstanding the many pitfalls in its path. We still have much to learn about collaboration, whether on a small scale or a large one. But where such efforts have succeeded their influence has been significant, and as such, deserve to be pursued further.

## NOTES:

1. Korten (1986b) p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*
3. ICSW (1987a), p. 4.
4. Morand (1986), p. 15.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. See Chapter 4, p. 55.
8. Development Forum (May 1987), p. 14.
9. Development Forum (July/August 1986), p. 14.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Development Forum (March 1987), p. 10.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Korten, (1986b), p. 14.
14. Bergdall (1987), p. 2.
15. Caiola, Robert (1987), p. 14.
16. Troxel (1987), p. 3.
17. *Ibid.*
18. ICSW (1987a), p. 6.
19. See ICSW (1987a) and (1988).
20. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
21. ICAI (1987), p. 2.

## STRENGTHENING INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS

Terry D. Bergdall

*Empowering indigenous institutions is a sine qua non for long-term, sustainable development to happen. Drawing on his recent experience in working with cooperatives in east and southern Africa, Terry Bergdall examines some of the complexities involved in meeting this challenge. His article provides a very useful screen through which we can view the three case studies that follow.*

The logic is obvious: for development efforts to be sustained over the long-haul, strong indigenous institutions are required. Development activities simply cannot be imported from the outside, run on foreign capital, managed by expatriate personnel, and hope to achieve lasting results. Once the flow of money stops and technical assistants return home, such activities wilt and die. Locally grounded organisations are indispensable for durable initiatives to improve the quality of life - wherever in the world those initiatives might be. But like so many other good ideas, while the concept itself is quite easy to grasp, innumerable complications arise in its implementation.

However ironic, concern over strengthening indigenous institutions is a topic that by definition draws attention upon the role of external assistance. Only an outsider, or someone particularly concerned about the involvement of outsiders, speaks in terms of "indigenous" endeavors. This external presence should not be surprising. Daily one reads in the newspapers, at least in the southern part of the world, about some respected third world leader or another calling yet again for more support for development from the rich nations of the north. And to a greater or lesser degree, and of varying quality, there are efforts to accommodate these requests.

Many professionals and volunteers from distant lands come representing their respective organisations and governments seeking to find the most effective utilisation of finite resources to catalyse far-reaching and long-lasting development. Some of those are looking for quick results by outside efforts but they are the exceptions. Most who come are concerned in some form with strengthening indigenous institutions.

A "strong indigenous" institution is merely a "vigorous and viable" one run by local people. It 1) has a clear purpose, 2) satisfactorily delivers its services or produces its goods, 3) has competent management and capable personnel, and 4) has adequate financial resources to undergird its operation. These broad descriptions of a vibrant enterprise provide a general

screen for identifying organisational strengths and weaknesses. Following some such analysis, external development agencies seek to steer their resources in a consistent manner with the idea of strengthening indigenous institutions. A quick survey of the cooperative movement in Africa illustrates many of the practical difficulties involved in transforming that good idea into a living, breathing reality.

Cooperatives have a long history in Africa; their current manifestations reach back to the early days of independence. All of the cooperative institutional machinery seems to be in place. Even in Tanzania, where cooperatives were dissolved in 1976 and then re-established in 1984, the institutional framework is, in principle, operational and there to stay. The format is similar from nation to nation. Local cooperative societies exist in all parts of the country. District or regional cooperative unions have been established for assisting the agricultural cooperative societies in marketing and purchasing. Cooperative banks and cooperative colleges provide financial services and training opportunities. National apex organisations coordinate cooperative affairs as non-government entities while ministries within the governments oversee and guide the entire activity.

In many situations much of this institutional machinery works quite well. The primary cooperative societies and district unions in Kenya's rich coffee growing areas are a good example. Neighboring farmers belong to local cooperatives where they collectively do the initial steps in processing their coffee. They wash and dry it, sort it, and bag it for further processing. The district union then assists them in delivering their produce to market. The union provides banking services and does bulk buying of fertilizers and pesticides for resale to farmers at a lower price. These are crucial services that farmers in the local cooperatives cannot provide themselves. From the sale of their coffee, members pay the union for these services. The union realises enough money to hire, train, and retain capable personnel and to pay the rent, purchase vehicles, maintain equipment, etc. The system essentially accomplishes its purpose.

Strengthening mature cooperatives like these is usually a matter of continuing training of local personnel. There is always room for improvement, but the basics are there and assistance is only a matter of building upon them. Unfortunately, such situations are not representative of the overall institutional condition of cooperatives.

Many cooperative institutions don't have the financial resources to keep their operation moving. There is no money for the delivery of basic services. Equipment goes unrepaired, transport cannot be provided, training is postponed, extension workers do not get to the field. Farmers' produce goes uncollected and rots because of no transport and no storage facilities. All available resources are mustered for one basic priority: payment of staff salaries.

Should external assistance attempt to strengthen such a bankrupt organisation by just underwriting its operational expenses in the hope that soon it will be in an economic position to stand on its own feet? Should most monies go to capital improvements? When given the resources, many of these cooperatives do not have the skills to manage them effectively. Book-keeping is chaotic, planning is sporadic and seldom followed, and activities become paralysed in the confusion of internal organisation. Service to members seems to be the lowest of priorities.

What is the best way for external resources to strengthen the indigenous capacity to manage? Should attention be directed to technical training in the lower levels? Should the primary focus be the sending of senior management away for training? Should outside

"technical assistants" be sent for long periods of time to work side by side with local managers in the hope that "learning by doing" will result in a transfer of skills? How should the sources of external aid respond when such advice is ignored and mismanagement persists?

The complexity of strengthening indigenous institutions is painfully revealed. External development agencies obviously must establish their own strategy for responding to the situation. Most begin with a clear target audience; certainly those external organisations supporting cooperative development decided that to be the focus of their resources long ago. But still the requests for assistance are overwhelming. Strategy must be created to delegate scarce resources and must be done in a way to maintain a balanced perspective. Crucial needs contend with one another for immediate attention. In building a balanced strategy, it rarely is a matter of deciding simply "either/or", but rather "both/and".

Ideally, one would hope that such a strategy would be worked out in harmonious agreement between the external organisation and the local institution. Of course, the external assistance available is never sufficient to meet all of the requests. This is the nature of assistance negotiations. Priorities must be set and this causes a frequent and troubling problem.

At times a high priority of an external funder is given an extremely low priority by an indigenous recipient but is nevertheless accepted by the latter as a necessary concession for obtaining other desired assistance. This is high stakes gambling. By imposing an activity, an external agency is wagering that sooner or later the value of the activity will be seen and incorporated into the future fabric of the indigenous organisation as its own. Though not a very comfortable aspect to examine in light of the desire for indigenisation, it still is a very real part of the strengthening process.

Consider recent efforts to mobilise and empower grassroots participation of cooperative members. The whole philosophy of the cooperative movement is built upon ordinary people working together democratically to enhance their economic condition. The history of the cooperative movement in Europe shows that cooperative super-structures gradually developed in direct response to satisfying demands made by ordinary members. The success of the entire cooperative movement depends upon the active involvement of a general membership.

In Africa, the superstructure has often been built *for* a passive membership (or more accurately, a "potential" membership) that has little understanding of the real benefits of organising themselves in "cooperative" efforts. The cooperative machinery is superficially in place while the whole spirit and motivation of the cooperative movement, which is essential for its success, is missing. Because there is little appreciation for significantly involving local members, a suggestion for such a programme struggles to establish its roots in an arid environment. All money spent on mobilising local members is seen as a diversion of resources from capital intensive immediacies without seeing the future stability that only an active grassroots membership can render.

In this case, the long-term indigenous strengthening of the institution appears, in the short-term, to be an imposition from the outside. Yet it is addressing a deep underlying contradiction that is blocking the development of the cooperative movement. Far-sightedness, sensitivity, patience, and tenacity are necessary for those involved in implementing such programmes as the imaginations of existing institutional officials slowly expand.

Imported ideas always encounter difficulties. Following a structural model borrowed from Europe, some cooperative institutions have yet to find their authentic role in Africa. There needs to be the willingness radically to reappraise a support programme when long periods of external assistance have produced minimal results. Many of these institutions have become little more than comfortable sinecures. It may well be that a major transformation is needed to develop a locally appropriate function and that the artificial sustenance of an organisation by external means is postponing an honest day of reckoning.

In principle, national cooperative apex organisations are to serve as the clearing house for all cooperative activity within a country. They are to be the central coordinating body representing economic and political interests for cooperative members. They are organisations intended to be a creative counterbalance to government ministries in the dialogues which create national policies. Yet after years of external assistance, one national apex organisation in east Africa has almost no direct service connection in these regards to the rest of the cooperative movement. Cooperative unions, societies, and members do not support it and therefore do not "own" it in the sense that they expect anything of it. It is an apex organisation in name only. For all practical purposes, it is irrelevant. Yet it continues to exist on the basis of external support. It is difficult to see how any change will ever occur until that assistance comes to an end, forcing cooperative organisations to decide if they need and want such an organisation or not. It is not a question of resources. It is a matter of decision.

Too much assistance for too long can spoil any project when the desired objective is building a strong indigenous operation. An inherent contradiction exists in attempts to catalyse self-reliance when the primary strategy is granting aid. Inadvertent dependence emerges so easily. Perhaps the most difficult task in strengthening indigenous institutions is in knowing when to withdraw or withhold assistance for the sake of forcing an evolution toward independence. This is true at all levels of cooperative organisation.

One primary cooperative society in a Tanzanian village, after years and years of little activity, took part in a members' participation seminar, in which they planned to construct a small clinic. They made the bricks and organised workdays to construct the building. After waiting so long for someone else to do this project for them, they were very proud of their accomplishment. Their plans for completing the clinic included the stripping of old iron sheets off of a dilapidated storehouse and carrying them by hand to install them at the clinic.

A couple of days before moving the iron sheets, they were visited by a foreign "technical assistant" who was very excited to see the initiative taken by the local cooperative members in constructing their clinic. He was so impressed that he wanted to assist the villagers as an incentive to support their "indigenous" efforts in taking responsibility for themselves. Therefore, he suggested that instead of stripping the old storehouse of its old iron sheets, his organisation would purchase brand new sheets for their clinic. So the villagers postponed their workday and began to wait for the delivery of the iron sheets.

They were not immediate in their arrival, so the villagers went to town to visit the aid organisation to check on the iron sheets. When they went, they took along with them a long list of other materials they needed - paint, nails, locks, etc. Their strategy had changed from building their clinic with their own resources to seeking it from "external" sources. Months after cancelling their scheduled work day to move the old iron sheets, the clinic

remained unfinished and the cooperative members sat around waiting for the arrival of their gift.

One wishes that this was merely a fictitious fable for teaching a lesson, but it is not. Encouraging self-reliance and empowering "indigenous" organisations, whether at the village or national level, is a very difficult task.

This brief sketch of the issues and ambiguities involved in working with African cooperatives illustrates challenges in strengthening indigenous institutions. Reviewing the subject in general, however, has not satisfied the need for detail. That is to be found in the numerous case studies of successful efforts that have produced the desired objective: vigorous and viable institutions that are rooted in the local environment and making a difference in improving the quality of life for countless people around the world. The following collection of case studies offers some examples of the realisation of that objective.

## THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT INITIATIVE PROJECT

*Like many small, isolated nations around the world, Tonga has experienced growing unemployment and a subsequent exodus of its young people to other countries. The Youth Employment Initiative Project (YEIP) was set up as a way to address this situation. It did this by strengthening an indigenous non-governmental organisation, which in turn is now working to support other similar groups across the South Pacific region.*

### Background

The Tupuo Young Farmers Association (TYFA) was founded in 1978 to encourage ex-students of the Tupuo College to take up agriculture as a serious vocation. Initial efforts of the Association were directed at obtaining farming equipment with the assistance of overseas aid.

From 1982 to 1985, the Association continued to expand across the country with the formation of four branches on different islands. A National Board was set up to support and coordinate the activities of its member branches. Committees were also established with responsibilities in such areas as research and training, marketing and exporting and rural development/appropriate technology.

The 19-member board is carefully chosen with representatives from the government, private business, local farmers and supporting agencies such as the Development Bank. Each branch also has its own board. In addition, there are District Chairmen and local village clubs, many of which have been extremely innovative in local fund-raising efforts.

TYFA members receive many benefits. They are part of a group that shares ideas, learnings and experiences. At the village level, many clubs use the "kautaha" (group working together) as a way of supporting one another in working in the bush. Access to equipment is another benefit. Several tractors are owned by the Association. Members receive a reduced rate for hiring the equipment. Marketing facilities have also been made available to members in the capital Nuku'alofa and overseas markets in New Zealand have been made accessible to them.

Another feature of the TYFA is the opportunity for cross-cultural exchange. TYFA works very closely with the United Nations Volunteers Domestic Development Service. This



programme exchanges volunteers with particular expertise amongst NGOs. To date, 12 members of TYFA have participated in this programme.

### **Initiation of the Project**

The early beginnings of the Youth Employment Initiative Project (YEIP) can be traced back to the Pacific Training Schools conducted by staff of the Institute of Cultural Affairs. One of the common elements of these programmes was the number of young people involved, many of whom were assigned by the Village Officer and were relatively uninvolved in the life of the village.

Because of the growing concern about the future of youth in Tonga, conversations were held between ICA staff and others working closely with youth - in education, church groups, parents and elders. Conversations with the youth themselves underscored their concern to go overseas, seldom with any concrete goal or direction for their life. Out of these discussions emerged the idea of collaborating on a project involving members in small income-generating projects.

The advantages of this relationship were many. The TYFA was a recognised national non-governmental organisation with an infrastructure in place throughout the kingdom. It had authorization at the district and village levels and it provided a structure for supporting the ventures when the initial project completed. Representatives of the TYFA attended the International Exposition of Rural Development in India in 1984. In November 1985, the Taiwan Embassy sponsored two TYFA members to represent Tonga at the Asia-Pacific Regional Assembly in Taiwan.

The ICA brought to the partnership its skills at organising and facilitating a participatory process of planning and sharing experiences, from its many years of work with grassroots organisations in the Pacific and other parts of the world.

The YEIP was initiated as a result of an awareness that the future for youth in Tonga lies in creating an environment for developing entrepreneurial skills in agriculture, as well as changing the image of agriculture as a desirable and viable occupation. At the opening of the project, the Director of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) said, "the prevalent attitude toward farming is that of punishment for failing school exams and not getting government jobs. This attitude is behind the general neglect of Tonga's greatest resource for employment."

### **Preparation Phase**

The YEIP began with a preparatory phase which involved selected members of the TYFA volunteering to become the core leadership for this project. The purpose of this six-week residential training programme was to create a Project Leadership Team and to teach this team facilitation methods to be used throughout the year-long project. To enable these young farmers to continue their "bush" responsibilities, the training was held for four days out of each week.

### **Phase One: District Leadership Training**

The project was started with an eight-day residential training for District Leaders. It was held at the Mahinae'a Agricultural School. Forty-five men and women from across Tonga gathered to work together in sharing their concerns for the future of youth and agriculture

in Tonga and the Pacific. With assistance of resource people from MAFF, successful private growers and people in the private sector, participants created a "how-to" booklet for getting started in small-scale income-generating ventures.

The values held in the ventures were a low capital investment and a quick return that could be a base for future expansion. Participants were divided into teams and practiced doing a three-hour village meeting in preparation for Phase Two.

The last week of the District Leaders Training was to create a plan for the implementation of Phase Two. This involved Youth Village Meetings at the district and village levels. Participants returned to their districts with a plan in hand and knew when to expect the Project Coordinator who would assist them in implementation.

### **Phase Two: Youth Village Meetings**

Youth Village Meetings marked the beginning of youth involvement in the YEIP. Fifty-three villages across Tonga participated in this phase, involving 826 men and women of all ages.

The meeting had three parts. In the first part the Project Coordinator gave a short talk to introduce and explain the project and presented new images of agriculture as a vocation. The talk was followed by a workshop where participants had the opportunity to talk through their hopes and dreams for agriculture in their village and the nation. They also identified the blocks preventing these dreams becoming a reality.

The final part of the workshop and the meeting was when each participant received the "Income-Generating Ventures" manual. They were invited to design a plan for becoming involved in farming as a vocation. During this time, 69 young women and 269 young men enrolled in a venture, in addition to 386 men and women of all ages, making a total of 714 participants from 16 to 75 years of age.

### **Phase Three: Project Inspection and Interchange**

The major amount of time for this project was during this phase of venture implementation. The purpose of Phase Three was for participants to experience the role of the TYFA network as a means of encouragement and support.

Project Coordinators linked up with the local team every six weeks and involved TYFA members from other villages and districts as part of the inspection teams. The team visited each venture participant, recorded progress and talked through issues and learnings since the last inspection. Frequently there were new additions to the inspection roster as people began to see the benefits of the "network" approach to farming. Inspections were great times of interchange, as members of the Team shared stories and experiences from other districts and villages.

Venture participants commented on the incentive that the inspections provided. Some said that their old pattern of going to the bush whenever they felt like it had changed into one of regular daily visitations. In this way, they would be prepared when the Team arrived at their farm.

Phase Three also saw the initiation of a bi-monthly newsletter, which included inspection reports, news and learnings from throughout the Kingdom. A private company, South Pacific Limited, sponsored a half-hour bi-weekly radio programme which highlighted successful farm and handicraft ventures, as well as news and interviews with interesting local

figures involved in the project. This phase also had several training sessions based on the needs expressed in the various districts, such as use of fertilizers and how to obtain a loan.

#### **Phase Four: The Young Farmers Conference**

The emphasis throughout this conference was on interchange as a way of young farmers experiencing strength and support. It seemed that a natural ending to the YEIP was to bring people together from across the Kingdom to share, learn and plan together for the future of the TYFA and agriculture in Tonga.

December 1986 found village clubs and districts preparing displays of their efforts over the previous nine months. January 9 - 16, 1987, was when "young agricultural venturers" gathered together at Queen Salote College for eight days of talking, listening and celebrating together. Awards were made to individuals and clubs. The future of agriculture in Tonga and the Pacific had taken a new turn.

#### **Marks of Project Continuation**

The YEIP was one stage in the ten-year journey of the Tupuo Young Farmers Association. It was the year during which they worked intensively in changing the image of agriculture and in supporting young men and women who decided to choose agriculture as a vocation.

It established the fact that the Association had opened its membership to all who wanted to participate. It was an awakening tool that succeeded in not only stirring consciousness amongst the nation's youth, but also in revitalising a very significant indigenous organisation.

The work begun during the YEIP is being continued by the District and National TYFA Boards, as they keep working with their 500 plus members. The critical elements for this to happen are the local boards, the marketing committee, the involvement of the government and the private sector and the vision of local people being engaged in a meaningful occupation.

Funding for this project came from the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB). The Australian High Commission in Tonga linked the association with Queensland Rural Youth in Australia and are currently working on a youth exchange programme between the two countries. The linkage with UNVDDS continues to expand. Individuals have gone to Fiji to participate in other training courses related to youth leadership and agriculture.

Visitors to the Kingdom's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries are frequently referred to the Association as a demonstration of a non-governmental organisation working successfully with youth in agriculture. The major factor in assuring the continuation of what has been started is the involvement of the public and private sectors, along with the local people.

#### **Looking Ahead: The Pacific Youth Economic Development Project**

Building on the momentum created by the YEIP and the IERD events in India and Taiwan, the Tupuo Young Farmers Association has launched another important project across the Pacific region. Entitled the Pacific Youth Economic Development Project

(PYED), this 18-month venture is designed to strengthen, expand and sustain the linkages between creative economic development activities of youth in the Pacific.

Organised jointly by the Tupuo Young Farmers Association and the Institute of Cultural Affairs: Australia, the project seeks to:

1. Increase the mutual support and encouragement for youth economic development projects.
2. Build a base for future network relationships amongst youth in the Pacific.
3. Focus awareness on successful local economic ventures and discern the "keys" to effectiveness of these ventures.
4. Strengthen the efforts of indigenous NGOs for youth employment within Pacific nations.
5. Raise development consciousness within the Australian community and provide avenues for significant engagement.

The project is designed to take place over eighteen months, divided into four phases, beginning January 1988. The phases are:

1. Developing the demonstration project which includes upgrading the Mahinae'a Farm School, to be used as a centre for future TYFA and regional activities.
2. Researching and recording successful demonstration projects and approaches in countries throughout the region.
3. A 10-day linkage event in Tonga.
4. Documentation and dissemination of learnings.

### **Longer-Term Implications**

The launching of this project across the Pacific could not be more timely. When the small island nations of the region are struggling to survive economically and culturally, a grass-roots initiative such as this, which seeks to empower local economic enterprises, is extremely important. The emphasis of the project on the role of youth and women is long overdue.

What is most pleasing is the open-ended approach the organising sponsors are taking. By seeking the active participation of a number of organisations and institutions across the region, a strong network is being put in place that could well spawn other ventures in the future. To see an indigenous organisation like the TYFA itself extending its services to support the efforts of other NGOs and local people, is a most encouraging portent for the future.

## NIGERIAN INTEGRATED RURAL ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION

*The Nigerian Integrated Rural Accelerated Development Organisation (NIRADO) is a non-governmental organisation of volunteers in service to rural Nigeria. It was formed as a result of a decision of the Nigerian delegates to the IERD event in India in 1984. It is an indigenous organisation that is uniquely placed to influence policy and strengthen the capacities of other development agencies in Nigeria.*

### The Need

Because of its abundant oil wealth, the Nigerian government tended to neglect the rural sector in favour of urban development. With the continuous fall in oil prices and the resultant drop in revenue on which the Nigerian economy is heavily dependent, there has been a lot of rethinking and reordering of priorities on the part of the government.

Nigeria has learned in a bitter way, the vulnerability of a mono-cultural economy. The need for diversification has not only been realised but is now being vigorously pursued. The obvious option is to re-empower the rural sector.

For the most part, Nigeria is endowed with rich vegetation, adequate rainfall and a network of river drainage systems. In the few years since the oil glut, it has made enormous strides in food production. Bumper harvests have been reported in different parts of the country. High unemployment fuelled by large numbers of school leavers, retrenched workers and forcibly retired civil servants, has been diverted into agriculture with very effective results. The "school to land" programme has been adopted by many state governments.

What is missing is an effective rural development policy. This realisation has led the Government of Nigeria to establish a Directorate of Food Production and Rural Development, in the Office of the President.

### Background

The International Exposition of Rural Development was warmly received by the governments and people of Nigeria. A powerful delegation of fourteen people represented the country at the central international event in India in 1984.

The delegates were drawn from the public, private, voluntary and local rural sectors of the nation. They included medical doctors, university professors, agricultural experts, community workers, peasant farmers and illiterate but skilled village craftsmen. With such a broad spectrum of representation, the lessons learned from India permeated many different structures of society, even before formal efforts were made to publicize the findings of the exposition.

After the Indian event, delegates returned to Nigeria and formed NIRADO. The initial membership was made up of members of the National Steering Committee of the IERD, but has since expanded to include a number of other people from across the country. There is a current active membership of about fifty persons. The aim of the group is to apply the knowledge gained before, during and after the IERD to the development of

rural Nigeria. A particular concern is to share experiences with other African countries and with rural communities around the world.

### **Achievements**

The following list gives some of the achievements of NIRADO to date:

1. Publicity for the IERD event and the part played by the Nigerian delegation.
2. Registration of NIRADO to ensure continuity of the efforts and achievements.
3. Letters written to various organs of the Federal and State Governments, on the activities of NIRADO. A continued campaign has led the Federal Government to establish a Directorate of Road, Food and Rural Infrastructure. A proposal for "Rural Development Implementation in Selected Villages in Lagos State" has been submitted to the Lagos State Government for its consideration.
4. A number of individual members of NIRADO have received awards, citations, promotions and appointment to higher office. Dr. Temilola Kehinde has been appointed Commissioner for Special Duties in the Lagos State Military Governor's Office, responsible for Environmental Matters and Rural Development. The President of NIRADO, Mr Felix Akpe, has been made a member of the Lagos State Rural Development Council.
5. Participation in and organisation of rural symposia, farmers festivals and exhibitions.
6. Organisation of a solar energy seminar-cum-exhibition addressed by Dr. Bob Dunsmore of the San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association, Alamosa, Colorado, USA, whom the Nigerian delegates met in India.
7. Construction of a prototype biogas plant, donated to the Mayflower school, Ikene, as a demonstration of appropriate technology applicable to rural areas. Information on the biogas plant was gathered on a site visit in India and then from the office of the Indian High Commission in Lagos.
8. Holding of regular monthly meetings which have helped educate members through in-house talks, videos and film shows.
9. The donation of a shield for "excellence in rural development", given to the best farmer at the farmers festival sponsored by the Shell Petroleum Development Company.
10. The monthly publication of a rural development newsletter.
11. Conducting a training programme for the umbrella organisation of NGOs in Nigeria, sponsored by IFESH, the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help.

### **Future Prospects**

1. Extension of NIRADO by establishing branches in state capitals, towns and villages across Nigeria.
2. The establishment of a Rural Development Information Service.
3. The establishment of a Rural Development Consultancy Service.

4. Participation in the formation of a primary health delivery system in the Ndokwa Local Government Area of Bendel State, in collaboration with the Nigerian Institute of Cultural Affairs.

### **Importance of Nirado**

For Nigeria, the IERD seemed to come as the right thing at the right time. At a point in its history when rural development was emerging as an obvious need and a governmental priority, NIRADO was brought into being.

It is particularly significant that this occurred not through any external manipulations but entirely at the instigation of the Nigerians themselves. The wealth of talent, experience and commitment represented in NIRADO makes it a very impressive and potentially powerful group of people. Its connections with the public, private and voluntary sectors is one of its real strengths. Moreover, its close ties with local communities is probably its greatest asset. Many of its members are "sons and daughters of the village", who still maintain regular contact with the grassroots situation.

To assess NIRADO's performance to date without a thorough scrutiny of its activities and impact, would not do it justice. However, a few basic comments are in order here.

Many of the individual members of NIRADO are very capable of acting as consultants and advisers to other organisations in their own right. This is a great asset and needs to continue. But there remains the question of what is the strength of the organisation as a whole. What does NIRADO bring to the development community in Nigeria as its unique contribution?

There is one obvious answer to these questions. The high calibre of its members and the places they occupy in Nigerian society puts NIRADO in the enviable position of being able to influence governments in shaping policy directions for rural development. This process has already begun, as evident in the achievements listed in this chapter. It would do well to continue to focus its energy in this area.

This leads to another question, pertinent to this chapter. What does NIRADO need in order to strengthen it as a truly effective indigenous organisation, capable of playing a key role in the future of rural development in Nigeria? One basic prerequisite is that it needs to be in touch with other development organisations in the country, across Africa and around the world. Its ability to network and form partnerships with such organisations will greatly enhance its capacity as a voice for rural development in Nigeria.

Another need is to exchange some of its staff with other organisations, to the mutual benefit of both parties. With its high degree of managerial expertise, NIRADO might be the logical group to continue the "Sharing Approaches That Work" process throughout Africa, and West Africa in particular. By devoting its energies to strengthening lateral exchange programmes amongst African development organisations, NIRADO may find itself substantially strengthened in the process.

## ZIMBABWE: CATALYSING INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT FACILITATORS

*Zimbabwe sent four delegates to the IERD Central International Event in India, representing the National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, the Tangana Cooperative and the Organisation of Associations for Rural Progress. Following their return from India, these delegates have continued to catalyse further grassroots initiatives through their own organisations and as a network of consultants available to assist the ongoing task of rural development throughout Zimbabwe.*

### Training

One of the major needs of this team of people was to seek further training as facilitators of grassroots development. Several opportunities for this presented themselves, both within Zimbabwe and in neighbouring Zambia. They included:

#### 1. Human Development Training School (HDTs)

Kapini, Zambia - February 1985

Ten Zimbabweans attended this three-week event, co-sponsored by the Institute of Cultural Affairs: Zambia and the United Nations Volunteers Programme. During this school, participants were introduced to methods of participatory planning, implementation and evaluation, useful for work at a village level. In addition, guest presenters spoke on a variety of specialised topics, such as maize growing, primary health care and pre-school education. Participants had the opportunity to apply what they had learnt by working in a number of nearby villages, where they led community meetings and assisted in work days.

#### 2. The Human Development Training Programme (HDTp)

Weya, Zimbabwe - August/September 1985

Following their participation in the Zambia programme, the Zimbabwean delegates were keen to extend this kind of training to other rural development organisations in their own country. Four of them undertook further training that enabled them to work as part of a faculty which offered this training in Zimbabwe. Forty-three people participated in this event, the costs of which were completely covered by money raised from businesses and organisations within Zimbabwe. The participants included representatives from the National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe, a Local Government Promotion and Training Officer, a Community Development Worker and a member of the Association of Women's Clubs. In addition, there were many officers of Village Development Committees (VIDCO), Villages, clubs and cooperatives. The three-week programme followed a similar format to the Zambian event.

The participants and faculty divided into four teams: North, South, East and West. The teams, in general, worked at the grassroots level with the Councilors, Agritex Workers, Community Development Workers, the Local Government Promotion Officers and party officials. Out of these meetings, people created projects to do in their villages and workdays to begin new activities. The weekends were spent in Harare getting reports and doing evaluations each Friday night.



### **3. Village Leaders Implementation Training Programme**

Weya, Zimbabwe - 1986

As a follow-up to the Human Development Training Programme (HDTP) in August/September 1985, seven pilot five-day Village Leaders Implementation Training Programmes (VLITP) were held in five provinces during 1986. These VLITPs were led by Zimbabweans who had participated in the HDTP. They received a further two week's training, held at the Mukutu Cooperative, Weya Communal Lands, Manicaland.

The VLITP curriculum emphasized practical leadership skills, economic, social and human aspects of development, effective planning and implementation, proposal writing and planning and carrying out a community workday. A total of 341 people participated in these VLITPs, all of which were carried out in the vernacular. More than fifty percent of the participants were women

A number of local initiatives were generated through the VLITP. These included the digging of a community well, community toilets, the fencing of a community garden and the planting of fruit and eucalyptus trees. One of the most significant aspects of this training programme was the broad base of participation in it. This included Ward Councilors and Community Coordinators, VIDCO Chairmen and members and Local Government Promotion Officers.

As a result of the VLITP and the HDTP, there is now a group of seventeen Zimbabwean rural development facilitators. Many of these men and women occupy responsible positions in their own organizations. In age, they range from young twenties to over fifty, the majority being in the 25 to 40 age group. The two major tribal groups in Zimbabwe, the Shona and the Matabele are both represented in this group. This diversity of make-up is an important symbol in and of itself, in a country where such divisions more often make for discord rather than harmony.

### **4. Project Description Laboratories (PDLs)**

Building on the work of the preceding three years, the IERD team in Zimbabwe decided to turn its attention to another grassroots development project called Project Description Laboratories (PDLs).

A similar process of documenting local grassroots projects had been undertaken in Zimbabwe and other countries which sent representatives to the IERD Central International Event in India in 1984. In some nations, such as Kenya, the process has continued since 1983 and developed into an ongoing programme of self-evaluation.

In all, thirty PDLs were carried out in six of the eight provinces of Zimbabwe. The PDLs gave local indigenous groups the opportunity to stand back from their day-to-day activities, reflect on what they had learnt and make some new decisions about the future. Perhaps most of all, they provided the occasion for many organisations to begin to link up with other similar groups and with organisations in the wider development community.

Most of the PDLs were carried out with pre-cooperatives (women's and farmers' clubs) in many of the same villages where the team had worked previously doing Village Development Meetings as part of the HDTP. An important factor in doing the PDLs across Zimbabwe was the encouragement given by the Minister for Cooperative Development.

Many of the groups where a PDL took place have since initiated projects of their own, ranging from soap-making to bakeries to pig-keeping to fishing. Six of them, four of which were women's groups, have received funds from international agencies in support of their efforts. One such project is of particular significance and is discussed in greater detail below.

### **5. The Murindagomo (Ward 16) Reforestation Project - MREAFORP**

MREAFORP's aim is to deal seriously with the rapid deforestation that has already denuded some of the other communal lands in Chinoyi District, Mashonaland, Western Province, where cowdung is being used instead of firewood. In Murindagomo, maize usually fails unless manure is used to aid water retention.

In the past, all trees planted by VIDCOs and 90% of those planted by WADCO failed to survive, due to several adverse factors:

1. Physical conditions - heat, drought and poor, rocky soils
2. Predators - termites, cattle, goats and wildlife
3. The human factor - lack of care, caused by:
  - a. Uncertainty about ownership - if the trees belong to the community as a whole, people wonder who will benefit.
  - b. Trees are a long-term investment with no certainty of reward, especially in hot, dry, termite-infested areas where there is no fencing to protect young trees
  - c. Reluctance on the part of committees to go and get their hands dirty, after having made all the plans
  - d. Land preparation (ploughing, hole digging, etc) is normally left until just before the rains, when the ground is too hard for oxen to plough or to dig holes easily.

In addition to attempting to plant and care for trees in sufficient numbers to satisfy the fuel and building needs of the ward, MREAFORP encourages the establishment of trees for other purposes, especially fruit, as there is very little fruit available in the ward apart from the rapidly dwindling indigenous resources.

Since National Tree Day in December 1987, 7,800 eucalyptus trees have been planted at local primary and secondary schools, as well as trials for six strains of neem trees for both firewood and agroforestry, and 95 citrus trees. These were recommended by Agritex's Chief Crop Officer. As a cheaper alternative to normal permanent fencing, an experimental solar-powered electric fence has been designed, with funding coming from the Canadian High Commission.

MREAFORP is coordinated by the Murindagomo Ward Reforestation Action Guild which includes the Ward Councillor, VIDCO Chairmen, three school head teachers, the Agritex and Community Development Workers and representatives of women's and farmers clubs. Guild members pledge themselves personally to participate in whatever action is required to establish and care for trees.

### Implications

The impact of the IERD in Zimbabwe has been significant, be it on a limited scale. A team of seventeen committed indigenous people from a variety of organisations is a great asset in a country like Zimbabwe. Their willingness to work together across traditional barriers for the acceleration of human development in their country is an invaluable asset. Their decision to operate as a mutually supportive network, rather than as competitors, is a lesson which many others could do well to learn from.

The question of what is required to strengthen and sustain such a group is key. They will most certainly need periodic inputs from outside themselves, if they are going to continue to play a catalytic role in Zimbabwe. Such inputs are most likely to come from other professional development agencies within Zimbabwe, as well as from the linkages they can form with other like-minded groups in neighbouring frontline states of southern Africa.

Many countries in this region look to Zimbabwe for a lead - in political, economic and cultural areas of life. This is just as true for the all-important arena of grassroots human development. The IERD team in Zimbabwe has made an important beginning in this direction.

## STRENGTHENING PROJECT - AFRICA

*One of the most significant recent efforts at increasing indigenous development capacity is the project known as "Development and Strengthening of National Councils on Social Welfare in the African Region", undertaken by the International Council on Social Welfare. The following excerpts are taken from the Final Report prepared by the ICSW General Secretariat.*

### Background

The Strengthening Project-Africa was initiated in 1983 by an ICSW African Regional Meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe. The goal of the project was "to strengthen the functions, programmes, organisational capacity and networks of five or six national Councils on Social Welfare in Africa, to enable those councils more effectively and efficiently to contribute to the social development of their country and its people." In the estimation of the organisers, this goal has been achieved. However, they go on to point out that "while not everything which was initiated came to fruition, and a number of setbacks and disappointments were encountered, the overall results and most specific outcomes give cause for satisfaction."<sup>1</sup>

Seven countries were involved through all phases - Zimbabwe, Zambia, Uganda, Tanzania, Mauritius, Malawi and Botswana. In addition, the Kenya National Council became closely involved in a number of the regional activities originated through the project. The decision to involve seven then eight countries was taken because of the strong interest and commitment shown by the National Councils, a key factor taken in the approach taken by ICSW.

### Project Phases

The project was designed to be implemented in four separate but interrelated phases:

*Phase One: Initiation and Planning (March 1983 - March 1984).*

This involved the overall planning of the project, fund raising and field visits to each of the countries and Councils, to assess the current situation and to identify possible directions for action.

*Phase Two: Training Programme and Action Plans (January - August 1984).*

The central feature of this phase was a four-week regional training workshop covering all aspects of the role and functions of National Councils in social development in Africa.

*Phase Three: Implementation of Action Plans (September 1984 - April 1986).*

This phase was the major focus for direct involvement by ICSW in supporting the organisational and programme developments initiated by councils, according to their Action Plans.

*Phase Four: Monitoring, Evaluation and Follow-Up (May 1986 - April 1987).*

During this phase, ICSW's direct role diminished as Councils' activities became self-generating and consolidated.

### **Project Methodology**

The project was designed as an organisational development intervention in the ongoing life of each Council. Control of the intervention process remained throughout with each Council. A variety of methods and processes were used at different stages and with different Councils. These included:

- Procedural guidance, content input and facilitation of links with new constituencies and key people, in catalysing internal reviews, evaluations and forward planning by Councils.
- Formal training courses and workshops, both project-wide and at national level.
- Consultancy and advice to staff and officers of councils through in-service follow-up of formal training and field visits to assist in review, planning and organisational restructuring.
- Peer-based skills and knowledge exchange, which were built into the design of the training workshop and also through information sharing, regional workshops and the personnel exchange programme.
- Work with Councils to develop ongoing networks and programmes emerging from the project itself.
- Assistance to Councils in obtaining financial and other resources for their Action Plans, both by acting as a direct broker of funds in the short-term and through advice in preparing proposals and contact with potential donors.

In every case, the choice of type of intervention, the degree of its use and the mix of methods was decided in light of the objective that Councils should not become dependent upon the project or the ICSW. In only one case did this appear to be happening and the ICSW suspended intervention, but only after careful discussion and repeated notice.

### **Project Outcomes**

There are several reasons why it is not a straightforward matter to describe the project outcomes. First, the identifiable results differ in nature and are themselves part of a continuing development process. Second, the project is one intervention among many in the life of the Councils and it is not possible to say what resulted from which particular factors. Third, it is in the nature of organisational development projects that results often take some time to emerge and in fact change over time.

However, certain effects are noticeable and are listed here. They include those outcomes within the ICSW, within the National Councils and within the broader regions of Africa.

#### *1. Individual National Councils*

The project Final Report provides detailed information on developments within each national Council during the project. Obviously these are difficult to summarize for eight countries. However, the evaluation of the project did show that it achieved the following objectives to a substantial degree, not always in every Council, but usually in most:

- a. It improved the social development knowledge and skills of Council staff and other personnel.
- b. It assisted Councils to improve their ability to promote coordination and to develop more effective networks among NGOs, Government and international agencies.
- c. It helped Councils to implement and promote strategies to increase participation in development activities.
- d. It provided technical assistance and advice to improve specific aspects of each Council's operations which needed strengthening.
- e. It enhanced Councils' overall organisational capacities to enable them to maintain and expand their roles.

#### *2. ICSW NGO Development Programmes*

Within ICSW, the project has catalysed the emergence of a range of "NGO Development Programmes" as a major component of ICSW's World Programme. The programmes include training courses, personnel exchange schemes, skills development workshops, network building, special interest workshops and seminars, consultancies and information sharing. They focus on policy and programme development, communication, NGO management, institution building, South-South and North-South issues, collaboration and self-reliance.

#### *3. Global Management Network*

During the project, training and management services for NGOs emerged as a priority concern for National Councils. This led ICSW to consult with other organisations active in this area, particularly the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA). In February 1985, ICSW co-sponsored with ICVA and Development Innovations and Networks (IRED), an international seminar on "NGO Management Development and Training" in Geneva. That seminar inaugurated the global NGO Management Network, which

has since organised several sub-regional seminars and networks in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

#### *4. Self-Reliance in Social Development*

The project catalysed a global seminar on "Self-Reliance in Social Development: Roles of National Councils and International Agencies," held in Tokyo in September 1986. The seminar drew heavily on African social development experience. The proceedings have been published by ICSW and have become an important statement on key issues in North/South development.

#### *5. NGO Management and Training Seminar and Network*

The first sub-regional seminar of the global NGO Management Network was organised in Nairobi in April 1986. It was co-sponsored by ICSW and ICVA in cooperation with the Kenya National Council, VOICE (Zimbabwe) and the regional African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) and All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). As well as making an important contribution to identifying and analysing NGO management issues and directions in East and Southern Africa, the seminar decided to create NGOMESA - the NGO Management Network for East and Southern Africa. NGOMESA has its secretariat at VOICE in Zimbabwe. It held a second seminar in Mombasa, Kenya in May 1987, focused on developing strategies to support national NGO management units, based in National Councils or similar consortia agencies.

#### *6. African NGO Training Exchange Programme*

A direct outcome of the project was the launching of the African NGO Training Exchange Programme, supported by the Commonwealth Foundation. This programme, initially suggested by the participants in the Project Training Workshop, provides funds for the exchange of personnel between African countries in order to develop skills and experience in both NGO management services and other innovative social programmes. Although initially restricted to the project Councils plus Kenya, it has now been expanded to all Commonwealth countries.

#### *7. Mobile NGO Training Courses*

Closely related to the two previous outcomes was an initiative by VOICE to offer mobile training courses to other project Councils. During 1986, courses on "Planning of Income Generating Projects" and "Communication for NGOs" were held in Zambia, Botswana, Mauritius and Uganda. These courses brought people from several countries to Zimbabwe to participate. They then acted as co-trainers for the same courses back in their own countries.

#### *8. Collaboration At A Crossroads Workshop*

Another direct result of the project is a new ICSW NGO development programme called "Collaboration At A Crossroads". This focuses specifically on developing practical strategies and methods for improving opportunities for and the effectiveness of collaboration among NGOs, between NGOs and governments and between bodies at the national and international levels. This global programme was initiated in the African Region with a workshop in Nairobi in April 1987. It was attended by all project Councils except

Botswana, plus Kenya and Ghana, as well as international NGOs and inter-governmental agencies. The programme will continue over the next two years.<sup>2</sup>

### *9. Highlighting the Role of National Councils*

The project has drawn attention to the role and functions of National Councils in Africa, during a period when Africa itself has been the focus of much attention because of drought and food crises. Evaluations of those crises have pointed to the need to build and strengthen indigenous social institutions. ICSW has used project documentation and consultations to highlight the role of National Councils with international agencies, donors and intergovernmental organisations.

### *10. Training Workshop*

This workshop provided an important skills development opportunity for key personnel from all Councils. It provided a model for the value of exchange among African Councils and countries. A number of Councils have used the workshop programme and resource materials in their own NGO training courses.

### *11. Action Plans*

All Councils developed multi-year Action Plans to guide their future organisational and programme development. In most cases, this was the first time that such a planning tool had been created or used. Most Councils have revised and extended their initial Plans through consultation with their members.

### *12. Financial Assistance*

All Councils received at least some financial assistance through the project. Every Council received a seeding grant of US\$5,000, negotiated by ICSW, from UNICEF. These grants were used for a variety of purposes including equipment, workshops, conferences and NGO training workshops. The project has also assisted several Councils in seeking programme funds.

### *13. Inter-Council Links and Cooperation*

The project has resulted in stronger and more frequent links and cooperation among most of the participating Councils. This has been observed in the exchange of information, more frequent communication among Councils on matters of mutual interest and greater interaction of personnel from Councils.

### **Characteristics of Successful National Councils**

One of the by-products of the project was greater clarity on what constitutes a successful National Council. It will:

1. Have a high degree of consensus around a small set of mutually reinforcing objectives, which arise from and give reality to the Council's purpose and identity.
2. Have a sound understanding of, and a positive and empathetic relationship with the social and organisational environment in which the Council exists. Its functions and programmes will be responsive to this environment.

3. Have good linkages and relationships with its member organisations, which are actively involved in and committed to the Council and its programmes.
4. Be a key pivot in a broader collaborative national network which links different social sectors and reaches all levels of social organisations.
5. Have an effective and open communication system and efficient information services which deliver appropriate, succinct, targeted and useful information to its members and its networks.
6. Have a competent, committed, well-organised and democratic leadership team of elected officers, committee members and staff.
7. Have flexible, efficient and action-focused management structures and processes which provide the Council with sound strategising, decision-making and implementation capacities.
8. Have an adequate and diversified resource base which provides reliable core-funding under Council control, in addition to any project funding. Resources will be utilised to the maximum through efficient and disciplined procedures and creative and imaginative structures.
9. Have built-in processes for organisational growth and adaptation which ensure that there is an appropriate synthesis of continuity and change in the Council's life-cycle.
10. Have a well-balanced set of programmes which reflect the interest of disadvantaged groups, council members and the Council itself; which advance equally each of a Council's key roles of coordination, membership service and innovation; and which are appropriate to the capacities and limitations of the Council.

### Conclusion

As umbrella bodies that serve their own members and as organisations that have an influence on policies of their governments, these Councils are a critical link in the chain of development. The strengthening of these organisations is an important task, to which the Strengthening Project - Africa has made an important contribution.

Moreover, the project has provided a prototype for other similar projects in different parts of the world. This has already happened in the case of the ICSW network and in the setting up of the NGO Management Network. One looks forward to hearing of other examples where this pioneering effort has catalysed new initiatives.

### NOTES:

1. ICSW (1987b), p. 1.
2. See Chapter 5, "The Collaborative Mode".



# MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT FOR VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Piers Campbell

*Effective management is now accepted as one of the primary factors determining the success of development programmes. Significant resources have been allocated to programmes designed to improve the management capacities of development organisations, not least of non-governmental organisations. However, there is no consensus concerning the nature of NGO management principles and practices. In this paper, Piers Campbell explores the various influences on NGO management and presents a tentative model for analysing the factors involved.<sup>1</sup>*

## The Nature of Management

NGOs have traditionally regarded the idea of management with considerable suspicion. There are a variety of reasons. Most of the current management ideas have emerged from the commercial sector and hence have a "for-profit" connotation. At the same time, management is equated with the "employers" in the traditional industrial context and is sometimes considered to be a set of techniques to justify hierarchical authority. In the same context, management is associated with efficiency and productivity whereas many social development agencies have traditionally emphasized "good works" and "commitment" as more important values. Finally, management is often seen as an imposition by the North on the South, or by the donors on the recipient organizations. NGOs' suspicions towards management are based on a number of misconceptions about the nature of management, which themselves stem from the mistaken idea that management is alien to NGOs.

## Management is Essential to All Organizations

There is nothing intrinsically good or bad or alien about management. It simply defines a function or a process that any organization needs, if it is to be effective. This applies to all organizations, from the small cooperative to the transnational corporation.

There are many definitions of management. Some of them are based on the traditional concept of "working with, and through, others in order to achieve the organization's goals

and objectives". A more recent definition is "a process of mobilizing resources towards a given purpose".<sup>2</sup>

Some specialists prefer to define the essential tasks or functions of management referring, for example, to the importance of integrating the organization in society, defining the organization's purpose and strategy, obtaining the resources and implementing the standard management functions in order to ensure the desired outputs and results.

These tasks or functions are essential to all organizations, whether they are commercial or non-profit-making, small or large, operational or funding. Even the smallest, unstructured organization (or project) needs to plan ahead, to share out responsibilities, to have some form of leadership, to involve people and to evaluate its activities.

### **Organizational Culture**

Although management itself is essential to all organizations, this does not mean that all management principles, tools and techniques are necessarily relevant to each organization.

Organizations tend to have a dominant "organizational culture" which strongly influences the way the organization is run.<sup>3</sup> The organizational culture is rarely articulated or defined but it determines or should determine the structure, systems, tools and techniques for the organization.

There are many factors that affect the organizational culture: the purpose and values of the organization, the cultural environment, the different forces that have power in, and over, the organization (constituency, donors, constitutional bodies, staff, target groups), size, and the organization's history and origins.

The great variety of these factors indicates that organizations must have very different cultures and that these cultures will gradually change. It is also clear that there is not nor can there be only one "correct" way of managing an organization. It is, however, vital that the organization's culture is consistent and appropriate, firstly, within the organization itself and, secondly, with respect to the context of the organization's activities.

### **Management Skills and Techniques**

The importance of the concept of organizational culture can be seen in the distinction between skills and techniques. The traditional management functions are commonly defined as: planning, organizing, directing, staffing, controlling, and evaluating. These are, however, fairly abstract and it is more useful to think in terms of the skills required by managers to exercise these functions. Examples of the most important skills are:

Planning	Needs Assessment
Problem-solving	Time Management
Decision-making	Supervisory Skills
Conflict Resolution	Writing Skills
Leadership And Delegation	Financial Management
Team-building	Staff Development
Communication	Change Management
Organization	Project Management
Monitoring and Evaluation	Recruitment

NGOs would add to this list the skills relating to fund-raising, donor relations and the participation of target groups in their programmes. These skills are required by most managers, irrespective of the types of organization. The implementation of the skills, however, requires a set of tools and techniques that are greatly influenced by the organization's values, purpose and activities.

The distinction between skills and techniques is crucial. The planning skill should not be rejected by an NGO simply because one particular system (for example, "Management by Objectives") turns out to be inappropriate for its needs. Conflict resolution is required in most organizations but many of the existing techniques in the North (for example, confrontation) are unacceptable in other cultures. There are dozens of different problem-solving models and theories on leadership, all of which have originated from very specific cultural and organizational situations.

In the past, the development of management skills has been regarded simply as a question of the transfer of techniques. This misconception explains the failure of many management programmes for organizations with different cultural environments and values.

### **Structures, Systems and Procedures**

The distinction between skills and techniques can be applied to other aspects of management. Every organization has structures, systems and procedures. The choice of any particular structure or system, however, should depend on the function and nature of the organization.

### **NGO Management Principles and Practices**

So far, it has been argued that, firstly, management is essentially a set of functions that all organizations require. In a sense, management can also be seen as a process and it cannot, therefore, be dismissed as being irrelevant to the needs of NGOs. Secondly, each organization tends to have a dominant organizational culture that strongly influences its choice of structure, management tools and techniques, and administrative systems.

The following sections discuss three schools of thought concerning the development of NGO management principles and practices. The first argues that NGOs should be managed on the basis of organizational principles developed by the commercial sector.

Development theorists and practitioners may take a slightly different view in the belief that the context of the organization's work must be the primary influence on its management principles. Hence, development NGOs should take into account development management principles when they set up their management systems.

The third approach focusses on the nature of the NGO as a non-profit-making, voluntary organization that has its roots in community action. It is argued that the NGO is a very different type of organization to the commercial or governmental type, and hence that new and specific management models are required for NGOs.

### **Universal Management Principles**

One of the key issues in management today is that the dominant management principles (and hence the main ideas on structure, management tools and techniques, and administrative systems) have emerged from the western commercial/industrial sector. It is very clear from the arguments in the first part of this chapter that these concepts may be

inappropriate to the needs of organizations which are not commercially-oriented or which work in different cultural situations.

### "Nuts and Bolts" of Management

However, many specialists believe that the "non-profit versus commercial" issue is largely irrelevant as management principles should apply to all organizations whatever their nature and functions.

In an article entitled "Some Muddles in the Management Models Used by PVOs/NGOs," Tom Dichter disagrees with the view that development management is different from any other type of management and he argues that "the basic principles of development are increasingly clear. In fact, not surprisingly they resemble the basic principles of good management everywhere and anywhere."<sup>4</sup>

In his paper "Development Management: Plain or Fancy? Sorting out Some Muddles"<sup>5</sup> he defends the need for "blueprint" management in certain situations and reiterates the importance of returning to basic management practices. Four functions of management are identified: specialist knowledge, planning, analysis, and maintenance (keeping organizations on track by maintaining relationships, personnel systems, information systems, and so on). Dichter concludes that "nuts and bolts" management is the priority need for many NGOs involved in development.

### New Ideas in Management

Other management specialists, although accepting the need for basic organizational systems, believe that traditional management concepts, developed in the nineteen fifties and sixties (but still prevalent in many organizations), may be inappropriate to NGOs. However, there are a wide variety of new theories and concepts which are very relevant to NGOs. Four examples are given below. The purpose is not to make a comprehensive survey but rather to illustrate current thinking in this area.

### In Search of Excellence

For example, many of the eight basic principles identified by Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman in their book *"In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies"*<sup>6</sup> are very close to NGO philosophy:

- Bias for action
- Staying close to the customer (target groups in local communities)
- Autonomy and entrepreneurship (encourage units within the organization to think independently and creatively)
- Productivity through people (respect for the individual)
- Hands on, values driven (insistence that the manager keeps closely in touch with the organization's essential activities and values)
- Sticking to the knitting (keep to activities that the organization knows best)
- Simple form, lean staff (simple structure and few staff)
- Simultaneous loose-tight properties (combination of decentralization of responsibility and centralization of the basic values and purpose).

### **Strategic Management**

David Korten believes that the dominant management model in the industrial era has been primarily based on bureaucratic organizational forms. The successful modern company, however, has become a strategic organization. In his article "The Strategic Organization for People-Centred Development", he argues that "the most important task of top management in a strategic organization is not the making of strategic decisions, but rather the development and maintenance of a total institutional capacity for strategic action."<sup>7</sup> He then traces the change in the management styles systems and social role of companies, which is leading to a people-centred synthesis of management theory and practice.

In the second part of the article, he describes similar changes in development management thinking and argues for the de-bureaucratization of public (government) agencies and for a fundamental re-alignment in the relationships between the development agency and its clients in order to ensure the empowerment of the latter.

### **Participatory Management**

Participatory management concepts are fairly well-known in the commercial sector. Staff are involved in the planning and control of their work activities, especially in setting goals, making decisions, solving problems, and developing and implementing change.

Participation can be done on an individual basis but is most effectively carried out in groups, hence team-building is often emphasized. There is a lot of evidence that participatory management leads to improved performance, higher productivity and greater staff satisfaction. The best-known example in industry is the quality circle.

### **Problem-Solving Teams**

An extension of the theory on participatory management is the current emphasis on the development of creative, problem-solving teams which are seen by many today as being the key to successful management. In a world of rapid change, the ability to identify and resolve problems has become crucial and it is agreed that problem-solving, together with many other management functions, is best done in teams (that can, if necessary, cut across departmental lines). Teams tend to produce better ideas. They are a useful tool for dealing with problems involved in organizational change and they generate greater commitment among the staff. This approach is particularly relevant to NGOs and may be one of the key factors in developing successful multi-cultural organizations.

### **Development Management**

The second general approach to the management of NGOs focusses on the context of the organization's activities. The argument is based on the theory that development organizations should start by analysing the management implications of their development programmes and, from these, determine the management principles and practices for the organization.

The main aim of this section is to outline six examples of recent research on development management and then to make a very preliminary analysis of some of the management implications for NGOs.

### **A Learning Organization**

In *Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach*<sup>8</sup> David Korten argues that development programmes must be based on a learning approach rather than on a bureaucratic blueprint design. He starts by observing that effective community-controlled social organizations are now widely seen as important if not essential instruments if the rural poor are to give meaningful expression to their views, mobilize their own resources in self-help action and enforce their demands on the broader national, political and economic systems.

In reality, however, donor commitment to these principles is rarely transferred into effective action and the prevailing "blueprint" approach to development programming with its emphasis on detailed pre-planning and time-bound projects is an important impediment to success.

From an analysis of a number of successful Asian programmes, Korten identifies, as the crucial factor, the high degree of "fit" (or matching) between three aspects: programme design, beneficiary needs, and the capacity of the assisting organization. In other words, the successful programme emerges out of a learning approach in which villagers and programme personnel share their knowledge and resources to create the programme.

Development organizations should, therefore, have the capacity for responsive and anticipatory adaptation. They should learn and develop from error, plan with the people, and link knowledge with action.

### **Development Professionals**

A similar approach is discussed by Robert Chambers in this book *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*.<sup>9</sup> The central theme is that rural poverty is often unseen or misperceived by outsiders, who are themselves neither rural nor poor. The outsiders, including researchers, administrators, and field workers, rarely appreciate the richness and validity of rural people's knowledge or the hidden nature of rural poverty.

Chambers argues for a new professionalism based on fundamental "reversals" in the outsiders' learning, values and behaviour. The new professionals should be explorers and multi-disciplinarians who ask the question "who will benefit and who will lose from their choices and actions?"

Many of his suggestions for practical action concern learning styles and management. He identified six approaches to enable professionals to learn from rural people and argues for a participatory as opposed to an authoritarian style of management. Reversals in the learning process are only a starting point and he outlines three other necessary reversals in management: improved communication between senior staff and subordinates, incentives for substantial periods of continuous service by development personnel in poor and remote areas, and enabling and empowering the poor.

### **Intermediary Role**

Most NGOs are intermediaries. They are external to the rural community and their programmes should be considered as interventions in an on-going development process.

In his article "Development Management: Essential Concepts and Principles", Alan Fowler analyses some of the management implications of this role.<sup>10</sup>

- The NGO does not own the project and hence the most important actors in the project are neither within, nor controlled by, the NGO. This implies that NGO project staff should possess substantial facilitation skills.
- Many other factors that determine the success of the project are outside the control of the NGO: climate, disease, prices, availability of materials, and communication systems. These elements clearly limit NGOs' ability to carry out effective long-term planning. The management implications suggest, firstly, more autonomy for the field in decision-making and, secondly, a problem-solving mode rather than a predictive "blueprint" mode of management.
- Since a project is invariably a small part in the overall development process, since it is difficult to predict the undesired consequences of any intervention. In addition, the people concerned will not or cannot devote substantial amounts of their time to the project. This calls for effective planning and control based on a perspective of the overall and continually changing development reality. It suggests the importance of having the ability (and the systems) for detecting the need for changes and the right to put such changes into operation during the life of the project.
- The time-scales of the project and of the human development process may be incompatible, and the project may therefore be forced along at a pace that cannot, in the long run, be self-sustaining.

### Participatory Development

"Participatory development is more difficult to design and implement than development managed from above by administrators. It requires more social learning, risk taking, coordination skills and patience". In their monograph entitled *Managing Rural Development with Small Farmer Participation*, Coralie Bryant and Louise White propose three core strategies for increasing small farmer participation in rural development: institutional development, social learning and collective action.<sup>11</sup>

They suggest a wide range of practical strategies both at the field and senior management levels. For example:

- Improve listening and communication skills
- Build on the natural interests and primary goals of the peasants
- Find ways to ensure that participation is seen as a benefit in itself, rather than purely as a cost
- Design project so that they are "small" and "simple"
- Work through local organizations, preferably existing ones if there are none, build new ones
- Assign or train staff to facilitate community development
- Gain resource commitments from local groups
- Design ways to protect or buffer local projects from the local elite who would otherwise co-opt its benefits.

### NGOs in Africa

In one of the chapters of his book *No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective*, Goran Hyden argues the case for an expanded role for African NGOs in development.<sup>12</sup> He also analyses the informal organizations, which he calls "Limited Local Organizations" (LLOs). These organizations are established for a simple purpose and closed down once the task is completed and another organization may be created for a different task. In these situations, the challenge is to find ways of handing on management experience and capabilities.

Hyden emphasizes the importance of institution-building and management development and in a later chapter, he calls for "new management training methods that enable managers to become more effective in the African environment, and place particular emphasis on methods that facilitate learning from experience and creative problem-solving."

### Third Generation NGOs

In a recent paper entitled "Micro-Policy Reform: The Role of Private Voluntary Development Agencies,"<sup>13</sup> David Korten argues that there have been, or are, three generations of NGOs:

- Generation One: Relief and welfare in response to emergency situations
- Generation Two: Small-scale local development based on the theory that sustainable improvements at the level of the poor depend on increasing their ability to meet their own needs with their own resources
- Generation Three: Sustainable systems development

Generation Three NGOs base themselves on the realization that sustaining village self-development depends on systems of linked public and private organizations which can integrate local initiatives into a supportive national development system.

These NGOs are increasingly playing a catalytic or facilitating role in bringing about policy and structural change through collaboration between government and a wide range of private and public institutions. Korten suggests that strategic competence, although useful for the first and second generation NGOs, is essential for the generation.

### Management Implications for NGOs

It is still too early to make a comprehensive analysis of the management implications of recent research on development management. It is, however, very clear that there is a need for substantial changes in the management structures and systems of NGOs as well as in the skills that NGO executives should possess. A few suggestions are given below.

### Management Skills

The importance of the facilitation skill at the field level is emphasized in many development management texts. The facilitator's main task is to help the group define its own needs and to formulate its own programmes to address those needs. She/he should possess expert knowledge, both in the subject matter and in programme management, but this knowledge is only provided when, and if, the group requires it. Facilitators clearly need excellent communication and group process skills, including active listening and conflict resolution. They should also be experts in coordination and coalition-building.



Field staff clearly require other skills, for example, team building, problem-solving, planning and negotiating. Many of these skills are also essential to staff members at other levels in the organization.

Strategic management skills are frequently mentioned: the ability to help communities develop and plan their own programmes in the context of an unpredictable environment and the ability to develop organizational strategies that are appropriate, effective, and that have a long-term impact.

### **Management Structures, Systems and Procedures**

The development of skills is very important but significant change in the organization will only be achieved if there are new attitudes, structures, systems and procedures within the organization. Strategic management, for example, requires a re-orientation of attitudes and systems within the organization which David Korten terms "the development and maintenance of a total institutional capacity for strategic action."<sup>14</sup>

Emphasis on social learning, empowerment and participation implies decentralized decision-making processes which themselves require a focus on problem-solving modes rather than blueprint management. Programme and project plans have to be flexible and to be seen as part of a long-term process towards change.

### **Policy Issues**

Such developments in the internal management systems will require substantial changes in the policy of the organization. At the very minimum, they require the clear articulation of the organization's values and purpose and the commitment of the staff to these values. The policy implications of recent development management theory include: a commitment to development as an empowerment process; an emphasis on social learning; priority to establishing and strengthening community groups and organizations as representatives of the poor; and a focus on long-term flexible programmes rather than the traditional project approach.

### **NGOs As Voluntary Organizations**

The third approach to NGO management is based on the view that NGOs are different from companies or governmental organizations. NGOs are non-profit-making, voluntary organizations that normally originate as community initiatives, staffed, at least in the beginning, by volunteers.

It was pointed out in Part One that many NGO executives reject the concept of management because they believe mistakenly that it only concerns commercial or governmental organizations. This view is rapidly disappearing and there is now a strong body of opinion within NGO management development circles that argues that NGOs need to develop their own set of management principles and practices.<sup>15</sup>

For example, Charles Handy, who has written extensively on the management of commercial organizations<sup>16</sup> has called for a new theory of governance or of management of voluntary organizations: "We have some glimmer of that theory. It will view organizations as networks rather than machines, as sets of coalitions and alliances rather than departments. Authority will come from below, from the people over whom it is exercised, not from

above. Accountability and responsibility will be important words. The organizers will be the servants of the organization, not its masters."<sup>17</sup>

### **What is an NGO?**

The term "non-governmental organization" covers a variety of very different organizations ranging from trade unions, religious institutions, foundations, political parties, sports organizations, community groups to development organizations.

This paper focusses on a particular category of NGO, sometimes called voluntary agency,<sup>18</sup> whose main activities are development and relief programmes. Mario Padron makes the distinction between three forms within this category of NGO: grass-roots organizations; non-governmental development organizations (indigenous NGOs); and international development cooperation institutions (including international funding and operational NGOs).<sup>19</sup>

The management issues that are described below are taken from international and indigenous NGOs<sup>20</sup> which operate development programmes. Virtually all the issues, however, are relevant to relief and social welfare agencies, both in the North and South.

### **Organizational Characteristics of NGOs**

The following characteristics are often mentioned when analysing NGOs in comparison to other types of organizations:

- They are non-profit-making and are voluntary in the sense that they are non-statutory bodies
- They may be staffed, wholly or partly, by volunteers
- They are formed by individuals (or other NGOs)
- Their staff often join the organization for ideological reasons and have a strong commitment to social development
- NGOs pride themselves on being action-oriented, flexible, innovative, rapid and close to local communities
- They often play an intermediary role: on the one side, they provide programmes and services to the community and, on the other side, they have to seek funding for their programmes from external sources (the general public, foundations and governments).

These characteristics generate a wide range of management issues and problems which are discussed in the following paragraphs.<sup>21</sup>

### **Priority to Management**

For reasons outlined in Part One, NGOs rarely give priority to management programmes and few executives receive a basic management education or training in management skills.

Some NGOs reject the prevalent management models but fail to replace them with coherent systems of their own. This can sometimes be seen in an ideological rejection of basic management skills (for example, budgeting) and in a feeling that management is an external requirement rather than an effective tool for running organizations.

### **Organizational Culture**

Many NGOs either lack a coherent organizational culture or have adopted one that is not consistent with their values and programmes. This leads to the use of structures, management tools and techniques, and administrative systems that are not appropriate to the organization.

Disagreement over the organization's purpose and values may be the cause of many problems in this area. For instance, differences in the overall view of development (welfare, modernisation, empowerment)<sup>22</sup> can generate major conflicts over the way that the organization is run. Some NGO managers adopt paternalistic or authoritarian management styles which may be incompatible with their development principles or with the aspirations of the staff. Another example is the frequent conflict within the organization over life styles.

### **Strategic Planning**

The lack of strategic or institutional planning is perhaps one of the most visible management problems facing NGOs. The reasons for this problem are worth considering in some detail.

- NGOs pride themselves on being flexible, rapid and innovative and there is a general misconception that strategic planning presents flexibility and rapid response.
- As funding is limited, some NGOs are pressurized into becoming opportunistic and into accepting any project that can be financed irrespective of whether the project falls within the organization's priorities and/or competence.
- As the funding sources are invariably uncertain and as the factors governing the success of the programme are often beyond the NGO's control, strategic planning is difficult and NGOs tend to use this excuse to avoid planning altogether.
- Many NGOs are or have been engaged in emergency programmes and hence tend to emphasize rapid response rather than analysis, research and long-term planning. This has almost generated within the NGO community an organizational "pseudo-culture" of crisis management, which is not appropriate to the needs of established organizations whether they focus on emergency or development programmes.

It is clear that the root causes of the problem stem from internal resistance to planning as much as from a lack of the relevant skills. The results are well-known and can affect every part of the organization. There is often a lack of clarity about the organization's purpose and strategy and, where there is clarity, there may not be agreement, let alone commitment, by all those concerned. The programme may not be successful, either because it does not address the real needs of the target groups, or because the effects of the external environment have not been anticipated, or simply because the organization lacks the capacity to deliver the programme.

### **Participation of the Target Groups**

Many NGOs emphasize the importance of the target groups participating in the planning, management, and evaluation of the programmes. They also stress the development of local institutional capacity to continue the programmes in the long-term.

This concern, however, is not always translated into effective action, partly due to a lack of skills and partly due to an unwillingness to give up power and responsibility, especially in the decision-making process. This contradiction generates management problems within the organization and is the classic example of how NGOs' management practice can be contradictory to their rhetoric.

### **Organization and Structure**

Inefficient structure and poor management systems can often be found in NGOs. These may be caused by a lack of clarity about the purpose and goals of the organisation and/or by a tendency to structure activities around strong individuals rather than around the functions of the organization. Problems in this area can be seen in unclear roles and responsibilities for the staff members, weak administrative procedures and poor communication systems.

Some NGOs have tried to eliminate structure altogether. However, as an analysis of radical groups in the United Kingdom has clearly shown,<sup>23</sup> power and control in such groups is often held by informal elites or activists who are not accountable to anyone. A structure remains, however hidden it may be.

### **Financing**

Most NGOs depend on external financing either from the general public, their constituencies or institutional donors (governments, foundations and other NGOs). In a sense, therefore, NGOs can be seen as the intermediaries between the donors and the target groups. The NGO role as intermediary, together with the dependence on external financing, causes a wide range of inter-related problems:

- There may be a lack of consistency between what the NGO actually does and what it says it does. The NGO may be unwilling to change its fund-raising strategy because of the possible danger of losing its constituency. This problem often leads to tensions between the programme (operational) and the fund-raising staff (who may be working on the basis of two different sets of development values).
- It is generally believed that the money available for NGO emergency and development programmes is strictly limited and hence that NGOs have to compete for existing funds (this is not necessarily a problem but it definitely is an issue that needs to be considered).
- Donors, directly or indirectly, tend to try to influence NGO priorities. Thus, NGOs are caught between the need for funds and their desire to maintain the focus and integrity of their programmes.
- Donors may impose inappropriate management systems on the NGO and on the local communities. The donors certainly have widely different and very complicated financial reporting requirements and NGOs, therefore, have to devote a large percentage of their time on fund-raising and reporting.
- Funding uncertainties hinder the preparation of long-term plans.
- The NGO may receive too much or too little money either may cause difficulties.

### **Financial Management**

The financial management problems faced by NGOs are due to a wide range of factors. NGOs' commitment to flexibility and rapid action may override basic financial management practices. In particular, pressures from the field may force NGO managers to ignore the grant terms (hence they may use funds given for one project for a different purpose). In addition, long-term financial planning is often difficult (uncertain grants, restrictive donor conditions, slow cash flow) and donors are unwilling to contribute to the core budget, hence forcing NGOs into "creative" budgeting and over-reliance on "profitable" projects.

NGOs are often committed to giving field offices and local projects some flexibility and responsibility for decisions on the disbursement of funds. This may hinder effective financial control. Finally, the recruitment of financial specialists and the establishment of sound financial systems may be a low priority.

### **Control and Accountability**

The members of the NGO and the elected board are legally responsible for the organization and its programmes. But, in reality, there are many other sources of power: the donors, the staff and the target groups (and other outside bodies - for example, ecclesiastical authorities or political parties). The conflicting interests are difficult to resolve and the resulting management problems affect the allocation of resources, the organizational structure and the image of the NGO. NGOs need to develop a strategy for dealing with outside pressures and for clarifying the issue of accountability. Clearly NGOs are accountable to the donor for the utilization of the funds but they are equally accountable to the target groups for the "outcomes" of the programme interventions.

### **Human Resource Management**

NGOs tend to attract committed personnel who join the organization for ideological rather than financial reasons. NGOs also have very limited financial resources and are often unwilling to give priority to human resource development. Some of the resulting complications include:

- Many NGOs experience difficulties in recruiting and retaining competent managers at relatively low salary levels (due to a lack of funds or to a commitment to low salaries). This results in a high turnover of staff and, in many countries, problems in keeping staff after they have been trained.
- The manager's commitment is often to the ideals of the organization and not to the staff, hence career structures and staff development programmes are comparatively rare.
- Personnel systems (salaries, benefits, terms and conditions, etc.) are often inadequate or arbitrary. For example, the salary scale is often a source of conflict due to disagreement on such issues as how the organization should reward responsibility, length of service, specialist expertise, family responsibilities, etc.
- Recruitment is often haphazard and is based on personal or family contacts.
- NGOs have a high propensity for internal conflict between field and headquarters staff, staff with experience and those with "paper" qualifications, programme

(operational) and support (for example, fund-raising) staff, ideologically committed and the technicians, volunteers and professionals (employees).

Many causes of the conflict are due to the ideological commitment of the staff. One of the results is a preoccupation with the process (how people work together) rather than with the content (what they are doing). Conflict is rarely managed. The tendency is either to suppress or avoid it until a crisis occurs.

### **Cross-cultural Issues**

NGOs tend to be either non-cultural organizations with field offices and projects in countries with a different culture or to be multi-cultural organizations. Each brings its own cross-cultural management problems.<sup>24</sup> The type of questions raised by NGO managers concern the adaptation of western management models, values and practices to fit local realities. A lot has been written on training staff to work in different cultural situations but very little on how to manage multi-cultural organizations. Culture is, or should be, a major factor determining the organizational culture and management style of the organization.

### **Monitoring and Evaluation**

The problems relating to management controls, monitoring and evaluation are similar to those associated with planning. NGOs tend to lack adequate control systems, criteria for measuring performance and long-term impact, and the ability to make changes during the implementation phase or at the end of the activity. This is partly due to lack of an institutional memory and a high turnover of staff, and partly due to an unwillingness to put time and resources into developing, and applying, the necessary skills and systems. Even when evaluations are carried out, their recommendations are often ignored.

### **Headquarters-Field Office Relations**

Relations between the headquarters and the field office can present serious management problems. This is due to a variety of factors: communication problems, different development values between the staff concerned, the issue of decentralization of decision-making, and the question of disengagement of expatriate staff.

### **Management of Growth and Change**

NGOs can expand quite dramatically, particularly in the early years. Growth brings a wide variety of management problems. For example, NGOs may suffer from the "founder's trap": the founder is often unwilling to surrender control of all aspects of the organization as it grows. This can lead to a crisis which results either in the founder being forced to leave or in a split in the organization. This basic issue is the transition from a charismatic founder-based style to a more open, participatory style based on standard management systems.

### **Other Issues**

Additional problem areas include: collaboration with other agencies working in the same field; introduction of modern technology; relations with governments (for example: dealing with government pressures and political interference and compliance with government regulations); and relations between the staff and the governing board.

## Conclusion

Eight tentative conclusions can be drawn at this stage:

1. The root of many of the problems is a negative attitude towards management, which is partly due to a traditional aversion to management and partly due to a lack of knowledge about the benefits that effective management can bring to the organization. As a result, NGO managers are often unwilling to devote time and resources to developing the necessary management systems and skills.
2. Skills training should not be seen as the only solution since improvements in structure and systems need different types of management interventions which have been described in a separate paper entitled "Management Programmes and Services for NGOs."<sup>25</sup>
3. Many of the NGO strengths (commitment, flexibility, rapid response, innovation, close contacts with local communities) can also result in management weaknesses. The challenge is to find creative solutions that will improve NGOs' management capacity while maintaining their traditional strengths. This also implies that NGOs should define their own criteria for measuring management and organizational effectiveness.
4. Many of the problems stem from a lack of clarity about the organization's purpose, long-term goals, and programme principles. This argues for an emphasis on strategic planning and related skills.
5. The management implications of the intermediary role of NGOs need to be explored in more detail. NGOs have to develop the capacity to work more effectively both with the target groups and with the donors. In addition, the external environment of the NGO is often ignored. NGOs should develop strategies and skills for influencing and controlling external factors affecting the organization.<sup>26</sup>
6. Human resource development should be a major priority for many NGOs particularly focussing on equitable and effective personnel systems and conflict management skills.
7. NGOs need to adopt more imaginative ways of financing their activities, through the creation of reserves, access to credit and loans, and long-term programme funding.<sup>27</sup>
8. Finally, the importance of organizational learning processes to enable NGOs to adapt their programmes and organizations to changing realities cannot be overemphasized.

## Major Influences On NGO Management

### The Three Approaches are Complementary

The three different approaches that have been described in the preceding sections are not mutually exclusive. Those who stress the importance of empowerment and participatory development are not arguing that basic organizational systems can be ignored. In the same way, the call for "nuts-and-bolts" management does not preclude the introduction of development management principles.

In fact, the three approaches are essentially complementary. NGOs need to develop basic organizational systems and skills. They can use many of the management theories and concepts that have emerged from the commercial sector. They have to possess the capacity to

skills. They can use many of the management theories and concepts that have emerged from the commercial sector. They have to possess the capacity to run effective development programmes. Finally, they should be identifying specific management principles which are appropriate to the nature of their organization.

#### A Fourth Element: The Cultural Environment

The cultural influences on management were briefly discussed in the previous section and, although a detailed analysis is outside the scope of this paper, it is clear that the environment in which the NGO operates should be an important factor in determining its management practices.

This adds an additional element to the major influences on NGO management principles, which can be summarised as:

1. Basic principles of running organizations
2. Principles pertaining to the management of voluntary organizations
3. Development management principles
4. Cultural environmental factors.

Two of these elements (development management and cultural environment) concern the context of the NGO's activities and the remaining two (voluntary organizations and basic principles) relate to the organization itself. From a different perspective, the basic principles and the cultural environment affect all organizations and development NGOs need to add development management and voluntary organization principle. These concepts can be represented in the following diagram:

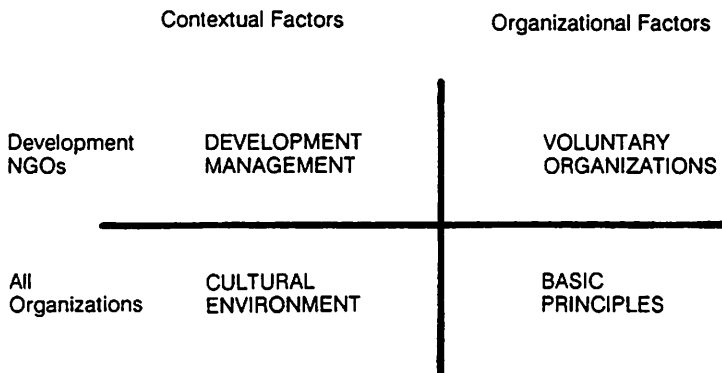


Figure 4. Major influences on NGO management

#### Conclusion: The Need for a Balanced Approach

In conclusion, NGOs need to take into consideration, more or less simultaneously, all four elements when they are designing, or adapting, their management principles and practices. It may be tempting to start with one for example, basic organizational principles and then adapt to the other elements. There is, however, a very real danger that, by doing so, an organizational culture is created which resists the adaptation to the other factors.



There is a considerable amount of information on each of the four elements but this information is scattered and not easily accessible. In addition, there is a lack of detailed knowledge about the actual practices and experiences of NGO managers, although some research projects have recently been initiated.<sup>28</sup>

This paper has outlined the four major influences on the management of NGOs. It is hoped that this preliminary discussion will lead to more detailed analysis and research so that a coherent set of principles and practices can be developed for NGO management.

#### NOTES:

1. This paper is based on an earlier paper entitled "The Management of NGOs: An Overview" which was presented at the South-East Asian seminar on "NGO Management Development and Training" held in Tagatay City, the Philippines on 18-23 January 1987.
2. Korten (1984).
3. Two books by Charles Handy discuss organizational culture in detail: *Understanding Organizations* and *The Gods of Management*.
4. Dichter (1987a), pp. 25-27.
5. Dichter (1987b).
6. Peters and Waterman (1982).
7. Korten (1984).
8. Korten (1980).
9. Chambers (1983).
10. Fowler (1986).
11. Bryant and White (1984).
12. Hyden (1983).
13. Korten (1988).
14. Korten (1984).
15. See, for example, Landry (1985) and Biddle (1984).
16. Handy (1985a and 1985b).
17. Handy (1983).
18. International Council of Voluntary Agencies (1984).
19. Padron (1987).
20. This paper does not cover relationships between international and indigenous NGOs, nor does it analyse the specific management problems between the two different groups. Several papers presented at the conference on "Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs" (London, March, 1987) covered this topic. For example, "Some Aspects of Relations between North and South in the NGO Sector" by Charles Elliott and "Non-Governmental Development Organizations: From Development Aid to Development Co-operation" by Mario Padron.
21. Information on the management problems and needs of NGOs can be found in:
  - Report on an international seminar on "NGO Management and Development and Training" Geneva, 25-28 February 1986.
  - Report on a sub-regional seminar for East and Southern Africa on "NGO Management Development and Training", Nairobi, 6-12 April 1986.

- Paper presented by Voluntary Organizations in Community Enterprise (VOICE), Zimbabwe to the Nairobi seminar (above), included a report on a consultation on staff development and management of NGOs in Zimbabwe.
  - "The Management Needs of Private Voluntary Organizations" by C. Stark Biddle (1984).
  - "US and Canadian PVOs as Transnational Development Institutions" by Brian Smith (1984).
  - "Report on a meeting of Geneva-based NGOs to discuss management issues", Geneva, 26 May 1986.
  - "Management of Voluntary Agencies: Some Issues" by the Society for Participatory Research in Asia, (1987).
  - "Organizing for Development" by David Brown.
  - Several reports by the Indonesian NGO Bina Swadaya, including "Services and Programmes in Indonesia relating to NGO Management and Training."
22. These are discussed in Charles Elliott's paper "Some Aspects of Relations Between North and South in the NGO Sector" (see note 20).
23. Landry (1985).
24. See, for example:
- "Culture and Management Development" by Geert Hofstede.
  - *No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective* by Goran Hyden. (see note 12).
  - "Management at Grass-Roots Level for Integrated Rural Development in Africa with Special Reference to Churches" by Alan Fowler, University of Nairobi, Kenya.
25. Campbell (1987).
26. See for example, the article entitled "Context, Constraint or Control: Zimbabwean NGOs and their Environment" by Martin de Graaf.
27. See for example, "Comment Aider Une Association et Ses Programmes de Developpement a Devenir Financierement Autonomes" (How to help an association and its development programmes to become financially self-reliant) by Fernand Vincent.
28. Alan Fowler is currently carrying out postgraduate research into manager behaviour and participants' perceptions in NGO rural development.

## THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF DEVELOPMENT

**Joseph van Arendonk, Sony van Arendonk-Marquez and Usha Bambawale**

*After decades of preoccupation with economic, political and social dimensions of development, there is now an increasing concern amongst practitioners and theorists alike with cultural aspects. In this chapter, the cultural dimension is explored from two perspectives: Joseph van Arendonk and Sony van Arendonk-Marquez open the discussion by posing the question "Development for What? or Which Culture are We Serving?" Usha Bambawale follows this with a focus on a women's empowerment programme in India, as an example of how cultural factors are being addressed in a particular situation.*

'Culture' is one of those words that has almost as many meanings as it has users. From the popular usage of the term to refer to the fine arts, to the more anthropological definitions, it covers a wide range of meanings. At the UN World Conference on Cultural Policies at Mexico City in 1982, it was summed up this way:

*"Culture may be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of human beings, value systems, traditions and beliefs."*

This definition clarifies the term "the cultural dimension of development" as it is used in this chapter. Many are beginning to look closely at this aspect of development, as one of the missing links in development theory and practice. In announcing the "World Decade for Cultural Development" (1988 - 1997), the UN Secretary-General invited people to "invent development forms that would not be limited to economic growth but would take account of the human being with his/her heritage and his/her aspirations, the human being as a physical and spiritual individual and social whole."

In March 1988, the Society for International Development (SID) held its world conference in New Delhi, India, on the theme of "Poverty, Development and Collective Survival." A key part of this event was the workshop on "Cultural Dimensions of Development", organised by the ICA International. Two papers on the topic were presented, followed by small discussion groups. Each group identified five to ten arenas in which the influence of culture was paramount in development, and recommended ways to make the cultural aspect operational in development activities. The results of the workshop are presented here.

In their paper "Development for What or Which Culture Are We Serving?", Joseph van Arendonk and Sony van Arendonk-Marquez pose a very fundamental question. They describe what the cultures of the South are up against today as certain basic Western European values increasingly pervade the entire globe. They present a very forceful case for why the question of ultimate goals of development is the question people must answer at this moment in human evolution.

In her paper "Women: The Cultural Factor in Development", Usha Bambawale deals with how the cultures of the South, and of India in particular, have done and are doing to women in their societies. She reminds us that women bear responsibility for a large part of society's productivity and yet still struggle to be self-supporting, respected and free from social servitude. She presents a case study from Maharashtra, India where this situation has begun to be turned around, out of an awareness of the cultural roots of many of the problems women face.

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## **DEVELOPMENT, FOR WHAT? OR, WHICH CULTURE ARE WE SERVING ?**

**Joseph van Arendonk and Sony van Arendonk-Marquez**

As the title of this paper suggests, we wish to discuss development from the perspective of goals. Preoccupied with means or, to put it more bluntly, with bread and butter concerns, we might also allow ourselves moments to reflect upon the broader or higher goals of life and to see how development in fact, not in intention, measures up to these goals. But this is not easy to do under the present condition in which too often, if not as a rule, these goals are left undefined, taken for granted, or whose meaning is assumed to be agreed upon by all. This nebulous state of affairs cannot remain so. As a ship at sea, we need to be focused on the point of destination if we are to arrive at all. To begin to address the most bedeviling question of "Development for What?", we shall start with the concept of culture. Culture is the name we use to describe all of man's activities - the whole range of thinking, doing, and being that is transmitted by means of symbols. As such, it includes reference to all the distinctive achievements - language, industry, art, science, law, moral codes, religion - that characterize a social group or society.

Development, while assisting in furthering a particular group's culture, nonetheless does so in a manner leading toward one dominant culture - the modern or Western culture. It is not difficult to demonstrate this assertion. For instance, notice that people all over the world are beginning to dress the modern way, at least the upper classes toward whose taste international designers cater; that houses, offices and factories adopt the same modern design; that people are appreciating the same food, with hamburger and pizza stands finding their way into all major urban areas of the world. Rock music, modern films and sports events are gaining wider participants and audiences across nations and cultures. Schools are adopting the same curricula, teaching methods, text books and priorities and use of English in spreading. Modern bureaucracies are ubiquitous. Social arrangements are becoming more similar, with romantic love and the nuclear family now superseding

traditional forms. Surely, these examples ought to bring the point home, namely, that we are moving toward one culture.

Moreover, the speed by which this process will continue to take place is likely to increase because of two specific developments which are themselves reaching revolutionary pitch: in the area of communication technology which makes it easier to communicate with the most isolated sectors of the world, and in the area of computer technology which helps in the more efficient manufacture and delivery of mass-produced goods and services to more and more people.

While the unification of culture is easy to demonstrate in the more material or observable realm, it is another thing to demonstrate this in the realm of values. For every cultural system is sustained by values, lest it lack continuity. Consequently, if we are indeed moving toward one culture, this implies that we are also moving toward one set of values. To state it more succinctly, development willy-nilly entails the infusion of the ethical values underlying modern Western and industrial development. This means that nations in the threshold of modernization are faced with having to adopt the same modern values. It behooves us therefore to expose these values so that these nations are made aware of what development entails in a more important sense. We shall review here but four values: rationalism, individualism, secularism, and utilitarianism.

*Rationalism* is an orientation that puts value on abstraction or the analytic method in investigating reality. This means dividing reality into parts. Such a method is the basis of modern science and technology. *Individualism* is the orientation stressing the rights and achievements of the individual over that of the group. (This notion is not to be confused with freedom and democracy). Inherent in individualism is the spirit of competition which is functional with achieving individual goals. *Secularism* refers to the orientation that puts a higher value on affairs and authority of other than religious institutions. *Utilitarianism* is the value-orientation that relegates the environment to people's control for their own material advantage.

These four values have been found wanting. Critics of modern life see these values as having engendered the social processes that led to modern alienation. By alienation they mean the condition or feelings of fear and anxiety, aloneness and separation, being a stranger to oneself and the world, homelessness, meaninglessness, and so forth. In short, what the modern critics are saying is that industrial or modern values do injustice to man's basic aspirations of being home with oneself and others, the dream of brotherly love.

My own understanding of modern alienation is derived from three key concepts pertaining to human beings: *vulnerability, transcendence, and communality*. From the beginning, people have been a vulnerable subject to danger and losing their life from antagonistic acts of nature, including from their fellow human beings. Needless to say, this means pain through fear and anxiety as people become aware of threats to their life. However, people refuses to resign themselves to such a condition and put up a struggle. For this destiny lies not in disunion but, on the contrary, in communality with nature. Thus reads a poem:

*"There is a destiny that makes us brothers  
None goes his way alone  
All that we send into the lives of others  
Comes back into our own"*

*Edwin Markham*

Towards this destiny people apply the power of transcendence. By transcendence we mean the ability to break through the boundaries of one's ego. In actuality this means the ability to question and break through one's given culture insofar as this serves to support his greedy ego, a threat to communality. History is full of examples of people transcending specific cultural and ego boundaries as they reach for communality. In the political scene, they have taken on dramatic dimensions, for example - from the Gandhian experiment to the less dramatic forms as exhibited in Nyerere's early attempt at communalism and in the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka. In everyday life, transcendence-communality is constantly exhibited in volunteerism of all sorts and by good parents or good teachers providing a temporary moral environment for themselves and the children, away from the direct influence of a bewildering, cold society that is beyond their control. Unfortunately, these attempts do not tie together and have not achieved continuity and space, even courted some violence; but we cannot deny the initial impact of comforting, thus decreasing the vulnerability, of those involved.

Needless to say, transcendence and communality are the very same qualities or values that philosophies and religions of the Eastern and Western variety have intuitively insisted upon in their attempt to bring about people's salvation. Thus, saints and mystics of all creeds have been inspired by these. And so are we all in some corner of our hearts so inspired - for in the last analysis, these two qualities constitute *humanness or the human dimension*. In other words, these have nothing to do with being Western or Oriental, male or female, Moslem or Christian, etc.

How has modernity scored along these three key features of one's existence? With regard to vulnerability, modernity has increased both awareness of and actual disposition toward it. Our science, in particular, has been the main agent of increased awareness. For instance, modern medicine regurgitates the imminence of death in pointing out that a constant battle takes place in our body which can break out into some incurable, fatal disease at any given moment. Psychology advances the notion that sanity is a highly precarious balance that can be easily disturbed in the course of our daily struggles. Astronomy impresses upon us the fact that the earth is but a speck in the universe, thus challenging our former position of invulnerability inspired by the belief that the earth is the center of the universe. Moreover, it tells of more probable astronomical events that can mean the destruction of the entire earth. Last, our sociological mind has made us aware of the fragility of our own social and economic systems so that, for example, a misstep on the part of a major investor can upset the stock market bringing the economy to a halt, and so forth.

Not only have we become aware of our vulnerability but our positions of vulnerability have increased, the principal agent of this being modern technology, the wonder child of science. Foremost in the vulnerability engendered by our technology is the threat of nuclear holocaust. Then there are the new diseases, plane and car crashes, pollution, overpopulation, industrial accidents, and a whole panoply of social problems: unemployment, mass starvation, and so forth. Add to this the role of modern media only too eager to bandy all these before our eyes - and we then ask: should it be any wonder that present-day people are so engulfed in fear and anxiety? Fear and anxiety: this is the contemporary psychologist's pronouncement of today's situation. It is so pervasive that it has diffused to fear of everything under the sun - certain foods, slight body discomforts, nature, our husbands or wives and children, and now fear itself. Under such condition, who indeed can still feel at home, who can know who one is or find meaning in life?

If science and technology have played havoc with our lives - making us more vulnerable and fearful - critics say it is because there is little room for transcendence and communality in this science and technology, born of the Western values of rationalism, secularism, utilitarianism, and individualism. If so, this means that development is headed the same way since it is premised on these same values. Indeed, in areas in the Third World where development has made itself felt, havoc of the same kind stares us in the face. It is clear by now that a new concept of development is desperately needed. There is no question that it will have to incorporate in a major way the premises of transcendence and communality, that modernization missed.

I make no apologies for insisting upon these religious values. As Robert Bellah states in the issue of the *International Development Review* that was devoted to the question of development from within, "one does have to say something about ends and one turns to religion, embarrassment and all, for there is nowhere else to turn."<sup>1</sup> With Bellah, we are not therefore necessarily saying that development return to the sacred or traditional ways of dealing with basic values. Nor are we saying that we are anywhere near an alternative. But we do think that we must set apart some energy and resources for the task of finding eventually a method of incorporating these values (which are different from the utilitarian values) into the development process - from the level of policy-making to the design and implementation of projects. In other words, we must go beyond paying lip service to these values into the practice of them.

Development that humanizes rather than dehumanizes - this can no longer be left to wishful thinking. Many dilemmas and paradoxes in present-day development are there because of the mindless way we do development, that is, without regard for what is genuinely most important to us or to what gives life meaning. Just to name a few examples, let us take a local Third World community contending with an income-generating or employment project. Typically, one might expect the project to be a success, thus bringing more income and employment to the community. But let us broaden our inquiring mind and ask what might we see as well. Incidents of new mistrusts and jealousies, more class conflicts and agitations or an increased gap between the rich and the poor, disrupted family or religious life, with no immediate recourse to alternative arrangements or opportunities for adjustment, boring, unsatisfactory or anxiety-laden work, disruption of nature's balance causing harm to living things, and so forth.

Even if the target group for the project is the disadvantaged or lower class, as is usually the case, there is no guarantee that the project will result in social justice or in a more equal distribution of income or employment. For one of the things we fail to realize is that implied in a class structure (which every community has) is a class struggle inspired by dynamic personal acts of hate, fear, manipulation, jealousies, dislikes, etc., - human frailties, the so-called human condition. As such, these turn the dynamo of class structuralization, with some of us necessarily ending in the lower rank of the structure since we are not all equal in material survival capabilities. And, as such, whatever material resource that is fed into the community ends up unequally appropriated, intents of social justice notwithstanding. To resort to intervention by political authority would only mean giving power to political personages who, in turn, take up their positions in the general class structure.

As for the participatory approach, this generally leaves the existing class structure untouched; it merely mobilizes people to participate and, in the process, finds itself capitalizing on the existing class structure. Moreover, participatory projects, preoccupied with

drumming up support, often ignore the impacts of social disruption, mistrusts and jealousies, and work dissatisfaction in the interest of getting on with the immediate goals of the projects and, thus deriving the material benefits therefrom. This is a good example of the majority-be-dammed syndrome of democracy. Or, as an interpretation of Freud would have it, we can in concert choose to suppress our highest aspirations or best instincts for the sake of lower needs.

What we have just drawn out is a common dilemma in development. We do not have the solution for it. All we know is that utilitarian means are hardly the antidote to the basic human emotions of hate, fear or jealousy. Certainly these can only be assuaged by the opposite acts of love, sympathy, understanding, tenderness, etc., - in other words, transcendence and communality. But precisely how can the community be helped along this road, how can love and sympathy be infused into the community? We have no answer and, as such, we can only propose and urge that development resources be set aside toward providing the answers. To turn away from this is to do so at risk to our human destiny.

Another dilemma that we wish to draw out concerns work. We bring employment but what kind of work? Yet, one of the most common criticisms of modern life is that most work activities are dehumanizing - boring, meaningless, stunting self-growth, or killing spontaneity.

The above dilemmas occur in the national scene - in developed, as well as in developing countries. Regarding the matter of social justice, as long as the relations between minority and majority groups within nations are informed by the status quo of fear and hate, any conventional programme of social justice will not penetrate deep enough. Thus, social justice is not readily evident and in almost all nations ethnic wars have flared up where none existed before.

On the international scene, we encounter the same thing. At this level, the dilemma is largely due to the fact that in order to pay their debts, developing countries are encouraged (through large loans) to build industries geared to the production of exports but, often times, at the expense of lowering local consumption. All the while, these exports are pushed into the hands of consumers in industrial countries where the consumption level is already high. From this a Kafkaesque scenario emerges whereby a small part of the world is dying from over-consumption while the majority is literally dying from starvation or under-consumption. This contradiction suggests the underlying presence of global class warfare and struggle that is sustained by the hateful or fear-inspired acts of one country against another.

In view of these dilemmas and with the knowledge that billions of dollars have been spent for purposes of development, we are tempted to make the conjecture that maybe the use of money to distribute goods, services, and work facilitates the predicament we are in. As the utilitarian currency *par excellence* (meaning that it can buy everything), as the most divisible and portable of currencies, and as requiring a great deal of know-how for handling, money is highly suited for misappropriation along given class lines. But it is no conjecture to say this much at least: that in the business of development, financial means have not been able to show the capacity for dismantling underlying hatreds among individuals, groups, and nations.

At this point, we wish to bring up an unpleasant projection: with only a minority of nations having passed the threshold of modernization, the magnitude of the problems and crises as it is, is staggering. If poor and powerless nations wish to adopt modern culture in



the same quest of wealth and power, the result certainly will be one of escalation of problems and crises. This means more water, air and noise pollution, more global warming and ozone depletion, more extinction of plant and animal life, more thinning of topsoil, more Chernobyls, more Bhopal-Union Carbides, more crazy people, more fatal diseases and, last, a greater threat of a nuclear holocaust. Need we mention more? And need we reiterate that these projections strike rich and poor alike? So then, we are back to square one - in our human condition of vulnerability, except this time, worse than ever.

But we do not wish to be a prophet of doom. Rather, the message of hope asserts itself. For the first time, man is faced with problems that involve all of us together - in other words, we are face-to-face with a common fate. This should serve as an invitation to come forward with our trump cards of transcendence and communality. With us all in the same boat, can there still be time and room for pride and hate? Is this not the best time to come humbly together to bring humanity to its destined heights of love and peace?

If so, and given that transcendence-communality becomes the agenda of the new effort, then we must ask what this would mean for us doing development work. It would mean a great deal of rethinking and redoing. Here are some topics or areas that immediately come to mind:

1. The *configuration of donor-receiver* is this still a relevant concept, since this implies the condition of one having something to give and the other none? We think of Western or modern nations as rich, but the other non-developed or Oriental cultures have also been spoken of as rich - rich in tradition, religious aspirations, abounding patience, ability to survive well with little, etc. - all of which are akin to or poised toward transcendence. Moreover, the structures of their societies are still those that are predisposed to communality - their closeness with nature, the natural groupings of family, community, ethnicity and race. Thus, under the new agenda of transcendence and communality, might not these in some way constitute forms of capital so that poor countries also become donors? And if indeed donor-receiver should come under review, so should the configurations of developed-developing, North-South, rich-poor, and change agent-client.
2. "*Needs*" and "*rights*" - must these remain tied to modern ideology, wherein needs are grounded mainly in biological appetites and rights derived mainly from the goal of self-preservation? As such, have they not been used to justify the seeking of wealth and power that is the cause of our problems? What is it in the search for material wealth that makes it so problematic? Is it because of the divisive nature of material things? What then about the indivisible needs and rights for community, meaning, and spiritual aspirations? How can we define these more precisely so that they can be incorporated into projects? Through which type of projects, in which type of community?
3. The *search for identity* - for the individual, race, ethnic group, nation, and religion. How long can the world tolerate such a search in the wars raging between Jews and Moslems, Israelis and Palestinian, Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, Moslems and Christians in the Philippines, Tamils and Sinhalese, Hindus and Moslems, French-speaking and Flemish-speaking Belgians, Sunnies and Shiites, Basques and the rest of Spain, black and whites in U.S. and Africa, and so on ad infinitum? What does identity mean and how can it be achieved without simultaneously alienating oneself/itself from others? Might its dire consequence in wars be tied to the fact that this search is in reality based on the narrow concept of "needs" and "rights?" If so, how can we tie this

search to the broader one of transcendence and communality that would probably be the key to sifting out the evils of struggles for identity?

4. *Poverty* - what does this mean? Mother Teresa says that her mission tries to provide not only food and shelter but also love. She puts the greatest priority on providing love, noting that this seems to be what her clients who suffer fear beg for. She claims that they are *hungry for love*, thus suggesting another type of poverty - that of love. Mother Teresa's mission points to the critical aspect of fear. Without doubt, fear is a crippling and paralyzing condition that creates or perpetuates the condition of poverty. We ought to look further into Mother Teresa's example, study it, find out what precisely the love elements are in her mission's activities, and how they can be replicated in various development situations, and so forth.
5. The *family*, together with religion, the most revered of all institutions - what is its role? Can the extended family remain? How are the women in the Third World to achieve their freedom without replicating the Western situation? Specifically, how can this be done without inflicting the following consequences: the loneliness of the single woman or female single parent, the double burden of home and work, the neglect of children, and more? How can men achieve their freedom, specifically vis-a-vis work that is so much depended on for the family's livelihood? And the children, what of their freedom?
6. *Freedom*, yes, everyone cries for freedom - yet why has so much unfreedom been the outcome instead? Let us look at some of the ironies here. To escape heavy manual work we moved to modern technology only to find our bodies atrophy from lack of exercise. Women left the unfree situation of home and family only to fall into the restrictions of the work situation and the lack of control over the institutions (school, day-care centres, counselling services) that have replaced her former functions. Hence, merely to escape from an unhappy situation one has been in is no way to freedom. The thing to do is to be clear about what the *objective* of freedom is. Hence, it is important to ask "What is freedom?" How does freedom tie up with the notions of happiness or humanization? Are they one and the same? And how do these relate to transcendence and communality?
7. *Work* - why is it so oppressive at times or so addictive at other times? Routine and repetitive activities, frustrations, anxieties - do these help with personal growth, are they appropriate to people?
8. *Money* - it is everywhere and everytime with us, like the air we breathe. What are its implications on the human dimension? It facilitates man's accumulative habits. What can be done about that?
9. And last, the *role of non-governmental organizations* (NGOs). Historically, governments and states have taken over from the church on grounds that the latter fell short of expectations. Now, with the governments having shown their weaknesses in development efforts, the civil society through the NGOs are acquiring space. What guarantee is there that they will do better when doing better, in my view, would necessitate some good grasp of the problems and dilemmas mentioned above? Are NGOs attuned to these problems? NGOs are close to the grassroots, but so were the church and the state in the early stages of development. Will bureaucratization pose a threat as it did to the church and the state?

I have put before us questions, and the intention is not to overwhelm ourselves with them but to impress us that development is for the most part a question mark, a fuzzy experience, a dialogue, a process. As such, it forces us to conduct ourselves with humility - and with humility flows all other virtues: willingness to listen, willingness to give, willingness to accept error; all of which will come useful in seeking for the answer to the questions we just raised. For answers will not come from mere study alone. They can only emerge in *doing* development and it is here that humility is critical.

So then, the question remains: "Development for What or What Culture are We Serving?" The answer lies on the choice people will take today as they stand at the crossroads of evolution. We have mapped out two alternatives: development for increased anxiety and vulnerability with its culture of the ugly mixed with the beautiful, and the other, development towards the dream of brotherly love with all its promise of beauty.

NOTE:

1. Bellah, Robert (1980).

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## WOMEN: THE CULTURAL FACTOR IN DEVELOPMENT

Usha Bambawale

Women form 50% of the world's population, therefore development issues cannot ignore them. Women produce half of the world's food. In Africa three-fourths of agricultural produce is generated by women. In Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, women form half of the agricultural labour force. This establishes a fact that women are producers of saleable produce with the economic factor attached to it. Yet, as with domestic work, much of women's work in the agricultural sector is unpaid and tends to be overlooked. Even when their wage is taken into account, women's agricultural work load still tends to be underestimated. Statistically, in agricultural advancements, innovations in projects and in facilities reveal that all agricultural modernization is principally for men, because men are considered custodians of development. In urban areas too innovations and new projects are meant to be undertaken by men.

### What Is Development?

Development is by definition an historical process - so one presumes there is a direction in this process. Samuel Beer opines "The concept of development recognizes the importance of the time dimension." Further, the notion of development assumes the human ability to influence and control the natural and social environment.

Yet we can say, whatever the geographic location, culture and historical stage of development of a society may be, there are at least three basic elements which are considered to constitute the true meaning of development. These are:

1. *Life Sustenance*: People have certain basic needs without which it would be impossible or very difficult to survive. These basic necessities include food, clothes, shelter, health care and security. When any of these are absent, or in critically short supply, we may state that a condition of "absolute under-development" exists. Provision of these "life-sustaining requirements" to everybody is a basic function of all economies whether they be capitalist, socialist or mixed. In this sense, we may claim that economic growth, (increased availability of basic necessities), is a necessary condition for the development of the "quality of life."
2. *Self-respect*: Every person and every nation seeks some basic form of self-respect, dignity or honour. Absence or denial of self-esteem indicates a lack of development.
3. *Freedom*: In this context freedom refers to political or ideological freedom and freedom from social servitude. As long as society is bound by the servitude of men to nature, ignorance, other men, institutions and dogmatic beliefs, it cannot claim to have achieved a goal of "development." Servitude in any form reflects a state of underdevelopment.<sup>1</sup>

We must be clear about the objectives of development. Most societies have at least the following objectives irrespective of what development means to them.

- To increase the availability and to widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining articles such as food, clothes, shelter, health care and security.
- To raise standards of living, including the provision of more jobs, better education and greater attention to cultural and humanistic values.
- To expand the range of economic and social choice in individuals by freeing them from servitude and dependency.<sup>2</sup>

While economic progress is an essential component of development it has not only in the elementary sense encompassed more than the material and financial side of people's lives but has other dimensions. Development can be perceived as a multi-dimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social system.

## Culture

When we begin to consider culture, we are concerned with the way people live, because culture is the form or pattern of living. People learn to think, feel, believe and strive for what their culture considers proper. Language habits, friendship, eating habits, communication practices, social acts, economic and political activities and technology all follow the patterns of culture.

Culture is an intriguing concept. Formally defined, culture is the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings hierarchies, religion, timing, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe and material objects and possessions acquired by a large group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.<sup>3</sup>

Further, we may say culture is persistent, enduring and omnipresent. It includes all the behavioural reinforcements received during the course of a lifetime. Yet the effect of culture on our lives is largely unrealized. Culture also specifies and is defined by the nature

of material things that play an essential role in common life. Thereby to a great extent culture programmes us to do what we do and to be what we are. Each culture has previous learnings and perceptions that influence its intake of new information and phenomena. Therefore it places priorities and values in different places.

This factor is worth taking note of, for we can then clearly understand why women have remained where they are. One has to recognise the fact "that while the impact of development process on women in western countries will not be replicated throughout the world, we may get some insight into the relationship among cultural, social, political and economic changes and how they affect women", (4) but in reality the intensity may change from the developed to the developing world. In the so-called Third World countries women are in a "Fifth World." This business of naming under-developed/developing countries as belonging to the Third World is an economic concept. It does not totally encompass other aspects. This is because women are more concerned with production for immediate consumption while men are involved in production for exchange. This dichotomy results in the linkages between non-domestic functions performed by women, cultural norms and ultimately the status and influence of women in decision-making and development.

Women in India are completely suppressed due to the cultural ethos. The scriptures and law-givers like Manu have relegated women to the position of lower than the lowest caste. They have been denied every religious right and with the exception of a marriage, no sacred ceremony is availed to them. They live in the shadow of the male from childhood to death. Denied the right to education, property, remarriage, it is indeed grossly unfair to women as they do not have decision-making power. This cultural stronghold has percolated even into other religious groups as its influence is so strong and has gripped the Indian psyche. Women have not been allowed to participate in the world outside their home.

Michelle Rosaldo<sup>5</sup> maintains that women's status is lowest when the domestic and public spheres of activity are strongly differentiated and when women are isolated from each other and placed under the authority of a single man in the home. Their status is higher when they develop socialities, or take on men's roles or when the public and domestic domains are weakly differentiated.

Keren Armstrong<sup>6</sup> argues that the public/private differentiation is linked to an explanation of its origin in the growth of the state and in the ability of women to distribute resources.

Lourdes Beneria<sup>7</sup> traces this dichotomy to female reproductive activity, social as well as biological. We can then say social, cultural and religious institutions reflect this in reinforcing female dependency. In urban areas considerable changes are underway but in the rural areas women have to bow to cultural norms and remain segregated from the developmental issues that are political or economic.

In India the woman has always been under protection: her father, husband and male children kept her suitably busy. She is therefore relegated to a lower position in life unless she delivers a son. Culturally, a male gains superiority over the female, whatever his age may be. The dichotomy of shunning the birth of female children and coveting male children is born from the perception of the male being superior in Indian culture.

## Women's Participation In Rural Development

When we look at the opportunities in rural areas we find agriculture is the most important means of economic gain. In all cultures, men have been responsible for this particular work with women in a supportive role. We have found that it has been the work of women to provide food shelter and clothing for their offspring. This is true even today in most African countries. In India we find women are oppressed and are frequently not able to break the silence of this oppression. The historical perspective of Indian tradition earmarked the cultural ethos which helped the suppression of women. Vedic times kept women away from education and later realms sought to make them second-class citizens, confined to the home and to look after only the bodily needs of the family. Social injustices such as non-availability of education, child marriages, dowry and sati have reinforced the cultural disparity on the Indian sub-continent. It is this which has kept women from even thinking of developmental issues. Dependency of women in private and public spheres of life has continued.

However, in small ways this situation is beginning to be turned around.

1. There have been changes in farming due to technological innovations and a shift in sex roles in agriculture. Fragmentation of land due to over-population has made the holdings of the farmers rather small. Therefore a number of women have found themselves in surplus supply in the rural sector. Because agriculture is the prime labour-consuming activity, women who are unable to find jobs have to think of alternate sources of employment.
2. It was realized by reformers such as Raja Mohan Roy, Jyotiba Phule and Gandhiji that education was the key towards development. We find that vistas of women's development became enormously magnified once they sought education. It was the different forms of change that became known to women who were so far culturally ensconced in darkness. The history of Maharashtra shows that in the first half of the 19th. century, the British in India only administered the country politically and economically, and they did not pay need to the cultural ethos of the Indians. It was the elite in India, influenced by Western education, who realised that it was important for women to be educated and by placing them in their rightful position, development would take place.
3. We are aware that the Indian constitution "pledges equality of status and opportunity, justice - social, economic and political - and dignity of the individual to men and women equally."<sup>8</sup> But this is not yet a reality in urban areas and is still a remote dream in the rural areas. Some effort is being made by NGO's to overcome the complete suppression of women. This is done by trying to make training facilities available to rural women.
4. Models for women's development, such as the one described below, are being created and applied in different parts of India. They give practical form to the idea of enhancing the role of women in rural life today.

### Vanasthali Rural Development Centre

The Vanasthali Rural Development Centre in Maharashtra has realised that rural development is a process of developing and utilising natural and human resources. It also means

offering a programme to encourage and speed up economic growth in rural areas, to provide jobs and to improve the quality of moral life. Partially-educated women are enrolled in this experiment.

The districts of Pune, Ahmednagar, Satara, Sangli and Kolhapur are involved in this experiment. Keeping in mind Gandhiji's message of educating women to "spread the light", the women drawn into this experiment belong to grassroots levels of rural areas. Most of these women have been married young, have two or three children and find that they are not able to get a job even as an agricultural labourers. This is because of drought, fragmentation of land or inability to cope with hard work. Many rural woman are married to men who are landless and themselves work as agricultural labourers. Since we have defined rural development as a programme to utilise natural and human resources, and as improvement in the quality of life towards self-sustenance, this could be achieved by receiving appropriate training.

As an alternate strategy to agricultural employment, as well as towards betterment of rural women, this project involves women in development plans. The aims and objective of Vanasthali Rural Development Centre (VRDC) are to:

1. Promote pre-primary education in rural Maharashtra by starting balwadis (pre-schools) in as many villages as possible. The slogan is "A balwadi for every village." At the moment there are 104 balwadis in Pune, Ahmednagar, Kolhapur, Satara and Sangli districts.
2. Train rural girls and women who have received a basic primary or secondary education, at various taluka (sub-district) places. This is to encourage them to start balwadis in either their own village or a nearby village.
3. Enable balwadi teachers to function as multipurpose workers, so that the values of education, family planning, population education, nutrition, health and child-care are also communicated to rural parents. This could be accomplished by paying home visits or by taking it up at the monthly parent-teacher meetings. Teachers would also help parents to solve their problems from time to time.
4. Try to increase the quality and efficiency of rural balwadi teachers by organizing enrichment programmes, camps during vacations and monthly meetings.
5. Publishing a bi-monthly magazine/journal to furnish the rural women with the latest information on developmental issues. The journal provides the rural women with an opportunity to write about their experiences. It also encourages their creativity by publishing poems, stories and articles written by the balwadi teacher if she has the talent and wants an outlet.
6. Providing hostel facilities to rural schoolboys and girls who have to commute long distances from the interior villages to attend secondary schools in bigger villages. This helps to reduce the dropout rate at school.

An innovative approach has been initiated by organizing the six-month training course at taluka places for partially-educated women. Thus education was taken to the doorstep of these women, who were shut in the four walls of their home. Some of them were victims of harassment from in-laws or husbands or condemned by society for socio-cultural reasons such as sterility or producing only daughters.

Realising that it may not be possible for rural girls and women to leave their home and children for long periods the course was restructured to run for six months instead of a year. The syllabus was prepared with the help of the principal, Pre-primary Teachers Training College, Pune. The trained teachers are given certificates and encouraged to start pre-primary schools. The teachers earn Rs. 230/- to 300/- per month for a two-hour school day.

Refresher courses are held during Diwali or summer vacation to enrich this course. Most of the material used in the school is made by the teachers while under training. Craft, music, dance, and songs are given a priority over the three 'Rs' as the children who attend this school are aged two plus when they enter school. So far approximately 400/500 teachers who have been trained by Vanasthali run their own balwadis. Vanasthali is responsible for 104 of these balwadis and pays a part of the salary or the entire salary of the teacher. The Grampanchayat (village council) or Rotary Club or another voluntary NGO supports the balwadi.

Since women are considered to be the first socializers of a child, this phenomenon is important. It is generally accepted that culture is imbibed through socialization and the process begins in nursery school. In rural India facilities of such a nature are not even dreamt of. Poverty and ignorance seems to be the root cause of this lacuna. We find that even today women in no way have been able to take their rightful place in the cultural and social milieu of society, but they are making positive headway.

The model described has been successfully put into practice through an interactive, process model of development. Participation has brought in a more people-centred perspective to development. The development communicator is a trained person, soliciting participation of the target group providing information. This information is received, operationalised and fed back to the communicator which helps to reorient the model. It is clear that any model of development must be focused on the meaningful participation of the target group. The outcome should be the target group's increased receptivity to innovation and change, over time, leading to a reduction in the knowledge gap between the rich and the poor. "More importantly, the deeper concern for enabling people to take control of their own lives will be realized."<sup>9</sup>

## Conclusion

The case study of an NGO presented here shows how women have been helped to retain literacy by further training and are able to:

1. Be self-supporting.
2. Gain respect from the community.
3. Are free from social servitude.

These women are the forerunners of women who will take their rightful place in developmental issues in rural India. Women's organizations such as Vanasthali are significant, not just because they facilitate the implementation of development projects, but because they are a means for women to enhance their power.



## NOTES:

1. Singh (1986), pp. 19-20.
2. *Ibid*, p. 21.
3. Porter and Samovar (1985), p. 19.
4. Charlton (1985), Pp. 8-9.
5. Rosaldo (1974).
6. Armstrong (1978).
7. Beneria (1979).
8. Guba (1985), p. 219.
9. Nair and White (1987), p. 13.

\* \* \*

## WORKSHOP RESULTS

### Group Discussions

After the brief question period the panelists and the participants divided into two smaller groups to discuss the nature of the cultural dimension in development. They were asked to suggest ways in which the cultural dimension could be incorporated into the development process.

The teams determined ten arenas in which the cultural dimension was paramount.

1. Women's development activities
2. Technology transfer
3. Decision-making processes
4. Socialisation
5. Retrieving cultural values as a result of the modernization process
6. Formal and nonformal education
7. Empowering local people
8. Communication and mass media exposure
9. Health care systems
10. Environment.

### Recommendations to SID

The workshop put forward eight recommendations for operationalising the cultural perspective in development.

1. Involving the cultural community (artists, etc) across the planet in this effort.

2. Training of development workers in cultural sensitivity to implement these understandings.
3. Using tourism as a culturally empowering process.
4. Providing a platform for local people's values to be articulated.
5. Building a culturally-based framework for development.
6. Designing and implementing information technology from a culturally-based framework.
7. Designing a need-based technology.
8. Putting forth a multi-disciplinary focus of development.

Additional topics for workshops dealing with the subject of the cultural dimension have also been proposed:

1. When supporting and sustaining the local culture how does one determine when it is necessary to transcend local practices in order to further development?
2. Development involves a process of change in all areas including cultural patterns. How is it possible to change while retaining the fundamentals of cultural tradition?

## Conclusions

In naming the period 1988 to 1997 "The World Decade for Cultural Development," the United Nations Organisation was simply pointing to something which we all know must happen. After more than four decades of development programmes since World War Two, it seems that the time has come for the cultural dimension of development to take its rightful place alongside the other important dimensions - economic, social and political. Perhaps this "missing link" will make for a more holistic understanding and practice of development. It is highly related to other topical concerns of the moment, particularly participatory methods, strengthening indigenous institutions and the role of NGO's in development.

From the two presentations and the workshop reported here, it is clear that a number of critical challenges still remain to be met in this arena of development. The questions about the cultural dimension are just beginning to be formulated and the issues to be aired. The ten arenas listed by the teams in the workshop give ample scope for further research, debate and action. The eight recommendations for operationalising the cultural perspective make for a very creative list of ideas. Indeed, some of these are not new and are already being worked on.

The task now lies with field-workers and policy-makers alike to explore further and support the cultural dimension, not to set it apart from the mainstream of development but to incorporate it at every level and in every programme. While there is always the danger of it becoming simply a bandwagon or a cliché, at the present moment it would seem quite valid to emphasize the cultural dimension until it gains widespread acceptance as a key and integral part of the development process.

## TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

John Epps

*Time and again, development discussions wind their way back to certain basic questions. What is the nature of humankind? What are we out to "develop"? What are our hidden presuppositions in doing development? In attempting to answer such questions, John Epps spells out his perspective in five theses, which provide a framework for a possible "theology of development".*

Dr. Joseph Van Arendonk's speech, "New Directions in Development"<sup>1</sup>, posed a sensitive challenge to groups concerned with the human factor. Primary among them was the question, "What is Man?" (sic).<sup>2</sup> For without a clear and adequate concept of the human, development will inevitably be thwarted at best and destructive at worst. It will be guided by false notions, ancient hypotheses or cultural biases that have little to do with reality.

The question is related not only to the sector battling rural poverty; as Van Arendonk points out, efforts in the "Third World" must be complemented by efforts in the "First" (and "Second"). Tom Peters and Nancy Austin illustrate this contention in their superb analysis of top corporations, *A Passion For Excellence*. Too often, they say, management is characterized by T.D.C. (Thinly Disguised Contempt) which effectively negates the maximum development of human resources. No manager (or developer) intends contempt, but operating out of inadequate grasps of the human factor - often derived from cultural biases and fed by preoccupation with bottom lines - people commit highly prejudicial acts that negate their announced intentions (executive parking places, for example).

Indicating the human factor is an immensely complicated undertaking. Countless columns have been written on the subject, and the study of "humanities" has consumed a vast amount of intellectual energy through the ages. But the challenge posed by Van Arendonk is not to provide an exhaustive and definitive description of humankind. It is rather to describe the crucial elements of humanity with sufficient clarity to focus development efforts on real issues, issues whose resolution will make a real difference and be an enduring contribution to the human enterprise. None of us engaged in human development could wish for less, yet few of us know where to begin. Any response that approaches adequacy is bound to have a philosophical cast. The temptation is to wander into abstraction, or to restrict oneself to episodic insights in the manner of short stories. The former is too general, the latter too particular to be of much use.

The intent of this paper is to provide a set of indicators that point toward that about humanity which releases creativity, responsibility, and fulfillment. These comments, then, are an attempt to share insights into involvement with people around the world.

I will begin with five formulae concerning humanness, each with enough elaboration to provoke further reflection.

### Five Theses

1. Human beings are both limited and transcendent. This leads to the problem of suffering and death, and provides the possibility for religion.
2. Human beings are unique yet related. This situation presents the problem of evil and provides for the possibility of reconciliation.
3. Human beings are structured and yet creative. This duality leads to the problem of vocation and presents the possibility of integrity.
4. Human beings are both solitary and social. This presents the problem of participation and provides the possibility of responsibility.
5. Human beings are rational and emotional. This leads to the problem of values and provides the possibility for fulfillment.

**1. Human beings are limited and transcendent. This leads to the problem of suffering and death, and provides the possibility for religion.**

There is no point to efforts that attempt to exclude either the limitedness or the transcendence of human beings. Behavioral determinism and pure mysticism are both dehumanizing. Each has validity in its own sphere, but a human being is more than his or her biological or cultural conditioning and is also more than the capacity for unity with the cosmos. Neither will go away and both deserve enhancement - together.

The limits are faced most intimately in occasions of suffering and death; one's transcendence makes them problematic, seeming to negate any significance to life. Easy solutions don't work (e.g. "Why is it bad for babies to die if all their life will entail suffering?" or, "Don't grieve; he/she has gone to heaven or hell or reincarnation." The problem of suffering and death, which is the deepest form of the problem of meaning, will not go away. However much development efforts try, suffering and death will persist as problems and crises. It is not to say that developers should not minimize suffering and prolong life. But these efforts will not rid humanity of this problem.

The possibility in this situation is religion - *not* superstitious practices nor credal conformity nor institutional bigotry. But the possibility of human significance is found in perception and affirmation of the ultimate Mystery whence we come and to which we go and which permeates every instant of life. Acknowledging and affirming that "other-world-in-the-midst-of-this-world" provides a lasting significance to the human enterprise.

Experience bears this out. Village after village that has participated in human development has undergone a revitalization of the local religion. This is not a resurrection of ancient culture, but rather, a renewed perception of life's ultimate meaning in the face of suffering and death.

This is not to suggest that part of the development task is verbally to promote the verities of a particular religion - even a "transparent" one. That activity is the surest - and quickest - way to be thrown out of the community. It is, however, to say that fully engaging with people in their never-ending struggle with life's limits is mute but powerful communication of the significance that goes beyond successes and failures. It is to be a religious.

**2. Human beings are unique, yet related. This situation presents the problem of evil and provides the possibility for reconciliation.**

The uniqueness of each individual is self-evident. Excessive emphasis on self-actualization, however, whether through psychology or the numerous faddish schemes that emerged in the late sixties and early seventies, soon runs up against relationships. As John Donne noted, "No man is an island, entire of itself; each is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . ." Nor, however, can humanity or a community be regarded solely as a "lump", conforming automatically to established structures. Structures are necessary for development to be effective - but so also is attention to those who manage to "fall out" of them.

Because of our relatedness, individual activities have consequences far beyond the person or persons involved. Likewise, as Freud observed, group structures and values often have harmful consequences for individuals. This is the basis of the problem of evil. For even if the individual and the group are well-intentioned, the consequences of the benevolent activities are frequently destructive. Charitable acts, for example, usually create a demotivating dependency on the part of the recipients, even though they are intended for their benefit, and serve to pacify the conscience of the donor.

Efforts at human development need to go to extreme lengths to foresee and minimize negative consequences as they attempt to maximize both individual and group potential. But they need not be surprised to find spin-offs that wreak havoc on innocent parties. The problem of evil will not go away. Human life exists in the tension of being bound to that which frustrates.

The possibility in this situation is reconciliation, a term too often used to mean escape from tension. The tension, however, is inescapable. Real reconciliation occurs in its midst - when a bridging of the separateness appears providing a new linkage among people in their unique and tension-filled diversity. This reconciliation is the aim of human development.

Three approaches to development are now contending for the hearts, minds, pocketbooks and policies of our time. All three are attempts to deal with the individual-relation tension. One focuses on helping individuals and is marked by relief efforts to victims of natural or social disaster. The second emphasizes relatedness, and attempts to strengthen the dispossessed so that they can successfully contend with oppressive social structures. It is most clearly dramatized by insurgency movements and guerilla warfare. The third is the approach of human development in which individuals and communities are mobilized to do their own development alongside people from the public and private sectors.

The latter is the approach of reconciliation, for a coalition of this sort achieves a two-way bridge of communication and action, and so "unblocks" the relationship between "haves" and "have-nots". Promoting this link among people of integrity on both sides is the role of the developer. It entails being firmly rooted on both sides and being trampled on by each.

Such is the nature of a bridge. Without this role, attempts at naive reconciliation will be overcome by the inevitable tensions between the individual and human relatedness.

**3. Human beings are structured and yet creative. This duality leads to the problem of vocation and presents the possibility of integrity.**

Everybody wants to do something creative with his or her life. Whether it be for one's own power or prestige, or on behalf of family, friends, community, nation, profession or ideal, people are always facing the question of how to use their lives in a way that makes a difference. Simultaneously, people are determined by accident of birth to act out their lives within the confines of particular structures . . . organizations that provide protection to members and afford a mechanism through which creativity can be exercised effectively.

Paradoxically, the very structures - family, community, job, profession, etc. - constrict the creative impulses they exist to promote. To the creative spirit, personal capacity is too little, friends too narrow, the community too moribund, the job too confining, the ideal too distant. This disillusionment is the vocational problem, and it is the inevitable accompaniment to the human journey.

Response to the problem ranges from quiet despairing resignation to "occupation-hopping" to frantic and sometimes violent attempts to change the system and make room for more creativity. None of these responses resolves the problem, though each has a legitimate place in the scheme of things.

In looking at the lives of admirable people - "heroes" of the culture or recognized "saints" of the people - one finds, not an absence of the problem but a transformation of it. The problem of vocation for them is not something to be escaped but something to be owned and valued and struggled with continuously. This is the mark of integrity - to know, to own, and to struggle with one's creativity-within-limits, as part of one's unique contribution to civilization. This posture, and not defiance or transcendence, is behind the famous "here I stand" statement of Luther, often recognized as the motto of integrity.

Promotion of integrity, then, is the task of the human developer. More than and alongside of providing employment and income-generating ventures, the developer is attempting to promote local "ownership" of both the creativity and the structural limits of the particular situation. This task has to do with continually generating stories of the civilizational impact of the particular situation; for integrity is fed by the same stream as the vocational problem - an unlimited care about the future.

**4. Human beings are solitary and social. This presents the problem of participation and provides the possibility of responsibility.**

A common phenomenon affecting us all is the painful sense of being "left out". Whether it has to do with being "ganged up on" by schoolyard bullies or being by-passed in the company decision-making, all of us sense ourselves cut off from the seat of power, the core of decisions, and the majority opinions. There is no more powerful witness to our solitary/social nature than this feel. It seems as if we do belong and want to belong, but find ourselves a left-over piece of a reassembled machine relegated to an insignificant corner shelf. When in a group, we feel called on to "back off" or "stand out", but when left to our solitude we are unbearably lonely.

Curiously, no matter what level in the organization one attains, the experience is the same: "They" are in charge; "I" want to participate. Youth, women, elders, and men are all coming to terms with the drive for a significant role in the scheme of things and are inventing new ways to have a say. This is a tremendous breakthrough in its potential for releasing human resources. But it is only the tip of the iceberg.

Participation does not exist apart from the interior decision of responsibility. Whatever one's organizational level, so long as someone else is responsible *for* the organization, one's drive for participation will be frustrated. Responsibility (and participation) involves commitment of the self, the very opposite of protecting my solitude. Paradoxically, when the solitary self *is* committed, it does not go away, but rather is intensified.

You want to be where the action is? Then be *responsible* for the action. It works.

The task of human development is to design and promote mechanisms of participation - neighborhood meetings, village meetings, farmers' groups, women's organizations, health committees, etc. - so that everyone in fact *is* involved in the knowing and action of the community. But structures with lots of members and frequent meetings are not sufficient. Until the people begin to *own* the task, to sense personal responsibility *for* its success, the malaise of participation and suspicion of the nebulous "them" will persist. Eliciting responsibility is at the heart of the development task.

##### **5. Human beings are both rational and intuitive. This leads to the problem of values and presents the possibility of fulfillment.**

The first half of this century saw the demise of absolutist values - a milieu in which good and bad, right and wrong were clearly and universally defined. The second half has seen a proliferation of value-systems, often existing side-by-side. The value problem of today is not an absence, but a multitude of systems, each claiming exclusive validity. Such is our situation that the rock culture exists alongside conservative Islam and fundamentalist Christianity; in one place drug traffickers are hanged, in another, barely noticed. Revolution and counter-revolution in drugs, sex, education, and family ethics have left a bizarre assortment of practices in place. It is perfectly clear that values are invented, *not* built into the mechanism of the universe.

The problem people encounter in this situation is: by what standards shall I measure life? Rational ethical systems exist to guide behavior in the most diverse directions. It's quite confusing to one who would be authentic.

At that point it is clear that values go beyond the rational; indeed, the human capacity of reason functions principally to elucidate the implications of values selected by other means. The intuitive (right-brain, emotion, spiritual, etc.) capacity is more active than the rational in selecting values.

Arbitrariness provides a unique opportunity to affirm the given as the good. After all, who says my life (education, health, looks, family, income, community, etc.) is bad? Another option is to regard them as good - the very measure of authenticity. As absurd and arbitrary as this sounds, it is no more so than blindly accepting the judgment that it is a failure. And it has decidedly positive practical consequences.

The starting point for local development shifts from "helping the poor bastards change their abominable situation". The difference is profound. For however great the attempt to be tolerant, and however benevolent the intent, regarding the target of development as

defective is condescending and will result in arrogance. This is neither human nor effective. Regarding the given as the good (different, but good none the less) provides a basis for respect, for eliciting and using local input, and for celebrating local events, all of which are recognized necessities for human development. The possibility for eliciting fulfillment depends on its already being there. Our job is to release it.

## Conclusion

Dr. Van Arendonk has been exceedingly complimentary toward the ICA's work on human development, and we deeply appreciate his insightful and challenging remarks. His comments about us as "People of the Question" are especially provocative as they force us to an open future with no "axes" to grind or philosophies to defend. But it would be an exaggeration to suggest that we move in a void with no guidelines. In these remarks I have attempted to indicate what some of our answers have been to the perennial question "What is man?".

We may well be people of the question; certainly in the sense of constantly attempting to be on the edge of discovery. But not in any sense of valuing inquiry for its own sake. We settle for answers that are partial and transitory - but none the less useful. As new discoveries arise, it is our intent to embody them in the working models that underlie our action.

In the meantime, we offer these insights into the profoundly human as a contribution to the disclosure of that which will release resources for our new global civilization. And, as the good doctor recommends, we will keep our questions alive.

## Notes:

1. Dr. Joseph Van Arendonk, Chief, Programme Coordination, Management and Field Support Office, United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), New York, delivered an address to an international gathering of members of the Institute of Cultural Affairs, in Bilbao, Spain, in August 1986. His provocative address raised the question "What is Man?" and provided an image of the ICA as an organization of "People of the Question". Since this was intended to be an in-house presentation, we decided not to print it in this volume. However, the editors thought that Dr. Epps' response to Dr. Van Arendonk's paper had relevance far beyond the work of the Institute and therefore warranted inclusion in this volume.
2. A further development of this theme by Dr. van Arendonk is contained in his paper "Development, For What or Which Culture Are We Serving?", which appears in Chapter 8, "The Cultural Dimension of Development."





## **REVITALIZING TRADITIONAL SKILLS**

**Brian Zulu**

**Zambia**

At home, we have a lot of youth who have completed high school education, but they can't find employment even though some are skilled. This situation has gone on for some time. I was forced to come up with something which we call the Mufulira Youth Industries. (See Project BA-11, Volume 1.) It is based on small-scale industries and we use local resources: wood-carving material, copper craft, and bamboo trees from which we make cups.

On the district level, I saw the section chairman and told him what I had in mind for the youth. Nobody would allow their sons and daughters to come without special permission, so I explained what I had in mind. From that point the parents said "okay". Now we have a group of 200 youth in one village. Some of these youth already have the traditional talent that has been in the villages throughout history. We have some carvings to remind us what it was like, what kind of models they were using. We used the elders, a local resource, to make a design. The elders explained and demonstrated the traditional patterns to them. The youth caught on easily. After about nine months, we put them in the productive section, where they made such things as carvings of people dancing.

When we started we had no building, so we worked in the open air. We operated under a tree when the sun was too hot. Whatever was generated out of that we sold and raised

funds. The students get commissions on whatever is sold. There are elderly women in the village who know the ancient method of using the weaving machine to make clothes, and the old, old ways of making pottery with clay from the river.

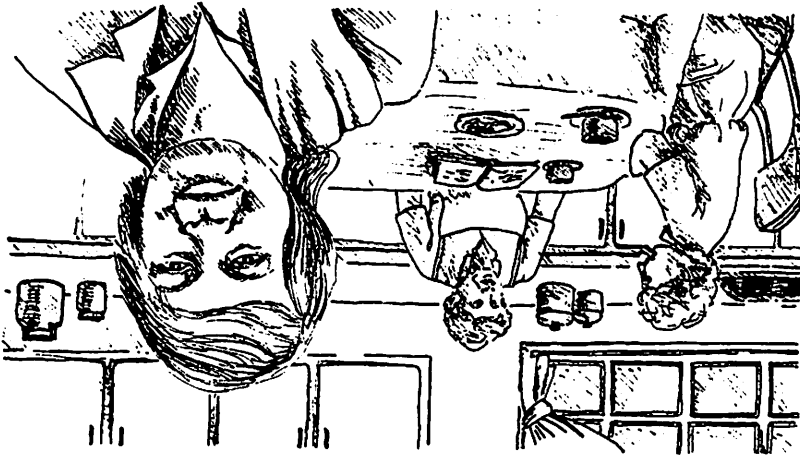
We have another group of youth whom we train as marketing supervisors. We ask these youths to go in the streets with the carvings. People come and look over our supply in our shop after they see some carvings in the streets.

The youth are also taught to work as a group that can plan and do things on its own, using the methods that the elders have taught them. They learn organisation, planning, and management, and what they are going to do with the skills they have learned. They then take their knowledge to youths in other villages. This is what enabled us to reach 8,000 youth in twenty villages. Since the number is rising every day I have been thinking of asking the government to establish some training programmes to accommodate a large number of students in different classes. We need to know a more appropriate way of doing this so we can mobilise ourselves.

# LITERACY BRINGS WOMEN LIBERATION

Lorna Ferguson

Canada



I am coordinating a tutoring program with community people teaching others on a one-to-one basis to read and write and do math. It is called the Reading and Writing Tutoring Project. (See Project NA-07, Volume 1.) I started in 1977 as a volunteer. Then in 1980 I left my work in the hospital and was hired as coordinator.

I think the most successful aspect of our program is that we see neighbors who can read and write, regardless of their formal schooling background, as the best possible people to teach someone else to read and write. But we also see our tutors as learners, so there is a built-in, on-going training program. Every one of our students is a potential tutor. That is a little different from some other volunteer tutor approaches which get people with grade twelve and university degrees as tutors. The tutoring program has expanded from two to about twelve communities.

In 1977 there were a few women from this large Mennonite community who formerly had no use for education. They had some schooling and they came to be trained as tutors in order to teach their husbands to read and write. Today we have more than eighty trained tutors in that community, and most of them are women. Through the literacy program these Mennonite women have begun to see themselves as people of value and worth. Most of them had led very closed lives; they married very young, had a large family, worked very hard on the farm, and went to church on Sundays. Now these women have discovered that by earning a little money, they have all these things to contribute.

It has had a ripple effect throughout their community in many ways. They have started to take up family planning actively. No one has been promoting it among them - for religious reasons you wouldn't dare do that - but among the literacy program readings are some easy things to read on the benefits of family planning. Another result is that they have taken some political action for the first time in their lives as women. They decided that the school buses were too big and that the children were on the buses too long. So they wrote a letter to the school board, and they got smaller buses.

There was no intent when we started the literacy program for any of these things to happen, but it is as though women in special situations are just sitting there waiting for something to open the door. The real learning is not book learning, but where people are talking to people. I think that is really the most important thing.

**Part II**  
**METHODS OF**  
**PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT**

## INTRODUCTION

Against the backdrop of the emerging development trends outlined in Part One, Part Two focuses on what has become the sine qua non of development today - participation. It examines methods of participation which have been used to facilitate development projects and programmes in a variety of situations around the world.

In her chapter, Mary D'Souza makes the point that participation is an approach that must be built into all stages of the development process. No longer is it adequate to have some experts build a development plan for a community or organisation. The people involved in the situation must themselves be given the opportunity and the methods, whereby their input is solicited and taken seriously. She gives several examples of how this has been done in various situations around the world.

But people don't just suddenly start participating in their own development. They need to be catalysed and trained to be able to participate effectively. Frank Powell discusses some of the issues associated with training for participation. His own experience as a trainer in both community and organisational development has provided him with a number of valuable insights in this field. These include is the necessity of tailoring training to the needs and context of the situation with which one is dealing. In her chapter, Rose Worden describes how this was done in a training programme she designed for a Mexican rural development agency.

Another aspect of a participatory development approach is the need for a greater role for "beneficiaries" in project evaluation. No longer is it sufficient to have only external evaluators assess the relative success or failure of a project. The active involvement of those who themselves live and work in a development project, and who will continue to do so long into the future, must be sought. Juan Arce and Rocio Lanao provide an overview of this topic, alluding to specific cases where people's participation in evaluation has become a reality.

To conclude this section, we address the issue of education in development. It has become increasingly clear that development is about the business of social change. Planned development activities affect the patterns of life of communities and cultures, often dramatically. The important question is how best to carry out the change, while honouring and using traditional wisdom. In describing a process of "education that changes lives", Ronnie Seagren draws on her experience as an educator and development professional to show how it is possible to break through restricting old images of prescribed behaviour, to allow people to acquire new skills and adopt new roles.

## PARTICIPATION: THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Mary D'Souza

*Community participation is not easily accomplished. Too often it is seen as a low priority, becoming a good idea added to some major, "hard" or macro project. It is viewed as "more trouble than it is worth". Through its human development projects in a number of countries, the ICA has shown that participation is not a phase of development but a key aspect of every phase. In this chapter, Mary D'Souza describes the methods used by the ICA in participatory planning, training and implementation and their impact on local communities. It draws on ICA's experience in four countries.<sup>1</sup>*

### Rural Kenya:

#### Impact Of Participation On Health And Agriculture

The ICA has been working in Kenya for the last thirteen years in the field of rural development. In 1975, the first pilot human development project in Kenya was launched in Kawangware, a squatter community on the outskirts of Nairobi. Locally based industries, a health centre, a training and education centre for 50 adults and 900 children, a clean drinking water system, improved drainage, a nutrition programme and a child spacing programme were implemented in Kawangware.

In 1978, a national experiment in rural development evolved out of the work and success of Kawangware. It began in the village of Kamweleni in Machakos District. Over 300 Kenyan women and men were trained in the methods of community organisation and leadership in the ICA training centre in Kamweleni. They then served as ICA volunteers and trained villagers in 26 districts around Kenya. Over 1400 villages in these 26 districts were involved and linked into a network of national replication of community development. Village leaders were trained in short-term village leadership institutes. In addition, government staff were involved in seminars to review and assist the development of the villages.

#### Evaluation of the Impact of Participatory Methods

In order to evaluate the impact of participatory methods, Dr. Joseph M. Mbindyo, of the University of Nairobi, and Mr. Joseph Makokha of the African Press Research Bureau, Nairobi, conducted a research study over a two-year period (1982-1984).<sup>2</sup> The study was

conducted to discern the changes that occur for a set of preselected variables in villages that participated in this network of grassroots development in Kenya. (See Figure 5).

The research method began with a pre-experiment questionnaire in 1982 in which a random sample of 608 villagers in project and control areas were interviewed to establish baseline data.

### **ICA's Programme**

The ICA's experimental programme included the following elements:

- Facilitation of a planning meeting in each village to build a two-year plan. At this meeting villagers divided themselves into five clusters of 40 to 50 families who chose a leader and a voluntary health worker.
- Village leaders were given training for one week on how to implement projects and lead a group.
- Two days a month, the villages were visited by ICA staff who reviewed the accomplishments of the small working groups and the village as a whole. This was to help the villages to redesign their plan of action for the coming month.
- The voluntary health workers were trained in a two-week programme with health manuals which they were to use with the 40 to 50 families assigned to them.
- Every three months, a Village Leaders Conference and a Health Conference were held in which all the village leaders and community health workers of the location gathered to share accomplishments, and plan their work in the sub-location and location. They were frequently joined by government officers of various ministries and the Office of the President who shared information on programmes in the location.
- A three-day planning session was held with the Locational government officers to review the village action plans and to build a coordinated timeline for the ministry personnel. Over a period of 18 months, training programmes were conducted in all of the sub-locations of the project areas.

### **Post-Experiment Survey and Its Implications**

A post-experiment survey was conducted using the same questionnaire in 1984. In each of the three project areas of Kigumo Division, Hamisi Division and Kaloleni Division, 226 interviews were conducted in the three sublocations where ICA had been active, and a further 225 in control sublocations. A total of 451 people were interviewed. Variables tested included agriculture, health, health knowledge, nutrition and sanitation practices, family planning, residential compound profile and social participation.

The results of this survey indicated a significant change over a two-year period as a result of the training of village leaders in the health and agricultural programmes. (See Figure 5). The programme demonstrated development technology being handled by the people as a result of training in participatory planning and self-reliant development. The difference is especially notable in the awareness and practices of people as they see a need for change, becoming clear on the alternatives and choose to shift from obsolete modes of responding to their situation.



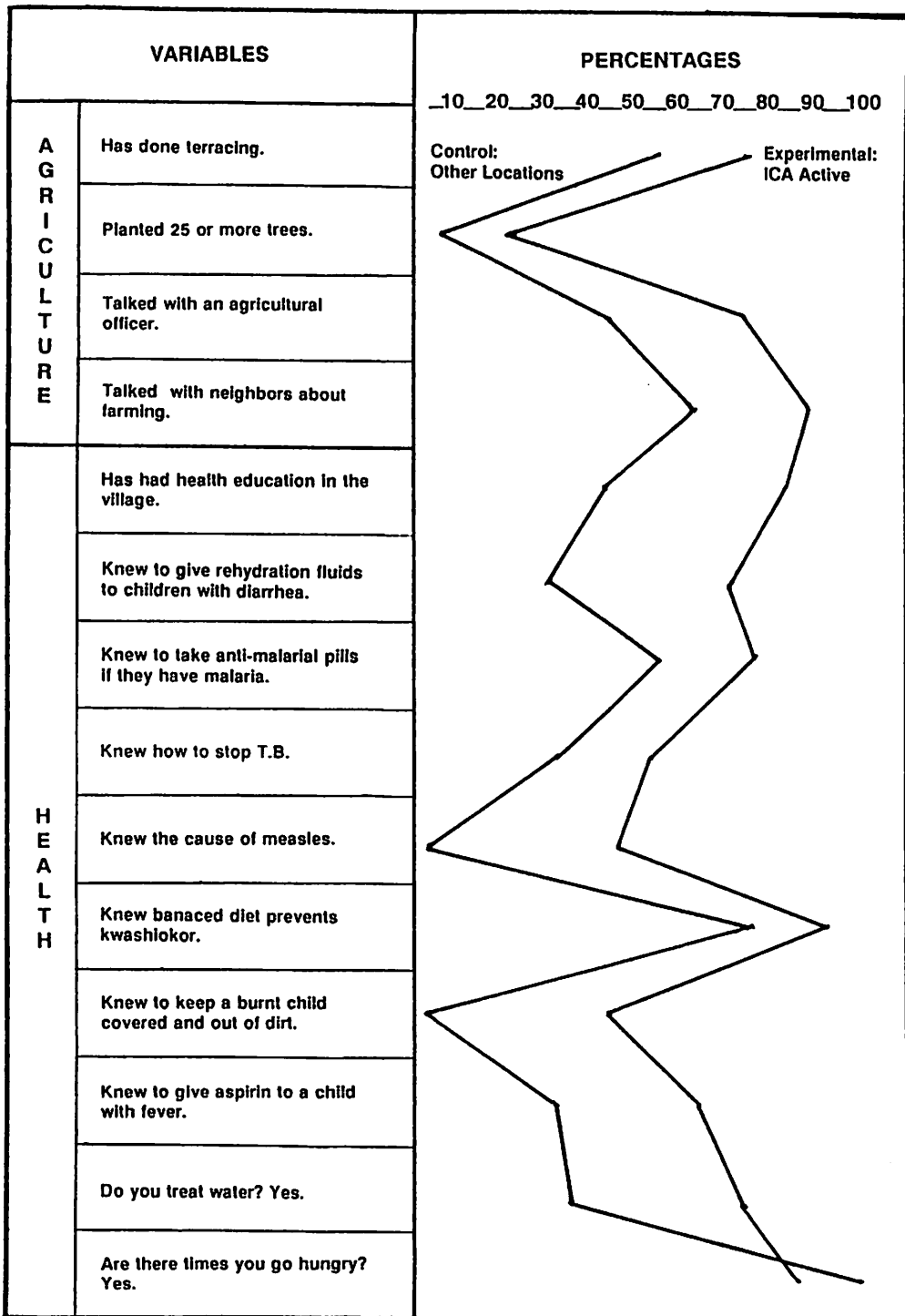


Figure 5. The impact of participatory processes on agriculture and health in rural Kenya

## Aboriginal Australia: The Participatory Planning Process

### Goal-Oriented Problem Solving

The following Japanese myth illustrates a common mistake in development efforts:

*Once upon a time there were two villages connected by a single road. One village produced food for itself and its neighbour; the other provided both with hunting equipment. One day a huge dragon settled across the road, blocking travel between the two villages. Villagers attacked it with spears, which splintered against the beast's thick hide. They tried to lasso it, but the dragon's flames burned the ropes to ashes. Week after week they laboured, sacrificing many lives and finally giving up in despair. Their food was depleted and the supply of hunting equipment exhausted in the battle against the dragon. One day a youth climbed a tree to observe the dragon and discovered a remarkable thing: a farmer from a distant village was dumping garbage right under the dragon's snout. An envoy was soon dispatched to ask the farmer to move his dump to a remote field. The dragon relocated to this new feeding area, and the two villages were once again able to travel the road and serve each other.*

Often development efforts approach social issues in the same way: by attacking what appears to be the major problem. They assault head-on whatever is immediately perceived as blocking the achievement of a desired goal with the intent of eliminating it. As the story illustrates, goal-oriented problem solving tends to result in myopia which narrows a community's perspective and often blinds it from seeing beyond symptoms to the root cause of social pain.

### Contradiction Analysis

Contradiction analysis is a method used by the ICA to view the situation from a broad perspective and identify the deep sociological constraints to the vision of the future. Following such an analysis, a plan of strategic action is built to deal with the underlying contradictions. The process facilitates action for long-lasting change rather than attempting to eliminate surface problems. In an ICA Human Development Project the process of contradiction analysis and strategic planning by the residents is an ongoing activity. The method of contradiction analysis was developed by the ICA in fifteen years of experience in Fifth City, Chicago, USA. (See Figure 6).

### Oombulgurri Village Consultation, 1975

One of the first communities to use this process was Oombulgurri, an Aboriginal settlement located 40 miles northwest of Wyndham in the outback of Western Australia. In 1973, 50 Aboriginal people decided to resettle their abandoned tribal land. Within a year the community grew to 200 residents who initiated a "pay for work" system to redirect their welfare incomes as a symbol of self-sufficiency. In 1975 the people and Council of Oombulgurri invited the ICA to facilitate a nine-day consultation to build a comprehensive community plan.

With authorisation of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the consultation began on August 10, 1975. Thirty consultants from across Australia and several other countries arrived in groups of five and six as the same light airplane landed and took off all day from the dusty airstrip. The village had never hosted such a large group. The guests represented the public, private and voluntary sectors, and they possessed a wide range of skills and experience in development.

During the nine-day participatory consultation, community residents and consultants functioned as a unified research and planning team. Organised into five groups, the team conducted analysis and field research, spending many hours visiting and talking with the rest of the community. Periodically, the groups convened to organise the data and discern the emerging consensus. Throughout the consultation, the villagers contributed their own experience with local issues, thus assuring practicality and relevance, while the consultants brought fresh approaches and new insights.

First the team charted the operating vision of what the residents hoped their community might become. Oombulgurri's vision incorporated both social self-dependence and economic self-sufficiency. While they saw the need for economic ventures to support themselves, they also desired practical training in modern skills and new ways to reclaim their culture.

Next the team discerned the underlying contradictions, constraints which were blocking the realisation of the vision. Support systems linking Oombulgurri to resources, services and expertise available in Australia were ineffective and not only prevented development but produced a debilitating sense of isolation and insignificance. This was identified as the major contradiction. Underdeveloped approaches to local food production and inapplicable ancient cultural forms also blocked the emergence of the new community.

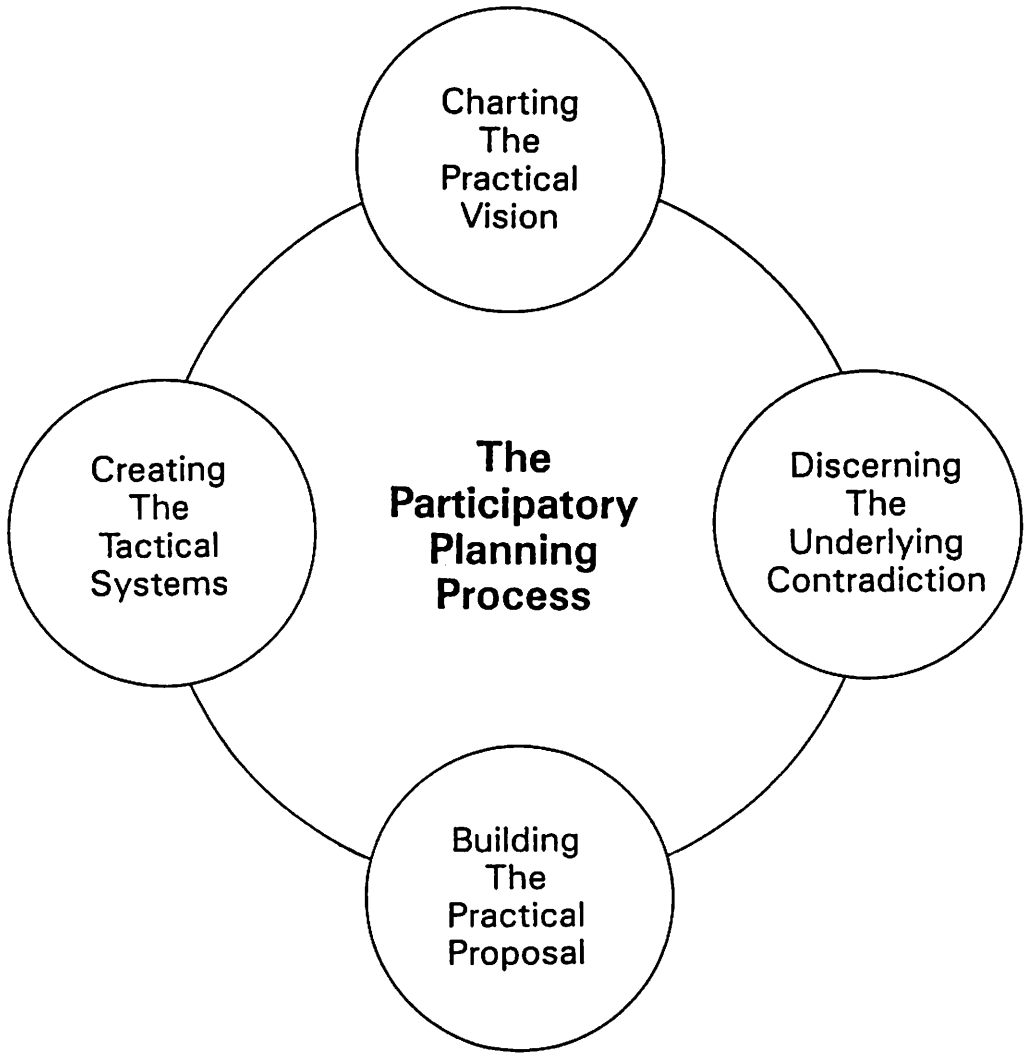
The team designed practical proposals and tactical systems to deal with these and other contradictions. Discussions focussed on specific ways to develop business and agriculture, to procure equipment, to improve education, health and transportation and to reclaim the aboriginal heritage. Finally, the team determined the programmes that would be needed, and designed a four-year implementation calendar.

The results, published in a document, guided the implementation phase and became a symbol of the community's decision. The eventfulness of the consultation heightened interest and strengthened the community's commitment to development. The participatory planning methods established patterns for formation of consensus which continued on a daily and weekly basis.

### **Oombulgurri Self-evaluation, 1978**

In May 1978 community members evaluated what they had accomplished in the previous three-and-a-half years. They listed economic advances which included a locally managed profit-making community store. Agriculture ventures had made the community self-sufficient in eggs, meat and vegetables and allowed export to Wyndham. The traditional Wunan system of social care and support was revitalised as a community fund through which residents invested \$84,000 in village programmes. The Member of Parliament from the North Province indicated in February 1978 that the government had been saved \$903,000 from 1974 to 1978. There were three contributing factors: the reduced government subsidies, the private sector's participation in providing goods and services, and the Wunan self-help system.

Social self-reliance was developed by strengthening the community's ability to care for its health, education and well-being. With encouragement and training from ICA staff, the people of Oombulgurri established a primary school and preschool with a combined attendance of 100; health and nutrition improved dramatically through the installation of a community kitchen supported by the Wunan and the training of community health workers; serious anaemia was reduced amongst school-age children by 98% in two years, and no



**Figure 6.** The participatory planning process

infant deaths occurred despite a national infant mortality rate of 10% for aborigines. Many Oombulgurri residents travelled outside the community for training events and for a "walkabout" of meetings in 75 other aboriginal communities.

These economic and social changes were the result of the way in which the people of Oombulgurri were able to transpose their ancient cultural practices into meaningful forms for contemporary use. The Wunan (sharing system) was one example. Another was the use of family-related housing groups to care for environmental improvements. The task forces initiated to manage the store, school system, poultry and cattle programmes followed the tribal work structures. Training and planning sessions were enlivened by "corrobooree" victory celebrations of dancing and singing the stories of great accomplishments.

None of these changes came about overnight. They involved endless hours of conversations, meetings and shoulder-to-shoulder work. There were frequent intrusions from outside the community that disrupted its ongoing life. Alcoholism continued to plague the daily life of people, especially the middle-aged men of the community. Two centuries of bitterness and pain did not suddenly disappear.

But it is doubtful that an outside planner would have come up with such culturally relevant forms of community care and action. The community itself, in participatory planning for long-term development, was able to design effective methods of implementation. The role of the ICA staff living in the community was to provide the occasion and the participatory methods for the initiating consultation and the programmes which followed. The ICA staff constantly encouraged Oombulgurri residents to recognise the importance of their ancient cultural practices and to find ways of applying them to the current situation.

### **Rural India: Participatory Programme Implementation**

In 1975 the village of Maliwada, Aurangabad District, Maharashtra, embarked on an integrated programme of self-development. Encouraged by the public and private sectors, and supported by a resident ICA team, the village demonstrated that a once-forgotten community could make its wishes come true. In three years Maliwada had implemented extensive new housing, electricity, upgraded roads and drains, a health centre staffed by local paramedics, educational programmes for all ages, a bank and a beautified environment. A key to the accelerated development process was the pattern of community organisation employed over the first two years of the Maliwada Human Development Project.

From the very beginning of ICA contact in the village, regular meetings of village representatives played a vital role in maintaining the consensus and the autonomy of the village. Through these village meetings, plans and actions were tailored to the needs of the village. Eventually a core of people emerged to guide the total development process in the village beyond the project itself.

ICA staff lived in the village, worked in disciplined teams and toiled shoulder to shoulder with the village residents. Volunteers guided and accompanied village people in their endeavour to tap government schemes, bank loans and outside expertise. They taught the villagers systematic planning, how to set up community organisations, how to

start small industries and how to gain access to agricultural training. The underlying intent of every activity was to build self-confidence and competence. This support of village residents through the development process called the "shadow principle".

### **ICA's Method for Participatory Implementation in Maliwada**

In the first two years, five village structures supported each other to attain full participation: task-oriented groups called "guilds", geographical neighbourhoods called "stakes", village leader meetings, community-wide workdays held every Sunday morning, and total community meetings. (See figure 7).

#### *1. Guilds - Task-Oriented Groups*

Guilds were an important part of project implementation. They provided ways for the residents actively to engage in doing something directly about the situation in the village. The guilds provided opportunities to learn, exchange information, share learnings, think through unresolved issues and create solutions. They provided opportunities for broad discussion that allowed individuals and families to risk new ways of dealing with age-old difficulties. They provided a rapid training opportunity as issues were widely discussed.

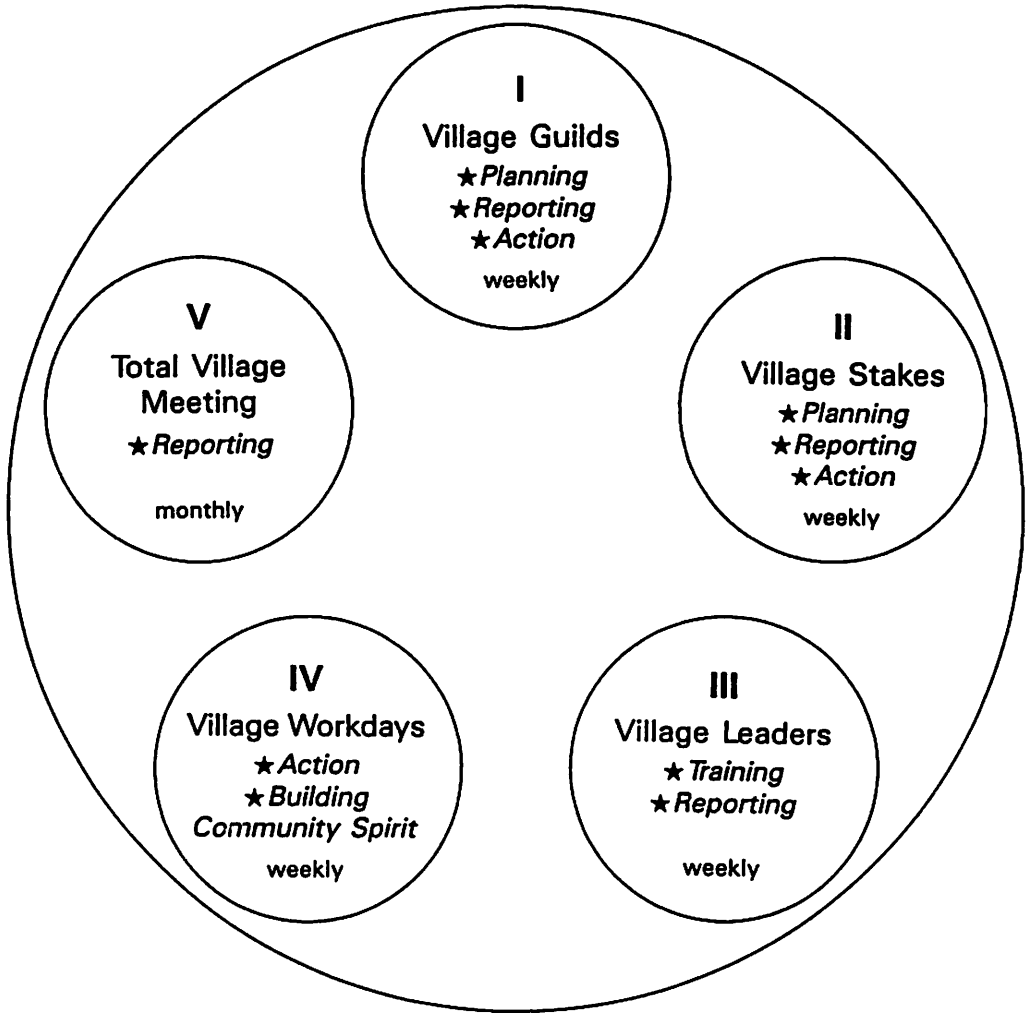
The various guild meetings were scheduled simultaneously on Tuesday evenings. Each hour-long guild meeting was comprised of such elements as community singing, rehearsal of the guild motto, reporting of activities and programmes to date, listing and discussion of issues and the plan of activities for the following week with assignments for specific tasks.

Designed in a participatory community consultation, the Maliwada two-year plan was used to discern key arenas for implementation. The arenas that needed the most urgent attention were: health, education, external relationships with other villages, agencies and the government, agriculture, trade, and construction of the village. This delineation of the tasks led to the naming of the guilds: Doctors Guild, Farmers Guild, Teachers Guild, Traders Guild, Ambassadors Guild, and Builders Guild.

The total community was organised to be a part of these guilds. Families could choose their guild by their interest. The guilds often scheduled problem-solving meetings to respond to particular issues. One such meeting was scheduled during the set-up of the Nutritious Food Packaging Industry to organise the distribution of the product across the district.

Special training programmes were also scheduled for the village residents on a regular basis. One such training programme was a ten-day session on preventive health measures conducted by the Doctors' Guild and the Family Welfare Training Centre. Participants included women and men from all walks of life in the village.

On Saturday mornings ongoing planning and training sessions were conducted by the Teachers' Guild to prepare curriculum and train village residents as teachers. Each guild would plan celebrations to mark the completion of the programme. One such celebration was hosted by the Builders' Guild at the completion of 10 new houses for the poorest of the poor.



**Figure 7.** Maliwada's participatory modes for programme implementation

## 2. *Stakes - Geographical Neighbourhoods*

In the first year of the project the 200 households in the village and farm areas were divided into five geographical neighbourhoods. This assured the inclusion of "backward" communities that lived in two separate sections of the village. These two less-developed neighbourhoods comprised two of the five stakes and therefore had their representatives in the village leaders' meetings. Their voice in community affairs was a significant landmark in the way the village developed and later won them a place in the village panchayat, the five-member council of elders.

The stake meetings took place in the home or courtyard of one of the persons in the neighbourhood. The stakes met on Wednesday evenings simultaneously and dealt with neighbourhood concerns. In the early years, prime concerns were sanitation, health care and beautification of the environment.

## 3. *Leaders Meetings*

The leaders met weekly on Friday evenings to monitor the project and to learn the methods that were used by the staff of the ICA. The leaders represented all the sections of the community and provided leadership and direction to the project. A minimum of eleven people participated (one person from each of the five stakes and one person from each of the six guilds). However, as all meetings were open, it was not unusual for 30 to 40 people to be present.

## 4. *Workdays*

The village gathered for workdays on Sunday mornings to do physical reconstruction. Roads were built, trees were planted, debris was cleared, children's playgrounds were created, but most important of all, workdays gave rise to community spirit.

## 5. *Monthly Village Meetings*

Monthly village meetings gave occasion for the total village to meet and report on the progress of the plans. These meetings were held on the last Sunday of every month. Music underscored the spirit of celebration of the meeting, while the microphone dramatised the importance of the event. Guild and stake leaders gave reports to the total village of the group's accomplishments.

## **Impact of ICA's Human Development Methods on the Community of Maliwada**

In the beginning, broken by factions and intercommunity tensions, the village struggled with working together. While these tensions did not entirely disappear, they were sufficiently transcended to allow self-determination to emerge. Buddhist, Harijan and Muslim sections have played the role of co-partners with the Hindus in the whole process. A variety of economic conditions and employable skills were cultivated into a viable social pattern. Human development is noticeable in the changes of the mindset, lifestyle and structures of Maliwada.

### *1. Impact on the Thinking of the People*

The mindset of the people has shifted from "subsistence" to "entrepreneur". This is a substantial change in the self-image best exemplified by the community's basic approach to problems. Before the project Maliwada people understood themselves to be victims of the



seasons and poor conditions with little or no say about their destiny. Though they cannot control the rain and the drought, today people talk about how they have gained courage and self-confidence. They feel they have the capacity to approach any person to seek solutions without feelings of intimidation.

The change in thinking can also be observed in the economic options which were created. Maliwada villagers have moved from subsistence approaches to an experimental application of modern methods, determining what is most appropriate for their situation. During the dry years between 1984 and 1986, many villagers shifted to jobs outside the village; seventy-five people were employed in Aurangabad and its environs. Others found more ways to earn money locally. The entrepreneurial spirit is now a reality. As individuals and families have gained courage they have tried various economic ventures. The rise in local commerce and small industries bears witness to this.

The shift in the mindset of people is also exemplified through the training that residents have acquired in literacy, basic education and a range of practical and technical skills. They have invested time, effort and money in learning. They have worked to ensure that their children will also learn, and they have shared their new knowledge with others.

## *2. Impact on the Lifestyle of the People*

Before the project the people of Maliwada thought of the village as "run-down". But Maliwada had become what one resident calls a "hub of commerce and social activity". Changes in lifestyle and basic standards of living are visible at every turn. Maliwada is not a rich village, but neither is it deprived.

The appearance of the village has shifted from dusty and neglected to clean and attractive. New and remodeled houses are seen in all parts of the village. Waste and debris are kept to a minimum. Amenities such as electricity and piped water, services such as banking and transportation and a vigorous economic climate have attracted new residents to the village of Maliwada. The population has more than doubled over the last ten years from 1,200 to 2,900.

The improvement in overall health of the village has been accomplished by a combination of access to curative care and knowledge of and provision of several preventive health facilities. The drinking water scheme, toilets, health education and community kitchen all played a role.

A major shift has occurred in the roles of women. Ten years ago women worked on the farms, sold grass and hired themselves out as casual unskilled labor. Today many women have learned new skills that allow them to earn money, such as selling vegetables, tailoring, operating small stores, teaching and health care. Women are in greater control of their economic situation with the increase in the family incomes. They spend more time in the village, and the children are better clothed and fed. The women also have the confidence to talk to and conduct business with a broad section of people beyond their immediate families.

## *3. Impact on Leadership and Cooperation of the People*

Some years ago in Maliwada the donkeys roaming aimlessly through the village were jokingly pointed out as the village leaders. Maliwada has moved a long way from this old joke. Factionalism has been overcome by the creation of formal and informal ways to cooperate.

The seven year struggle for an effective community organisation has resulted in Maliwada gaining a separate Gram Panchayat. The villagers trust that their past experimentation with broadened leadership and cooperative decision-making gives them ways to ensure that the Panchayat works actively for the good of the entire village.

The new dairy cooperative is the most notable group effort in the village at the moment. A young farmer and a doctor worked on lifting the freeze on the bank loans for loan defaulters who were also members of the cooperative society, by ensuring the regular repayment on their current loans. The profits of the cooperative are passed on directly to their members. Other options for cooperative efforts are now being discussed.

Eleven public places of worship have been created in the village. Major festivals are celebrated across the whole village. People of different castes eat together frequently. With the Gram Panchayat as a decision-maker and guide, the individuals and families are working toward their own development. No one section of the community is content to let the others determine the direction of the community without their participation.

## **Rural Jamaica:**

### **Indicators Of Human Resources Development**

In practice, participatory methods of grassroots development encourage an evolving journey of change in the situation and within people. Actual change is created by people who have struggled with the constraints of the situation. The particularities of the change in communities vary from village to village, but a pattern can be seen in the people, their attitudes, their style and community structures. These changes become benchmarks in human resources development.

### **Phases in the Journey of Human Development**

The Journey Chart indicates phases in the journey of human development. (See Figure 8). It can be used as an objective screen of reference to discern the status of a community or group of communities as they participate in the development process. The Journey Chart is built on the work and experience of the ICA globally.

The first phase is marked by the shift in the attitudes of the residents, by a willingness to plan the future, to work together and to take initiative. In the second phase, new styles and modes of working together emerge. This is marked by cooperative efforts, by a trusted committed leadership and the capacity to work in collaboration with outside agencies. In the third phase, structures are in place, economic ventures have become profitable and patterns of open and informed participatory decision-making have been established.

### **The Blue Mountain Human Development Cluster**

In February 1982 the Blue Mountain Human Development Cluster Consultation created a two-year social and economic development plan for 16 villages within a five mile radius of the Woburn Lawn Village in St. Thomas Parish. Woburn Lawn was chosen as the base for this experiment in multi-village development because of its own successful journey in the development process and as a demonstration of the key role of local initiative. Some of the results of this effort include:

	Phase I Project Initiation Change in Attitude	Phase II Project Stabilization Change in Style	Phase III Project Maturation Change in Structures
<b>ECONOMIC SUFFICIENCY</b>	<p>Willingness to plan the future: "We can risk"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Decision to work for little or not income in the short term rather than wait for handouts</li> <li>*Not giving up during setbacks and hard times</li> <li>*Risking a new cooperative approach: tool pools, farm, bakery</li> </ul>	<p>Working Cooperative Organisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Cooperative groups working</li> <li>*Carrying out venture research and planning</li> <li>*Developing a business style and learning new business skills</li> <li>*Members offering time, money and land</li> </ul>	<p>Profitable Economic Ventures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Ventures becoming profitable</li> <li>*Local inputs of resources in place</li> <li>*Local management systems operating efficiently</li> <li>*Making use of local resources</li> </ul>
<b>HUMAN SELF-CONFIDENCE</b>	<p>Willingness to work together: "We can work together"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Sense of cluster-community identity, instead of separate, antagonistic villages</li> <li>*New community property not vandalised</li> <li>*Openness, telling community story to outsiders</li> <li>*Cooperative approach to community issues</li> </ul>	<p>Trusted Committed Leadership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Trained leaders, such as a teaching team, Co-op leaders and members</li> <li>*Style that honors others rather than confrontational</li> <li>*Team-work vs. isolated efforts</li> <li>*Long-term development perspective vs. short-term benefits now</li> </ul>	<p>Established Participation Patterns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Interchange mechanism across cluster, paper published, radio system</li> <li>*Regularised schedule of events and meetings</li> <li>*Transportation system</li> </ul>
<b>SOCIAL RELIANCE</b>	<p>Willingness to take initiative: "We can make the difference"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Formation of new groups: drama, women, youth</li> <li>*Community celebrations marking accomplishments</li> <li>*Voluntary workdays</li> <li>*Good attendance at planning meetings</li> </ul>	<p>Collaborative Working Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Sustained working relationships with outside agencies: CIDCO, Ministry of Agriculture</li> <li>*Improved community environment: gardens, roads, murals</li> <li>*Women and men working together as partners in development</li> <li>*Cross cluster meetings</li> </ul>	<p>All Age Care Organisation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Formalised cluster councils, guilds</li> <li>*Expanded clubs: youth, elders, women</li> <li>*Basic schools and libraries in each village</li> <li>*Voluntary health programme</li> </ul>

Figure 8. Indicators of the journey of human development in a cluster of villages

- A core of leadership across the sixteen-village cluster which is non-partisan and concerned with the development of the area;
- A cluster-wide sense of identity and belonging which has reduced the sense of insecurity and hostility in the area;
- A range of cooperative ventures demonstrating community-based initiative, including volunteering time and effort for the construction of a road, tool pools, economic ventures and social projects;
- Emerging legal entities (3 new cooperatives) which can provide the basis for long-term development; and
- Multi-sectoral support for the initiative shown in the Blue Mountain Cluster including both technical assistance and material contribution.

In 1985 at the time of an annual evaluation it was discerned that the Blue Mountain cluster of 16 villages was in its second phase of the journey of development and had reached a stage of stabilisation. The cluster development effort is now moving to its third phase of development, that of project maturation where the people have the confidence and the experience to continue on the development journey.

## Conclusion

ICA's experience in each of these nations leads to several conclusions. Although not every programme has been documented as well as the Kenya Replication Scheme, the conclusions drawn by the evaluation team in Kenya represent ICA's conclusions on the necessity of participation for self-sustaining development.

"Policy implications of the findings of this study are many . . . The villagers are capable of determining their own development priorities and organising around given objectives to improve their lot . . . The multiple targets of the policy implications are: i) the villagers, ii) national policy-makers, iii) non-governmental voluntary development agencies, and iv) international donor agencies.

Developing nations must now recognise the 'growth with equity' approach in their rural development planning systems. This approach assumes that participation of the poor is essential to overcoming the powerlessness of those who live in poverty. This research has demonstrated that the small farmer's knowledge and input may well determine the project's success. Our recommendation to the international donor agencies is that this new emphasis should further be reinforced by them by requiring that development projects be designed and implemented with the participation of the poor.

The villagers must recognise and be proud of their organisational and management potential. They should take note of the fact that the context of the participation includes administrative, political and consumer aspects. This stress on participation has clear implications for the role of the national planner or local administrator. No longer is he or she involved in persuading, cajoling, or forcing the changes mandated by the government. Instead, the task is to consider how the farmer might be involved in defining, developing, administering and evaluating programmes. In short, the professional's role is to bring about participation".<sup>3</sup>

## NOTES:

1. This chapter was initially written at the request of INSTRAW, the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.
2. Mbindyo (1984).
3. *Ibid.*

## TRAINING FOR PARTICIPATION

Frank Powell

*Participation doesn't just happen, it is an acquired skill. Training for participation is now a major concern for both development workers and community residents alike. Frank Powell examines the historical evolution, context and vision for training in participation. In drawing on his own experience in community and organisational development, he lays out eleven lessons learned about effective training for participation.*

### Evolution of the Concern for Participation

This chapter examines some of the basic issues of people-centred, participatory development. Most people now recognise that authentic participation by all those involved in developing programs or projects is essential. Active involvement is the key to sustainable development, be it of communities or organisations. At each stage - design, planning, implementation and evaluation - responsibility for the total development process is assumed by the intended beneficiaries.

The shift from passive to more active participation in development has begun to take root. The reasons for this shift are fairly obvious. If someone from outside the community comes in with a plan or proposal, everyone in the community assumes that responsibility for implementation lies with the person, agency or organisation that developed and introduced it. The organisation or agency will obviously provide the funding and do the work. The community has little ownership either of the process or the outcome.

This reduces the community's role to that of passive recipient; it is "welfare-ism" at its worst. The absence of any sense of accomplishment only erodes community pride rather than strengthens it. Instead of creating a sense of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, there is a crippling sense of dependency; what is implicitly communicated is that the community is not qualified to design and implement projects - in short, the people are not capable of caring for their own needs. Such outside, expert-based development can lead to negative and incapacitating self-images.

Gradually the concept of community-based, self-help development has become the dominant image of effective development. But it was quickly discovered that the idea was much simpler than its implementation. For a decade or more, people in villages had been

welfare recipients. They had bought completely the proposition that they were not qualified to do their own development. Community-based, self-help development images introduced into such an environment of learned dependency met with repeated failure. Those who were early ambassadors of this new concept became frustrated and often cynical.

So, the necessity of training for participation became apparent. Just as people learned to be grateful, but passive recipients of well-intentioned development efforts, so now they had to be retrained to be active participants. Initially, participation was somewhat superficial, involving little more than "rubber stamping" a plan conceived elsewhere. Over time, however, everyone realised that participation had to be genuine or it would not happen at all.

Superficial images are giving way to concepts of active involvement in project design, planning, implementation and evaluation. Done properly, these concepts are time-consuming, sometimes threatening to vested interests, and often contradictory to tradition and/or current decision-making patterns. The patterns of non-participation, even in the West, are the result of years of gradual evolution. Current generations have generally never lived in an environment in which active and authentic participation was the norm rather than the exception. Training for participation is not a one-time effort or program; it is an ongoing process that can take years, rather than weeks or months.

Yet, for all the issues, participation is here to stay. Without it, no project can be successful for long or sustainable beyond the initial intervention. The evidence is simply overwhelming. Virtually every analysis of failed projects begins with the lack of genuine community participation as a primary contributing factor.

The issue of participation is an issue for all organisations, from villages in developing countries to multinational corporations in Europe and the United States, from local churches to international NGOs and donor agencies, from town councils in Australia to Mitsubishi in Japan. It is a universal issue. Recent management and "excellence" books are presenting documented evidence that support varied forms of genuine participation. Where it is not present, productivity drops, routine and bureaucracy kill motivation, and employee dissatisfaction and turn-over rise dramatically.

### **Establishing the Context for Participation**

Too often, training for participation is carried out as a "canned" program. That is, the trainer or training organisation finds a program that "works" in a particular situation and then - to overstate the case - canonises it, publishes "the" training manual, prints appealing course brochures, and markets it as effective and tested. This reflects the perennial quest for "the" solution, the "right answer" - it represents a deep hope for a simple, quick and relatively painless solution to a complex problem. Fortunately or unfortunately, solutions are rarely simple, quick or painless, nor are they the same in every situation. Outcomes will seldom end up being what the interventionist thought they would be at the outset. Rather, results are generally surprising and arise out of and in the midst of the process. Furthermore, transformation often has a "time lapse" element to it, i.e. the change won't begin to be apparent until years after the intervention. This implies a period of germination, ingestion and digestion, of settling in, of a gradual incorporation of new concepts and modes of operating.

The alternative to "canned" programs is a tailored, long-term approach. This sounds easier than it is. The community or organisation is rarely prepared to make a long-term commitment or investment at the beginning. If the commitment comes, it usually comes well into the process, after repeated positive feedback has had time to have an effect on the decision-makers.

Most communities, organisations and corporations are susceptible to programs marketed as quick solutions. They would rather not get involved in a long-term, and often dramatic, change process. Disenchantment with previous programs makes it even more difficult to generate commitment to a comprehensive, lasting change process. Most are aware that if they commit themselves to serious training for participation, they are in fact committing themselves to organisational transformation. This is a frightening prospect to many.

The tailored, long-term approach to training must begin with a careful and comprehensive understanding of the existing operational context of the community or organisation. This is common sense, based on the adage, "To get anywhere, you must start from where you are." Obvious, yes: practised regularly, no. This understanding of the existing operational context is multifaceted.

To begin with, there is the current understanding of the historical context - "current" because historical interpretations change. Mao reinterpreted China's history; now his interpretation, which once permeated Chinese society, has virtually been eradicated. Individuals and organisations constantly reinterpret the significance of past experiences and events. Self-understandings change. This factor accounts for the evolution over time of community and organisational mythology and the weight given to each myth. Norms and values emerge over time; they evolve and sometimes transform into totally new entities.

Training for participation must take into account this historical context. Among other things, it reveals whether or not participation has begun to evolve as a concept or as a reality. The training can then build on what is already happening. If, on the other hand, the history of the community or organisation reveals that the trend is toward more centralised authority, the training for participation task has a very different starting point and journey ahead of it. National history and trends are also very relevant. If a nation is moving toward more citizen participation, that provides an ideal environment for training. If, however, the national trends are in the opposite direction, then the training content and strategy will of necessity look very different.

The second critical element of determining the context in which the training is to happen is the **sociological context**. Arenas to be examined include, among others, the developmental level of the community or organisation, the political climate and modes of operating, the economic situation, the cultural norms, and the role of education and training. All of these are relevant to the training job to be done.

For example, in developmental psychology, it is standard to label one developmental phase (level of consciousness or awareness) something like the "rule/role" mind. At this level, the individual, community or organisation is primarily concerned with maintaining established rules and roles. The individual's job is to know the rules and roles and to conform. This provides "membership" in the community or organisation. Maslow says this level satisfies the individual's need to "belong"; Loevinger says the self-sense at this level is "conformist"; and Kohlberg says the primary concern is for "law and order".

The next developmental level Ken Wilber calls the rational level<sup>1</sup>. Here the individual/organisation begins to operate in accord with the scientific method, approaching all issues,



problems or opportunities "rationally" and systematically. Maslow associates this level with the need for "self-esteem"; Loevinger says the self-sense shifts to the "individualistic"; Kohlberg says the moral sense shifts to "individual rights" and "individual principles of conscience."

The point is that the developmental level of the community or organisation is a critical factor to take into account when designing the training strategy, curriculum and methods. What is appropriate for a community or organisation at the rule/role level (moving toward the rational) can be very detrimental to the organisation already at the rational level (and moving toward the transrational). The "latest" theories and techniques in management, training, organisational development or transformation won't work in every situation. The training approach and content must "fit" where the organisation is in its developmental journey.

Similarly the developmental stage of the nation and the continent must be taken into account. These constitute the environment within which the training will happen. To be effective, the training must be aligned with and be appropriate to that environment.

The existing operational context must also take into account the political environment - current theories and modes of decision-making and of authority, what is permissible and what is not, etc. Similarly with the cultural environment - what are the operational values and philosophies, the "accepted" ways in which things are done, including training, the nuances of language, etc. In the area of educational modes and values, basics such as what it means to be educated, how learning happens, what is the role of the teacher, and what people need to be educated for are all essential arenas of "before the fact" research. Excellent training that is hostile or irrelevant to the environment will not be effective. At worst, it can cause more problems than it solves.

In addition to the historical and sociological contexts, there is the **organisational context**. A list of some of the relevant organisational realities and understandings to be aware of will suffice:

- organisational philosophy and values
- the "reason for being" or purpose of the organisation
- its operational strategies (day-to-day frame of reference for action)
- modes of decision-making
- leadership styles and modes
- authority, responsibility, delegation, control, accountability - level of motivation (and discerning the common motivators and de-motivators in the organisation)
- organisational structures (permanent, semi-permanent or short-term)
- internal communications systems, patterns, flow
- future hopes, plans and prospects
- organisational performance assessment
- employee sense of the current state of things and future prospects
- management's sense of the current state of things and future prospects.

The point of such a list is that the more perspectives from which an organisational assessment can be made, the more accurate the assessment is likely to be, and thus, the training

program design. The modes of assessment would ideally represent a balance between rational and intuitive processes, between the tangible and intangible. A few examples of the more intuitive and intangible are:

- determination of the "felt" need and the "real" need - the mood in the community or organisation
- discerning whether the organisation or community is in an expansion phase, a stabilisation period, a period of decline, in the process of disintegration, or headed toward either transformation or collapse
- a statement of the organisation's strengths and weaknesses - the readiness of the organisation and its leadership for change and the degree and pace of change tolerable.

All of these assessments are essential to the process of designing relevant and effective training for participation programs. Genuine participation is revolutionary. If the organisation and its leadership are ready for it, participation can lead to profound transformation. If, however, there is active resistance to participation, "coming on too strong" or too directly can provoke a divisiveness that is not transformative but destructive. The degree of "fit" between the existing operational context of the organisation or community and the design of the training program directly affects the degree to which the training is effective in catalysing new behaviour.

### Learnings About Effective Training for Participation

1. Training for participation must be *aligned with reality*, i.e., in response to what is actually possible at the present time, what is appropriate given the current situation, and what will actually (versus theoretically) work.
2. *Every method reflects a particular philosophy, a set of values and perspectives.* Every trainer operates out of certain presuppositions, a personal set of values and perspectives. Regardless of what he/she is teaching, the training methods will communicate to participants what his/her values, perspectives, etc., actually are. The methods used will either embody the trainer's intended message or contradict it. Training for participation must use methods of participation, not lectures on it.
3. Likewise, it is important to clarify whether the philosophies, values and perspectives of the trainer *are compatible* with those of the organisation. If the trainer cannot or will not accommodate his/her teaching style and training content to the situation and needs of the organisation, then the organisation is well advised to select another trainer.
4. Generally, *in-house training is far more effective* than sending individuals "outside" to training courses, especially relative to training for participation. It is only possible to work with and affect an organisational context or culture from within; it can't be done in a training session with participants representing fifteen or so different organisations. In the latter case, training is abstracted or generalised and risks being irrelevant or inappropriate to the situation from which the individuals came and to which they must go back.
5. A corollary is that *work on real rather than simulated situations, issues and concerns* is important to maximise learning. Designing an actual plan for a real situation is more

motivating and instructive than is an "objective" discussion on the pros and cons of possible actions in a case study.

6. To train for participation, *the training itself must be genuinely participatory*, not merely a discussion of participation. This means that the training is open-ended. Participation by people with varying perspectives and priorities changes preconceived notions and expectations. The trainer must maintain a degree of detachment that allows for sensitivity to what is happening. He/she has a training plan, but is sensitive to when, where, why and how to vary it or completely to revise it.
7. *The intent of the trainer is to communicate*, not display his/her own knowledge. This means that the content and presentation should be:
  - i) *Simple yet not watered down*. One of the biggest dangers for a trainer is to underestimate the capability of participants. A trainer never gets in as much trouble when overestimating what participants are capable of understanding and using - participants are at least honoured when overestimated and will usually strive to meet expectations. Underestimating their ability will invariably lead to resentment and reaction.
  - ii) Concepts must be *relevant to the experience of participants*. This enables the content to be grasped, which may not happen if the material is presented only in the form of abstract, theoretical concepts. This is not an issue of the mental ability of participants, but one of the perceived relevance, of potential usefulness. If participants don't grasp the relevance of what is being presented, they will not make the effort to understand the concept being presented.
8. *The trainer's task is to instil self-confidence, self-reliance and self-sufficiency*. This means teaching participants how to trust, value and use their own experience. The experience of the trainer can be useful to illustrate points and to spark creativity and innovation, but it becomes a problem when participants trust and rely upon the experience of the 'experts' rather than upon their own.
9. *Individual and group methods of reflection are essential to comprehension*. Reflection enables the processing of information, the assessment of its value, its relevance and potential for application in real situations, and one's personal decision whether or not and how to use the information. Individual reflection is essential to comprehension and decision; group reflection is essential to broadening the context for decision.
10. *Team teaching demonstrates effective teamwork*. When an individual teaches, the focus of the group is on the skills and abilities (or the lack thereof) of that individual. When a team teaches, the focus is on the effectiveness of the team and on the part each person plays in the team. Presupposing that teamwork and team building are key elements of what is to be taught regarding participation, team teaching is an essential strategy.
11. *Knowledge and use of 'learning styles' research is fundamental in communicating to every individual in the group*. There are numerous learning and social styles inventories available. One of the simplest and easiest to use in training is: visual (see, observation), auditory (hear, verbalise), and kinesthetic (do, hands on). Training programmes need to be designed effectively to communicate with participants of all three learning styles. This requires a variety of training methods, space arrangements that fit the methods, even variations in modes of testing and evaluation.

## The Vision for Participation

Training for participation demands an open-ended and unconditional commitment. It is not "business as usual", nor is it patching up or fixing what has been. Taken seriously, it is organisational or community transformation. The question arises, "Is it worth it? Isn't there a simpler way?" The answer is, "There isn't an alternative, and, no, there is no short-cut."

The bases of authority and leadership have irrevocably changed in our time. Neither is automatic any more; both are earned, and continuously. They are earned on the basis of how well they provide people with opportunities for real responsibility, a sense of ownership, and a stake in the outcome of things; in short, providing individuals the opportunity for personal growth and development. The current popularity of terms like job fulfillment, career development and entrepreneurship are indicative of this new reality. All of this has its foundation in participation.

Thus, participation is no longer an option; it is a necessity. People simply will no longer be satisfied with less. Communities and organisations in the future will either aggressively seek to enhance participation or they will see it happen in spite of efforts to maintain "control" hierarchically. One way or another it is happening universally.

Participation, however, will rarely happen easily. The patterns of non-participation or limited participation are deeply rooted in our psyches, individual and collective styles and value systems, and in our entire world view. Participation will force redefinitions of such foundational concepts as authority, leadership, obedience, responsibility, efficiency, effectiveness and control to mention a few. It is a paradigm shift.

Training for participation is part of this global shift in consciousness, and this training must be done in the context of this new consciousness. It is not participation, for example, in a mechanistic world view or where the dominant image is still that of maintaining "control". Training for participation is not an answer to the concern for increased efficiency, but it does hold the promise of increased effectiveness. It is not a new gimmick to shore up the "old" for a few more years; it is one of the leading edges of the genuinely "new".

Training for participation will continue to be both profoundly disturbing and profoundly life-giving. It holds the possibility of bringing together the demands for personal realisation and for enhanced organisational and community effectiveness. It involves a new understanding of life itself. It will require all of us to change; it is itself an agent of that change.

### NOTES:

1. See Wilber (1979), (1980) and (1981) for elaboration of the concept of "developmental levels" of consciousness.

## INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT: A MEXICAN EXAMPLE

Rose Worden

*"Integrated Development" refers to many different things. In this chapter, it points to a comprehensive approach to grassroots development involving economic, social and cultural elements. Drawing on her experience in training staff of a Mexican rural development agency, Rose Worden provides a detailed description of a participative method used to impart a basic understanding of integrated development. While it is in no way prescriptive of what other situations might require, it illustrates the much needed "how to" so often lacking in discussions of participatory processes.*

This chapter is an excerpt from a book of basic procedures entitled CAMBIANDO IMAGENES LOGRAMOS DESARROLLO (Achieving Development through Changing Images) used in a collaborative agreement between ICA: Mexico and The Mexican Foundation for Rural Development (FMDR). The book came about as a result of a small team of ICA facilitators who conducted a series of community courses in integrated development and participative methods. They subsequently found themselves focused on training the professional staff of each local office to facilitate these courses themselves. ICA discovered that the FMDR already shared a common basic ideology with them, which had been written up in a document entitled EDUCACION SOCIAL BASICA (Basic Social Education). However, FMDR had been continually blocked in transferring this theoretical ideology to the community groups which they advised.

They were attracted to the ICA methods which provided practical implementation of the theory and gave them a set of tools which invited participation. This moved the community groups beyond economic and production projects to a sense of caring for the whole community and subsequently the region. As the courses and interchanges proliferated, a methods manual began to grow. The facilitation team was continually pushed to refer to notes gathered from 17 years of experience with the ICA. This process involved the translation of much material into Spanish and then the adaptation of the language and images to the Mexican situation and context.

Of the four chapters in the procedures book, we have chosen the one on Integrated Development for inclusion in this volume. It should be pointed out that since it was originally prepared, this chapter has been continually adapted and refined; in light of new

learnings from the field and from development practice elsewhere. Nevertheless, it stands as a good example of how simple, imaginative techniques can be employed to enable people to grasp the complexity of their situation and to reflect upon their part in it.

### **Why Participative Methodology?**

In the isolation of small towns and the complexity of large cities, there is an urgency for the recovery of local community. Development personnel are aware that lasting solutions to development issues depend on revitalized communities. The United Nations recognizes the necessity for participatory planning by requiring its projects to use "local development planning . . . with the population rather than top-down planning for the population". Many development organizations are acknowledging the value of mobilizing and motivating local residents for self-help. This trend is underscored by the increasing number of rural villages and urban neighborhoods that, through pride and accomplishments, demonstrate that local people can do their own development.

This material is for promoters, community leaders and anyone engaged in local development, who is interested in increasing local participation. The participative leader is encouraged to use each section without modification, following the procedure guides and timing suggestions. Experimenting with some portions and not others will probably result in confusion and we encourage the facilitator to gain sufficient experience with the overall material before trying to change anything. It cannot be emphasized enough that these methods require that the facilitator using this material must abandon the traditional pedantic style and adopt an open, participative approach.

### **Guidelines, not Blueprints**

Society is like the proverbial elephant being described by six blind men. None could see the whole elephant and no person has ever seen all of society. Yet society is one integrated whole and understanding social change requires some means of comprehending the whole.

This material on Integrated Development comes out of the ICA's practical research efforts in applying participative processes to local community situations, beginning with the Fifth City urban community in Chicago in 1962. This effort was intensified in the mid-1970's with the launching of 24 demonstration community projects. Using a participatory planning process, each of these communities, along with national and international advisors and experts, created three-year plans for its re-development. These 24 communities included 19 rural villages and 5 urban neighborhoods. International teams of 5 to 15 people lived in these "laboratories" for 3 to 4 years, working with the local people and ensuring that the methods were appropriate to the many cultures and situations represented. The Integrated Development Nine-Program chart (See Figure 10) was one of the key tools which emerged out of this experiment. By changing the first box of the integrated development chart to "appropriate employment", it is applicable to urban as well as rural communities.

These charts/designs should not be applied to communities in the form of a "master plan"; every community should create its own unique plan. They provide a check-list for the comprehensiveness of programs for social change and a context for what it means to have integrated development occurring in communities. Practical methods of implementation

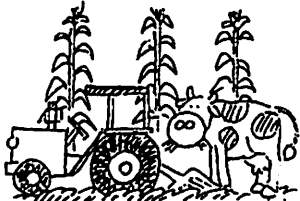
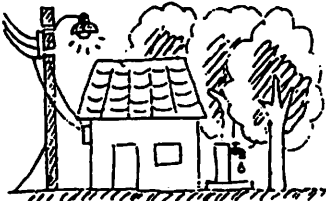



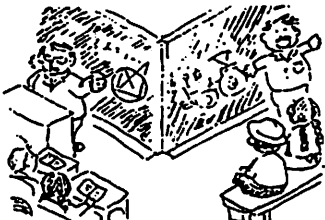



ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
<p data-bbox="480 221 698 246"><b>Farming Systems</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="913 221 1071 246"><b>Environment</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="1261 221 1555 246"><b>Preventive Health Care</b></p> 
<p data-bbox="458 511 720 536"><b>Appropriate Industry</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="845 511 1154 536"><b>Community organization</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="1275 511 1548 536"><b>Functional Education</b></p> 
<p data-bbox="448 807 716 832"><b>Commercial Services</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="896 807 1107 832"><b>Identity Systems</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="1297 807 1526 832"><b>Family Well-being</b></p> 

Figure 9. Components of integrated development

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
<p><b>FARMING SYSTEMS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Diversity of Crops</li> <li>Soil Conservation</li> <li>Irrigation Systems</li> <li>Appropriate Mechanization</li> <li>Livestock</li> <li>Captation Dams</li> <li>Non-conventional Energy</li> <li>Cooperative Organizations</li> </ul>	<p><b>ENVIRONMENT</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved Housing</li> <li>Public Buildings</li> <li>Public Services</li> <li>Access Roads</li> <li>Public Parks</li> <li>Community Beautification</li> </ul>	<p><b>PREVENTIVE HEALTH CARE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nutrition</li> <li>Primary Health Care</li> <li>Public Sanitation</li> <li>Health Education</li> <li>Child Survival</li> <li>Preventative Medicine</li> </ul>
<p><b>APPROPRIATE INDUSTRY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Light Industry</li> <li>Handicrafts</li> <li>Cottage Industries</li> <li>Product processing</li> <li>Appropriate Technology</li> </ul>	<p><b>COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community Participation</li> <li>Community Promoters</li> <li>Community Workdays</li> <li>Leadership</li> <li>Forms of Organization</li> <li>Organizational Training Systems</li> </ul>	<p><b>FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Informal Education</li> <li>Formal Education</li> <li>Adult Education</li> <li>Technical Training</li> <li>Design of Education Programs</li> <li>Continuous Education</li> <li>Educational Communications</li> </ul>
<p><b>COMMERCIAL SERVICES</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marketing</li> <li>Consumer Cooperatives</li> <li>Savings and Loan Systems</li> <li>Transportation</li> <li>All Other Commericalization</li> </ul>	<p><b>IDENTITY SYSTEMS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community History</li> <li>Customs and Traditions</li> <li>Celebrations</li> <li>Art, Music</li> <li>Information and Communcation</li> <li>Means</li> </ul>	<p><b>FAMILY WELL-BEING</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Early Stimulation</li> <li>Advancement of Women</li> <li>Community Youth Services</li> <li>Child Welfare</li> <li>Senior Citizen Care</li> <li>Family Life Education</li> </ul>

Figure 10. Integrated development programmatic chart



are key in developing a renewed community. In comprehensive local development, the first and most essential step is to involve the residents in a decision-making process that elicits and illuminates the issues, options and implications. A community consensus calls forth the participation of a maximum number of residents in the designated activities and allows for the implementation of a comprehensive integrated development plan.

It is also important to initiate rapid and visible signs of possibility in every program arena. Waiting for funding, materials, staff training or a facility reinforces the image that "nothing is going to happen here except a lot of talk". An immediate action might be the opening of a preschool with a volunteer teacher, a few children and a blackboard the day after the community decides it needs one. It is also necessary to actuate long-range systematic plans in conjunction with the rapid visible signs. If only immediate tactics are done, implementation loses momentum. Although the preschool begins under a tree with a few children, progress must be made in acquiring an appropriate facility, adequately training the staff and expanding the enrollment. All of these implementation steps must be carefully designed to precipitate events which change people's old images of their community, thus giving them the opportunity to decide to help build its future.

### **Integrated Development Dialogue (1 hour)**

**Necessary Materials:** "Integrated Development" poster, handouts of the "Integrated Development" (See Figure 9) and "Programmatic" charts (See Figure 10).

**Context: (5 Minutes)** We are going to discuss Integrated Development by looking at the way to integrate many diverse development programs. Please look at the poster and the programmatic chart. What do you think "Integrated Development" means? (Ask for 3-5 answers affirming the participant's understanding).

#### *ACT I: (20 Minutes)*

##### 1. Reflection about the poster:

What do you see or what catches your attention?

What are the three big arenas?

What are some other phrases which you note?

2. Refer to the big poster of "Integrated Development" and explain each category beginning with the three arenas and going through each small box. (Give personal examples). Integrated Development has three arenas: economic development, cultural development and social development.

A. *Economic Development* includes three programmes:

- Farming Systems, which has to do with agriculture and animal husbandry.
- Appropriate Industry which deals with all industries, both large and small.
- Commercial Services which has to do with product commercialization, both exports and imports.

Ask for a volunteer to read the line descriptions about Economic Development on the Programmatic Chart.

B. *Cultural Development* includes three programs:

- Environment, which has to do with the appearance of any place, and includes lights, parks, water, etc.
- Community Organizations, which includes any groups within a community and any organized activities.
- Identity Systems, which are the ways to express what the community is and what it does. This would include history, community symbols and banners, festivals, etc.

Ask for a volunteer to read the line descriptions about Cultural Development on the Programmatic Chart.

C. *Social Development* includes three programs:

- Preventive Health Care, which includes everything about health.
- Functional Education, which is about training and learning.
- Family Well-being, which includes the ways and structures that community uses to care for family life.

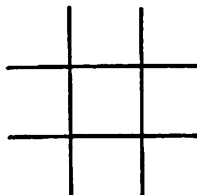
Ask for a volunteer to read the line descriptions about Social Development on the Programmatic Chart.

*ACT II: (15 Minutes)*

1. In order to remember the chart on Integrated Development, let's get some examples for this design: economic, cultural, social.
2. What do you have in this community? What do you always notice about this community? "For example, I just saw a school". Where would it go on this chart? Get other answers and place them on the chart so that the participants realize that all the elements of Integrated Development are found in the community. Emphasize that every community does Integrated Development but some arenas are more heavily emphasized than others.

*ACT III: (15 Minutes)*

1. Now we are going to play tic-tac-toe (noughts and crosses). What is a project or activity in which you are involved? (For example, a sewing industry). Where would you put it in the 3 x 3 chart? How is this activity related to other aspects of Integrated Development? Fill in the chart showing all the relationships between the boxes.



2. Integrated Development is like three interrelated or interlaced circles in which all the elements must exist. If we eliminate one part of a circle we no longer have a whole


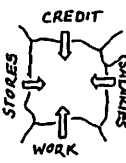
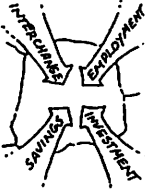








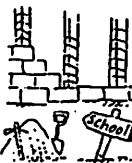



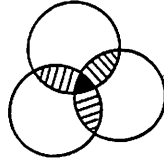
ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES				
Self-sufficient Unit	Increase Income Levels	Retain Money in the Community	Circulate Money	Relate to External Economy
				
SOCIAL PRINCIPLES				
Delimited Geography	All the Problems	All the People	The Profound Human Problem	Symbol is Key
				
CULTURAL PRINCIPLES				
Visible Signs	Community Commitment	Community Symbols	Significant History	Exceeds Boundaries
				

Figure 11. Principles of integrated development

circle. Similarly, if we eliminate a part of Integrated Development, the eliminated part will return to block us in the future.



### Reflection: (5 Minutes)

What caught your attention about Integrated Development?

What did you like?

In your opinion, which arena is the most important?

Which of the nine programs would you choose to work on?

Later we will discuss the Principles of Economic, Cultural and Social Development and see how we can analyze a community using the nine key programs of Integrated Development.

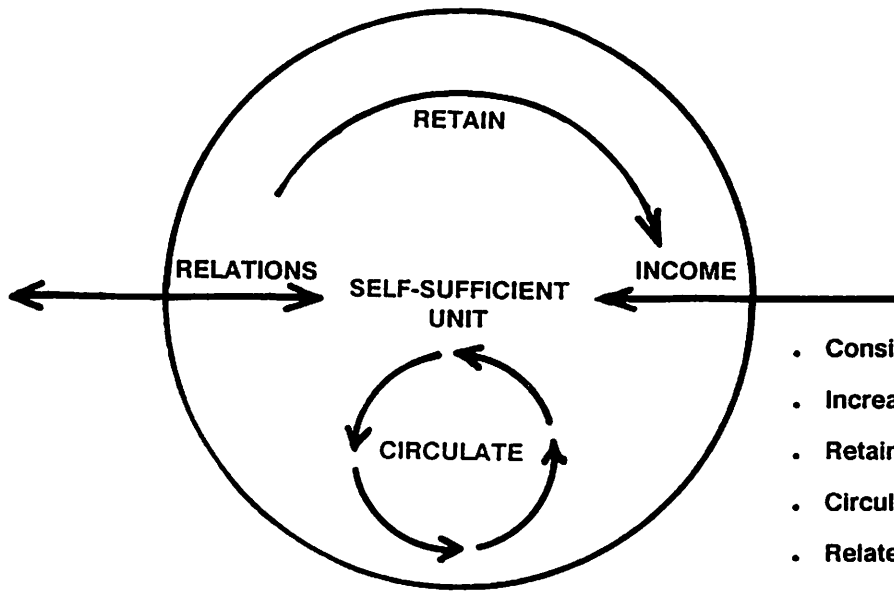
### Economic Principles (1 hour)

**Necessary Materials:** The posters on "Integrated Development" and the "Principles of Integrated Development", chart paper, markers or board. Handouts of the "Principles of Integrated Development" and the "Economic Principles".

**Context: (10 Minutes)** This dialogue is to help us understand very simply the keys to an effective functioning of the economy. Let's begin by reviewing Integrated Development. What do you remember? Ask for several answers and affirm each one. Read the three major arenas and nine programs of the Integrated Development chart.

#### *ACT I: (15 Minutes)*

1. Look at the handouts the participants have on the Principles of Integrated Development and the Economic Principles. We know that the economy of any community or group is its base. There are five principles that one must consider to assure a stable base when doing economic development.
2. Read the first principle. Ask, what do you understand by "self-sufficient"? Affirm 2-3 answers and conclude: a self-sufficient unit has to do with any community or group that produces something toward its own support.
3. Ask for a volunteer to read the second principle. Who can explain what that means? This has to do with increasing all the ways that money comes into the community or group.
4. Ask for someone to read the third principle. Who can explain this? This has to do with the way we use money within the community or group, trying to buy as much as possible without going outside the community or group.
5. Ask for a volunteer to read the fourth principle. Who can tell us what this means? This has to do with how to use income to benefit the maximum number of people.



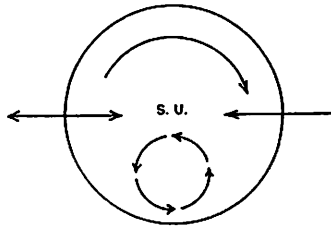
- Consider the community as a self-sufficient unit.
- Increase the community income.
- Retain money within the community as long as possible.
- Circulate money quickly and continuously.
- Relate to the external economy.

Figure 12. Principles of economic development

6. The fifth principle is: (Read and ask for explanations). This is about involving our community or group in economic relationship with other communities or even places outside of our country. We have to consider all the interdependencies which we must maintain with other sectors (e.g. government subsidies) in order to survive.

*ACT II: (20 Minutes)*

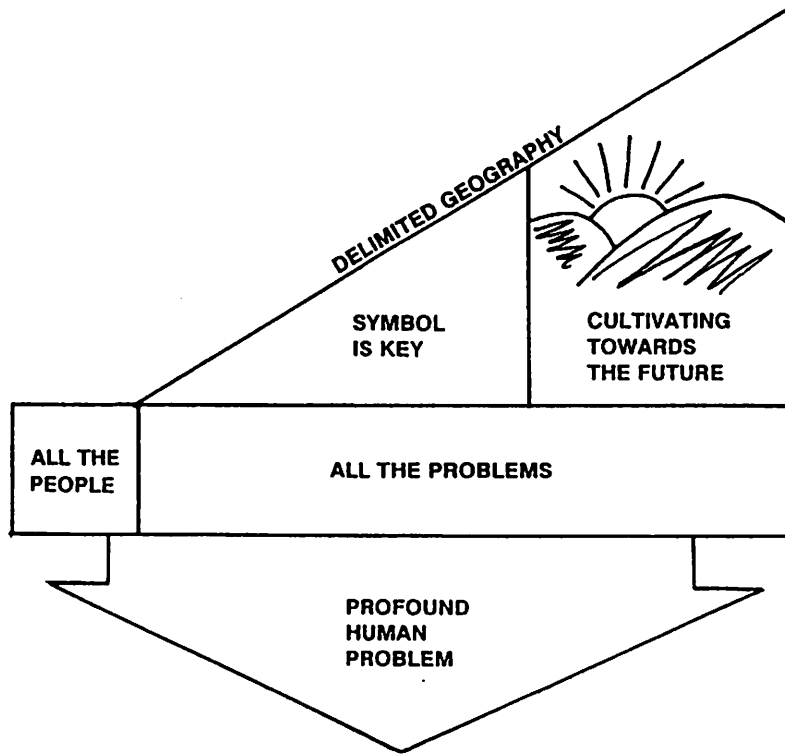
1. Draw a circle (like one on the Economic Principles handouts) in order to give examples of how these principles work in any community or group. Use a known community as the reference point.



- *Self-sufficient unit:* In my community there are people who keep pigs, cows and chickens, and grow tomatoes, beans, chillies, corn and other vegetables for their own consumption. They say that they are producing for their own use.
- *Increase income levels:* (Draw the arrow which comes into the circle). The money comes to my community through loans or credit, some people have stores, some work outside, others pay for work done by selling their own products, others trade time for products. (Income is not only cash, but loans and traded items).
- *Retain money in the community:* (Draw the curved arrow inside the circle). There are two consumer stores, one cooperative and one private, in my community and they can supply us with almost everything we need. We also try to trade some products between us.
- *Circulate money as much as possible:* (Draw the small arrows in a circle within the circle). In my community the one who sells corn uses his money to buy products within the community and sometimes it goes through six different people before it goes to the bank or to buy something outside the community.
- *Related to the external economy:* (Draw the arrow going out of the circle). My community has also economic relationships with external entities. For example the two stores have to order batteries, books, school supplies, etc., from a supplier in the next city. We must also be continually aware of relationship to government subsidies and the global markets for our products.

*ACT III: (15 Minutes)*

Drama: Ask for 5-7 volunteers to represent the residents of a community and demonstrate the five principles. Begin with the income coming into the community and have this



- Operate within a clearly delimited geography.
- Deal with all the problems.
- Involve all the people.
- Respond to the profound human problem.
- Create key social symbols.
- Cultivate towards the future.

**Figure 13. Principles of social development**

money (helpful to use a bill) be used at least five times within the community as the participants role-play storekeepers and other merchants.

**Conclusion:** The economic principles help us realize that it is not only important to have income coming into the community, but that we must also consider all the uses of these funds in order to have a self-sufficient community.

### **Social Principles (1 hour)**

**Necessary Materials:** "Principles of Integrated Development" Poster. Chart paper and markers or board. Handouts entitled "Principles of Integrated Development" and "Social Principles".

**Context: (10 Minutes)** During this dialogue we want to understand the social principles that are key to the overall well-being of the community. We call these talks together dialogues because we need many perspectives to do integrated development. Review the sketches of the other dialogues on Integrated Development. (Integrated Development and Economic Principles).

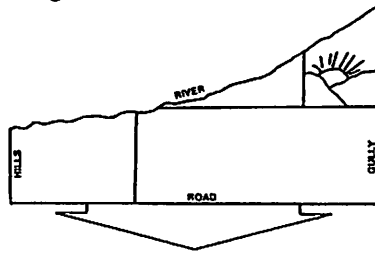
#### *ACT I: (20 Minutes)*

1. Ask the participants to look at their handouts on Social Principles and have five volunteers read the principles, one by one, following each one with an explanation.
  - *Operate Within A Clearly Delimited Geography.* Each one of us works within a geographic zone and focuses his or her attention on the development of that particular zone. It could be just one community or it could be a group of communities located close to one another. Which work zones are represented in this group?
  - *All The Problems.* What problems do you have in your communities? There are probably a whole range of economic, social and cultural problems. If we only try to resolve economic problems, such as unemployment, other problems will impede our development in the future.
  - *Involve All The People.* We look for ways to invite every single person in the community to participate, which refers to children, youth, men, women and elders. In this way our resources are developed to affect everyone, not just a select few.
  - *Respond To The Profound Human Problem.* In almost all the communities that have been impoverished for many years there is the tendency to fall victim to paternalism, isolation, and finally despair, due to a lack of progress. This trend results in a general attitude of non-worthiness which in turn results in feelings of dependency and indecision. This problem often underlies other problems and will be resolved only when the community decides to act for itself and sees its actions as effective.
  - *Symbol is Key.* Any community that takes responsibility for its own development needs something to remind itself of its decision. A symbol that represents what the community has done and what its wants to do is a continuous rehearsal of that decision. (Give an example of a log or symbol that expresses the objectives of a group or community).



*ACT II: (15 Minutes)*

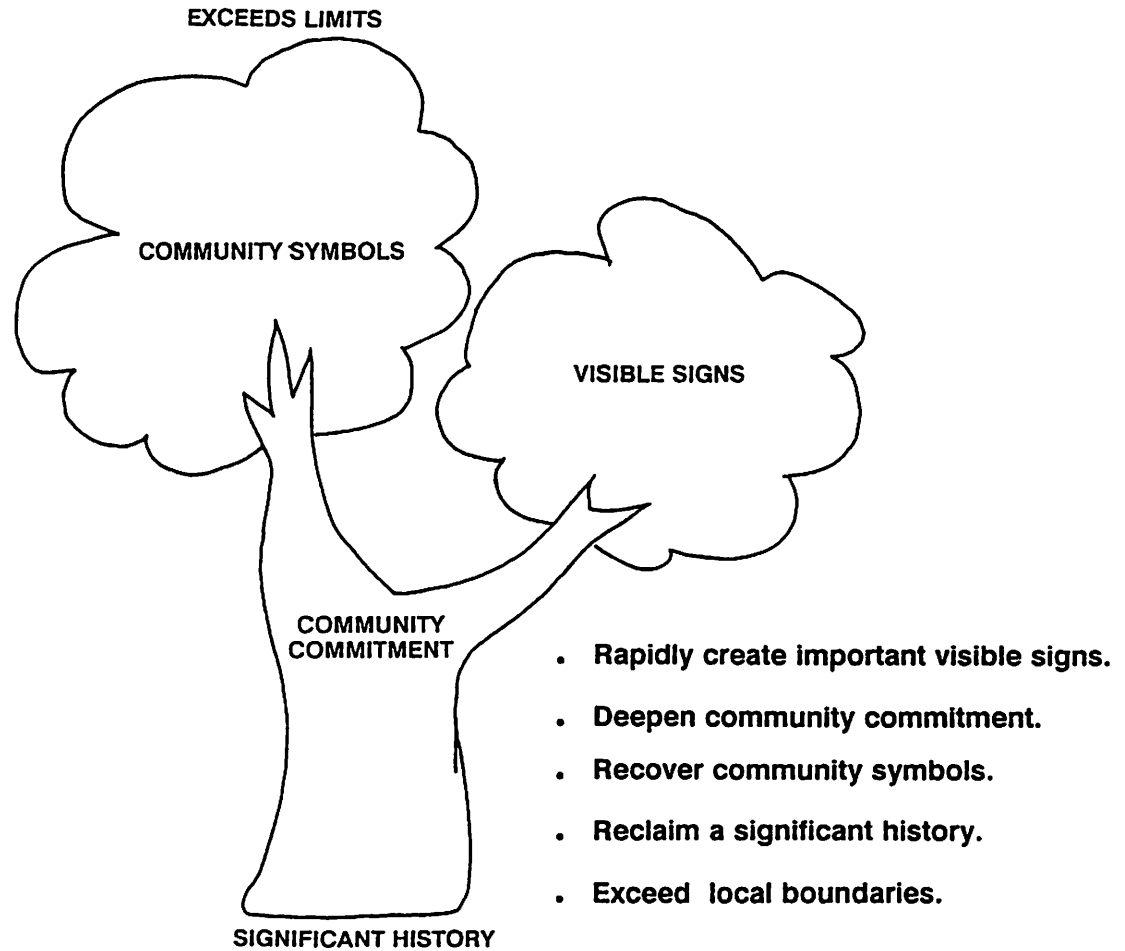
1. We want to share how a community we know understood these five principles. Draw the grid on the handout making the five sections and emphasizing the lines so that they become community limits like a river, a cliff, a road, a hill, and an irrigation canal. Show that the five sections represent natural divisions within the community. Write "Delimited Geography" by the grid.



2. This community has programs that utilize the Principles of Integrated Development, and they have worked hard to analyze "all the problems" so that the programs can resolve them.
3. This community organizes workdays twice a month in which the people divide into groups to do community work. Everyone participates in the workday, including children and elders. We also involve the women, who make the food and the youth who plan the celebration after the workday. Write "All the People".
4. When this community began its journey of development it saw that one of its major concerns was not having roads for buses and that everyone was waiting for the state government to build them. Their attitude was one of dependency. When they decided to build their own road, the whole community got together and the result was not only public transportation, but a sense of pride and hope. Write: "Profound Human Problem".
5. This community has a symbol that is on the welcome sign (draw in the symbol and write in "Symbol is Key"). This community happens to be surrounded by hills and since the sun is an important symbol of the country it is always present in any symbolic representation. In this case the rays of the sun represent the community's thirty-three founding families. As this community is based on agriculture, its motto is "Cultivating Towards the Future".

*ACT III: (15 Minutes)*

1. Ask for examples from the participants to support each of the principles.
2. What caught your attention in the "Social Principles"?
3. Which principle might be the most important? Why?
4. What happens to the community when one of these principles is forgotten? (e.g. the symbol)
5. Why are these principles important to the well-being of the community?



**Figure 14. Principles of cultural development**

## Cultural Principles (1 hour)

**Necessary Materials:** "Principles of Integrated Development" Poster. Chart paper and markers or board. Handouts on "Principles of Integrated Development" and "Cultural Principles".

**Context: (10 Minutes)** During this dialogue we want to consider the Cultural Principles that are very important for the unity and corporateness of the community. These cultural principles enable motivation of the people in community groups and sustain long-term participation. Review the other sessions on Integrated Development with the drawings. Ask them what they remember from each drawing.

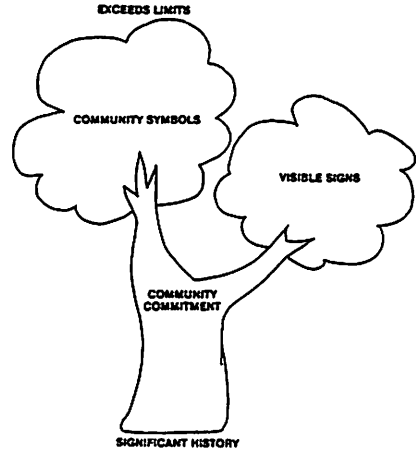
### *ACT I: (20 Minutes)*

1. Look at the handouts on Cultural Principles and read each one, explaining them as follows:

- *Rapidly create important visible signs.* When we visit a community we are impressed in some way, sometimes positively, sometimes negatively. What will I see when I visit your community? (e.g. name a community represented). Some examples of positive signs are: a water tower with a symbol or drawing, painted houses, paved or clean streets, a clean plaza and well-kept church front. What else can you think of? These visible signs indicate that a community is proud of its development and it recognizes the importance of a pleasant environment.
- *Deepen community commitment.* It is obvious to all of us that a community cannot progress without the commitment and collaboration of people representing all levels or sectors of the community. In your community, what do you do together? How do you get people to work together? One of the things to remember is that commitment is the direct result of planning the project together first. Very few people want to work on something they weren't previously consulted about.
- *Recover community symbols.* Symbols are the ways in which communities are identified, e.g. patron saints, fiestas, local customs, typical foods, water tanks, community names. In your community what would be the symbols that identify it? When we consider the symbols that identify a community we remember that the community is very important and is made up of the acts and lives of many people.
- *Reclaim a significant history.* Every community has lived through events which have changed the community and should be part of a recorded and remembered history. In almost all communities this history exists only through stories the elders tell which are often lost. Some communities have written their history down or they remember it in a special way such as with floats at the annual celebration. What are some significant events which have happened in your community?
- *Exceed local boundaries.* When any community goes on a journey of development, the neighboring towns are curious and want to do the same. Often there are several communities that can get together in a common effort, which results in more rapid and effective progress. Where have you noticed this type of cooperation between neighborhood communities?

*ACT II: (15 minutes)*

1. Every community is like a tree that we draw with roots, trunk and branches. We like to think that the community's significant history is like the roots because it is everything that has given us life as it is today.
2. The trunk of the tree might be like community commitment, since this sustains the rest.
3. We think that the visible signs and the community symbols are the tree's branches because they give the tree uniqueness, beauty and joy.
4. Finally, over all the tree, giving it strength, we have the participation and sharing which goes on with other communities when the development exceeds its boundaries.



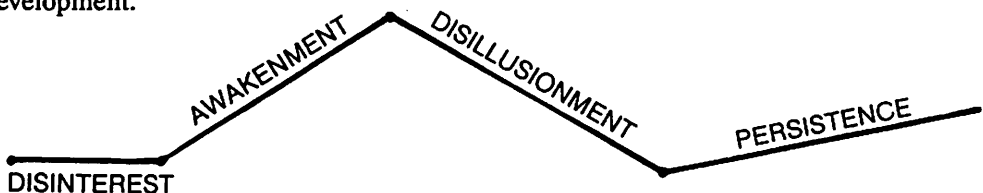
*ACT III: (15 minutes)*

1. Now we want to reflect on the three arenas of Integrated Development: economic, social and cultural, and their principles. What would happen if there was only income but there were no people who would manage it, nor was there an awareness of the significance of the community? What would be the result?
2. What would happen if there were people who were aware of the significance of their community but didn't work, or have money or food or care about their own community welfare?
3. What would happen if they wanted other communities to recognize their efforts but nobody worked or communicated with each other?

It is not possible to have only an economic focus without having a social and cultural system. Likewise, we can't have a cultural emphasis without an economic and social life to go along with it. And we can't have social development without economic progress and cultural awareness. Everything in community life is inextricably woven together.

**The Journey of A Community (1 hour)**

Context: Every group or community goes through stages of development. If we are aware of these stages, we can see the future with hope, without being blocked in the process of development.



*ACT I: (15 minutes)*

1. Give some images of a community journey based on personal experience and draw the arrows on the board.
2. Reflect on communities which are well known. How can we describe the stages of the journey they have followed in the process of development?

*ACT II: (25 minutes)*

1. The stage of *disinterest* is recognized by the following signs:

- Distrust, as the community remembers many past promises that were never fulfilled.
- Leaders who are blocked and apathetic due to inadequate methods and motivation to encourage development in the community.
- The attitude that the authorities or others are in charge of resolving everything.

How would you recognize a community in the stage of disinterest?

2. The stage of *awakenment* has these signs:

- The community is confronted with its most urgent needs and decides on its own to do something about them.
- Community leaders become trained in motivating the community and take responsibility for guiding it in appropriate decisions.
- The community has successes and visible "victories" and these encourage an attitude of self-confidence.

What are some other signs of this stage?

3. *Disillusionment* occurs when:

- The community thinks it is not progressing. It goes through a time without visible successes.
- Existing needs are greater than efforts to deal with them.
- Leaders resign or leave for outside work.

What would be some other signs of disillusionment?

4. The community in development that reaches the stage of *persistence* knows that:

- Human development requires a continued daily struggle.
- There is a group, sometimes very small, within a community that has a vision of possibility and who patiently enables and reawakens the rest.
- Successes that require struggle and persistence are the most valuable and appreciated.
- The road to development is very long and requires steadfastness.

What are other qualities of persistence?

**ACT III: (15 minutes)**

**Reflection:**

Which phrases or images caught your attention in this dialogue?

Which stage applies to your community?

Thinking of yourself, personally, which stage are you in? Why?

What are the qualities of those who are steadfast?

How can we motivate and encourage people to persist?

What do we ourselves need so that we don't get stuck along the way?

**Conclusion**

It is easy to begin the journey of development but the task is endless and requires a strong and responsible team to overcome the difficulties encountered.

## EVALUATION AS IF PEOPLE MATTERED

Juan Arce and Rocio Lanao

*The shortcomings of conventional project evaluations are now well established. Alternative approaches such as participatory evaluation are beginning to get an airing in development circles but still lack widespread acceptance. In this chapter, the research team of Juan Arce and Rocio Lanao examine the theory and practice of participatory evaluation, using case studies from five different countries to document their work.*

Many rural development projects have lately focused on participation as one of the key elements in the development process. Participation has been taken as the main theme for the planning and implementation of projects, but has been given very little attention in terms of evaluation. Indeed, the evaluation process of rural development projects has been characterized by an overemphasis on quantitative analysis and scientific objectivity. This dominant paradigm in evaluation is not adequate for the assessment of rural development projects.

Several efforts have been made by non-governmental and governmental development organizations to devise a participatory evaluation of rural development projects, but these efforts have been fragmented. This paper addresses this issue through a systematic analysis of a variety of experiences from different organizations and countries, to pinpoint the conditions for the emergence of an authentic participatory evaluation and for the effectiveness of participation as a means to achieve development.

The research is divided into four sections. The first one deals with a field survey of participation and evaluation. The intent is to clarify concepts, pinpoint concerns and dimensions of participation and describe the dominant paradigm of evaluation in a critical review, in order to present participatory evaluation as a viable alternative.

The second section focuses on the development of a framework for the analysis of participatory evaluations. It will focus on the conditions by which more authentic participation of the people involved in an evaluative effort is stimulated and at the same time, how achieving the objectives of redistribution of knowledge, power and resources gives more control to popular organizations.

The third section analyzes participatory evaluations we have chosen as case studies. This is done through a description of experiences which provide the data sought by the analytical framework presented in the previous section. It also includes lessons learned from the five case studies, four from Latin America (Panama, Peru, Ecuador and Argentina) and one from West Bengal, India. These have been undertaken by a variety of organizations, and their focus is diverse, from primary health care to low-cost housing to integrated rural development. We cannot call any of them a full participatory evaluation experience.

Finally, the last section focuses on concluding remarks, issues arising from the research and areas for further analysis.

## **Survey Of The Field: Participation And Evaluation**

### **Concern for a Participatory Approach**

The concern for participation has been widely recognized. Much research has been undertaken to point out the "why", the "what" and the "who" of participation, though the "how" and the "what for" have been dealt with in a confusing way.

In many cases, the theoretical understanding of participation has not been matched by a corresponding degree of implementation to validate its presuppositions. Due to this, participation has been known mainly as a "fashion", to be disregarded when a new approach appears. We also find examples where participation was understood as the panacea, the missing ingredient which will solve development problems. We find the inclusion of the term participation in development projects without a proper assessment and analysis of the situation and historical environment. This has often led to failure and a tendency to regard participation as uncondusive to the rural development effort.

In other instances, the objectives of participation have not been stated specifically, causing unclear distinctions between participation as the means and participation as the end. The question of "Participation for What?" becomes difficult to answer when the political situation is restrictive, because participation can be an extremely political matter in the rural development context.

At the international level, UN organizations have devoted time, funds and effort to questions of participation. Examples of this include the UNRISD "Inquiry into Participation" (1979) and the subsequent debate; the UNESCO recommendations at the Nairobi 1976 General Conference where participation was placed at the forefront of development efforts; in the Alma Ata Declaration (1978), when WHO announced the imperative of participation in primary health care endeavors; and the ILO program on "Participatory Organizations of the Rural Poor" documenting participatory experiences.

As for the international aid organizations, we find USAID having a Congressional mandate in 1976 to make participation a central concern of their programs. Other international organizations such as the International Council for Adult Education proposed participation as the urgent need in adult education programs.

NGO's claim the emphasis on participation of the target group as one of the main distinctions between their approach and the approach of GO's to development. When governments have used participation as part of their strategies of development, this participation has invariably taken the form of community development efforts and the growth of cooperatives in rural areas.



In terms of projects, there has been a tendency for Integrated Rural Development Projects (IRDP) to have a participatory component, just as literacy programs based their efforts on participation of the population, and agricultural extension programs had group leaders participate in the dissemination of new technologies. In addition, the experience of participation has been emphasized in primary health care, including the involvement of local health caretakers and concern for preventive care. (See Chapter 17, "Catalyzing Primary Health Care.") Moreover, participation efforts have consistently been undertaken "from above". We have found very few records of participatory experiences from self-reliant grassroots organizations.

Attempts at participation have not always been implemented successfully. When the question was raised of how to implement participation effectively, we found in many cases it was only a popular slogan and a convenient component to include in the project design for the purpose of attracting funding.

The intention of participation has not been met with achievement. Many "forced" contributions or the well-known "self-help labor" contributed to a project, can hardly be labeled participation. There are instances where efforts have been made to conceal the real aim of the project, because of fear of the political consequences involved when participation is mentioned. This has been a common theme especially where the political climate has not allowed for a clear statement of the participatory approach.

There is an understandable suspicion on the part of some governments which see community participation as a threat. This explains why some efforts have not continued after a promising start. Instances can also be found where peasant movements and demands have been placated by the inclusion of participation, but with no consequent practice. This counteracts further demands for social change. There is also an understanding of participation as something less damaging than people's involvement in politics, because participation can still be manipulated and controlled. Community development and cooperatives have been used in a context of development where rural areas have been controlled in order to appropriate surplus for the national interest, and where modernization has been widely used as the development strategy.

### A Substantial Definition of Participation

Cohen and Uphoff's book *Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation* has been regarded as an important contribution for translating participation from theory into action. They define participation thus:

*"Participation includes people's involvement in decision-making processes about what could be done and how; their involvement in implementing programs and decisions by contributing various resources or cooperating in specific organizations or activities; their sharing in the benefits of development programs; and/or their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programs."*<sup>1</sup>

This understanding of participation shows a limited project scope and a lack of inclusion of the cultural and political components of participation. Though the framework used includes the what, who and how aspects, the question of "participation for what" beyond the local project level is not mentioned or dealt with.

We consider the following definition addresses more adequately our concern for participation:

*"the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control."<sup>2</sup>*

Participation is not one more input in the development effort, and is not to be seen as isolated from the whole spectrum of economic, social, political and cultural processes. It can, therefore, be taken in many different ways. What is important is the context in which participation is inserted. What kind of society is sought, what is the change pursued? The key question is: Is participation a system-transforming or system-maintaining process?

The way one answers this question depends on certain basic presuppositions about development and its target group. If we understand development to be a process of redistribution of knowledge, resources and power in favor of the marginalized rural poor, then clearly participation becomes a means of transforming the present system. On the other hand, it can be used simply as a way to maintain the status quo, while permitting people a token voice in affairs affecting them.

### **Dimensions of Participation**

The three elements necessary for a holistic understanding of participation are:

- The efficient and equitable use of socio-economic resources, to build a minimal economic base for previously excluded groups.
- Socio-cultural reinforcement, which takes into account the cultural reality of beneficiaries. Development should not take place at the expense of losing people's cultural identity, but rather build on the traditional patterns and systems. As Cao Tri argues, "we can find in such patterns valuable, or indeed essential, information about how participatory structures should be set up."<sup>3</sup>
- Socio-political equity where participation is understood as the process to achieve power in order gradually to balance the power configuration at the local level, for a further impact and change in the structure.

Another consideration is related to time boundaries and project or program delimitation. Participation is an activity going beyond a single intervention, and therefore a time limit set for achieving participation is generally not desirable. Also, there is a tendency to match participation with a locally focalized project, when it should go beyond it and link up with the macro-structure. This tendency is limiting and should be avoided.

Finally, there is the need to reinforce horizontal relationships among the rural poor, to catalyze further demands and to have a better base for establishing dialogue with governmental and non-governmental organizations. In this way, participation is leading to the emergence of new forms of solidarity among the rural poor.

### **Practical Issues Concerning Participation**

#### **1. Learning Process**

The participation process assumes a continuous learning process. We use the term learning instead of educative, because it involves the multiple actors in development, and presupposes a rich knowledge base of the different actors involved.

## 2. *Actors in the Participation Process*

The creative interaction and contribution of different people like the rural poor, NGOs, governmental agencies, as well as the private and voluntary organizations is the appropriate environment for rural development efforts. We need to be aware of the multiple interest groups and elites, of their power, limitations and contradictions. A participatory approach is not an adherence to a romantic conception of development which implies that in the local setting we find all of the elements needed for development. It calls for openness between all parties involved for healthy, sustained and holistic development.

## 3. *Flexibility in the Participation Process*

A central consideration is that of constant flexibility at the different stages of the participatory experience. It is crucial not to rely on blueprints of how to proceed, but to create the opportunity for reshaping and restructuring, especially when the project has not been initiated with a participatory planning process that addresses the interests of the rural poor.

## 4. *Dangers of Participatory Process*

During the participation process, there are two dangers of which one needs to be conscious. They are the possibility of having the local elite imposing their interests and controlling the project, and the possibility of the organization supporting the experience making use of the project for legitimization purposes.

There is also the danger of saying that every single member of the organization has to participate in all stages of the process, undermining the flow and spontaneity of participation.

## 5. *Participatory Research*

When research happens in the context of efforts to facilitate participation, it is intrinsically related to action. Research done with the involvement of the rural poor, which aims at increasing their knowledge enables the participation and organization of the people involved. Then it caters to the needs of the rural poor and contributes to the action-reflection dialogue that needs to be established in a participatory experience.

As pointed out by Rahman, "the gap between those who have the social power over thinking over those who have not, has reached dimensions no less formidable than the gap in access to economic assets."<sup>4</sup> In this sense, the issue of knowledge production and distribution is of the utmost importance in the light of participatory experiences.

### **Dominant Paradigm of Evaluation**

First, some definitions. When we speak of *paradigm*, we refer to "a mode of thought and associated methodological commitments, problem sets, as well as practical activity involved in dealing with given problems."<sup>5</sup>

*Evaluation* also requires definition. Haque's description is very helpful here. "Evaluation is simultaneously a part of the internal dynamics of the project and an assessment of progress from the standpoint of the world view from which its fundamental objective is derived . . . the collective experience needs to be periodically assessed and systematized."<sup>6</sup>

There are a number of recognized characteristics of the dominant paradigm in evaluation. Seven of them are described here.

1. *Value Judgements*

Two values are paramount in the dominant paradigm. One is individualism which stresses that the individual is the centre of analysis and that collective experiences are secondary. The other is a focus on market promotion and market prices, both as an ideal to be strived for and as a standard by which to measure the real value of current economic conditions.<sup>7</sup> Both values may be important but need to be held in balance with the community's own values.

2. *Emphasis on Quantification*

Quantification is an important component of evaluation but it can be overemphasized. Analyses of sectoral performances can lead to compartmentalization of reality in order to be able to quantify discrete pieces of the situation at any one time. The tendency to overemphasize quantification relates to the widespread but mistaken idea that figures and statistics by themselves give the objective truth.

3. *Technical, Scientific and Rational Objectivity*

The claim to be "scientific" requires objectivity. To be part of objective knowledge, evaluation research must provide rational results, free of subjectivity. The claim to be technical and rational comes from a purely objective treatment of evaluation. The SCBE (Social Cost-Benefit Evaluation), one of the most popular types of evaluation in the dominant paradigm, has been seen as an appropriate method because of its supposed neutrality and value-free approach. This type of evaluation assesses performance in terms of the efficiency of a project, emphasizing that the values on which the project is measured are selected before it begins. But, in fact, those initial assumptions cannot be determined objectively.

4. *Neutral and Apolitical Stance*

As a consequence of the technical, scientific and rational approach to evaluation, there is an understanding that evaluations can be neutral, thus apolitical. But evaluations are not neutral, since evaluators themselves are part of the political process.

5. *Outcome and Products Assessment*

The dominant paradigm is characterized by a pursuit of outcome and products assessment. The emphasis is on the delimitation and precise calculation of the intervention's product. In this sense, it is consistent with the overemphasis on quantitative analysis. However, it places the intervention in a reduced perspective, since it does not consider the process that takes place and the complex set of factors involved.

### 6. *Reinforcement of Status Quo*

Evaluation in the dominant paradigm often serves the purpose of reinforcement of the status quo. Elzinga argues that evaluations are built up around certain ideological premises, so that their application tends to support or legitimate certain kinds of socio-economic system.<sup>8</sup>

### 7. *Accumulation of Knowledge*

Evaluation encourages knowledge accumulation by a few, because of the way evaluations are planned, how they take place and how they are utilized. In this respect there is a need to define the users. This monopoly of knowledge is also evident when we read evaluation reports that use jargon and are intended to serve an elite of experts and professionals. Such language does not facilitate a flow of communication.

## **On-going Participatory Evaluation**

The evaluation of rural development projects can be done as a participatory process. This broadens the perspective of the dominant paradigm of evaluation discussed previously. Some of the main conceptual features of participatory evaluation are:

### 1. *Purpose*

The intention of participatory evaluation is to provide an alternative holistic perspective for analysis, whose aim cannot be to produce authoritative truths but to raise new questions, to create new perceptions, and thus to contribute to a general process of clarification.<sup>9</sup>

### 2. *Function*

The function of participatory evaluation should be to stimulate participation, to catalyze involvement in the specific activities of the experience, to confront the conceptual level with the actual practice, to strengthen the collective understanding of the experience, acknowledging the conflicting positions and to further facilitate consensus-building.

### 3. *Process*

The process is as important as the product generated by the process. The educational process implied in participatory evaluation is twofold. One is where people become conscious of their reality, their position in this reality, and understand the reasons why they are powerless. This is often accompanied by an understanding that they should be in control and able to achieve change in their lives and destinies, on an individual and collective basis. The other educational process taking place is the active and conscious participation of people in the development experience.

### 4. *Methodology*

The methodology to be used cannot be found in a handbook or pretested set of instruments. Rather, it is a challenge in how to enable the serious and systematic side not to be overlooked and, at the same time, to stimulate a simple and accessible

methodology characterized by participation and with the aim of facilitating people to articulate and to start contributing to the process of methodology creation.

## 5. *Style*

The style prevailing expresses openness, flexibility and dynamic interaction. An underlying assumption is the mutual respect of the parties involved, and the understanding that an expanded creative process is possible when all contribute. In the process, people become sure of their abilities and grow increasingly self-confident.

### **Limitations of Participatory Evaluation**

A number of factors limit the possible application of participatory evaluation. They include:

- limited potential for a critical attitude toward the NGO when incentives are present,
- no or partial recognition of the use of intuitive thinking,
- the stage of participation of the people involved,
- the power structure in which the evaluation takes place,
- an immediate, localized perspective due to isolation, activism and the need to cope daily with new situations and tasks that were not foreseen in the plan, and
- conflicting individual interests.

It is also important to note that participatory evaluation can lead to:

- the creation of new ties of dependency in the case where there is a "supporting organization", frequently an NGO, and
- manipulation to serve certain interests either in an open or in a very subtle way.

### **Analytical Framework for Participatory Evaluation Experiences**

In order to ground the concept of participatory evaluation, we propose the following framework, focusing on the conditions needed to produce an authentic participatory evaluation and to further achieve the objectives of redistribution of knowledge, resources and power.

#### **Conditions for the Emergence of Participatory Evaluation**

##### 1. *Context for Participatory Evaluation*

Several questions are pertinent when discussing the context for participatory evaluation:

- What is the development context in which the evaluation is going to take place, and is the evaluation consistent with the underlying assumption of the developmental effort?

- What are the objectives of the evaluation, who decides about these objectives, and what are the mechanisms used to facilitate the involvement and decision making process?
- What is the approach to evaluation chosen, the type of evaluation selected, and the time when it will take place?
- What is the historical environment, the components of the social ecology pertaining to the evaluation experience that might be factors influencing the evaluation including the political context that might be a determinant of the achievements of the evaluation?

## 2. *Organization and Roles*

In planning an evaluation, it is important to focus on people's interests. Creative procedures need to be designed to elicit the concerns, needs and issues people bring to the evaluation. If these are considered, the evaluation might be a truly participatory experience, not alien research destined to be forgotten and never utilized.

In structuring the evaluation, several stages need to be considered. It is important to include the participatory evaluation in the initial planning, and to be flexible enough to allow for any change in the proposed schedule. Labor patterns need to be taken into account, so that the evaluation does not conflict with a demanding period in the community's work cycle, thus lessening the effectiveness of the evaluation. One should consider a setting appropriate for the different stages of the evaluation, and give attention to local structures, organizations, rhythms and relationships relevant to a particular location. This might provide insights into the appropriate way of involving the rural poor in the on-going evaluation process.

If the input of people is considered and one is sensitive to the need to build a creative dialogue, the different stages in the evaluation constitute a good starting point for a participatory evaluation. A clear description of the objectives of each stage helps to facilitate a process that will be known and understood by the people, rather than one which emphasizes the knowledge of a few experts. A danger at this point is to make separate stages involving experts and others where people collaborate with their time and labor.

If the process is characterized by openness, flexibility, and sharing, it will be consistent with the underlying understanding of participation, namely, that all people are learning from one another, that there is knowledge in every person, and therefore a creative communication can be established. The emphasis on process is important because it implies an on-going dynamic. Participatory evaluation does not mark the end of an experience, or the cutting of funds, or new administration or personnel, but points to a process that is built in the participatory experience.

The evaluation needs to consider the involvement of the different groups of people participating in the intervention. If it is set up by a popular organization or an NGO as a supporting organization, these might prove to be a determinant of the kind of participatory evaluation which emerges. Beneficiaries, project staff, and in some cases, teams specially assigned to the implementation of the participatory evaluation may facilitate the process.

### 3. *Methodology and Activities*

The procedures and mechanism to enable authentic participation during the evaluation are critical, not because of the technicalities of methodology, but to ensure that the methodology does not contradict the participatory approach. It is at the stage of choosing the methodology and techniques to use that a very subtle manipulation of the evaluation can take place. The overemphasis on the scientific and technical features that have surrounded the dominant paradigm of evaluation could bias the evaluation in favor of the expert domination, and leave decision-making about the evaluation in the hands of a few.

## Conditions for Effective Participatory Evaluation

### 1. *Learning Process*

There is no real possibility to use a manual or handbook with a pre-tested methodology for participatory evaluation. The methodology and activities are the product of the learning experience in which people are fully involved in a creative and collective horizontal learning process. Such a process draws on the learnings of other experiences but needs to focus on the specific situation at hand. Participatory evaluation constitutes part of the action-reflection-action approach from which new insights can be transformed into workable future plans.

The evaluation results may be used as base material for participatory workshops toward the increased articulation by people of their concerns, needs and struggles. Therefore, the experience of a participatory evaluation can further reinforce the critical stance of the people toward the project, and more importantly, toward their life and destiny.

### 2. *Representation*

Another condition for an effective participatory evaluation is broad representation of the beneficiaries. Not only should traditional leadership be present, but also those excluded from control, such as women, landless peasants and the poorer sections of the community. In turn, the evaluation might contribute toward a redefinition of leadership and power.

### 3. *Solidarity Relations*

If the horizontal relations representing the solidarity network among groups of rural poor are considered and involved in the participatory evaluation, they might be strengthened and catalyze collective action.

### 4. *Holistic Approaches*

A holistic consideration of the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of the project being evaluated is also a condition for effective participatory evaluation. A narrow and fragmented understanding of the project might focus only on the economic aspect and its achievements, overlooking relevant relations of power, dependence, and domination at political, social and cultural levels. As Waddimba says, "It is not only the program but the on-going societal process as a field of conflicting



interests that should be object of research."<sup>10</sup> This builds toward and reinforces people's self-confidence in assessing their specific situation.

##### 5. *Relationship to Macro-Structures*

By broadening the scope of evaluation, a participatory approach can relate the project being evaluated to the constraints and deficiencies of the wider structures of which it is a part, thus relating the evaluation done at the micro-level to the analysis of the macro-level.

### Case Studies of Participatory Evaluation

In presenting the case studies, we have made a selective description looking for the facts relevant to the analytical framework discussed in the earlier part of the chapter.

#### Centro de Capacitacion Campesina (Peasant Training Center)

This popular education and rural development program in the Andean peasant communities of Ayachucho, Peru, started as part of the San Cristobal National University's Social Projection Bureau. Their activities began in 1977 and lasted until 1983 when widespread violence from the Shining Path guerillas and the military forces minimized the activities of the Center.

In describing the objectives of the evaluation of the program, Gianotten and deWit say they were out "to create the space for reflection of all people involved in the project, considering the peasants as the 'main evaluators'".<sup>11</sup> Its purpose was not merely to reflect the state of affairs but to show how various results have been reached. Similarly it was not intended exclusively as an assessment of the products, but as a means of discovering how these products were obtained.

This experience is described as a permanent evaluation. In this sense it is relevant to mention the phases the project went through, related to the team-peasant interaction, and to the constraints found in each phase when doing evaluation.

1. *Participatory Intervention.* This phase was characterized by the project set-up activities and intervention in the social reality of the peasants. The peasants were passive recipients, and the main constraints were administrative and technical factors.
2. *Mobilization for Organization.* This was when the peasants decided to accept the program and participate actively. The key was organization and the constraints were mainly methodological factors.
3. *Consultancy in Peasant Organization.* This was where the peasant organization adopted the program as its own, the development team had an advisory role, and the constraints were political factors.

The first year of the project, there was no component of participatory evaluation, but the internal evaluation done pointed to the need of restructuring the project with input from the beneficiaries. It was then that a series of workshops were held as part of the permanent evaluation, where all the peasants who had been trained participated, together with the community authorities, project staff and field workers. The methodology used

and the form and content of the participatory evaluation evolved during the four years of activities served as the most important input. It led to decisions on how the training center could be more effective in serving the peasants. Suggestions about relevant curriculum, expanded coverage, areas of interest and specific activities to focus on the needs of the people were incorporated into the project.

### **Integrated Rural Development Project for Sona District, Veraguas Province, Panama**

The project had eight components: Program administration and planning, farm services, rural roads, production credit, agro-industry, housing, education and health services. It started in 1981 and was completed by 1985. The evaluation was contracted by the funding agency, and the participatory bottom-up component of the evaluation was facilitated by a Peruvian NGO in October 1984.

The objectives of the evaluation were to evaluate the overall progress of the IRDP in meeting its original implementation targets, as well as those for each major component. The project was based on the fundamental premise that "significant improvements in the income and welfare of Sona's rural poor are possible without changing the structural constraints which most affect their productive activities."<sup>12</sup> One such constraint was the highly skewed land tenure pattern.

A two-pronged evaluation strategy was used, consisting of top-down institutional interviews and a bottom-up participatory evaluation. This was a way of reconciling the need for an assessment requested by the funding agency including a detailed measurement of product and achievements, with a concern for understanding the process and stimulating participation in the project activities.

The Sona district is divided into five areas, and 20 sub-areas, each with 15-20 peasant groups, organized around a peasant coordinator. Out of a total of 340 group leaders a team of local group leaders was selected to be part of the evaluation team. The external evaluators, jointly with the project staff and the "promotores" (field workers), initially selected 60 coordinators using a random sampling choosing 3 leaders per sub-area. Baseline data files were reviewed to assure consistency with selection criteria which stipulated that a person be: (1) over 20 years of age, (2) resident of a sub-area, (3) literate, and (4) a non-government or project employee. A certain percentage of women was also a condition. The candidates were ranked in order of preference, and word was sent to each sub-area. Nineteen group leaders were recruited as the evaluators of the participatory component of the evaluation.

This team took part in the bottom-up approach to the evaluation. There were three main stages in their participation. The first one was a training and planning session where they designed and framed the collection tools, and did the actual planning for the collection of the data. The second was the fieldwork, collecting data in their community and surroundings, with the external evaluators monitoring this stage with visits. The third one consisted of the tabulation and preliminary analysis. The participation of the beneficiaries in this project raised the question by the funding agency and the development staff about the reliability and validity of the material collected by the peasants, with instruments designed by them. The duration of these sessions was previously decided, but the content, schedule, pace and rhythm of the training was agreed to by the people. Their input also helped decide the coverage of data collection. In many cases the heterogeneity of situations and

environments determined a varied pattern of coverage. There were fishermen, landless agricultural laborers, small farmers, and members of collective farms.

The collection instrument was designed by participants, taking into consideration their experience with the IRDP project. Through a reflection process on the importance of the components, they articulated the issues they wanted to stress and to have more information about from their communities. Finally, they pinpointed the question that would elicit the information they were seeking about each component, and the order in which they would ask these questions to facilitate the answering. At first the project staff were distrustful about the ability and possibility of having beneficiaries as evaluators. But they were overwhelmed with the results the participants achieved in three days of intense work, the way they explained the questionnaire and the scope of work they were set to accomplish during their evaluative effort.

During the period of data collection (ten days) the external evaluators visited each participant-evaluator to give support and to meet with beneficiaries in their own local gathering places. At these times, they conducted participatory workshops focused more on the collective reflection than on the actual gathering of data in order to support the already existing critical stance toward the project. The third stage was a three-day meeting to do the tabulation of data gathered, and the preliminary analysis of information. The level of articulation and analysis achieved by the participants in this stage was a result of the experience of sharing responsibility on how to effectively communicate the concerns and struggles of their communities.

A number of constraints were identified. The participatory evaluation had created expectations from the peasants and reinforced a questioning and critiquing of the project. What to do next was a big question. It was not possible to integrate the creative input from the beneficiaries into the restructuring of the project, since the intermediaries were the external evaluators.

The political environment was clearly present throughout the evaluation in explicit and implicit ways. It was accentuated because the beneficiaries of this project, with a component of agricultural development, were landless peasants and the main struggle not addressed by the project was land reform in a district with acute inequality in land tenure. The participatory evaluation highlighted the land reform concern.

#### **Asociacion de Vivienda Economica (Low-cost Housing Association) Cordoba, Argentina**

The evaluation of this program for low-income groups was part of a regional participatory evaluation program for housing cooperatives organized by the ALAHUA - Latin American Association of Habitat, Urbanism and Architecture, in which AVE (Low-cost Housing Association) and the "20 June" cooperative participated.

The objectives of the evaluation were to evaluate the process and achievements obtained by the low-cost housing program and to provide the basis for establishing an on-going participatory evaluation process as part of the program.

The participatory evaluation process was held during the first six months of 1985 and started with a workshop to plan the evaluation where villagers, technicians and representatives of institutions were present, with an external evaluator as collaborator. This workshop produced the basic guidelines so that each team could follow-up in its own way. After the evaluation, a final workshop was held to discuss each case and synthesize results.

Several exercises focusing on collective research were undertaken during the evaluation. One involved a reconstruction of the history of the cooperatives having as its aim to bring awareness to people of their evolution as a group, their achievements and mistakes. This process resulted in practical documents that could easily be shown to other people. The use of visual forms and images was crucial to involve people to contribute with their input and to initiate a reflection on their common journey. As Fanego said, "The essence of participatory evaluation is not, however, the methods and techniques used: it is the participatory attitude of the people involved, the respect all of them have for the knowledge of the others, the desire to pass on their own experience and the ability to establish equal and transparent relations."<sup>13</sup>

The evaluation produced results throughout the whole process and not only during the final stage of summing up. Other outcomes mentioned were: achieving an over-all vision of what is being done; collectively identifying strengths and weaknesses; acquiring collective knowledge; and lastly, sharing the observations, thoughts, approaches, feelings and aspirations that everyone experiences but which are seldom exchanged between people on a daily basis.

The opportunity for people to voice their concerns was created but also the necessary openness to make the best use of the results, suggestions and recommendations the evaluation came up with. One of the real achievements of this evaluation was stated by the people themselves, namely that the participants "do not have to 'adopt' the findings of the exercise, since these findings are already their own. This heightens the group's awareness of being responsible for the collective process."<sup>14</sup>

An issue raised was the need to develop simpler and easier procedures that would arouse interest at a popular level, allowing for the incorporation of the techniques, or limited findings of conventional evaluations, whose additional contribution is an essential part of participatory practice. The fundamental constraint was the time required to understand and to use the techniques when most of the group or working community does not have that time available. Another issue was how to initiate a process of sharing the new information required.

### **Primary Health Care Programs with Indian Populations in Ecuador**

This evaluation was held in the form of a seminar with the participation of Ecuadorian health officials and representatives of four Indian organizations: the Shuar, Indigenas del Napo, Saraguro Quichuas and Nabon-Quichuas, meeting in Sucua, Ecuador for two weeks in May 1980.

The objectives of the evaluation were:

1. To establish or strengthen communication between health workers of the four Indian groups and between medical and paramedical personnel;
2. To communicate research data from the health care utilization study;
3. To compare the different forms of primary health care;
4. To evaluate the basic health programs in indigenous and non-indigenous communities;
5. To use the evaluation for a reorganization of local health plans.

The participation of the Indian organizations was the result of negotiations held two years before between researchers doing a study of health care in four Indian populations that involved a survey of households and the Indian organizations. The organizations accepted the survey on the condition that they participate in the interpretation of the study results. They were initially against this study due to previous bad experiences.

The most efficient form of communication was discussions in small groups, followed by plenary sessions. The main findings of the health care utilization study were translated into figures which allowed discussion and reflection on the health care situation to take place. A marked difference of understanding and concern was obvious between the "rural doctors" (doctors in their compulsory year of rural service), health promoters or health auxiliaries and Indian representatives. It was noted that, "the use of cartoons was helpful in stimulating and developing discussions even if (or especially when) the participants projected their own feelings into the drawings."<sup>15</sup>

The participatory evaluation included discussions on results of the study, as well as pulling together suggestions for improvements. These suggestions included means of getting better community support, analysis of causes for deficient professional support of the health workers, and participatory planning where each Indian organization planned their own program. These programs involved detailed job descriptions and timetables for visits of a health auxiliary whom they intended to ask for from the provincial health officer; a refresher course for their health auxiliaries, calculating the annual costs required for regular supervision of health auxiliaries; calculation of the annual costs of a detailed program of routine supervision of health auxiliaries by rural doctors; and supervision of health promoters after the departure of foreign medical personnel.

A highlight during the evaluation was the possibility of meeting with officials of the provincial health administration. This resulted in the successful petition for two Indian health posts in the under-served highland areas, and a meeting set between health administrators and Indian representatives in one of the provinces.

One of the constraints during the evaluation was the communication barriers. Differences existed between the Indian groups with a history of tribal independence who showed no difficulty in public speaking, and the typical 'highland' Indians with a history of suppression and economic dependence, who could hardly be motivated to make a contribution. At another level, the government officials attending the seminar found it difficult to adapt to the Indian propensity frequently to repeat the same argument.

#### **The People's Evaluation of the Socio-Economic Development Program, West Bengal, India**

This evaluation was facilitated by an NGO, Institute of Cultural Affairs: India. The program, which was transferred from the SEDP to the Inter-District Rural Development Council in 1986, went from 1974 to 1985. The evaluation took place over ten months during 1987.

The objectives of the evaluation were to: (1) provide an organized and systematic evaluation, the results of which would enable SEDP to clarify future alternatives, effectively share their development experience with others, and report to sponsors and supporting organizations; and (2) experiment with the creation of new dimensions of a participatory evaluation process. Having had a participatory process in the project itself, it was considered appropriate to have an evaluation carried out in a similar mode.

In order to have the beneficiaries facilitate the workshops designed by SEDP and ICA as the core of the evaluation, a series of training sessions took place. Beneficiaries were trained to lead the workshops, and staff from the IDRDC (Inter-District Rural Development Council), the people's organization to whom SEDP transferred the project, acted as recorders and supporters of the evaluation laboratories held. This resulted in a total of 101 evaluation "laboratories" which then were summarized by the people in seven project consolidation "labs". Finally, the results were tabulated, summarized and written up by the ICA to produce the People's Evaluation Report.

The methodology used was contentless. In each workshop, the participants helped to decide the content according to their own criteria about their evaluation. "The procedures had to be created as containers . . . rather than as a survey in which some other/outsider asks the questions of the people according to his interests and criteria."<sup>16</sup>

In each evaluation lab, there were three parts:

1. *The Journey Timeline* - where people recalled important events which happened during the project. By creating a wall chart, they divided their journey into various stages and reflected on their common experience, naming the experiences they had been through.
2. *The Human Change Conversation* - which focused on the changes that occurred in the project, in people, in social structures and in cultural life, pointing out the areas of high priority to the people.
3. *The Victory Workshop* - which had as a product a list of victories the group had experienced and what the key was to achieving each victory. There was also an exercise done dealing with the "setbacks" and their causes.

## Lessons Learned From Case Studies Presented

In order to point out the lessons learned from the case studies presented we will use components of the analytical framework to highlight these participatory evaluation experiences.

### Conditions for the Emergence of Participatory Evaluation

#### 1. *Context for Participatory Evaluation*

The Ayacucho's Center for Peasant Training evolved its *development context* for participatory evaluation during five years of activities, as a consequence of the interaction with the people involved in the project. As stated by Gianotten: "The concepts of participation and organization are the keys to development projects and programs seeking an alternative form of development, self-sustained by the popular groups which benefit personally from the program. Their aim is to stimulate the development and expansion of endogenous skills in order to generate a genuine process of change toward transforming the social structure in the framework of popular education and integrated rural development."<sup>17</sup>

This *approach to evaluation* is characterized by a permanent, educative and participatory experience, "emphasizing qualitative elements rather than the quantitative products. This was not because there were no objectives and goals to be achieved but these were not

necessarily determined at the beginning. It was direct participation of the peasants which determined the changes and improvements, overcoming the initial limitations."<sup>18</sup>

## 2. Organization and Roles

The Argentina AVE experience is an example of *planning focusing on the people's interests*. It was not until the planning workshop that people's input determined the framing of the evaluation. The system starts from the concrete interests of the people involved, with work objectives being set jointly. In this planning the reflective attitude was stressed and a "climate of freedom and cordiality" encouraged. The use of appropriate technologies that facilitate concentration on the job and communication among people or groups at different levels was emphasized. These characteristics of the planning stage allowed the evaluation to start in a participatory mode.

*Regarding the process of participatory evaluation*, the concern of the evaluators was to set in motion a collective reflection about the project. As they stated: "The essence of participatory evaluation is not, however, the methods and techniques used: it is the participatory attitude of the people involved, the respect all of them have for the knowledge of others, the desire to pass on their own experience and the ability to establish equal and transparent relations."<sup>19</sup>

The *roles* in the evaluation process were determined by who the protagonists of the project were. The underlying assumption is that the beneficiaries must have the same role in the evaluation as they have in the social process. Other people involved in the evaluation were technicians and representatives of institutions, allowing for a more comprehensive perspective.

## 3. Methodology and Activities

The SEDP evaluation addressed the issue of *building on local expertise*. When the evaluation design was undertaken input was obtained in regard to timing, scheduling, setting and coverage from field workers of the organization, as well as from group leaders and the beneficiaries of the project. The field testing of the formats was also done by the organized groups and the training of the facilitators was held with the group leaders chosen from the grassroots. This permitted a sharing of new information and the creation of evaluation lab formats. A balance was kept with what the group leaders brought as individuals and as a group, their own ability of leadership, the care for their community, and a critical stance toward the project. It was stated that "SEDP is concerned that the people themselves frame the issues and criteria of the evaluation. They will be the evaluators based on the presupposition that local people are the experts regarding their own life and livelihood. They are the only ones who know their actual life situation. Although they may need some technical help from time to time, if they have adequate methods, they can create their own effective corporate plans for their future."<sup>20</sup>

The *participation mechanisms* employed in the People's Evaluation meant that local people could not only understand and fully participate in the process but that it was conducted in such a way that they themselves could facilitate it. As a result the main body of the report is based entirely upon data from 94 evaluation labs conducted by the people, including summaries and interpretations of that data in the seven project labs. In this sense, the flexibility and openness of the methods and style of conducting the labs contributed to the beneficiaries' growing self-confidence in their ability to conduct the evaluation, as well

as the sense of accountability to their community in ensuring their concerns and interests were articulated.

The Ecuador Primary Health care experience also builds on local expertise, when the representatives of Indian organizations participated as a recognized and respected structure existing outside of the program. As a result, a more effective spreading and use of the results was achieved. The understanding that people in the seminar had the experience to contribute was evident when they were asked to suggest the means of getting better community support for primary health care, to determine the causes for poor supervision of programs and to further analyze the findings of the study about traditional and modern health services.

### Conditions for Effective Participatory Evaluation

#### 1. *Learning Process*

In the Ecuador case, the learning process established in the participatory evaluation was evident in the approach of sharing knowledge, the different levels of analysis of the health situation, the chance for people to voice their concerns in small group discussions as well as in the plenary sessions, and the creation of suggestions for the improvement of community participation and better professional supervision. As a way to materialize the learnings in the evaluation, participatory planning took place with the Indian organizations planning different programs, as described in the case study.

For the health officials an awareness was started when they were confronted with facts and statements of the Indian organizations and community health workers about the provision of services by the government. At first they were not ready to accept criticism coming from paramedical personnel doing "empirical medicine". But when not only criticisms but suggestions, recommendations and plans that could improve health delivery services were proposed, health officials were inclined to give attention and to allow these contributions to be implemented.

#### 2. *Representation*

The Panama case study focused on *representation* by stating the selection criteria for the group leaders. Women were considered and their contribution was highlighted by the other group leaders. In the Ayachucho's Peasant Training Center, the involvement of new leadership was seen as important and was a suggestion coming out of the participatory evaluation done in the second year. The role of women was not included in the original plan of the project, but due to the joint research of socio-economic reality of the communities done by the staff and peasants, the contribution of women to the household income was acknowledged. From there on, women were included as participants in the training and in the evaluation workshops.

In the AVE case study, an interesting conclusion of the participatory evaluation was included in their report: "Knowledge gives power, and it is important to develop a capacity for self-expression in those whose words usually go unheeded."<sup>21</sup> This illustrates the importance of the learning process in which the people are currently involved.



### 3. *Solidarity Relations*

The Ecuador health care program illustrates the relevance of strengthening *solidarity networks*, with the participation of the representatives of Indian organizations. This gives them a chance through the evaluation seminar to broaden the scope of their relationship to their different environments, and to reach a level of analysis about the health situation, looking for the causes of success and shortcomings.

In Panama's IRDP evaluation, the gathering of group leaders from nineteen sub-areas in the district, allowed for the commencement of a process of checking and comparing the differences and similarities of the experience with the project, and more importantly, beyond the project. As described before, landless agricultural laborers were present and an initial articulation of their common struggle was made.

### 4. *Holistic Understanding*

In Ecuador's evaluation seminar, one of the sessions was focused on the community support of basic health workers. In this session an analysis of relationships of the different health personnel (rural doctors, auxiliaries, promoters) with the community was done. In terms of the cultural implications, the alien health treatment of common diseases by professionals was a major concern. Regarding economic factors, auxiliaries were paid and therefore were seen as independent from the community, but they were accountable to the health officials and not to the community, due to the salary received. As for the social determinants, the promoters were selected by the community as a sign of prestige and status. At the same time, the commitment of the promoters to the community and the feelings about the significance of their work to their community were determining their dedication. The point is that the analysis went beyond the project. Primary health care was the starting point but the discussion achieved a holistic perspective.

## Conclusion

A tendency of traditional evaluation has been to separate the object and subject of study. Participatory evaluation attempts to bring them together in order to crystallize the action-reflection-action approach. It strives to build a bridge to close the gap between the theory and practice of development.

The purpose of the framework developed was to analyze the conditions by which participatory evaluation has emerged and the conditions for its effectiveness in the redistribution of knowledge, resources and power. This framework was used to explore these conditions in the case studies of participatory evaluation. It has facilitated the analysis of the participatory experiences selected. Though not all the conditions were addressed, it gave a starting point in testing the framework. However, it is in the further application of this framework in different settings that we will gain insights for its improvement.

The case studies presented have made references about the methodology needed for effective participation. In all cases, the methodology used was different and was a product of a horizontal learning process. The intent was not to give a set of procedures to follow as in a handbook but to clarify some of the conditions and principles that catalyze participation. The case studies of evaluations were participatory within the limitations of the historical environment, project reality and political constraints.

A challenge that came out of the analysis of the case studies is how to build the necessary framework for the evaluation, allowing for people's involvement. A concern raised by the practice of participatory evaluation is how to be aware of manipulation as a constant threat to authentic participatory evaluation, acknowledging the fine line dividing facilitation from manipulation.

It is necessary to consider the possibility of a network, such as the IERD, to share approaches that work in participatory evaluation, addressing the numerous experiences taking place, especially in developing countries, to systematize their achievements and to learn from their shortcomings.

NOTES:

1. Cohen and Uphoff (1977), p.6.
2. Pearse and Stiefel (1979), p. 8.
3. Cao Tri (1986).
4. Rahman (1981), p. 50.
5. Elzinga (1981), p. 17.
6. Haque, et.al. (1977).
7. Hoksbergen (1986), p. 286.
8. Elzinga (1981), p. 14.
9. Wessler (1983), p. 37.
10. Waddimba (1979). p. 4.
11. Gianotten and deWitt (1983), p. 74.
12. Rural Development Services, Inc. (1984), p. 1.
13. Fanego (1987), p. 14.
14. *Ibid.* p. 13.
15. Kroeger (1982), p. 40.
16. Institute of Cultural Affairs: India (1987), p. 10.
17. Gianotten (1985), p. 21.
18. Gianotten and deWitt (1983), p. 175. Translated from Spanish.
19. Fanego (1985), p. 14.
20. Institute of Cultural Affairs: India (1987), p. 5.
21. Fanego (1985), p. 14.

## IMAGINAL EDUCATION

Ronnie Seagren

*Few people would deny that education is a key part of any development process. The main issue is, what type of education will most effectively release the potential of people to develop themselves and their communities? In this chapter, Ronnie Seagren describes the process of "Imaginal Education", an approach to learning based on the premise that images govern our behaviour and hence, changing behaviour demands changing images. She illustrates her points with a case study of how this approach was successfully used with women in an Egyptian village.<sup>1</sup>*

We all have our self-image, defining our sense of identity. That image also delimits our potential as human beings. What would it mean for education to be a process of human development through revitalized images of who we are and what we are capable of? The Institute of Cultural Affairs has experimented with such an approach to education for over thirty-five years. Called "Imaginal Education", it has been adapted to diverse situations with well over a million people from all kinds of backgrounds in more than fifty nations.

Imaginal Education is a whole-person approach to life and learning that can be applied to any subject matter. As an alternative to the present day functional emphasis on intellect and pragmatism, it creates a way to recover the dimension of meaning in the learning process, resulting in depth purpose and motivation. It aims to release the boundless potential of an individual or the members of a group so they can act creatively in situations. People are assumed to be capable of operating intelligently and are given tools and practice that enable them to do that. Learning is seen as a life-long, every moment reality, including all dimensions of a person's life. The method is not expensive, but it does take an investment of thought and energy.

This chapter presents the imaginal education approach and its application in the pre-school and the health caretaker programmes of an Egyptian village. It portrays the potential of imaginal education to change women's roles in a very traditional setting and illustrates how imaginal learning events can provide leverage on some thorny development issues.

### Theory of Imaginal Education

The imaginal approach rests on Kenneth Boulding's understanding of images:<sup>2</sup>

- Everyone operates out of images.
- Images govern behaviour.
- Images are created by messages that can be designed and communicated.
- Images can change.
- Changed images lead to changed behaviour.

Such images change through adaption (when additional data simply clarifies an old image), assimilation (when additional data alters an existing image), or accommodation (when conflicting information changes the image). A person's images are supported by a screen of values based on past experience through which new messages must pass. As any teacher can attest, it is not possible to change students' fundamental images for them. However, it is possible to send messages that enable people to become more aware of their own images and to make their own decisions.

### Curriculum Theory

In imaginal education, process and content are considered equally important. The curriculum is seen as an ever-expanding spiral, with material taught in an appropriate way for the age and learning-stage of the learner. Experience has confirmed Jerome Bruner's assumption that any person can learn anything if it is presented within the framework of his/her life experience so far.<sup>3</sup> To reveal the interrelated nature of life, curriculum disciplines are related to each other whenever possible (such as sociology and history, or psychology and art.)

### Teaching Strategy

The spiral journey of learning is carried on in several ways.

- *Expanding the context* beyond the self as the primary frame of reference. A perceived connection to the broadest possible perspective of time, space and relationships enables the learner to operate out of hope for the future rather than fear.
- *Stimulating the imagination* by encouraging the learner to view a situation from a variety of opinions and perspectives, and to "see" reality not yet created.
- *Beckoning participation* by creating opportunities for active involvement. When ideas are connected with people's real life questions, meaning and motivation are awakened.
- *Encouraging critical thinking* by guiding the learner to relate information to inner resolve, will and values. Ethical reasoning empowers an individual to operate responsibly and independently.
- *Touching a person's depths* in order to build self-esteem and release human potential. As psychologist Jean Houston put it, "We're living in the attic of ourselves. We don't use the first three floors, and the basement is locked, until it wells up in an explosion."<sup>4</sup> Imaginal teaching gives tools to unlock the basement and relate inner and outer space.

Imaginal education uses both right and left brain modes and techniques to enhance the effectiveness of message reception and creation. For instance, holistic and synthetic thought can be encouraged as we provide experiences for standing back to look at the "whole" of situations and their interconnections. Or, the language of metaphors increases our power

to perceive and understand the world. Using various teaching approaches systematically helps the educator effectively to communicate to learners with a variety of learning styles. Tools for doing this include imagery, metaphorical thinking, inclusive myth, specific learning techniques, and approaches suited to the various kinds of intelligence represented in an individual and in a group (for example, Gardner's work on verbal, visual, body, musical, logical, interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences).<sup>5</sup>

The practice of imaginal education will be illustrated in the following case study.

### **Bayad el Arab Local Unit**

In 1975, following intensive experience in three pilot projects - in a Chicago ghetto, an Australian tribal aboriginal community and the Marshall Islands - the ICA initiated development partnerships with villages in many parts of the world, representing a diverse range of socio-economic settings and regional issues. Each project applied methods of imaginal education to enable one or more communities to respond to their self-identified needs. One of these projects was in the thirteen village administrative unit around Bayad el Arab, an area of roughly 20,000 people 140 km south of Cairo. Until recently these villages on the eastern side of the Nile River were not completely connected internally by roads and were quite isolated. Access to the provincial centre on the west bank, the seat of health and social services for the area, was by sailboat. Agricultural land met the desert only 500 metres from the Nile, landholdings were relatively small, and other economic opportunities had been limited by the isolation of the area. In 1985 a bridge was opened across the Nile in the local unit, and this occasioned a great upsurge in communications with the city, where there had been only a trickle before.

The imaginal educational process aimed to involve all members of the community, but especially those who usually missed formal education because they were too busy working to supply basic needs. Bayad people defined the content of the educational programme based on their needs. They wanted to learn about skills and technology that could help to improve their living standards, and expand their options for development.

A "learning by doing" approach was used to help people develop skills while changing people's images from impossibility to possibility. The first priority of the villagers of Bayad el Arab was the availability of potable water. In Upper Egypt, where almost no rain falls and all life depends upon the availability of water from the Nile, water is a major symbol of life. So too in Bayad village.

In spite of the overwhelming desire by all of the residents of Bayad El Arab for clean drinking water, the community as a whole perceived it as impossible to do anything about it themselves. With much intrigue and equally great skepticism, meetings were held in each area of the village to organize the participation of the villagers in digging water wells, excavating pipe trenches, laying pipe lines and installing the motor and pump. Few of these skills were present in the village, but as the project proceeded, the villagers became very efficient at threading and laying pipe, repairing broken pipes, installing and cleaning wells, and operating and organizing the work necessary for the water system operation.

As one villager, Sayed Ahmed Amin, once said "We knew that it was impossible to have clean drinking water in the village. We knew that we could not really do anything about our needs ourselves. But, we thought that we had nothing to lose and some good may

come of trying to do something. We got our clean drinking water. We also got something much more important, and that is the idea that we really could do something if we really wanted to.

Early in the project, a preschool was started. Its initial objectives were to involve the women and deal with infant nutrition. These objectives have since changed significantly towards early childhood education as the villagers clarified their needs. The teachers were illiterate, but they built the curriculum based on their experience and taught as a team guided by ICA staff. At first the villagers were intrigued with the novel idea of sending their three- to six-year olds to preschool. After half a year, the first 'graduates' went on to public school, and the teachers could not believe their level of confidence. Pressure grew on the teachers to teach the alphabet, especially the Koran which is central to traditional Arab village education. Samia and the others also began to feel the need to write down their own plans, so they asked for a literacy class. At first the class was taught by an ICA staff person, but later a young woman who had received some education took over. As the preschool teachers began to realize their capacity in other areas, they were quite eager to learn reading.

Samia learned very quickly. Within a year she was able to lead weekly curriculum planning sessions, draw pictures and write key words on the board. In addition to the basic curriculum focusing on reading and numbers, the teachers added social and individual learning experiences. Using a comprehensive palette of media for involving the children in the lessons physically, mentally and emotionally, the teachers designed an event for each topic. One week's theme was the family. No child in the village had a doll, so the teachers went down to the claypit on the Nile, and dug clay. The next day, making dolls was so much fun that it was hard for the teachers to let the children participate. After a few days in the hot desert sun, the dolls were as hard as brick. The village tailors gave scraps of cloth, and the next day's curriculum was to dress them. Hours and hours of intensive play followed, in which the children learned concepts and how to use their imagination.

Sometimes, the class went into the fields to discuss the plants that were growing. One day they went by boat across the Nile to the town of Beni Suef, the outside world beyond where most of the children had never been. They looked at a mural depicting local history on the wall of a government building. The conversation was incredible, as both preschoolers and their teachers began to see their geography and their history in a wider perspective. They wrote a song to celebrate: "The universe is our home, Egypt is our country; Beni Suef is our governate, Bayad is our village; We love her, she is dear to us; we will make her as beautiful as a bride for her wedding!"

The preschool was very simple. There was so little money that the children shared an inch of crayon and used both sides of a quarter of a sheet of paper for writing and drawing. But creative activities like drama, song, stories, sculpture, games, drawing and local field trips cost almost nothing and taught much about life. Constant reflection about what was going on deepened the learnings of both children and teachers.

Across the various activities in Bayad, the staff used this approach of an eventful learning experience followed by a surface-to-depth process of group conversation, to give ways for new experiences to reshape old images. This process was an open-ended way of teaching critical thinking; there was no one right answer at any level. After a presentation, meeting or field trip, the discussion was structured through four levels with questions such as these:

- *objective*: what happened in the course of the event, who attended, what was said, sensory data;
- *reflective*: how people experience the event, feelings, high points, difficulties encountered, emotions, associations;
- *interpretive*: tentative conclusions, implications, meanings, intuitions;
- *decisional*: how the experience would make a difference for them in the future, practical applications of new skills or insights.

This teaching style changed residents' attitudes toward learning. The emphasis on life experience as the basis of education broadened people's perceptions of themselves and their capabilities for informal education allowed individuals to extend their life experience and apply it in new ways.

It was not only the children who learned from this experience. Many of the girls now attend the new 16-room primary school. The high school educated preschool teachers from six villages in the local unit have begun training to teach a women's literacy programme. But perhaps the biggest changes in women's roles can be seen in the innovative community-based system that has begun to communicate primary health care messages to the mothers.

Twenty-seven women now work as primary health "caretakers" for the thirteen villages. Initially, many, though not all, of the women nominated by the leaders were widowed or divorced. During 1985 a small loans programme was begun with over sixty percent of the recipients being women. The loans were for income generating projects such as animal fattening, small shops and sewing machines. The combination of the preschool, health and loans programmes seemed to create a new environment for women to participate in the development process. During 1986, women, whether married, single or otherwise, began to volunteer as health caretakers and preschool teachers. Previously, many visits would have had to be made to them and their families to convince them to play one of these roles. The teachers and health "caretakers" are paid nominal stipends giving them the status of "worker" in the villagers' eyes. This has been particularly important in giving permission for the health "caretakers" to enter houses and give advice.

Nora Wahid, a young single woman of 27, started with the health caretaker programme in 1983 and is now a coordinator. She regularly visits all the families in her area, encouraging people to keep the village clean and treating injuries and common diseases, referring more serious complaints to doctors. She teaches a monthly curriculum in informal mothers' meetings (five sessions on maternal and five on children's health). She knows the well-being a woman feels in this culture when she is pregnant and the respect she gets when she has many children. She also knows how these factors make it hard for a mother to imagine how things like age, previous complications or diabetes might place both her and the baby at risk. She helped develop a sequence of picture cards that conveyed danger, then related the concept to pregnancy.

She found ways to get the women talking as a group and individually about their situations, and helped them see what their choices were. She knew which families were likely to have seen the government's health messages on television, and got those women to help encourage others to follow the messages. As a coordinator, Nora is responsible for training new health caretakers which she does on a weekly basis over several months.

Both men and women are frequently convinced that adults cannot acquire new knowledge and skills though they may place great store by educating their children. They have seen that they can learn, even if it is sometimes slow and painful. Health caretakers participate in public meetings over issues such as the preschool and the repair of the tap water system. They have begun to speak up, shyly at first, now with more confidence. Village women have been named as some of the coordinators of the programme for small loans. They participate in meetings concerning the programme. Male village leaders now tell visitors about the roles women play in the village. When six women who work with women's development projects in Jordan came to Bayad for a two-week exchange visit, the village women hosted them and shared their experience in primary health, preschool education and income generating projects.

Like most people in the world, villagers usually find themselves the passive recipients of the values and contexts by which they live their lives. However, an atmosphere of hope has emerged in the Bayad villages. The confidence and skills-building that started with the Bayad water project and preschool have been a foundation for changes in the fabric of people's lives.

### **Research Edge**

The practice of imaginal education in diverse settings has given rise to a number of questions and new experiments. These include:

- What do people need to know, whatever their ages, to be creative citizens of the planet?
- How does one involve learners in objectifying the images out of which they are operating and where they experience those images as inadequate?
- What are the ways of developing practical multi-modal applications of right-brain learning to the process of image-change?
- How does one accelerate the learning of basic skills?
- How are people enabled to create an adequate mythology for their lives?
- How does one apply the practical experience of having worked closely for years in a multicultural staff community?
- At the individual and community levels, what is the structure of world paradigms, and how are they related to culture?
- What are the applications of developmental psychology to the life journey, and to planning a spiral curriculum appropriate at each stage of development.

These and other questions are being pursued in quite varied settings. This article has described one particular application. A Residential Learning Center on a farm near Seattle is the site of a global education experiment with the concrete objective of overseas work experience and recovery of rites of passage. In rural Spain, a personal growth programme for elders struggling with issues such as alcoholism is enabling people to decide what behaviour they want to change and how they can work with their own images to accomplish it. Imaginal education applications to social change are being explored in a collaborative programme for training of rural development workers in southern Africa. A



support group of educators in Caracas meets regularly to clarify their vision for widespread teaching of critical thinking in Venezuela. Consultations with school boards and community business leaders in the USA are utilizing consensus methods to mobilize a new community interest in education. In Korea, new applications of the surface-to-depth conversation method are being developed in regular meetings of groups of people from many walks of life who share their thinking with each other. In London, young people are developing a global context for their work, and some are preparing for practical village development internships. In these and other programmes, and in dialogue with an informal network of educators in many places, the theory and application of imaginal education is being developed and deepened.

**NOTES:**

1. This chapter is taken from an article "Education That Changes Lives," an edited version of which first appeared in *In Context*, No. 18, 1988.
2. Boulding (1956).
3. Bruner (1960).
4. From a lecture given by Jean Houston at The Mystery School, New York, 1987.
5. Gardner (1983).



## COMMUNITY OF DEVELOPING INDIVIDUALS

Colin Cook

Australia

I am representing a project called the Gerard Aboriginal Community which is a development of one aboriginal community in South Australia. (See Project SP-11, Volume 1.) The community is a mixed group of people, with European people and aboriginal people - four different tribal groups. We have lived in Gerard for the past eight years. We have five of our own children, as well as two adopted and three foster children.

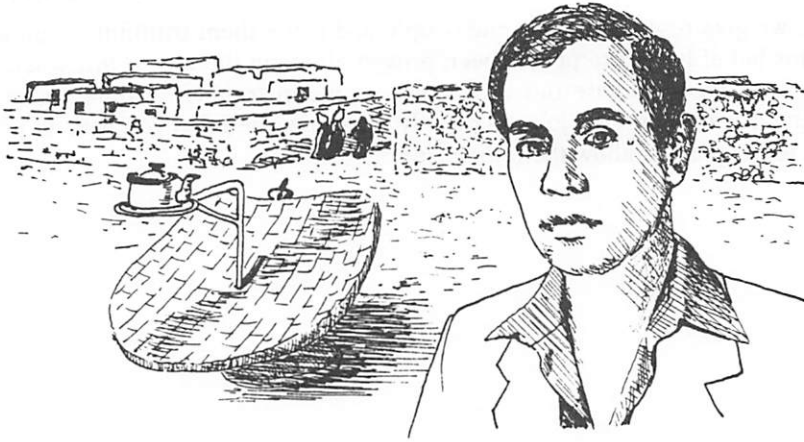
I am chairman of the Gerard Council Incorporated, a collective body of nine people which makes decisions on behalf of the whole community. My wife, Yvonne, was the founding member of the council five years ago and she initiated the Combined Council of the Aboriginal Communities in the South-East of South Australia. These three communities meet together every three months to discuss the problems of each community and help each other solve them.

When we began, many in the communities didn't have bathrooms, roads, or decent housing. Also, they didn't have a proper liaison in the areas of welfare, health, and education. With our elected council getting together and going before the resource people, we got a positive answer almost right away from them instead of waiting. We opened their eyes by having them come to the reserves and see our needs for themselves.

It definitely gives me a great deal of self-confidence to be able to speak for my people and to carry out this big role. It has built up my character to be more confident and more of an individual. I think that the Australian attitude toward aborigines as a group of people, never as individuals, has caused an inferiority complex. I think that if you're not an individual, then you lose your identity. And when you lose your identity, then you become

very dependent. You may become what people say your are, and then there is an identity crisis. There has been a high rate of alcoholism, for example, in the aboriginal community and it's related to the inability to stand up and be an individual.

I think I also need patience. You know the aboriginal race has been patient for 200 years in Australia, sitting back waiting for the right time to make a move, and I think that move is being made right now. It's a global view. We're not the only ones. There are people in other countries in the same situation as we are in our country.



## THE HUMAN FACTOR IN TECHNOLOGY

Salah Arafa

Egypt

We are a small project concerned with the use of solar energy and village development. (See Project NM-03, Volume 1.) The work is carried out by two departments of the American University in Cairo: Science and Engineering, and Sociology, Anthropology and Psychology. These departments joined together to discuss the issues of comprehensive, integrated development and the use of appropriate technology for village development. It is participatory action research where we work with villagers to improve traditional technologies or introduce new ones. We are the catalysts and also the field workers.

We decided from the beginning that two principles should govern all our work: people's participation and use of local resources. We built our activities on a diffusion model, i.e. a growth centre that begins in one village and then diffuses out to other villages. The centre of activity is in the homes of the villagers. They take responsibility, we merely advise them. If we train someone, he or she trains another and we make them aware of their capabilities.

I became involved in this work when I asked myself a question: can we so-called educated scientists and technologists use our backgrounds and knowledge to mobilize rural people, organize them in an appropriate way and use local resources to help village development, socially, economically and culturally? To be able to answer this, I decided to go out into the village and talk with the people.

But even before going to the village, I had this idea in mind: if we go and do something with the people and not for them, there are many resources available including the people

themselves that could be efficiently used for comprehensive development. I think many people miss this when they talk about available resources for community development.

As long as we give responsibility to the people and guide them truthfully, nothing is going to fail. This belief has more or less been proven all along the way. Only when we misinform people or try to impose our own ideas are we in trouble. I think many problems occur when we want to do the job too quickly. I have learned that you have to give real information to people and allow them to decide.

## **Part III**

# **DIALOGUE WITH LOCAL INITIATIVES**

## INTRODUCTION

The IERD brought the spotlight of development on to local initiatives. In this final part of the book, we return our attention to the efforts of grassroots development and the people involved in them. Linda Alton does this by highlighting fifteen Kenyan self-help projects. Although these represent only a fraction of the whole, they nevertheless allow local people to tell their story of what they have accomplished, what they have learnt in the process and what they want to share with others. The insights contained in these project profiles have much to teach us, especially on such matters as leadership, financial management and sustaining development.

Many aspects of local development were explored in the IERD process - agriculture, economic and commercial diversification, women in development, health care, learning and education processes, community housing, environment, technology, and integrated approaches. We have chosen to highlight one of these areas - health care - and trace what has happened in this field since 1984. Elaine Stover, a health consultant who has worked in development projects in India and Egypt, presents her findings in this chapter. She surveyed a selection of health projects which participated in the IERD and compared their progress with other developments in the primary health field.

One of the subjects highlighted in the IERD was the many forms of local organisation used in rural development. One of these - cooperatives - has been a very controversial issue. Discussion about cooperatives often emphasizes their failures and little is documented about their successes. In his chapter, Chief Offor describes his experiences in working with cooperatives in rural Nigeria. In his capacity as a community development consultant with a major private company, he has helped establish viable local structures on a wide scale.

Marja-Liisa Swantz reminds us that to be effective, development needs to be a people-oriented process. Her years of work in Tanzania allowed her to observe that even when this is the stated government policy, it doesn't necessarily happen. Indeed, well-intentioned government policies can have just the opposite effect, leading people to pursue their own development along alternative paths.

Part Three begins to draw to a close with a review of the IERD process by David Blanchard, himself a participant in the programme. His concern with the research dimension of the IERD is reflected here. After a thorough analysis of the data from hundreds of local development projects around the world, he has evolved seven empirical strategies

for bottom-up development. His work supports and complements the earlier findings of the IERD, which are summarized in "The Overview", in Part One of Volume Two of this series.

Finally, this part of the book is concluded by acknowledging the role played by individuals in any development project or programme. It is the decision of ordinary men and women to stand day in and day out, to take on seemingly impossible tasks and to risk themselves in new ways, that really makes a difference. The final chapter honours this indispensable ingredient in development, by sharing stories of two people who have given themselves so completely to the task of changing the way of life in their communities. They stand as a symbol of many others and an inspiration to all those committed to long-term, sustainable development.



## EMPOWERING THE GRASSROOTS

Linda Alton

*Phrases like "building indigenous development capacity" and "empowering the grassroots" have almost become clichés in development circles. Too seldom, do we find examples where this is happening and how it is done. In this chapter, Linda Alton provides one example by selecting 15 Kenyan self-help projects which were part of an innovative programme of people's self-review. The method used, which allows local people to tell their own story, was an essential part of the project documentation phase of the IERD process.*

Many people think that "empowering the grassroots" is a laudable aim to pursue but they are often left asking what it looks like in practice. The answer to this question can and does take a variety of forms. One of those forms is the process of self-review, a process that allows the participants of local self-help projects to step back from the humdrum of daily activity, reflect upon their experiences, document their development effort and build linkages to people and organizations beyond themselves.

An example of this process in action is the *Sharing Approaches That Work* programme undertaken in Kenya. The programme was initiated in 1984, when six projects were sent to New Delhi to represent Kenya at the International Exposition of Rural Development. These first projects were selected by a national committee and the programme was funded by the Ford Foundation. The projects were:

The Murang'a Farmers District Cooperative Union (BA-17)

The Kibwezi Women's Group Integrated Development Project (BA-14)

The Soil Conservation Project (BA-18)

The Kandito Women's Association (BA-20)

The Kenya Food and Nutrition Training Programme (BA-13)

The Village Leaders Self-Help Training Programme (BA-19).<sup>1</sup>

Following the IERD event in India, it was decided to continue the project and expand it to other districts across the country. The Kenya National Council of Social Service (KNCSS) was appointed the coordinator and the ICA:Kenya was the organising sponsor. The Ford Foundation provided the funding and the United Nations Development

Programme provided much logistical support. The Ministry of Culture and Social Service District Staff, along with other organisations involved in rural development, were asked to nominate grassroots, locally-initiated projects from which a selection of projects was made for participation in the programme.

During 1985, the first group of 19 self-help projects were highlighted. Each project received a five-day project documentation site visit which produced a report on the group and its project. Every effort was made to ensure that the report was the group's report and not an agency review. A series of highly participatory workshops and conversations formed the major part of the experience. Reports were published and widely distributed among the districts of Kenya and to other development organisations around the world.

All projects sent representatives to the Nairobi International Show where they were featured in displays in the KNCSS pavillion. They were honoured at a luncheon where the Minister of Culture and Social Services presented them with a small programme award to help them continue and expand their projects. Eventually, a total of 31 projects participated in the scheme, many of them run by women's self-help groups. Several came from very remote areas (Garissa, Tana River and Turkana).

1. Bulemia YMCA Group
2. Cheberen Soil Conservation Project
3. Chepsirei Women's Group
4. Ituki Catchment Water Project
5. Jaribu Self-Help Primary School
6. Kanyo Self-Help Women's Group
7. Kirindine Women's Group
8. Kogola Youth Group
9. Kuyu Cultivation Self-Help Group
10. Kwaindi Women's Group
11. Maweni Women's Group
12. Nawoitorong Women's Group
13. Ngaghenya Women's Group
14. Nyakiyo Women's Group
15. Wacho Women's Group

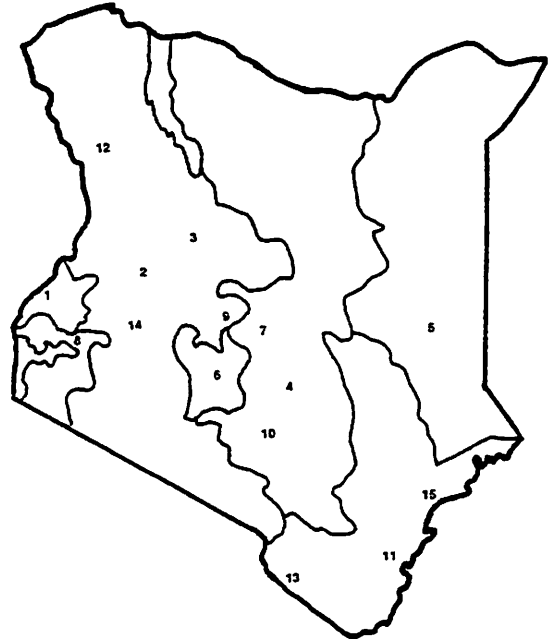


Figure 15. Map of Kenya showing project locations

## **BULEMIA YMCA GROUP**

P.O. Box 95, Butala via Bungoma, Kenya.

### **AREA DATA and HISTORY**

- **Location:** Elukari Sub-location, Marachi East Location, Nambale Division, Busia District. 3,500 feet altitude.
- **Population:** 4,000 people. 240 families. Luhya Tribe.
- **Agriculture:** Cotton, groundnuts, maize, cassava, finger millet, potatoes, local cattle.

**T**he Bulemia Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) project was started in 1982 by two brothers, Gabriel Muyodi and Raphael Muyodi. Five people joined them and awareness of the project spread.

The idea of the project was to have the community as a whole work to improve its living standard. The hope was to increase the income of 1,500 families. They began meeting under a tree. The first project was workdays to build a meeting place. The second activity was a harambee fundraising event. The funds collected were used to purchase seeds which were then distributed to every member and demonstration garden plots were planted.

By 1983, the Bulemia membership grew to 535 members and the group was registered with the Community Development Officer (CDO), Busia District. The reason for rapid expansion of membership was that they started many new activities for people of all ages. These included a nursery school with 30 children, a carpentry workshop with six trainees, agriculture group with 26 young trainee farmers, tailoring classes with 15 trainees, and football, volleyball, choir and drama groups.

In 1984, membership grew to a total of 699. There were many improvements in the agriculture project including farmer's

training courses attended by 51 young men and women farmers sponsored by the YMCA in Busia. They were taught improved farming techniques with advice from YMCA officers and local members. Young farmers were encouraged to raise crops to sell and several now pay their school fees from their earnings. Also during 1984, the group participated in the first part of an exchange programme with a Liverpool, England YMCA. Twelve youth came to Bulemia for two weeks to work on the construction of a semi permanent building for the community centre. In 1985, youth from Bulemia YMCA visited Liverpool. Another visitor during 1984 was a man from Canada who helped them by demonstrating how to make local bricks.

In 1985, membership reached 726. The movement expanded because of the addition of practical training in home economics and masonry and because more members took training in farming, tailoring and carpentry. The general secretary of the YMCA from West Germany visited this year and a group from Becket, USA, YMCA came and helped lay the foundation of a new enlarged community centre. The land for the new centre was donated by the oldest YMCA member in the village, Mzee Thomas Odwari, in exchange for training his two children. The new centre include enlarged workshop space, an office, a store, a dispensary, and a large social hall.

### **TODAY'S APPROACHES**

Out of the membership of the Bulemia YMCA Project today, three-quarters are youth and one-quarter adult men and women. At present, there are 71 members actively engaged in training for carpentry, tailoring, agriculture, masonry, home economics and nursery teaching. They meet once a week in their semi-permanent social hall and daily in their small carpentry and tailoring workshop space.

The recorder, secretary, vice-chairman and chairman volunteer their time to keep the project going while the organising secretary gets a small salary from the branch YMCA in Busia. The Branch Secretary makes regular visits to the workshop and weekly meetings and does farm visitations. He also visits local schools and helps transport produce and materials in the YMCA truck.

If a group wants to utilize the learnings for the YMCA Bulemia group, the following are some of the important steps they recommend.

- **Begin with what you have.** Start with tools and machines already in the village which belong to members. Start a fund of voluntary contributions from members (whatever they can give) to be used corporately for purchase of thread, wood, materials. When you sell your group products use the profit to purchase more materials after giving 10% to trainees, the carpenters, tailors or masons. Borrow materials to begin the project and when money is available, pay for them.
- **Use volunteer instructors to teach skills for self-employment.** Encourage members to volunteer their time and skills to train other members. Local members can make regular visits to other member's farms to advise on improved farming methods. Keep youth in the village by offering skills that they can use in the village for self-employment. Do not give free training but encourage payment of small fees so that the youth value their training. Train young farmers to keep records of expenditures, amounts of harvest by weight and sale price of produce. These can be used to evaluate the training in modern methods, to motivate them to keep going even in difficult times.
- **Know about and use local resources.** Do research on what grows well and what is needed before finalizing the project focus. Before introducing new crops, determine the type of soil and what seeds and chemicals are needed. Use nearby training centres to advise on space of seedlings, chemicals for spraying, fertilizers and grafting techniques for citrus. Use group funds to purchase seeds in bulk and then sell seed packets to farmers. Encourage the planting of seed beds every month to have a regular supply of seedlings. Visit local schools to offer free seeds to students to grow demonstration plots on the school grounds. Require students to keep records of expenditure and earnings.
- **Find out interests of members.** Have active and visible activities like tailoring, carpentry, agriculture, and masonry to encourage new members to join. Tell people the advantages and the disadvantages of the project. Have committed and enthusiastic members recruit other members of the family (even grandmothers and grandsons) or friends. Encourage visitors from outside to come to the project to help with specific building projects. Engagement of youth in a nursery and workshop centre has resulted in project expansion. Involving them in sports, drama and choir competitions has expanded their interest and contact with outside groups.
- **Encourage self-reliance.** To educate young children early to grow up with the image of self-reliance, you must train young people in leadership skills. Have regular weekly meetings. Youth who earn money in their own project do not depend on parents for pocket money.
- **Be sociable.** Have the group create a group song and sing it at every meeting to add new hope. Be sociable and engaging instead of giving orders. Encourage young members to utilize their own experiences. Involve young children, youth, women and men in activities they like to do. The project guidelines should

fit the people who are involved. Find out what problems people are facing and what is important in their lives.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

The Bulemia YMCA Group sees themselves going in the following major directions increasing food production, teaching skills for self-employment, and encouraging members to be self-reliant.

### Planting fruit trees

They contact the Branch Nursery at Busia to get budding seedlings to distribute to members. They intend to increase the number of members growing citrus from five to 700 members by the end of two years. They encourage young farmers who have completed a first planting of one vegetable to add new crops at next planting in order to expand the variety of locally available foods. They encourage members to raise chickens to increase local egg production and hence improve nutrition. Members attend a poultry-keeping course at the Farmers Training Centre, Busia, next time it is offered.

### Skills for self-employment

The first step is to send approximately five new trainees to all upcoming seminars at the Farmers Training Centre, Busia. If members show desire and keen interest in learning more animal husbandry, this programme be intensified to encourage more members to upgrade local cattle. This be done by scheduling visits of the Department of Livestock to groups of local farmers who bring ready cows to have artificial insemination. After three times of artificial insemination the farmers have grade cows. More efforts be made to continue sale of products (tables, chairs, benches, tablecloths, school uniforms and farm produce) to Bungoma Market, local customers, and nearby schools.

### Encourage full engagement of members in group activities

They continue weekly meetings which be held in the community centre to include: social openings (prayers, songs, readings), a training session (one to two hours long, on subjects of interest such as beekeeping, poultry, dairy, etc.), chemicals, and a discussion time.

They send their volunteer instructors in tailoring, carpentry, masonry and farming to attend seminars to get additional technical knowledge. They have a vision to train members to be able to take government trade tests. Their larger community centre when it is completed, have more space for workshops and operate as a craft centre like the Kaimosi Craft Centre. Trainees in tailoring and farming be increased to 200 in two years.

One of the difficulties they anticipate is outgrowing their current workshop space and meeting hall before the new community centre is built. They use their previous experience of finding available space in nearby shops. Another difficulty is the slow realization of a complete centre. They have done a detailed budget on the cost of laying the foundation, the walls, the roof, fittings and painting and equipment which totals Ksh. 525,394. This large sum needing to be raised may discourage some members but the group feels that this can be overcome with perseverance. They seek more assistance from different groups who visit and know their project and use their own masonry and carpentry instructors, train trainees and other members to complete the centre.

The Bulemia YMCA Group has a broad vision for their whole community in terms of improved village facilities. They see the YMCA project helping to start a permanent hostel for guests, a community hotel, a YMCA dispensary, a Bulemia transport truck and even piped water for the village.



### **PROFILE: Gabriel Ouma Muyodi**

Gabriel Ouma Muyodi was born in Bulemia, Busia District in 1947 and attended Bulemia School to Standard eight. At the age of 16 he travelled to Uganda to work and came across the YMCA there. On returning to Kenya, he married and attended Butala Polytechnic to study masonry. He worked in Nairobi and Mombasa and he taught masonry at Mubetha Polytechnic, Kakamega. In 1975 he returned to Bulemia with a Grade III Diploma in Masonry and constructed houses and taught others masonry skills. Meanwhile he was farming a 20 acre plot and raising a family of nine. Today Gabriel usually gets up at 4.00 a.m. to work in his farm. In 1982 Gabriel was encouraged by a local branch secretary of the YMCA in Busia to start a project in Bulemia. This is because he wanted his people to experience the benefits of a higher standard of living as he had seen while with the YMCA in Uganda.

This vision of his proved to be a great struggle. The project was first mistaken for a political organization and others thought it was just Gabriel seeking attention or thought he had nothing else to do. When the membership of the YMCA reached 25, Gabriel as the initiator of the movement was chosen as the chairman. He believes the most important qualities of being a leader are 1) a leader is always ready to be a servant of others; 2) a leader does not forget or ignore those who are less fortunate in terms of education and training but helps them instead; 3) a leader is not harsh and does not work for his own benefits, but for the benefit of others.

If you watch Gabriel as he moves about his work, he is a very humble man and has a very cordial and friendly approach to others. He knows all his members, young and old, their interests and problems and he remembers their efforts. Everyone knows Gabriel and he is often seen laughing and joking with those he visits. He continues to seek wide knowledge through reading, radio and seminars. He speaks six languages: Luhya, Luo, Kiganda, Agole, Swahili and English.

Throughout three years of leadership, Gabriel has faced both success and a number of problems. His perseverance, supported by religion, is founded on a desire to see the complete self-reliance of the youth and prevention of migration of the youth to the surrounding cities, leaving the less able to cultivate the land. Added to this, he works to see a general rise in living standards in Bulemia and an increase in trade and in the number of teachers. Though he believes Bulemia and the YMCA together are only one quarter of the way there, he is determined to fulfill this dream of a lifetime.

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## CHEBEREN SOIL CONSERVATION PROJECT

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P.O. Tenges, via Eldama Ravine, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Cheberen Sub-location, Tenges Location, Tenges Division, Baringo District, Rift Valley Province. Cheberen is 16 kilometres from Tenges, is semi-arid with serious soil erosion.
- **Population:** 4,900, 1200 families.
- **Agriculture:** Cash crops: cotton, some coffee. Food crops: groundnuts, maize, millet, beans, peas, sorghum, cassava and sweet potatoes.
- **Livestock:** goats, cattle, sheep, donkeys, and chickens.

The Cheberen Soil Conservation Project involves the entire sub-location. Cheberen Centre is a small market located in the middle of the sub-location. The land is very hilly and the soil is rocky. As a result of water rushing from the higher hills and from overgrazing, serious soil erosion has taken place. Some large gullies formed and extensive amounts of fertile soil have been washed away to Lake Baringo. As a result, agricultural production decreased.

In 1983, the people discussed the seriousness of the problem in Barazas and requested help from the Ministry of Agriculture. After studies of the area, they recommended measures such as cut-off drains, gabions, stone lines, brushwood catchments and fencing to enable retention of soil and restoration of vegetation.

A committee from across the sub-location was formed to lead the soil conservation project. Some of these people went to seminars and training programmes on

preventing erosion and in turn taught others to save the land. The projects were fencing and tree planting.

There was severe drought in 1984. The young trees which had been planted dried up. However, the community was not deterred in their determination to save the soil. They began construction of gabions, stone lines and brushwood catchments. They have extended their efforts throughout the sub-location and have included public lands such as school and dispensary compounds in their efforts. The Cheberen Primary School was in particular danger. The land below the school was being washed away by the river. However, the community constructed a large stone line to divert the river away from the land under the school buildings.

To ensure the success of the project all compounds are being fenced and each family has planted 10 trees. They have planted 1,500 trees in the market centre, 400 at the school, and 2,100 on the dispensary compound. Each tree has a sturdy fence to protect it from goats.

The community members devoted one day each week to work on soil conservation efforts. They constructed 20 gabions, 10 stone diversions and thousands of stone and brushwood catchments. In the fenced areas, vegetation has returned so that major portions of the land are now protected. They are some areas which will require bulldozers to level the gullies, and more gabions are needed, but considerable amounts of land have already been saved.

In addition to the soil conservation project, the community has constructed six primary school classrooms, dug a trench for piped water to the cattle dip, constructed roads between nearby villages and cleared land for the construction of a new secondary school.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The people of Cheberen have shown that soil erosion can be decreased in their area and have implemented several methods to stop it. They have built brushwood and stone lines in gullies to increase the ability of the catchments to withstand the force of moving water. In the river bed they have constructed stone lines to divert the water in areas where land and buildings are particularly threatened. In addition, they have fenced large areas to permit the return of natural vegetation to assist in soil retention. In the past years, 40,000 trees have been planted to help stabilize the soil and reduce the damage caused by wind.

- **Build gabions to slow the water.** The purpose of a gabion is to weaken the force of the water in the gully or stream to prevent the soil defence systems from being washed away. The first step is to stretch a heavy gabion wire net across the gully, fill in behind it with stones and then enclose the stones with more gabion wire so that you have a reinforced wall of stones.
  - **Use brushwood and stone lines to catch soil.** Once the water has slowed down, then brushwood and stone lines can catch the soil. Wooden pegs are pinned in the ground of small gullies at an 85 to 90 degree angle to the flow of water. Additional sticks and brush are added to catch the soil while allowing the water to continue to flow. Stone lines are used in larger areas for the same purpose.
  - **Plant vegetation immediately.** Vegetation such as napier or kikuyu grass and sisal help retain the structure of the soil. Sisal is planted in the catchment areas because of its roots and resistance to drought. It shoots additional young plants each season which causes the soil in the gully to clump together. The community has also put double fencing around the school compound and
- planted trees between the fences. This year they have planted over 4,000 trees in the market centre along the river, on the school and dispensary compounds and on their own shambas (farms).
- **Protect eroded land from animals.** The first step in preventing further erosion of soil is to fence the area. The fencing keeps out animals and allows the natural vegetation to be restored in areas prone to drought. In some areas where serious gullies had not developed, fencing was all that was necessary.
  - **Starting soil conservation.** The Cheberen Soil Conservation Project was started in response to the rapid loss of soil and the formation of deep gullies during the rains. The people were aware of the problem but did not have experience in how to control it. They sought advice from the Ministry of Agriculture who studied the area and recommended the combination of brushwood and stone lines, gabions and fencing of eroded areas. They provided on-the-job training and also donated wire for gabions to the project.
  - **Leaders' involvement.** The soil conservation project has involved people from a wide area. They have decided to work in four geographical areas and have selected a committee with representatives from each of the areas to coordinate the project. The Chief, Assistant Chief, Counciler, Divisional Agriculture Extension Officer, and the Divisional Social Development Assistant have been actively involved in the entire project.
  - **Regular participation in work.** The members of the community have decided to work weekly on the soil conservation project and each person provides his own working tools. All people in the area have been registered and leaders talk with those who fail to



come to workdays. They have developed a rotational system in each of the four areas so that everyone benefits from the work. They also schedule work on school compounds, roads and other public areas.

- **Diverting the river.** The Cheberen Primary School sits on a hill above the river where the land was rapidly being washed away. It was estimated that the school would be washed away in two more rainy seasons if something was not done. The community has built a large stone line to divert the water away from the school compound.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

### Soil Conservation

Although much soil conservation work has been done, it has only underlined the need for more work. They intend to continue with the construction of gabions, brushwood and stone lines to decrease the erosion in gullies. In addition, they hope to be able to hire a bulldozer to level land which has been eroded by large gullies and limited its productive use. The people of the sub-location plan to continue their weekly workdays on soil conservation but would also like to have a full-time team hired to expand the major soil conservation projects.

### Education

A major focus of the sub-location at this time is the expansion of educational opportunities for everyone. They have started an additional primary school at Kablogos which now has Standard One and two classes. They plan to add an additional classroom each year until it is completed. A concern is providing adequate equipment, as at present there is only one textbook in each subject for the entire class to use. They would like to have sufficient books for each pupil to use. Teaching materials

for the adult education classes and some sports equipment would also be helpful.

Over the next two years the community is planning to start a secondary school for the sub-location. At the present time all secondary students must go to boarding school - the nearest one is in Tenges. They feel that a school in the sub-location would allow more qualified students to attend. They have already selected a school committee and allocated land for the secondary school. They will organize harambee fund-raising events to obtain the necessary construction materials which will take about one year. They plan to construct two buildings. The school will have a class of 80 students joining each year.

### Bridge

During the rainy season, a portion of Cheberen sub-location is isolated due to the high water level of the Perkeria River. Crossing the river when it is high is either impossible or very dangerous due to the rapidly moving water. Some teachers and children need to cross the river for school and must miss classes when the river cannot be crossed. The high river also blocks some of the people from access to the local shops and the dispensary in Cheberen Centre. The road to Eldama Ravine and Nakuru also crosses the river and the people find themselves isolated from these towns and their services. A bridge must be built although they are not sure when they will be able to build it.

### Irrigation

This area suffers from a short growing period because of the rains. Though intense, they are of short duration. The crops grown must be of a drought-resistant variety. If the water flowing from the surrounding hills during the rainy season could be contained, irrigation of crops would be possible. This has been done on a small scale by individual families and the

people hope to construct an irrigation system using dams to trap the water for the whole community. This would allow them to grow a large range of crops and even have small vegetable plots growing throughout the dry season.



### **PROFILE: Jonathan Chelego Chirchir**

Jonathan Chelego Chirchir became the leader of the Cheberen Soil Conservation Project in March 1983. He was born in 1958 in the nearby village of Tian. He participates fully in community life both as an adult education teacher and as a farmer.

Jonathan was chosen as leader for many reasons. He had experienced the effects of soil erosion on his own land. Through his parents' guidance and his own interest, he began to read pamphlets about soil conservation and leadership in Karbarnet and other places. While in primary school, he

planted 33 trees. Later he developed his own project which required carrying all the materials over one kilometre on his shoulders. He has also planted 200 trees in 1983 and 1985. During the severe drought of 1984, he successfully irrigated his shamba which sustained 15 families.

Through teaching and visits to local people, Jonathan has spread the values and methods of soil conservation. He has won the confidence of the people through his own hard work. He is the treasurer of the Tian Primary School, vice-chairman of the Tenges Teachers Committee, secretary of the Cheberen Sub-location Adult Education Committee, and the secretary of the Cheberen Sub-location Development Committee.

As a leader he thinks a number of qualities are needed. He says it is necessary to love the people, as hatred leads to divisions. He feels a leader should be on the same level as the people, to work with and listen to people and solve each individual problem. He wants to be seen as a hard-working person who is not reluctant, but ready, to help at all times. "You have to be creative, have initiative, determination and courage, and be conscious of time." He also emphasizes reliability, honesty, and the ability to motivate people.

Jonathan told of some of the early problems he faced. There was low attendance at meetings due to poor timing and lack of motivation. He experienced that poor communication with people and misinterpretation could lead to further problems. Cooperation, however, has now been established and people are working on the project throughout the sub-location.

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## CHEPSIREI WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Kimwarer, via Eldoret, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Elgeyo Marakwet District. Southern Division, Chemoiben Location, Chepsirei Sub-Location, Chepsirei Village.
- **Population:** 500 people, 150 homes.
- **Agriculture:** Livestock: Cows, goats, sheep, poultry. Crops: Mung beans, kunde, millet, sweet potatoes, terrain: semi-arid, Kerio Valley.

The Chepsirei Women's Group began in 1981 and during the first year expanded from 14 to 37 members, including members from 2 locations and 7 villages. The requirement for membership in this household goods self-help group was a monthly contribution of Ksh.10 which enabled each member to have adequate utensils in her home. The group's goals were to establish income-generating projects in order to provide essential services and improve their standard of living.

During the first year they were given the use of a 1 1/2 acre shamba (farm) by a church to further their project. Their first harvest resulted in 13 sacks of groundnuts which netted Ksh. 1,800. With this promise of regular income, the group applied to the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development for assistance in modern bee hives and began planning for acquiring a posho mill (grinding mill). A local harambee raised Ksh.2,000 towards the mill. In 1983, the group suffered its first major setback when the combined effect of drought and late planting resulted in the groundnut crop failure. During this time, the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development donated five reels

of fencing wire to help protect the bee area, as well as 10 modern hives. Later in the year, Ksh.800 was received as income from the honey harvest.

The posho mill was now the group's main focus, and with encouragement from their M.P., they requested a loan for the Ksh.85,000 posho mill. With the unofficial assurance of this loan, they also requested and received Ksh.8,000 from the Ministry of Culture and Social Services towards the posho mill building and the necessary adjoining water tank. Each individual member also contributed Ksh.500.

By 1984, the drought had taken a firm hold on the Kerio Valley. The members who had not left to save their livestock saw family shambas fail and cattle herds die. The morale of the group was very low, yet they refused to give up. They each decided to bring one egg every week to sell in order to buy materials for making baskets, gourds and crafts which would serve as income for the group. The posho mill arrived in April 1984 to be housed in the building they had constructed. Although the mill was a definite sign for hope for the future, the economic climate of the country made it impossible for the group to meet all the Ksh.1,700 monthly loan payments. Grinding yellow "famine relief" maize brought some income which, added to craft sales, enabled the group to pay Ksh.700 per month on the mill loan.

In 1985, a harambee fundraising event raised Ksh.5,000 to pay for the fundi (technician) for machine repairs. Ready-made table cloths and ropes were also sold. To further their income-generating activities, a 1 1/2 acre permanent shamba was secured from the school.

In early 1986, the group held a large harambee to enable the repayment of part of the posho mill loan. Largely through their own donations, they raised Ksh.30,000.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The 37 women of the Chepsirei Group are all committed to working corporately as an income-generating group. Their current ventures are varied. They have 10 modern bee hives which were given them by the Ministry, six of which are currently housing bees. Five reels of fencing wire have also been given by the Ministry to be put up as protection. Two to three tins of honey will be harvested in May. The one and one-half acre shamba was planted this year with groundnuts, sukuma (greens), beans, millet and maize. Income from the shamba and honey have helped to repay the outstanding loan on the two year-old posho mill which serves a 10 mile area and is open three days a week, grinding maize and wimbi (sorghum). Payments on the Ksh.85,000 machine and the costs of the Ksh.18,000 building and water tank have been made through the combined efforts of honey sales, and several harambees which have received large contributions from members. Crafts such as tablecloths, decorated gourds, ropes and baskets are made for selling at harambees.

## LEARNINGS

- **Bee keeping requires training.** Start with only a few hives and ensure adequate water, food and the assistance of technicians to train in honey harvesting methods.
- **Sufficient financial backing.** Be assured that your finances are sufficient and secure before starting a venture and plan for several years to come.
- **Group corporateness is most important.** Good relationships among members and respect of the leader are vital to the group working together.
- **Utilize local materials and resources.** The treasury of the group can be easily

augmented by the use of local materials to make crafts for sale.

- **Meetings need to be well scheduled.** Adequate time between regular meetings will enable individual reflection for sharing of fresh ideas at each meeting.
- **Have a group constitution.** A group constitution will help the smooth running of the group.
- **Secure markets first.** Before you start a venture such as bees or a posho mill, make sure a market is available.
- **All ages work together.**
- **Keep going even in times of crisis.** In a crisis such as a drought, don't stop meetings or disband the group; rather, encourage each member to continue contributions, even if it is only one egg or one shilling
- **Group symbols show unity.** Group uniforms, singing and signposts help a group to demonstrate its unity.
- **Family affairs of the leader need to be in order.** Leaders must ensure that their family affairs are solid and that the family is willing for the husband, wife, brother or sister to participate in community leadership.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

The Chepsirei Womens Group will put major emphasis during the next five years on expanding their income-generating projects to repay their current debt, with a long-term vision of meeting many community needs. The revived economic climate and good rains this season make them very optimistic about their future.

### Posho Mill

During the next three years, income from all projects will be used to pay off the posho mill loan. To further the income possibilities of the posho mill in this arid

place, the women plan to buy large quantities of maize to be sold and then ground at the mill. By next year it is hoped that the mill can be open five days a week. It is never expected that the grinding operation itself will be a profit-making venture; rather, its intent is to serve the needs of the people in a self-supporting manner.

### **Shamba**

The group will maintain cash crops on the present shamba until the posho mill loan is repaid. At that time the plan is to expand and buy 10 acres for a large demonstration shamba. It is estimated that they will need Ksh.20,000 for this purchase. In successive years, they plan to buy 300 posts at Ksh.4,500 and wire for a fence to protect the harvest from animals. When this is completed, they will cultivate and plant.

### **Beehives**

At present the 10 beehives are on school land with limited future prospects since the school itself will be expanding. Therefore, this year the group plans to purchase three acres of land at Ksh.6,000 for a permanent beekeeping site. During 1987 they obtained posts and used the five reels of fencing wire previously donated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development to fence the site. Three members will be sent to the Ministry for extensive beekeeping training. This will alleviate the need for the agricultural technicians who are now on site several days a week and do all harvesting of honey. It will also enable the next expansion of hives. They expect to buy 50 new hives by the end of 1988 when the posho mill loan is paid. With the resulting 60 honey-producing hives, they will need large containers for storage of honey and plan to purchase 75 tins for this purpose. The expected annual income from 69 hives is Ksh.75,000.

### **Crafts**

The handicraft venture is very much a supportive scheme for the larger projects of the group. It is also a motivating force for the group when it is struggling financially; each member can contribute something by producing crafts.

### **Long Term Plans**

- **Lodging Houses** - The group will build two semi-permanent (wood) lodging houses by the mill, meeting the needs of teachers and civil servants for lodging. The land has been loaned to the group with payment expected at a later time.
- **Kiosk** - A kiosk is planned to be added to this growing complex around the posho mill for the sale of groceries.
- **Chai (Tea) Hotel** - A chai hotel will be added to the posho mill complex.
- **Skills Training** - Yearly training seminars will be attended by members, especially the treasurer, as soon as possible. The scope of the projects planned are too large not to have trained officers.

### **PROFILE: Rael Richard**

Rael Richard was born in Baringo District to a large family. Her father died when she was young which meant she had to leave school after standard two to care for the animals. She married at the age of 17 and in 1970 she moved with her husband to Chepsirei village in Kericho Valley. She was an active church member and was selected to be the Vice Chairlady of the Reformed Church Parish Womens Group. She was chosen, friends say, because she refused to quarrel, she was always willing to go to do the work of the group and her husband was willing for her to spend this time and energy.

In 1981, the larger group decentralized and Chepsirei Women's Group began. Rael was selected to be the Chairlady of

this group and the membership increased under her guidance with Christians and non-Christians being encouraged to join.



Rael understands the major role of a leader to be that of 'demonstrator'. Among the concerns she has been demonstrating to her members are family planning, encouraging all to have a pit latrine and to practice sanitation. She demonstrates how to make and use jikos (stoves) that are safe for children and conserve energy, educates young girls against unwanted pregnancy and gives advice on nutrition for arid places like the Kerio Valley. At this time, she has a demonstration jiko in her home and has learned a method for drying sukuma wiki and kunde (local greens) for later use. Probably her major demonstrations was during the first

year of the posho mill when there was no money for hiring a worker, when she herself ran the machine alone for the whole year.

Rael attended two leadership seminars of the MCSS and from these she began the sanitation programme and modern style bee keeping project of the group. She also attend a two week mid-wifery training course and has been assisting with maternity care in the location.

Her style is very quiet yet assured. She feels a leader must not be annoyed or allow herself to be involved in a quarrel. She must be part of the group and not listen to gossip that will lead to divisions in the group. Her members respect her hard work and say she is the first one to arrive at any meeting. Her honest good intentions led the Chepsirei Group through the hard times of 1984 when there was so little food and all the livestock died. Thirty of her own cows died and members then attending meetings were very few. Yet she sustained them with the idea of bringing one egg each every meeting for selling to buy materials for making crafts.

Rael now radiates trust in the future. She is able to see beyond the next the next few hard years of repaying the posho mill loan, into later years of starting other community projects, and speaks of them in a quiet, enthusiastic manner. They say that 'Chepsirei' means a place that receives visitors. With Rael's leadership, the Chepsirei Women's Group will continue to make Chepsirei a welcome place not only to visit but also to live.

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## ITUKI ROCK CATCHMENT WATER PROJECT

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P.O. Box 21, Kisasi, Via Kitui, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Masimbini Sub-location, Kisasi Location, Central Division Kitui District, Eastern Province. A large rock and escarpment on the east side of the Kitui to Kibwezi Road about 30 km from Kitui Town
- **Population:** 4000 people, 400 families. About 25% of heads of household work outside the community and come home weekly or monthly. Tribe: Kamba.
- **Agriculture:** Subsistence farming of maize, beans, pigeon peas, cowpeas, mung beans, cassava, sweet potatoes. The land is semi-arid and prone to soil erosion. Livestock: Cattle, goats, sheep and poultry.

**T**he Ituki Rock Catchment Water Project is located in an area of low and irregular rains with frequent periods of drought. People have had to carry water 4 - 8 km from the river. This distance has prohibited planting of crops or trees that require irrigation and has complicated the construction of any buildings. There are several self-help groups active in the community. They have worked on their individual projects and had also worked together on starting a school. The lack of water available meant that bricks for the school classrooms had to be made at the river and carried six kilometres up to the site at Ituki Rock making construction a slow and exhausting process. In 1982, the Assistant Chief called a meeting to discuss the issue of water. A committee was formed with representatives from the seven groups.

Ituki Rock is vast with a flat top and edged by an escarpment. The rock has areas of green grass and it was decided to explore one of these areas for a source of water. After removing the soil and rock of one small area, they discovered a deep hollow with impermeable rock which could trap water during the rains. There were visits by the Ministry of Agriculture and ASAL (Arid, Semi-Arid Land) development project which helped determine the feasibility of the project and the provision of technical assistance. The community proceeded to dig out another larger area which formed a trench. They built walls at each of the ends of the trench to form a dam and dramatically increased the capacity of the dam.

The self-help groups organized workdays to work on the project. This involved excavating the site, carrying 16 tons of sand on their backs from the river, carving stones from the rock and actually constructing walls. The walls are currently over one metre high and are one and a half metres thick. The only outside aid received was a donation of 80 bags of cement, technical advice and a few tools.

In 1985, the first significant rains in two years filled the hollows. As a result, the entire community has had water available much closer to their homes.

Also, the 4-K Club has started a demonstration farm using irrigation to grow tomatoes, sukuma wiki, cabbage and a fruit tree nursery. This has encouraged other groups and individuals to start vegetable gardens. With water available on the site, the community was able to make 15,800 bricks with each person making an average of 100 instead of four per day when carrying the water. This has allowed them to complete four rooms of the school and to make bricks for two more classrooms. They have also planted several trees around the compound which have been irrigated for three years with water from the first experimental site.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The water project has excavated soil and stones from three different areas of Ituki Rock. There are two holes in the rock about six metres deep and two metres in diameter. The third area is a wide trench in the rock and they have constructed two walls forming a dam. The walls are one and a half metres thick and twenty metres long. They are currently about one metre high, but there are plans to increase the capacity of the dam by adding an additional metre. Currently, the first hole is not being used in order to determine the natural rate of water loss.

- **Select appropriate sites.** Areas of potential water catchment were chosen based on the presence of vegetation which remain green during the dry season and were in depressions of the rock. The community also considered the flow of water across the rock into depressions. The first areas chosen had sloping rock directing water into them.
- **Don't wait for tools to arrive.** The community began the work of digging out the site immediately using their own tools and some which they improvised. Sand was carried in sisal baskets. When some tools were donated, there were only enough for five people to work at one time. They had 400 people working using their own improvised tools.
- **Involve everyone in the work.** The entire community benefitted from the new source of water and this has encouraged everyone to work. Each of the seven self-help groups were assigned tasks during the workdays. Additional help with carrying sand and breaking stone was given by non-group members. About 400 people were involved each week and this resulted in the preparation of the main trench in only eight months.
- **Representative committee to coordinate project.** The community decided to work in their existing self-help groups and organized the project through a committee with representatives from each of the groups. The committee developed policies which enabled everyone to understand that they were all contributing to the project although each group had different assigned tasks. The committee was responsible for organizing the work each day, deciding starting and finishing times and delegating tasks to each of the self-help groups.
- **Registration and authorization.** The involvement of the local government officials and the registration of each self-help group made people aware of the project. In the location there are many events and the Water Project's regular work schedules were considered when other events were being organized. For example, a meeting in the sub-location could be scheduled on a day when the seven groups were already gathering together for a workday.
- **Obtain outside help.** The Assistant Chief, Councillors, Community Development Office and Ministry of Agriculture have been involved and helpful in organizing and assisting the project. The Committee has found it necessary to present a clear picture of their plans and needs when approaching people about contributing to their work. They had to find the right people, and invite them to visit the site and become involved in the project. The ASAL development project provided technical advice and donated 80 bags of cement after seeing the community's investments of labour and local materials.
- **Schedule work in dry season.** During the rains, the soil and sand become wet and very heavy. They are lighter and easy to carry when dry. The groups found the soil of the top layer in the trench very hard and difficult to



remove, but the lower layers were softer and easier to dig. People had more time to participate in workdays because of less work on their own farms in the dry season.

- **Keep accurate records.** The committee are now keeping records of meetings, accomplishments and participation in the project. They did not keep many records at first but found the records were helpful when talking to people about their project. They found assistance was provided to groups who could document their own efforts in the project.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

The construction of the existing dam decreased travel to the river to obtain water for home use. Yet it was not sufficient for livestock or increasing crop irrigation. The people of Ituki wish to increase the amount of water available to the community. Their present plans for this include increasing the height of the existing dam and excavating new areas of the rock. In the future there is potential for building a large dam at the base of the escarpment to serve a wide region. They would also like to see a water treatment and distribution system to provide clean drinkable water in their homes. These would be regional projects requiring the allocation of considerable resources. Over the next two years, the self-help groups have planned workdays for increasing water catchment on the rock.

### Extending the dam

The first method is adding to the retaining walls of the existing dam which result in increased water capacity. The sloping walls of the trench channel large amounts of water into the dam. Adding one metre to the height of the walls maximize the amount of water which can be retained. The walls are currently about 20 metres

long and when completed, the east wall be 25 metres and the west wall 30 metres.

The groups plan to continue weekly workdays to carry sand and break the stones necessary for construction. They are experiencing difficulty in obtaining enough cement, the only component they need to purchase. The two-year drought has forced the community to use their financial resources to acquire food. Fund-raising efforts are continuing and the walls be increased as the cement is secured. Their plan also includes fencing the water catchment area to protect the water from contamination by animals.

### Excavating new sites

The second method of increasing the water capacity on the rock is to excavate additional areas. There are several potential sites of various sizes. The next area they plan to excavate is on the surface, three times the size of the present area. There is a cluster of trees and bushes which suggests that the hollow might be very deep. If the anticipated depth is realized, a retaining wall not be an immediate necessity. However, the shape of the surrounding rock would allow a dam to be built if additional capacity is desired and resources are available.

The other outstanding priority for this community is the completion of six classrooms and workshops for the recently established primary school. The making of bricks and construction has been facilitated by having this new source of water available within the compound. The school children's 4-K Club had demonstrated the value of an irrigated vegetable garden within their school compound. The number and variety of vegetables in family gardens is expected to increase as a result of the children's efforts. With the additional dam, water could also be available for irrigating major crops and watering livestock.

At present there are nine groups involved in the Ituki Rock Catchment Water Project, school construction and demonstration vegetable gardens.

They are:

- Ikanie Women's Self-Help Group
- Kyeni-Kiukuni Self-Help Group
- Maendeleo Kisavi Self-Help Group
- Ndandini Poultry Women's Group
- Usengyo Women's Group
- Kuthea Women's Group
- Yongela Women's Group
- Ituki 4-K Club
- Utonyi Self-Help Group

#### **PROFILE: Mr. Wambua Mwame**

Mr. Wambua Mwame is a very active and involved leader of the Ituki Rock Catchment Water Project. He is a farmer with a wife and three children who has lived adjacent to the rock throughout his life. He says his role as a leader is a gift to him because he enjoys working in groups with other people. He first became involved in self-help youth groups which were planting vegetables. He has been involved with the rock catchment project since the beginning of 1982, and other members say he is

the first to start work and the last to leave. He does whatever is needed to keep the project moving ahead. They have confidence in him because he spends most of his time serving the community.

Wambua has been instrumental in keeping all of the self-help groups working together. He has maintained participation of all by giving responsibility to other people. If one of the groups becomes weak, you find him attending their meetings and going from home to home visit-



ing them and encouraging them to participate. He says a key to being an effective leader is knowing how to talk to the people. Unless people talk, nothing can be solved.

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## JARIBU SELF HELP PRIMARY SCHOOL

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P.O. Box 42, Garissa, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Garissa District, Garissa Township, North East Province
- **Population:** 35,000 (township) Somali people

**T**he Jaribu Primary School Self-Help Project began in 1966. The DSDO, Mr. Nyaribo, initiated an effort among 105 families of school-aged children to elect a committee and begin the project. At the time, there were two government primary schools for Garissa Town, but a third was needed to ensure that all the children in town could attend a school. They decided to approach the establishment of this school as a self-help group under the Ministry of Culture and Social Services rather than as a harambee school because, among other reasons, they did not own land.

A nursery school was started which enrolled 180 children and hired two teachers. A building which had been used for the storage of locust insecticides was given to the school. The following year, in 1967, the group was registered and work was completed on the two classrooms for Standard One. From 1967 to 1976 eight more classrooms were completed to accommodate classes up to Standard Seven. In 1973, for the first time, a Standard Seven class sat for the CPE examination. In 1975, a Boy Scout Club was organized by one of the teachers.

The next phase of activity was from 1976 to 1980. This was the time during which the current headmaster, Mr. Titus Syengo, arrived at the school. During this time four more classrooms were built, plus a headmaster's office, store and staff room.

Lastly, a watchman was hired by the parents to guard the compound.

The project extended to another phase in 1980. Two clubs were organized: a Wildlife Club with 15 members and a 4KClub with 32 members. The school began a lunch programme for students, four cooks were hired by the parents' committee and a room was modified to become a kitchen. Two major accomplishments were a tree planting programme which resulted in an award from the Ministry of Agriculture and the completion of the new school classrooms in 1984.

Now the school has 1222 students and twenty-six teachers. The committee has eight members and three nominees (officials who are not parents of children in the school). The committee is now positioned for major expansion work as the government has just donated seventeen acres (which includes the land the school has been built on) to the Self-Help Group. Only two acres are currently being utilized. 700 trees have been planted and 670 have survived.

The difficulties which have been experienced include two periods of drought, one in 1974 and again in 1982-83. Contributions to the school were reduced because livestock owned by parents were effected. Also, since 1979 the school has had to pay for its own water because the Ministry of Education no longer covers the costs.

During the past 10 years, an average of five students have been elected to attend the national schools each year. In 1983, 19 of 34 students were selected, 13 boys and 6 girls, one of the highest percentages in the division. Among the graduates of the school, two are now in the University of Nairobi, one has returned to the school as a teacher and at least three are government officials in Garissa. Also, the current chairman of the committee and two other

members were students of the school from the 1961 and 1969 graduating class.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The major accomplishment of the Jaribu Self-Help Primary School, beyond the obvious successful establishment of the school itself, has been to produce a great number of educated people. The major benefit to the group creating the school has been to enable their children to continue their education in what has become one of the best schools in the division. The quality education provided now by the Jaribu Self-Help Primary School is indicated by the statistics: more go to national schools from here than from all the other local schools combined.

What has sustained the project primarily has been the total unity of the members enabling the education of the coming generation. Their motto is "We do one thing here - building for the coming generation".

Another thing that has sustained them is their awareness that all they have done has been possible only because of the peace that has prevailed in Garissa Township for the last 20 years. More education will help this period of peace to extend for decades into the future.

A third sustaining factor has been the principle that a project advances on trust. The Committee, once selected by the original 105 families, worked long hard hours to get the first classrooms constructed, to get the school registered and keep it going. This has led to the parents willingly giving financial and material support to the school. Also, the teachers earned the trust of the parents by working very hard to enable the children to achieve good results.

The Committee reports that it has found ten practical steps towards building the primary school.

- Survey the population to establish that there are enough children not being served by existing or immediately projected schools, so that a new school is necessary.
- Organize the parents of children of school age, who are not able to get their children into other schools.
- Find a suitable site with adequate water supply and available acreage.
- Raise enough capital to build at least one classroom.
- Build according to a plan for use of the whole site.
- Register with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services, or the Ministry of Education.
- Use the first facility as a nursery.
- Begin to hire teachers, selecting the best qualified available.
- Purchase equipment as the teachers need it.
- Prepare and update an agenda of future extensions and other projects for the future.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

Over the next five years, five priorities have been identified by the Jaribu Self-Help Primary School Committee. They are:

- Completion of a workshop building to teach carpentry, masonry, tailoring and home sciences.
- Two new classrooms for the nursery school.
- Ensure that the new buildings are permanent buildings, and renovate the old building to be modern facilities with cement floors, windows, and plastered walls.
- Get qualified teachers.

- Start a demonstration garden.

In order to realize these objectives, the committee will have to organize harambee fund-raising efforts, as well as receive contributions from parents and other donors. Based on expenses incurred in the building the new school, it is estimated that each new building will cost approximately Ksh.70.000 just for the construction. This will ensure that the classrooms are permanent, modern facilities and comfortable for the students during classes.

Currently, funds are already secured to construct the workshop for carpentry, masonry, tailoring and home sciences. The Committee anticipates that work will begin, and possibly be completed within this year. Efforts will begin to raise the funds for the nursery school classrooms (nursery school was destroyed by rains 15 years ago), and other currently in need of repairs. The Committee is planning to spend their award of Ksh.4,000 from the National Council of Social Services to start the construction of the Nursery School.

In order to ensure that new staff positions that will be open are filled by qualified personnel, the Committee will enable teachers to receive proper training at relevant institutions for two years. At this time only three of the 26 teachers are qualified teachers. With this additional training of teachers, the pupils will receive the best instruction possible and the teachers will be motivated to remain at Jaribu School and continually to upgrade their own professional capacities.

The recent donation of 17 acres of land to the school has promoted much creative thinking about the future. The land is currently occupied by squatters and the first job will be to relocate these two acres for the demonstration garden plot. It is planned that a pump and pipes will be purchased to irrigate the garden from the river. This will provide a site to teach and

demonstrate modern agricultural practices in line with the new agricultural curriculum that is being introduced in primary education today.

### PROFILE: Kher Abdi Maalim

Kher Abdi Maalim, married and father of four children, was born in 1950 and raised in Garissa Town. He was the eldest of 13 children of a town councillor and businessman. He attended Jaribu Nursery and Primary School, followed by secondary school in Wajir. He married in 1974.

After secondary school, he attended training to be a public health officer. Upon completion of his training, he worked from 1970 to 1979 with the campaign to eradicate smallpox. He then returned for further studies to the Rural Health Training Centre in Embu. He studied the Kenya Expanded Immunization Scheme and is currently in charge of this scheme in Garissa, as well as handling other duties at the Ministry of Health.

In May 1986, there was a special election for the officers of the Jaribu Self-Help Primary School Committee, and Mr. Maalim was chosen as the Chairman. Mr. Maalim's four children are enrolled in the school, and he is well-known to other parents in his role as the Health Officer, and as the recent coordinator of the construction of the new school classrooms.

He has found this job to be very time-consuming. "Being the chairman requires tolerance, and patience . . . having to think twice about every issue. You have to consider the merits and demerits of every alternative. Then you have to consider the people you are dealing with. Many government officials have their children enrolled in the Jaribu School, others are on the committee. Some members are well educated, others illiterate, some very reasonable, others seem very irrational at times. You have to be tolerant. Also you always have to be honest."

Being a Health Officer has put an interesting perspective on his role as chairman. Recent floods have destroyed all of the school latrines. As chairman, he is responsible to have these rebuilt as soon as possible. As Health Officer, he is responsible to ensure sanitary facilities for the children. He has been successful in obtaining Ksh.35,000 worth of materials from the Ministry of Culture and Social Services for the reconstruction of the latrines.

The concern and cooperation of the parents, and their trust in him is what

spurs him on his job. Their knocks on his office and house door keep him thinking about the future.



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## KANYO SELF-HELP WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Box 265, Limuru, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Rironi Sub-location, Ngecha Location, Limuru Division, Kiambu District. The village of Rironi lies at 7,300 feet altitude, 26 kilometres from Nairobi with lush green pastureland where grade dairy cattle thrive.
- **Population:** 3,000 people, 300 families. Kikuyu Tribe. Many heads of families commute to Nairobi to work.
- **Agriculture:** Cash crops: Milk, potatoes, vegetables. Food Crops: Maize beans, potatoes. Livestock: Grade dairy cattle, sheep, chickens.

The Kanyo Self-Help Women's Group was formed with 14 women in 1974. The name Kanyo comes from the names of the two founders of Rironi Village, Mr. Kang'ethe and Nyoro. Women in the area bear most of the responsibility for the home and family, yet have few ways to acquire income. This group was started in order to enable women to become more self-reliant.

When the group first began, there was no specific project in mind, but in the interest of self-help, they began by having each member contribute one shilling per month. They took turns using the monthly contributions to purchase cups for their homes and also held workdays on each member's farm.

During the period between 1977 and 1979, their membership grew to 17 and they increased their monthly contributions to five shillings per person. By 1979, every member had supplied her household with plates and spoons. At that time, they acquired contracts to cultivate other

people's farms to earn money to rent land. They also began to help members with school fees, and they collected donations for members who had emergency needs.

In 1980, when the group registered with the Community Development Assistant (CDA), they had 20 members. The District Development Officer (DDO) gave them Ksh. 33,000 worth of fertilizer and chemicals. The group rented one-half acre of land to grow potatoes, bought six bags of seed with the help of the Agricultural Technical Assistant (ATA) and hired a tractor to clear the land. Because the rains didn't come and their seed potatoes were not covered with enough soil, their first crop yielded nothing. The ATA gave them another 10 bags of seed potatoes, and advice on spraying and how to get a healthy crop. From the ten bags of seed, they produced 80 bags of potatoes.

In 1982 the group raised the monthly contributions to Ksh. 10 and each member was able to get cooking pans for her home. With their potato yields from 1980-1982, they had enough money to rent another acre of land to plant maize and beans. Of the three crops, potatoes were most successful, so they have concentrated on potatoes since then.

In order to take advantage of seasonal potato prices they built a store house so now they can wait for the price to go up before selling.

In 1984, they planted potatoes on the half acre where beans had been, but because of the drought, germination was delayed. Later, when the rains came, because they had covered the seeds with enough soil, they were able to harvest 60 bags. From this, each member was given a bag of seed potatoes which yielded 13 bags of potatoes for each family. The women have also made baskets to sell since 1983, and this year they have purchased an oven so they can bake and sell bread.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

Over the past 11 years, the Kanyo Self-Help Women's Group, through its self-help attitude and cooperative efforts have been able to feed 200 families nutritionally and provide 20 households with items such as spoons, cups, and cooking pans and blankets. In addition, they have enabled 20 children to go to school. Without this assistance, they would not have been able to afford school fees.

Enabling the members to become self-sustaining and self-reliant has been the aim of the group and their joint efforts have enabled this to happen. Their most successful project thus far has been their potato farm which has given them self-confidence and yielded the following learnings.

- **Cooperation.** The group has learned that unity is strength and this is particularly true when trying to do a project such as their's. The members understand that the success of the project depends upon each one doing the tasks assigned to them.
- **Regular meetings.** Part of the reason for the success of the group is their discipline which is exemplified by their regular meetings and the way they delegate responsibility and organize themselves to get tasks done. This allows them to make plans for the future, and also enhances the spirit of cooperation.
- **Use of available resources.** The women researched what would be needed to do the potato farm before they began work on it. They made sure they had money to rent the land, to hire a tractor and to purchase seed potatoes. They saw to it that chemicals were obtained from the Agricultural Technical Assistant, that chicken manure was bought and that each member had her own tools for the work.
- **Potato seed spacing.** In order to produce the best potatoes, spacing is important. The women use a long string to make straight rows, making sure the rows are two and a half feet apart and the seeds are one foot from each other. This allows the potatoes enough room to grow large but does not waste any valuable land.
- **Manure and fertilizers.** The women have learned that using both manure and fertilizers is necessary because each contains different types of nutrients. Chicken manure is more potent than cow manure and therefore it takes less to do the job.
- **Seek advice.** The Women's Group called upon the Technical Assistant of the area to learn the best agricultural techniques for obtaining a good harvest. He has been working with them since the beginning, teaching them and getting the chemical sprays necessary to keep the potatoes from becoming diseased.
- **Prepare the land.** Preparing the land properly means to prepare it well before the rains come. Land preparation includes initial clearing of stumps, grass, trees, etc., having a tractor to plough deeply, levelling out the land by hand if necessary and fertilizing the soil.
- **Use enough soil.** From their first experiment with planting potatoes, the women learned to build up mounds of soil to cover the seeds well. If the seeds do not have enough soil, the sun will burn them. If there is enough soil then even if it doesn't rain for six months, the seed potatoes will eventually germinate when it does rain.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

From the start the philosophy of the Kanyo Self-Help Women's Group has been self-reliance, and as a group they



have followed that philosophy in all their activities. One thing that still stands in the way of the group is the fact that they do not own their own land. They must depend upon the generosity of the ex-assistant chief who is allowing them to use his land free of charge for their storehouse and is renting them the farmland for their potato project.

What the women want is to own their own land so that they can feel free to expand their activities and make some investments. Part of the expansion would be raising dairy cattle and poultry, as well as building a permanent building where the group could meet, store potatoes, install their oven for baking and have handicraft activities as a profit-making venture.

The biggest block they see to obtaining land is the money to purchase it. Therefore, their focus for the next two years will be to save enough income. When they have the money they plan to use a lawyer to assist them in the purchase of the necessary land.

There are four activities that they will concentrate on in order to increase their income over the next year or so.

- The first step is to double their monthly contribution to Ksh. 20 a month per member.
- The second step is to obtain contracts again to cultivate other people's farms. It was through this kind of labour that they were able to save enough money to rent their first land for potato raising.
- The third step is to continue to harvest and plant potatoes each season and perhaps even add another half acre to increase the yield.
- The fourth step is to proceed with profit-making activities such as selling their homemade baskets and baking and selling bread.

The women of the group think they will be able to purchase their own land earlier if they first buy a small cultivating machine. This would enable them to cultivate land more quickly. In the past, each woman brought in only Ksh. 5 a day, but with a cultivating machine, they could complete more contracts in less time and thus save enough money.

When the Kanyo Self-Help Women's Group owns its own land, it will mean that future generations of women in Rironi Village will have a way to be more self-reliant.



### PROFILE: Tabitha Wanjiku Kiigati

The woman who, from the beginning, has been the spearhead of the Kanyo Self-Help Women's Group is Tabitha Wanjiku Kiigati. Born in the Rift Valley in 1932, she moved to Rironi Village in 1934. She was married in 1947 and is the mother of 11 healthy children, so she has first-hand experience of all the problems of raising a family in rural Kenya.

Though she calls herself an 'uneducated' woman and says she doesn't know why the group selected her to be the leader, you can tell from talking with her that her commitment, vision and hope for the future have been indispensable for the group.

She sees that her role as the leader is to enable the group to discuss issues and solve their problems together. In this way they do not depend on one person to tell them what to do. During her 22 years as a leader, she has learned that it is most helpful to listen to the group first, and allow them to reach a consensus on what should be done to solve a problem rather than just doing the job by herself.

One difficulty she has experienced in being a leader has been getting the group to agree quickly. Having to leave her own family and farm duties for long periods to

carry out her responsibilities to the group has also been a difficult but necessary part of being the group's leader.

Her hope is that the group will succeed in purchasing their own land and will expand their activities to include tailoring and raising cattle and poultry, as well as basket-weaving on a larger scale than has been possible so far. She has seen the success of the group and knows they have the discipline and vision to be successful at other ventures besides potatoes. She hopes that in the future more women will join the group and that they will all continue to become more and more self-reliant.

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## KIRINDINE WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Box 83, Maua, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Gitumi Sub-location, Kiegori Location, Igembi Division, Meru District. Located in the Nyambene Hills.
- **Population:** 500 families. 3,000 people. Tribe: Meru.
- **Agriculture:** Crops grown year-round; maize, carrots, beans, tomatoes, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, cassava, yams, arrowroots, bananas, coffee, tea and miraa (addictive herbal plant), grade cattle, goats, chickens, sheep, rabbits, pigs.

In 1982, 15 women joined together to form the Kirindine Women's Group. They officially registered themselves as a self-help group in September. The purpose in forming the group was to create income-generating schemes and improve the nutrition of their families. The need for the group was apparent following a visit by Sarah Kainda to the Ahiru Women's Group which was raising fish in their own ponds.

The group selected its leader and began collecting Ksh. 10 a week from its members. They decided to do workdays twice a week and hold monthly meetings to plan activities for the next month.

The first activities were kitchen gardens and a tree nursery. These gardens were started in every member's home through training conducted in Home Economics and Cookery by an American Peace Corps Volunteer. Seeds for the trees were received from the forestry officers. The group started a nursery with about 2,000 seeds. Once the seedlings grew, they were transferred to every member's farm so they could take care for them. All the gar-

dens and over a thousand trees are still prospering.

The group felt that they were ready to begin on income-generating side, so they contacted the Fisheries Ministry about starting a pond in their village. With the Ministry's advice, they dug a large pond and redirected a small stream into it. They then purchased 110 tilapia fingerlings from the Ahiru Women's Group for Ksh. 50. It took the fish six months to mature, and a rotating system for their care was designed to let everyone in the group participate. In May 1984, half of the amount of large fish were sold for Ksh. 100 to another women's group trying to raise fish. The other half was distributed to the members. Their success at fish sales helped the group to see that so far all they had tried was doing well. They decided to keep going on the three established projects and start three more. With the fish money, they rented an acre of land from the coffee cooperative and working with the Ministry of Agriculture they are establishing a demonstration farm. Also, with their weekly collections they will buy first a chicken and then a goat for every member.

In 1985 again the group began to think of diversification. They have five on-going projects and the group has grown in size to 25 women. The chief of the location gave all the women's groups in the sub-location a portion of land to grow crops and demonstrate soil conservation techniques. The Kirindine Group has already planted napier grass and dug terraces and are preparing to plant about one-half of an acre which is their group's portion.

Everything seemed to be going well for the group until April 1985 when the land-owner asked them to vacate the fish pond. This slowed the growth of the fish. Then, in July, the Ministry of Fisheries representative with whom they had started the project was transferred. This all happened while they were discussing ponds for every

member and the selection of a different type of fish known as common carp. The group experienced a gap between their desires and what they can do now. These difficulties, along with shortage of tools and limited storage facilities have not syopped this group from functioning. However, they make things harder for the group to expand its efforts.

The key of the success of the Kirindine Women's Group is that it sees its first responsibility to be caring for people in Aoki whether they are in the group or not. It is because of this reputation even more than their financial success that they are well-known in the area. They have enjoyed financial success with their farms as well as with the fish. They are also willing to try out new things such as the rabbits and the kitchen garden. The group sees itself as a demonstration, that is, they must always stand as a group doing helpful things that others may want to copy. Already, other groups are doing or talking about doing fish.

To focus on success, the group will concentrate on the Tilapia Fish Project. This programme began in 1983 and has made a profit for the women as well as beginning to change the diet of the people of this area. The following are eight learnings that the Kirindine Group recommends to others if they wish to try fish farming.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

- **Establish a relationship with the fisheries expert.** There are many questions and difficulties arising from working with the fish. The Ministry of Fisheries has field officers that will work with interested self-help groups. Your group has to be willing to be trained. The Kirindine Group began by going to the Athiru Women's Group and seeing their work before even thinking about it on their own. However, you
- **don't want toget too dependent on the officers.**
- **Locate the fish pond in a public place.** When the Kirindine Group began, they located the pond on an individual's land. After about a year, he asked them to move. This caused many difficulties, and in particular it delayed the second harvest until September 1985. Even though the fish were moved to a members land, the pond was smaller. They now can move back to the larger pond, but they know at any time the owner may again say 'move,' so they are still vulnerable.
- **Ponds must be the right size for the land.** The size your pond needs to be for the purposes you intend, needs to be worked through with an expert. The large pond that was constructed was 7-foot deep, 20-foot wide and 30-foot long, with 3-foot retaining walls all the way around. The smaller ponds are about 5-foot deep by 10-foot by 10-foot with a 2-foot retaining wall all the way around. The retaining wall is constructed by the soil that is dug from the pond. The soil here has a high clay content which is very important.
- **Designing and rotating regular care.** The fish need care every day. It is important for the group that this care be the responsibility of all members. This promotes both the care of the fish and enables the group to see how they are doing this together. It also makes sure that all members of the group are capable and have learned the skills required to care for the fish. The Kirindine Group did this by forming five teams of five women, and each team took a week and cared for the fish.
- **Fish require a varied diet.** In the Kirindine Group, they feed their fish ugali (maize meal), chopped small bananas, cow manure and leftovers. Of course, you need to make sure that the type of

food you have and the type of fish match. This again requires the service of a fisheries officer.

- **Constant water flow.** To raise fish you must have a constant flow of water in and out of the pond. Fish will not grow in a stagnant pool. This water needs to be stream water, that is, untreated water, rather than chemically cleaned water. There are several systems for these ponds. The small ones are simply filled and drained by small streams being diverted with grids in key places to keep the fish from going down the drain. In the large tank, the inflow was the same but the drain was an actual pipe to reduce the water level to whatever is necessary.
- **Buy your own nets and equipment.** It is usually not possible to purchase all the equipment you need for raising fish very quickly. However, purchasing the equipment should be a high priority because if, as is the case in Kirindine Group, you have no net to catch the fish, then when it is time to harvest you have to wait until the fisheries officer is ready. The more self-sufficient you can be as a group the easier the officer's responsibility is and the faster you can expand your fish-raising capacity.
- **Plant grass around the edge of the tank.** Since the tank is simply dug from the ground, you have to take care that the bank is not always falling into your pond. The easiest way to do this is to plant grass around the bank which then holds the soil together even though you are always walking on it.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

The Kirindine Group see the need to maintain all projects they have been doing and also continue to diversify and experiment with new things. As they talked about the future, four major directions became apparent. These are maize produc-

tion, livestock expansion, small industries and home improvements.

### Storing maize and starting a grinding mill

The Maua Council has already agreed to give the women land in the farms, so they hope to move this way soon. This will include constructing the building large enough for a store, a kiosk and a mill.

### Livestock expansion

Initially, this has to do with getting more fish and distributing rabbits and goats to each member. Eventually, they hope to raise more chickens and even experiment with zero grazing with grade cows. The goal of the fish raising is to have a small pond for every member on their own farm.

### Small industries

This has not yet been started and work would have to be done on training and marketing but they feel that getting a pullover knitting machine, tailoring and selling cloth would be profitable for the group.

### Home improvements

The group would like to help the 23 women who have no running water in their houses to get it. They would like everyone to build a permanent house and they would like to continue improvement of their home gardens.

The key activity immediately is livestock expansion. They decided that in the next 12 months they will construct six additional small ponds for members and buy a new type of fish called common carp to try along with the tilapia. This activity will start by harvesting the large fish in September or October and transferring the remaining fish to the large pond again.

The difficulties of this process are transferring their fish, locating the tools necessary

to begin digging the six new tanks, locating the land on each property for the ponds and discovering where the ongoing market is going to be as they produce many more fish.

To start the work requires tools and assistance of the fish technician. The Chief has volunteered to supply tools for their use. The National Council of Social Service award will help towards the construction of new ponds which will proceed over the next two or three years until every member has her own pond on her own land. The women decided to use the money to build the tank, and to buy 100 new common carp. In addition, they chose to buy a goat for all members without one and another 21 more rabbits.

Immediately, the Chief has volunteered to supply tools for their use. Then the women decided to use the award to do three things. The first is to help the fish project through purchasing hoe necessary to build the tank and buying the 100 new common carp they decided to raise. Meanwhile, all the members missing a goat will get one and 21 more rabbits will be purchased.

### **PROFILE: Sarah Kainda Mutumba**

"We see through love that we are all the same, rich and poor, working in town or on the farm, educated or not, everyone is the same as part of the group."

This is the response Sarah Kainda Mutumba made when asked what was the key to the Kirindine Women's group working together. Sarah has been the chairperson of the Kirindine Group since it began in 1982. When asked why she became a leader, she answered, "Because the members selected me". Sarah has other responsibilities besides being a chairperson. She is the mother of four and wife to Francis. She works full time at the Methodist Hospital in Maua as a tailor and is chair-

person of the Methodist Women's Fellowship at Aoki Methodist Church.

"Leading is not shameful. As a leader, you know people have different interests and you need to help them see what they have in common. If you do something, everyone must share because then they see the love involved and they are interested in being in the group". She talks of always being ready to learn from whomever you are with, whether it's others in your group or government experts, or seminars you get the opportunity to attend. If you learn from these experiences then you learn more.



"Sometimes being a leader is difficult because people expect more than the leader can give. People expect things to be easy and when you tell them things are not easy, they are not happy. As a leader prepare yourself to be with only a few".

The three most important qualities of leadership are:

To control your heart. That is, control yourself so that your life demonstration, your character is good. If you do this, it will be apparent in your home and your village.

**Look for the love in the group.** That is, as a leader, you are looking for the unity of the group and not concentrate on differences.

**Hold the trust of the group.** You must act all the time in such a way that everyone in the group can trust you. In our group this means if one member gets something, eventually, all will receive the same thing. That is, you work together and receive the benefits together.

It is necessary for a leader to **remember the group first.** "We allow men to attend our meetings but they are asked to be quiet and cannot hold any office. They often attend to represent members who cannot come. It is important to maintain and support families so that they in turn will support the women of the group."

## **KOGOLA YOUTH GROUP**

P.O. Box 17, Pap-Onditi, Kisumu, Kenya.

### **AREA DATA and HISTORY**

- **Location:** Pap-Onditi Market Centre, Kogola village, East Kabodho Sub-Location, Central Nyakach Division
- **Population:** 1,7000 in Kogola village. Mainly Luo tribe. Many men seek employment outside the community.
- **Agriculture:** Crops: Cotton, tobacco and groundnuts, maize, sorghum, bananas, cassava and sweet potatoes. Livestock: Local cattle, goats sheep and chickens.

**I**n 1981 three young men from Kogola decided to start a youth group. It was conceived as a means of making them self-supporting. The men, Michael Ojuka, Sylvester Juma, and Andrew Okumu, had something co-operative and small-scale in mind. Soon five other people were interested.

At first the group got income from repairing furniture. Andrew Okumu, a certified carpenter, began to instruct the group in carpentry and he shared his tools with them. Their first customers came through contacts with the Catholic Church. Later each member contributed twenty shillings for supplies so that the business could be expanded from furniture repair to build chairs and benches. Other activities they tried were farming and collecting rock and sand for sale.

In 1982 they sent three members to receive training in Advanced Carpentry and one to Agricultural Training. The carpentry business progressed slowly. They sold a few chairs and benches and secured a contract to produce desks for the primary school. In 1983 they continued to take advantage of locally available skills training. Two of them attended Management Training and three attended car-

penry training offered by the Diocese of Kisumu.

In July 1983 the group was registered. This seemed to enhance the group's identity in the community. It gave them a regular opportunity to be of service to the community during the Harambee Youth Week. For each of the next three years they engaged in community service projects, such as cleaning the market place, and assisting elderly and disabled people in cleaning their compounds and thatching their rooves

The carpentry business increased slowly. They built low-cost benches and sold them at the church. They were still working with one set of tools on loan to them, but as business increased it became difficult to keep the entire group employed without tools. In January 1984 they requested help from the Catholic Diocese of Kisumu. Their request was granted in June when they received approximately 2,000 shillings of materials and tools.

Once they were established, they began to look for a permanent site. The Catholic Church gave them permission to build a temporary building in the church grounds. The framework was erected in 1984, but drought prevented them from collecting thatching materials. So it remains incomplete.

Though the most promising business is carpentry, they have continued to engage in their other programmes of self employment: agriculture and rock and sand collection. Their farming now includes flowers, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, tomatoes and sukuma wiki (dark green leafy vegetable) but has continued to suffer from either too much, or too little water.

### **TODAY'S APPROACHES**

The Kogola Youth Group was formed as a response to the need of local young men to be self-supporting. It took advantage of



rural development resources in both the government and the Catholic Diocese of Kisumu.

Their way to success was providing a service which was non-existent in Pap-Onditi area. Carpentry also promised to be a year-round business. They were determined to take advantage of all training they could get. This openness to training has made them a highly diversified group flexible enough to maintain itself until it becomes a substantial business. In 1984-85, they built and sold coffins, 40 chairs, 5 doors, 15 windows, 35 stools, 20 tables, and 30 boxes. They were pleased to get contract for 25 benches from the chief's camp this year.

They knew they had succeeded when the Community Development Assistant (CDA) announced the registry of their group in a public meeting, when prayers were offered in church for the success of the group and customers started coming from six kilometres away.

In the experience of the Kogola Youth Group, some of the keys to success are:

- **Capture the imagination of your group.** When jobs are scarce and agriculture is little more than subsistence work, find a need in the community and serve it. There was nowhere for people around Pap-Onditi to get carpentry done. This group filled a vital need and began to generate income for themselves.
- **Start with your own resources.** The group obtained its initial capital with a 20 shilling donation from each of its members. Initially it depended solely on Andrew for its carpentry tools and training. Michael provided agricultural training and Sylvester and Anton provided management training.
- **Put profits back into business.** The profits made by the Kogola Youth Group have been put into the business. This ensures that the business become

firmly established. Then they be able to pay salaries and expand their business.

- **Serve the needs of others while taking care of yourself.** In addition to the carpentry business which provides a much needed service in the Pap-Onditi area, the group has given other service to the community. They take pride holding Soil Conservation Days, assisting elderly and disabled people in the upkeep of their homes and compounds and cleaning the marketplace. The joining of these two responsibilities has claimed the allegiance of the group and presented a favourable image to the community.
- **Train the members in needed skills.** Each of the members has been willing to undergo training to acquire skills needed to maintain the group. In addition, each of those receiving training then becomes a trainer within the group so that each member can do every job necessary to maintain the group.
- **Let the chairperson work alongside the others.** The chairperson is responsible to see that every member of the group shares the particular skills he has. When it is time to collect sand and rocks for sale the chairperson gets an assignment to work just as anyone else in the group.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

Ever since its modest beginning, the Kogola Youth Group has succeeded in generating income for its members. The initial source of capital was from the members and they used the tools and skills of one member to produce and repair furniture. They have been able to keep materials in the church, but have had a mobile, open air workshop. The group has nevertheless, succeeded in establishing two things: a reputation for serving the community and the production of low-cost furniture.

### Workshop Centre

The group has made some plans about what must happen in the future, which focus around establishing a workshop centre in the Pap-Onditi Market. They have many reasons for deciding on this. The building will be a workshop where furniture be built, displayed and repaired and be a place where materials and tools be kept safely. It also serve as a training centre and be a symbol of permanence and success for the group.

### Carpentry Class

The first project in the new building be to establish a carpentry class. The class serve at least four purposes. It recruit new members to the group, provide locally available training in carpentry skills, increase the group's income and their ability to serve the area's carpentry needs, and serve as a workshop for the standard six children in the community to receive instruction in carpentry, which has recently been added to the syllabus.

### Marketing Scheme

One of the first steps in establishing the workshop centre be to devise a marketing scheme. They intensify their direct marketing in the Pap-Onditi area, and begin looking into marketing in the rest of the location. Initial targets be hotels, schools, chief's camps and churches. If they succeed in developing a growing market, this should create sufficient work of them to be able to complete the workshop centre.

### Income-generating Skills

In their longer range future, it is hoped that classes on tailoring, leathercraft, home economics and blacksmithing be established. The overall long-range objective is to raise the standard of living of the people in the area. Training people in income-generating skills that can be used locally contribute to reaching this goal since

encouraging a centre of commerce in Pap-Onditi result in people trading at home instead of passing all their hard-earned money straight to businessmen in the nearest town. To create such a centre is a major undertaking and they realize it probably take a long time.

The group envisages that the immediate next step towards building the workshop centre is seeking authorization from local community leaders, the Assistant Chief, Chief and District Officers. The group also begin negotiating with the County Council for a suitable site in the marketplace and present their plans to their area's Member of Parliament and request permission to schedule an harambee workday.

### PROFILE: Michael Ojuka

When Michael Ojuka was five years old he was struck by polio. Because of this he entered school three years late. Disability seems to have sharpened his determination to make his life one of service to others.

Michael is a member of the Kogola Catholic Church and attends regularly. He was baptized in 1960 and taken into membership in 1963. He got married in 1983 and now has three children.

When Michael finished Form III, his first venture into leadership came when he volunteered to instruct an adult education class. Then, in 1981, frustrated by his inability to find a job, Michael joined with two other young men to form the Kogola Youth Group. He continued his education by taking leadership and management courses offered by the Catholic Diocese of Kisumu and Agriculture Training and also by the Polytechnic.

When asked what it takes to be a successful leader, Michael says, "When you get the group doing something, be sure to stop while they're still happy with what

they're doing. When introducing a new topic to a group, do it with a story. Bring up issues that the group is able to tackle and wait for them to understand and act on it."



For Michael, the hardest part of being a leader comes when the group is faced with a difficult financial or policy problem.

"There are times when the members cannot decide what to do and they just leave the decision in the leader's hands. Then, because they trust you, you must take responsibility for making the decision, and sacrifice whatever is necessary to carry it out."

When asked his secret in keeping the Kogola Youth Group going, he responds, "Courage is important. It also helps to keep in constant touch with the members, and it is reassuring when you achieve recognition within the community."

Working as the group's leader has also helped Michael's confidence. Through his work he has learned that he no longer needs to be afraid in public. He now finds he is capable of talking with whoever he needs to in order to make the youth group a success. His aim for the future is to continue to achieve what he never expected to be able to do.

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## KUYU CULTIVATION SELF-HELP GROUP

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P.O. Box 7, Mweiga, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Watuka Sub-location, Gatarakwa Location, Kieni West Division, Nyeri District, Central Province. Located on the slopes of the Aberdare Mountains next to Uaso Nyiro River.
- **Population:** 4,000 people. 400 families. Kikuyu tribe, all farmers.
- **Agriculture:** Pyrethrum, wheat, grade cattle, maize, beans, potatoes.

The people of Watuka Sub-location, 7,280 feet up in the Aberdare Forest of Nyeri District, like to trace their origins to a declaration Jomo Kenyatta made shortly before Kenya's independence in 1963. This stated that before the Kenya flag made it to the top of the flag pole for the first time, Kenyatta wanted resettlement schemes to start. Watuka Sub-location was one of the first.

A major event for Watuka residents happened on 31 October, 1979 when nine people met to discuss how they could get better prices for their pyrethrum. This event would change the face of the community. The Kuyu Cultivation Self-Help Group has grown from the original nine to sixty registered members and seventy-two general members who are the children of the registered members.

The group began selling pyrethrum through a neighbouring group which allowed them to function until their own group registered with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services, received their Pyrethrum Board permit and opened their own bank account. Early success came from the group's ability to increase in-

come and to keep members involved in their activities.

The group began a savings and loan programme in 1983 which had each member put proceeds from one kilo of pyrethrum a month in a savings account which would be used for loans to the individual members as approved by the Management Committee. The loan programme was started to ensure paying of school fees, and to handle difficulties such as preparation of land, sickness in the family, food during drought and cow buying.

The group's solidarity has allowed it to continue through many difficult periods. Because of the world pyrethrum depression in 1982-83, the farmers were not paid and many farmers were forced to uproot their crops to allow for more profitable crops. In 1984, the drought forced production to fall and again disrupted the crop. In 1985, the world market demand increased as many of the side effects of chemical insecticides became known and people around the world turned again to pyrethrum as a safe insecticide. Prices have soared, payments have been regularized and farmers have begun again to expand cultivation.

The Kuyu Cultivation Group has shown the community the power of self-help groups in providing the strength to accomplish large tasks and has given a core leadership the experience and trust to organize the community to tackle the problem. In 1983, using the basic leadership of the Kuyu Group and the income of all families, the community launched a major water project to bring water to each house through eight large water tanks constructed in collaboration with the Ministry of Water. It is estimated that one-quarter of all money made on pyrethrum goes for community projects such as the new health clinic, two new churches, new school buildings, and a polytechnic.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The Kuyu Cultivation Self-Help Group has many accomplishments to their credit since beginning. They now have 35 acres of pyrethrum under cultivation, Ksh. 40,000 in savings and Ksh. 22,000 out in 30 loans. The average income per farmer is Ksh. 400 per month, the highest individual farmer's income for one month being Ksh. 4,000. Since 1979, the group has doubled the income per kilo that members have received for one crop.

- **Quick loans for small needs.** Every month the proceeds from one kilo of pyrethrum is kept for each member in savings. The savings are always the member's and are returned if the member wishes to leave. The interest belongs to the group. A person may request a loan up to the size of their monthly production. The next month, 50% of their pyrethrum earning goes to the loan and 50% is subtracted each month until the loan is paid. The individual's savings are the security and a loan cannot be larger than the savings. At the end of 10 years, they hope to use their corporate savings for a major project such as buying a large piece of land, a truck or a tractor.
- **Low cost operations with fast return.** The group has kept the maximum income going to the farmer by having few operational costs. The only monthly cost is Ksh. 35 for the weigher and Ksh. 35 for lunch for seven management committee members. These costs plus the cost of banking their money and transportation cost of the pyrethrum is added up, divided by kilos to give the rate to be subtracted from each kilo income. The group is able to deliver the pyrethrum to the Board and pay the farmers in the same month.
- **Small is manageable.** They have kept their group small and have a simple management system. Seven people are on the Management Committee (elected by members) and they meet monthly. The general membership meets every three months, are presented the accounts and review the deposits and loans. Membership is closed except to the next generation of current members.
- **Quick turnover crop.** The Pyrethrum Board has assured the group that the demand for pyrethrum be high for the next 10 years. The flowers are picked twice a month every month of the year, and one plant lasts for three years. The size of the crop depends on the rainfall. Pyrethrum provides the farmer who lives at 6,000 to 9,000 feet with a continuous quick profit.
- **Whole family involvement.** Children and youth are members of the group which increases savings and allows them to learn how the group works. Also they are sometimes given part of a pyrethrum field to cultivate which allows them to learn about farming firsthand. At an early age the youth learn the importance of savings for the future.
- **Self-reliance.** The farmers have been going to challenge accepted policy to increase their profits and have been helped by members of the Pyrethrum Board and the Ministry of Social Services. By providing their own transportation and drying their own flowers, they have changed accepted policy but have shown that it greatly increases profits. They have learned it is profitable to act on their own proven experience.
- **Men and women together.** Having husbands and wives in the group has insured double savings and has kept both husband and wife involved with the crop. This allows the pyrethrum to be cared for if one gets sick or passes away. Also, women in their own groups, men in their own groups, or youth in their

own groups argue but altogether there is less conflict and great sharing of ideas.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

The Kuyu Cultivation Self-Help Group has as its main concern for the future the increase of income of its members. Therefore, the immediate future has to do with the increase of production of pyrethrum. It is envisioned that this increased production provide the funds for the other income-generating projects planned by the group, such as a newly initiated venture of selling wool as a total group in Nakuru to by-pass the middlemen, and the construction of a grinding mill.

### Increased Production

Their long-range plan for increasing production of pyrethrum is as follows.

Expansion of their water supply from home consumption to a supply adequate for irrigating their pyrethrum fields, to provide maximum production even during the dry season.

The purchase of a vehicle for the transportation of the group's pyrethrum reduce this expense, currently the largest percentage of the cost of growing pyrethrum for the farmer.

A permanent store for the collection of the pyrethrum on public land is needed to insure a stable future. The existing one is built on private land.

A dream of all the members is to collect enough money in their savings so they can buy a large farm of 10 acres so that the whole group can cultivate pyrethrum.

### Grinding Mill

Over the next 18 months, the group sees that their next substantial accomplishment needs to be building a grinding mill. Presently they have to travel twice a week seven kilometres to have their wheat and

maize ground. They plan to erect a building (20' x 15') out of mud bricks with donated labour except for the hiring of a local technician at the cost of Ksh. 20,000. During the months of June, July and August, they have total group workdays once a week to pay for the land (Ksh. 4,000), the building (Ksh. 20,000), and the machine (Ksh. 30,000). The group plans to take two kilos of proceeds from each members' monthly pyrethrum sales. This would give the Kuyu Group Ksh. 58,752. This is considered to be a loan to the grinding mill, and would be paid back to the membership at Ksh. 1,000 per month. Although it take Ksh. 58,752 to collect the investment, the group is planning to buy the engine and grinder with a loan from the savings.

The Kuyu Self-Help Group rotate one member each day to handle money, but pay a full-time machine worker. The day's manager is only provided with lunch. Once again, the Kuyu Group proposes to keep the management of the mill within the membership of the group.

Besides assisting the whole sub-location with easy access to a grinding mill, the project earn income for the group which be applied to the projected irrigation scheme for the pyrethrum fields.

## PROFILE: Makara Ngondi

Makara Ngondi is the chairman of the Kuyu Cultivation Self-Help Group. He was born in Menengai, Nakuru District in 1930. He farms 70 acres in the sub-location next to Watuka where the group is mainly based. In 1964 he gave up his work as a mason at Mutito Andei to come to the farm which he had been allocated in the Land Resettlement Scheme. He and his wife have 14 children.

Although as a child, Makara was not able to go to school, he is determined to get some education. He gained his C.P.E. through a correspondence course.

Education is something he values highly. A major reason why he decided to get involved with the Kuyu Group in the beginning was that he knew if they were successful at getting more profit from their pyrethrum, then he and the other farmers would be able to afford school fees for their children.



When he was asked about the keys to being a successful leader, the chairman mentioned four guidelines to remember. The first is that the leader of the group should not dictate to members but let them make decisions. The second is that the leaders should treat all members the same, that is, not to have favourites. A third is that both committee and members should be kept well informed of what is

going on. The last, most difficult, but perhaps most important guideline is that the successful leader is one who trusts the members and is trusted by them. A major factor in maintaining this trust is to always deal fairly with money. For instance, the leader must make sure that all members, committee and the chairman have equal access to loans on equal terms and that all are required to repay them promptly.

Makara Ngondi has not found all his work as chairman easy to do. He tells how, especially in the early days, he had to advance his own money to help the group to get started, not knowing if later the group would pay him back. They always did. A few people have spoken against him, but he says he sees as part of his job as leader to just keep going with what you have to do even if you are abused. A good leader has to have courage.

The Kuyu Group has had one major crisis that the chairman feels he played a big part in resolving. Someone who had been given some money to take to the bank used it instead for his own purposes. Makara guessed that if he called a committee meeting to discuss this, the incident would grow so big it would split the group. His decision was to give time for the money to be returned before holding a meeting. He had to wait five months but then it was all repaid and the Kuyu Self-Help Group was able to continue to greater success and greater strength.

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## KWAINDI WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Box 3, Siathani, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Kamwalla Sub-location, Mwal-la Location, Kangundo Division, Machakos District, Eastern Province. The Miu River flows through this hilly area which is dry during the months of August through October.
- **Population:** 3,139 people. Tribe: Akamba.
- **Agriculture:** Pigeon, peas, cow peas, maize, beans cotton, fruit trees. Livestock: cows and goats.

In 1982, the National Council of Churches in Kenya decided to help the Africa Inland Church in Mwalla Market to build a cement water jar. They provided some materials and sent an expert. The women of the church organised workdays to collect local materials and to assist with building the jar. On completion of this first jar, fifteen women from the church decided to form the Kwaindi Women's Group. From the beginning, the aim of the group was to pool their savings by contributing Ksh. 50 per month so that each month one of the members could receive a substantial amount of money with which to build a water jar like the one at the church, to supplement their existing tanks. An alternative use for the money would be to plant citrus or other fruit trees. The group decided that their main means of generating income for these projects would be making sisal baskets, something which they were already skilled at doing.

By the end of 1982, the group was quite well established. They had completed three water jars, and had organised workdays when they all worked together

on one member's farm, for instance to carry manure to the fruit trees.

They continued their work in 1983, making baskets, building jars (a total of five), and doing workdays to dig terraces and other work. During that year a Community Development Assistance Office opened in Mwalla and this encouraged them to become a registered women's group. Meanwhile, a few more women who belonged to the African Inland Church were joining the group each year.

Apart from building water jars, members are now growing fruit trees, with the number of trees per member ranging from 10 to 200. Their work with citrus trees has been enhanced because several members have been able to receive training at the Katumani Farmers Training Centre in Machakos in how to cultivate and graft citrus seedling.

At present the group has 24 active members. They include teachers, nurses, secretaries, church community leaders, some of those active in the KANU Party, as well as farmers. They estimate that if spouses, children and other relatives were counted, around 400 people are now benefitting directly from the activities of the Kwaindi Women's Group. The wider community has also benefited at times when the group has taken part in other community workdays that have been organised in their sublocation. Also the group has given assistance to other women's groups, such as the Siathani Women's Group, in starting similar projects.

### TODAY'S APPROACHES

Since 1982 the women feel they have learnt a lot about being a self-help group, and particularly about building reinforced cement water jars. Some of their learnings are as follows.



- **Hold regular meetings.** The Kwaindi Women's Group meets once a week at the AIC. Regular meetings ensure that every member is fully informed on all activities currently planned, and give everyone the chance to participate in the groups' deliberations.
- **Everybody participates in workdays.** This is an important learning because everybody needs to take pride in the accomplishments of the group. It results in continued momentum for group activities. If a member is unable to attend, she send a replacement.
- **Get proper advice when needed.** It is always important never to be blocked because of insufficient technical knowledge or advice. The group has received advice from the Community Development Officer (CDO) in Mwalla Market and the District Agriculture Officer (DAO) in Kangundo.
- **Monthly contribution.** Each member contributes Ksh. 50 per month. This ensures a regular and steady income to fund projects and provides monthly assistance to a member without being dependent on external sources of money.
- **Visible results.** In choosing concrete water jars, basket weaving, and citrus trees as their projects, the Kwaindi Women's Group has accomplished quick visible results over the past three years. This results in continued enthusiasm and motivation to complete other projects.
- **Mature leadership.** The leadership of the Kwaindi Women's Group is mature, experienced and able. The leadership represents a diversity of backgrounds from a nurse, teacher, housewife and secretary. This has contributed to a sense of stability and continuity which ensures successful completion of chosen projects.

Every member benefits. At present, every member has a citrus garden that is a direct result of the activities of the women's group. Also, 12 members have a concrete water jar, and 12 are waiting their turn to receive the group's assistance. They know that this is forthcoming. This provides the motivation to continue other projects such as the women's group shop, because every member knows that she benefit.

**Concrete water jar construction.** There are four major steps.

1. Dig a foundation about 3.5 feet deep and three to four feet in diameter. Place wire mesh and pour in the cement, positioning the plastic pipe and tap. This takes two days and requires another three days to dry.
2. Fill the tarpaulin with sawdust and position it on the foundation. Secure with sticks along the edges.
3. Mix regular cement with the waterproof cement, place the wire mesh and apply the cement along the surface of the tarpaulin bag. Position the bag using scrap metal or timber.
4. Let dry for three days and remove the sawdust and tarpaulin bag. Immediately fill with water to prevent cracking.

Materials required are five bags of cement, five bags of waterproof cement, seven metres of wire mesh, one tap, two pieces of plastic pipe, 40 bags of sawdust, one heavy duty tarpaulin approximately eight feet in diameter, rocks and sand.

#### **Hints:**

The sawdust can be used for other water jars with fresh sawdust added when necessary. Sawdust can be collected from local carpenters' workshops. Also, experience has shown that the tarpaulin lasts for at least two construction projects before it has to be replaced. The member whose tank is being built is responsible for

purchasing all materials and delivering them to the site, hiring a technician, collecting sawdust, sand and rocks. When work begins, the whole group joins in workdays at the site and assists the technician.

## **TOMORROW'S SUCCESS**

The Kwaindi Women's Group has made plans for the future that build strongly on their past accomplishments.

### **Short term future more water jars**

An urgent health need for the area is to have a constant source of pure drinking water. For many families in the area, the only water source is the Miu River, which is dry for three months of the year. The group has found that cement water jars are a major help in this situation, and as they have already completed jars at the homes of 12 of their members, they intend to continue until the other members also have one. With 24 members, the group can contribute Ksh. 1,200 monthly towards the cost of a tank, which is about Ksh. 1,500 depending on size.

### **Plans for the long term - A small shop in Mwalla Market**

Once the jars are completed, perhaps at the end of two more years, the women think they would like to move their efforts into starting up a small shop at their local market. They have purchased 700 seedlings of orange, lemon, banana and papaya trees from nurseries at Masii on Kwakamelo Dam. It is hoped that the seedlings planted back in 1982 soon be yielding a substantial crop. The group would like to have a permanent place from which to market the fruit. They would also be able to market sisal baskets at the small shop. Since 1982, they have completed 1,500 baskets. Selling the baskets is the way that some of the women have

raised their monthly contribution of Ksh. 50 and they plan to continue making them.

The women also expect that the small shop would give the group a sense of permanence, and would serve as an office where they could hold meetings. They think the small shop would serve as a useful base from which they could set out to research possible external markets for their products. For example, they would like to sell sisal baskets in Nairobi.

Some ideas which the women have discussed which might be possible after the completion of the water jars and the small shop in Mwalla Market are:

- Poultry
- Grade goats
- Grade cattle
- Beekeeping
- Pig keeping
- Demonstration cotton farm
- Irrigation systems
- Petrol station.

Their future looks as if it be busy as new ideas become a focus for activity.

## **PROFILE: Esther Mutungu**

Esther Mutungu is a respected community leader in Kamwalla Sub-location. When the Kwaindi Women's Group was formed in 1982, she was elected chairperson by the voting members. Since that time, she has been the leader of the women's group, providing guidance and experience as the women have organised their activities.

She lives near Mwalla Market and has eight children. Four have moved away because of jobs and four remain at home. The most enlivening and helpful learning from being a leader of the women's group for Esther is the fact that she gains some new experiences every time the members

face a new challenge. During the past three years, she has constantly sought to be an effective leader through learning all



there is to know about leadership. This happens through advice from others both in the groups and outside. Secondly, she has learning to respect the unique contributions and gifts of each member.

The hardest moments occurred when the group was expanding in size from 15 to 24. During this time, she had to teach the new members many practical things about the group, such as basket weaving. Also, when she was asking for aid and assistance from governmental agencies, it took a lot of confidence. From these experiences, Esther Mutungu has developed the capacity to lead the Kwaindi Womens Group.

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## MAWENI WOMEN'S GROUP

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c/o N.C.C.K., P.O. Box 82275, Mombasa, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Mombasa District, Likoni Division, Likoni Location, Maweni Village.
- **Population:** 15,000 (Likoni Location).  
Tribe: Wadigo

The Maweni Women's Group started in 1976, after agricultural field workers had introduced the model of self-help. Ad-ballah Abdulhaman, the headman of the village, and several women obtained a licence to start chopping and selling firewood. Also, each member of the group contributed Ksh. 2 per week for two years, so a bank account could be opened.

In 1978, the group registered with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services as the Maweni Women's Group. In April of that same year, they received a loan of Ksh. 500 and a donation for the same amount by TOTOTO, a branch of the National Council of Churches, Kenya (NCCCK), in order to expand their business and to start selling charcoal. A thatched roof building was erected to store the first 100 bags of charcoal the group bought. After a visit from the Ministry of Agriculture they were given materials and money to pay a technician and to change the building into a more permanent one and to fence the compound. Another NCCCK loan of Ksh. 10,000 was used to buy weighing scales and to expand the business even further.

There are now 28 women who are members of the group. They don't sell firewood anymore, because they can't transport it from the site where they chop to the shop. Increases in charcoal prices have also had their effect on this part of

the business. With the small profit they make they are not able to buy as much stock as they would like. In 1981, the women decided to take on a second project, and to construct a rental building. They were given land by the chief, and the Bamburi Portland Cement Company provided them with two tons of cement. A Ksh. 38,000 grant from visiting Americans arranged through the NCCCK removed the last obstacles and the building with space for two rental units was constructed. This gives the group a regular income and courage to continue their work.

In 1983, plans emerged for a third project. The group wanted to open a tailoring school where they could train local women who would be able to open their own business after completion of a two-year training course.

A gift from the Community Development Officer (CDO) of Ksh. 50,000 and the money raised by a harambee in 1984 paid for materials and three technicians. Unfortunately, the technicians disappeared with the money, leaving the group with nothing. Another donation of the American group was received, and so the workshop was constructed, an L-shaped stone building with two rooms, attached to the rental building. The American group also equipped the school with four sewing machines and large cutting tables. At this moment the tailoring school is in full swing, with 17 students signed up for a three year course. It is an exciting opportunity for the Maweni Women, who themselves have signed up for most of these first school openings.

### TODAY'S APPROACHES

Over ten years, the Maweni Womens Group has moved from a very small-scale project with two shilling a week donations, to the successful initiation of much larger and riskier projects. These have improved

their own futures and the future of the community.

### Learnings:

- **Train leaders.** Leaders of the Maweni Group regularly attend seminars and pay visits to other groups and organisations. They feel they can learn from others' experiences, and that it is important to keep trying to improve the management of the group.
- **Involve everybody.** All members are always involved in making decisions about present and future directions the group should take. In this way, it is not possible to blame one member for making mistakes and the whole group knows the direction the group is going. Responsibilities for certain tasks such as book-keeping are also shared between members, so that they can all gain experience in all tasks.
- **Have regular meetings.** By meeting regularly, the whole group stays informed about the financial situation of the group and about decisions that have been made. In this way, misunderstandings are prevented, and people can contribute new ideas and discuss problems.
- **Invite outside groups and officials.** By inviting different groups and government officials, the group can get advice about new directions they want to go in, help in solving problems or make donations for new or existing projects. Also the outside world stays informed about the present position of the group.
- **Solve problems together.** The group recommends that whenever a problem arises, solve it together as a group, so everyone gets an opportunity to contribute to the solution. If necessary, they find it helpful to seek outside help, such as the chief or the Community Development Assistant (CDA).
- **Advertise the rental housing.** Every year the group places an advertisement in the newspaper, and sends letters to the District Officer's office and the Chief's, to make sure that no room in the building is unoccupied, and a full return on their investment is made.
- **Train own members.** The group finds it important to train their own members so they can improve each individual member's earning capacity. For this reason the members can attend the tailoring school at a reduced rate. On completion of the training, members may teach the classes themselves - instead of the group paying an outside teacher - or start their own business.
- **Secure essential support.** By establishing relationships with various ministries and organisations the group has grown strong quickly, giving courage to its members, and encouraging more people to join the group.
- **Improve existing projects through profits made.** The group was able to improve the charcoal store through the profits that were made with selling. This was only possible because the profits were saved in a bank account, rather than distributed among the members.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

Within the next two decades, the women of Maweni Village see the area they live in as being more accessible to people and resources from outside, particularly Mombasa Town. A bridge to replace the ferry and more schools in the area will be the first steps in that direction. Piped water and a health clinic in the area will assist the health conditions. The steps they want to take themselves to improve and the village are focused on expanding the scope and effectiveness of the existing projects to serve a greater number of people.

### Tailoring workshop

The Tailoring Workshop is still young but great plans are in the making. Besides the course in dressmaking that is being taught now, they would like to employ a teacher who can teach the women how to make suits. The teacher they employ now from Maweni Village cannot teach this course. In due course, they could then expand the school, buy more sewing machines, and register more participants. Employing even more tailors would then enable them to open their own clothes shop, and then start the production of school uniforms or similar items. Another vision of the group is to train all members in the tailoring school within the next five years, thus making each woman individually self-reliant.

### Charcoal business

The women concerned with selling the charcoal see an expanding business, making efforts to boost sales from 35 to 200 bags per month. Buying a truck for the business would allow them to start selling firewood again, which would mean more income for the group. If all goes well, profits from this would be returned to the members each month.

### Rental property

Expanding the rental building is yet another vision of the group. More land needs to be bought for this. The women would like to paint the building inside and out, and to establish a task force of women who will maintain the buildings. Electricity and piped water would increase the value of the building so that the rent could be raised. Efforts to pursue these services will be made.

### Long-range future

Embarking upon totally new projects is also being considered. A poultry project is the first on the list. They would like to be

able to sell chickens and produce eggs for their children to supplement their diet. Another new project being considered is a group kiosk where fruit and vegetables would be sold. This would fit into the plans of the women to start their own vegetable gardens. Besides having cheap food available, they would also be able to sell some of their produce in their own kiosk.

### PROFILE: Biakuu Kambo

Biakuu Kambo was born in 1935 in Likoni, Maweni Location, Maweni Village. She is married and raised one daughter, now 20 years old. She has been the Chairlady of the Maweni Women's Group since its started in 1976. Mrs. Kambo is a Muslim woman who earned her living selling fried pastry before the group was formed. She was elected chairlady of the group by the Chief, the headman and the women who were interested in uplifting the location



after a visit and encouragement from agricultural field workers. According to the villagers, she had the spirit and courage to lead the group.

She organised regular meetings in which all women had the opportunity to give their suggestions. Through the regular visits from the NCKK and TOTOTO women, she was encouraged to move on with the projects. She struggled to get the permit for charcoal selling, and the plot and plan for construction of the rental building.

She also budgeted all of the donations they received for project implementation. She was there during most of the government visits to try to get more donations.

In order to have the group work effectively, she organizes the women and gives advice where needed. Most of the time she has been happy with the projects, especial-

ly during the harambee fund-raising, receiving grants from various sections and receiving individual donations.

The hardest time was when there was a lot of criticism among the members, and the number of members was reduced. There was a lot of misunderstanding, and people requested the incomes received and wanted to leave. She did not understand the criticism and continually sought advice from the Chief, Headman, NCKK and TOTOTO advisors.

Her happiest time in the group occurred when all the members decided for their future as a group to expand to new projects and engage women of all ages in their group.

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## NAWOITORONG WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Box 192, Lodwar, Turkana, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Rift Valley Province, Lodwar District, Turkana Central Division.
- **Population:** 3,000. 400 families. Tribe: Turkana.

**N**awoitorong, a small village of manyattas (animal enclosures) on the outskirts of Lodwar, has become a sign of hope for many in Turkana. Turkana is the second largest district in Kenya, yet most of its 64,000 square km. is covered by desert. The soil in Turkana provides little chance for any vegetation. Therefore, few women have farms and fewer can afford livestock. Each day is a struggle for many to feed their children.

In the midst of this suffering, a group of 15 women from Nawoitorong decided to commit themselves and their families to a new venture. This young group began to organize in October 1984 when a Swedish woman living nearby, later to become the groups' advisor, asked if any women in the area were interested in learning how to bake bread. As the word spread throughout the village, four women decided to talk to Ms. Holtberg and were soon learning how to bake nutritious bread. The idea of learning how to bake bread expanded to the idea of operating a bakery. The women saw this as a way of supporting their families and providing better nutrition for their children. There was a market in Lodwar for high quality bread. Previously the women of Nawoitorong supported their families by collecting and selling firewood and making brooms and mats for which they received very little money.

The first obstacle was to find a place to bake the bread. With very little money, the women decided to build an oven using sun-dried bricks. For five weeks the women worked five days a week to make 1,200 bricks. Men and women of the community laughed at them, believing women could not possibly make bricks or build an oven, but they persevered and finished the bricks. The oven was completed in January 1985. It was designed to use charcoal for heat and has a capacity for 500 loaves of bread.

With very little experience and a small amount of training from an experienced baker, the women began baking. With a loan from their advisor, they bought flour, yeast, sugar, salt and a few utensils. The women had a difficult time at the start. The oven did not heat to an even temperature and many loaves burned or did not bake thoroughly. The women learned quickly, working two days a week, averaging 15 to 20 loaves a day, and after a month's time had mastered the technique. The bakery increased to seven members and now bakes bread and scones three days each week. Each member received an income of Ksh. 30 to Ksh. 100 per week.

After seeing the Nawoitorong Women make bricks for the bakery oven, other women of the community began thinking about the possibility of a block-making project. Traditionally in Turkana, women have been the house builders of the manyattas, yet men have taken over the responsibility of house building when working with brick or stone. The first step was to ask Ms. Holtberg for advice and she recommended visiting a block-making project in Katilo. After a day of observation and training, the women believed they could begin their own project. With a grant of Ksh. 7,000 from NORAD, the women bought two block-making machines and borrowed hoes from the Polytechnic School. There were no other



expenses because the blocks are made with soil and water.

To make the blocks, the women agreed to work together five days a week from 7 am to 1 pm. In the beginning the women made 14 bricks a day and an income of a few shillings a week. Eventually, they were able to increase production to 1,000 bricks a week and are selling them for one shilling each. Presently each woman receives an income of Ksh. 100 a week and the group saves Ksh.100 for any expenses and savings. The women hope to eventually build a permanent home for each member.

The Nawoitorong Women's Group has seen many changes from the inception of their group in 1984. Each member now has a steady source of income and their children are no longer malnourished. The women have also seen the strength in their unity as a group and are very proud to see their labours benefitting the community as well.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The Nawoitorong Women's Group is still very young. They have experienced many struggles and accomplishments. The bakery and block-making projects are both running smoothly. To date, the women have produced over 20,000 blocks and have seen houses and businesses built with their blocks throughout Lodwar. The bakery has provided the Lodwar community with a high quality bread on a regular basis as well as improving the nutritional standards of their own families. Each woman has gained confidence and courage from the group as well as learning what they could accomplish as a group. The women have moved from trying to make a meagre income by collecting firewood, palm fruits and making brooms to learning a skill and receiving a steady income.

Women of the group have received training in leadership, accounting, marketing,

baking and block-making, giving them the opportunity to look for employment.

When asked what advice or recommendations the women would give to others about sustaining their group, they responded:

- **Teamwork.** For the block-making group, strenuous intense labour is involved. They work in shifts which allows everyone to participate in reaching the daily target of 400 blocks.
- **Unity and corporateness.** Each member should have the opportunity to voice their concerns and should be respected. Openness to solving issues within the group creates trust and respect for others.
- **Everyone in the group is equal.** Regardless of training or educational backgrounds, each member of the group is given an equal opportunity for making decisions.
- **Be patient.** The women of Nawoitorong thought they should immediately make a profit from their hard work, but soon realized they must put the money earned back into their business for it to survive and flourish.

For women interested in starting a bakery, the Nawoitorong Women's Group recommends:

- **Locating a small building to prepare dough and build an oven.**
- **Buy supplies in large quantities whenever possible.**
- **Train all members in marketing skills.** When the women began selling bread, they allowed customers to purchase on credit or gave loaves away to friends and relatives. The profit margin was very small and the women realized they must educate themselves in sales. They have learned to be persistent in order to develop new customers and always to be friendly.

- Establish good record-keeping systems. In order to do this, the women found it necessary to get some of their profits aside to send one of the members to a one-week seminar for basic accounting as no one had any experience.

The block-making group is running a unique project using all local material. Because firewood is so scarce in Turkana, the bricks are dried in the sun. Therefore, there are few expenses once the initial purchase of tools has been made. The bricks are strong and a home will last 20 to 30 years when made with these bricks.

For other women's groups interested in pursuing a block-making project, the Nawoitorong Women would like to share the following from their own experiences:

**Tools and Materials.** For block-making it is necessary to have a drum for holding water, forks, hoes, spades, block molds, a block machine and oil to grease the block machine.

**Research.** To make strong blocks, a special soil is used which can be found surrounding anthills. There is white and brown soil surrounding the hill and it is the brown soil which is used to make the blocks. This soil can be found easily throughout Turkana.

**Process.** The brown soil dug from the ant-hill is combined with water. This mixture is then put into the mold on the block machine and compressed into shape. The block is then removed and placed in the sun to dry for three days

**Training.** The women received training from another block-making project and were provided with technical assistance from Action Aid. They were shown how to operate and maintain the block machine.

**Building.** With technical assistance from Action Aid the women have found a way to build homes using their blocks and a mixture of cow dung and water as a substitute for cement. The women have built

one house as a demonstration which has helped to increase their block sales.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

By pulling together through hard work, the Nawoitorong Women's Group has moved from a situation of hunger and poverty to hope and achievement. They look forward to planning for the future of their group after having completed the block-making project and the bakery. In the years to come they hope to have a school for their children as well as a community centre to hold meetings and adult education classes.

### Bakery Expansion

For the immediate future, they are looking at expansion of the bakery, and their block making project. Currently, the women working in the bakery are faced with a serious problem of finding a new location to prepare their bread dough. The building they use now will have to be vacated soon. The women are considering the building of a temporary shelter. They have been pursuing the purchase of a plot of land for a new bakery since September 1985 but have not been successful yet. Once the plot is secured, they plan to purchase the sun-dried bricks and roofing thatch for construction as well as for securing funds.

They would also like to build a new oven as the old oven is not fuel-efficient. The Polytechnic School has agreed to work with the women on the project and has drawn plans for the oven already. Once the bakery is constructed they hope to add a small hotel and small shop as there is currently only one in the area. The hotel would sell the women's bread, scones and cakes as well as tea, soda and everyday necessities. They would like to furnish it with tables and chairs and eventually add piped water and electricity. The demand for their bread is greater than what the

women can supply at this time. However, they plan to bake bread five days a week instead of three days. Once there is a permanent market, they will also look for other markets for the bread.

### **Block-making Expansion**

The block making group is planning for the expansion of their project by first building a shelter and storage for the blocks to protect them from rain and provide a secure place. They are also planning to increase their productivity to supply more requests for blocks. Eventually, the women hope to provide blocks to build a permanent home for each member, replacing their manyattas.

### **Rental Housing**

Their third plan for the bricks is to begin construction of rental housing. The County Council of Turkana has promised the women a plot of land for that use. There is a great demand for housing in Lodwar. The income from the rental housing will be a way of securing the future of each woman's family.

The Nawoitorong Women's Group is also concerned with finding a way for the older women of their village to generate income. They are currently investigating the possibility of a spinning project. Yarn is not readily available in Turkana. This would be a project the women could operate through their homes.

### **PROFILES: Maria Nasinyana and Esther Aaron**

Maria Nasinyana is now the chairwoman of the Nawoitorong Women's Bakery. She is only twenty years old, yet has wisdom far beyond her age. Born in Lokitang, near the Sudanese border, Maria moved to Lodwar with her family in 1975. She has two children.

Before the women's group started, Maria sold chapatis along the roadside to support herself and her child. A friend asked her to join the bakery group as they needed someone with an educational background. Maria was not interested in joining until a friend questioned her about her plans for the future and she realized she must look head. She visited the women and decided to join them in their venture.



Maria feels that some of the keys to good leadership are following the consensus of the group, working side by side with members and not acting like a dictator. Maria believes to be a leader one must be willing to make sacrifices of time and energy for the group. Many friends told Maria she should ask for a larger share of the profits of the bakery because she did so much more extra work. However, Maria believes they are all working as a team and should share equally. A good leader has a responsibility to try to unite the group, insists Maria.

When asked to tell a funny story about the group, Maria remembered a time when the group was just starting the bakery. The dough had been made and was ready to go into the oven. It was the first time for one of the members to use the oven and she

put the dough in the oven on top of the hot coals without any trays, creating a huge mess. The group laughs about this incident now as they realize how far they have progressed.

The hardest thing about being a leader for Maria is knowing how to unite the group. She understands that she must be a demonstration to all the members. Maria is grateful to be a part of the Nawoitorong Women's Group and has had experiences and opportunities she would not have had if it had not been for the group. Currently, she is taking a typing course at the Polytechnic and has taken a class in book-keeping as well. A major event for Maria was a leadership seminar in which she participated. This has given her the courage to pursue future plans with confidence.

The chairwoman of the block-making group is Esther Aaron. She is 22 years old and a Kikuyu by tribe. She married a Turkana and moved to Lodwar where she now lives with two children.

Esther became interested in the block-making groups when talking with Ms. Holtberg and went to the training session

in Katilu. Esther volunteered to keep the records for the group and act as their speaker because she was the only woman to speak Swahili. Shortly after the group started, members asked her to be their chairwoman and she accepted.

When asked what suggestions she would give to others on leadership, she expressed the need to love all members and not become annoyed with them. The leader should be responsible for caring for members during difficult times as well. Esther believes it is important to work together with members, helping them to organize themselves but never abusing authority.

Esther views being a leader as being a demonstration to others. For a long time Esther felt like an outsider in Nawoitorong because of the differences in tribes and languages. From working with the Women's Group she has felt an acceptance that would not have been possible otherwise.

Esther feels her strength comes from sharing ideas with others and learning from others. Together Maria and Esther are working as a team to improve the lives of the people of Nawoitorong village.

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## NGAGHENYA WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Box 42, Taveta, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Mahoo Village, Mahoo Sub-location, Chala Location, Taita Taveta District. Located in the high plains area on the Tanzania border.
- **Population:** 3,700 persons in three villages in the sub-location. Every family has at least one member working outside of the division, and most in-residence heads of households are women.
- **Agriculture:** Cotton, maize, beans, bananas, cattle, vegetable, garden crops.

In 1978 a new vision dawned on a group of women in Mahoo Village where a long history of small, unregistered savings scheme groups had reigned. In this arid climate where most male wage-earners were employed in distant cities and the population consisted of mostly women and children, Alice Gibson Kayuga and Martha Mruttu communicated a new vision of service to the community, and registered the Ngaghenya ('it has dawned') Women's Group. The symbol of new beginnings was the opening of a bank account. The funds were intended to grow and be accounted for rather than sit in a drawer.

During the first few years, drought plagued Africa and did not spare Taveta. Members had a difficult time earning their own subsistence for survival, yet the group began construction of their first project, a day care centre near the main road. Through village workdays the foundation and first classroom were completed in 1979-80. Though some members had temporarily to stop their monthly contributions, the classroom was completed through the help of the Ministry of Cul-

ture and Social Services. This was the beginning of six years of successful collaboration with the Ministry.

Anticipating additional need for funds, Ngaghenya began to risk some new ventures. A member donated two acres of land and an additional five acres were rented and planted with beans and cotton. Drought killed the beans, but cotton valued at Ksh.4,700 was harvested. Hard work as a team reaped benefits. Because of the success of the group's farm, the smaller cottage ventures the group had begun earlier, such as tablecloth making, were wound up.

In 1984, once again the Ministry of Culture and Social Services assisted them with Ksh. 5,000 to finish the second classroom and an American Peace Corps volunteer helped them to build 53 school desks. The school now enrolls 150 students and continues under the support of the Women's Group.

Currently, Ngaghenya is experimenting with breeding and selling rabbits, and is in the process of developing a grade cattle project. They plan to build a guest house for use by visitors to Mahoo, and have secured the blocks for this building. Individual members still receive assistance from the Women's Group in emergency situations and the group pays the local school fees of families in need. Three new registered women's groups have been established through the efforts of Ngaghenya Women's Group. Walking to the group's cotton fields on the regular Thursday workday, one can see these other groups in their fields, working and singing and heralding each other.

The Ngaghenya Day Care Centre began in 1979 with 50 students and one teacher. The Women's Group remembers this day with pride. They had received little outside help on workdays and even their husbands had pronounced the effort useless. Today 150 students with two qualified

teachers enjoy the benefits of this school with 80 entering the nearby primary school each year. A quarterly fee of Ksh. 20 per student pays all of the schools expenses as well as enabling other village needs to be met.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

How does one launch such a successful project? The following were identified by the group as keys to building the Day Care Centre:

- **Accurately discerning the need.** The women of Ngaghenya saw the need of the many children who would benefit from early childhood learning. They picked a central location to provide a service for the maximum number of families.
- **Selecting a catalytic project.** The selection of a Day Care Centre proved to be catalytic. The school starts children out by providing a solid foundation for their education, teaching the habits of going to school and learning. The fees paid to the Day Care Centre create additional income for the group. Mothers whose children are in the centre are free to do additional work at home or on the farm. A few women have the opportunity to take nursery school teacher's training and earn an income as teachers. The fees have created a fund which pays the teachers' salaries and provides scholarships so that families in need can send children both to the Day Centre and the Primary School. It also serves as a revolving loan fund.
- **Building a Comprehensive Plan.** Pooling the individual experience of members, the wisdom of other groups, and learnings from government seminars, Ngaghenya Women's Group has learned how to build a comprehensive plan. They did not begin the Day Care Centre until they finished the plan, from site selection to recruitment of the school.
- **Working with an expert technician.** An expert, trusted technician was able to guide the group in the creation of its initial plan. He assessed accurately the cost needed for each step, the time required and what materials had to be purchased. He also advised the group about the phases of construction. The Ngaghenya Group built a foundation for two rooms although they only had resources available to complete one. Two years later, the second room was finished. The foresight to lay the entire foundation made the completion of the second classroom a simple task.
- **Trusting the group's teamwork.** Ngaghenya has learned that all can benefit from working together as a team. Multiple ventures can be sustained through teamwork. In the course of one day, Ngaghenya may have members cultivating its farm, selling its produce in the market, feeding its rabbits, or visiting the Social Service Office. Another day may see all of them at a school workday, helping a member start a new house, or cultivating a neighbour's field for income for the group.
- **Symbolizing members' committee commitment.** From the group's 1978 beginning, it asked each member to pay a registration fee and monthly contribution to help carry out the group's plans. This has been used as a loan fund for members and also as capital for new ventures. The treasurer accounts for the use of the funds. These contributions help the members to symbolize their commitment to the group.
- **Maintaining the group's vision, hope and determination.** Keeping the mind of the group on the need of the community and what the group is trying to do is most important. Rumours have threatened to undermine the group's spirit. They have been ignored or tracked down. Ngaghenya responded to the rumor that the government would take

over the Day Care Centre in this manner.

## **TOMORROW'S SUCCESS**

Ngaghenya was born of a vision and has succeeded in accomplishing one of their first major objectives. This accomplishment has given them reason to look forward to their future. If you ask the members of the group about their expectations, you discover a variety of responses, which they prioritize as follows:

### **Rental Property**

A major focus is using some of their hard-earned capital to build a house on a small plot of ground which has been given to them. This house, a permanent building, be rented and serve as a source of regular income for projects.

### **Grade Cattle**

A down-payment has been made on a grade cow with calf. Arrangements are currently being made to secure land with access to water, and to build a zero-grazing yard suitable for expansion. Few people have grade cattle in this area, so this project serve as a demonstration of the benefits of zero-grazing cattle.

### **Rabbit Raising**

There are plans to expand the existing rabbit hutches, which are now kept at individual members' homes. It is possible that there be enough space to incorporate this project in the land acquired for cattle.

### **Poultry Keeping**

This too is a possibility that could be added to the Grade Cattle project so that it would become an Animal Husbandry Complex.

### **Nursery School**

There are plans to expand the Day Care Centre. The Group hopes to provide daily care for three-year olds, as well as the four-, five- and six-year olds now cared for.

### **Guest House**

Because they have become a demonstration of possibility, this group has begun to host visitors who come to learn from them and share with them. The guest house allow them to continue to share their hospitality and their successful approaches to local development with others throughout Kenya.

Also, among some of the more expensive dreams are a Fish Farm and a Kiosk. Both of these are within the realm of possibility. The fish farm is possible because the village sits at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro and such schemes have been started in similar locations. The Kiosk would provide the group with a means of directly marketing their produce.

### **Next steps:**

The rental property is the first attempt to establish an investment which belong solely to the group. The land has been designated by the County Council and they shortly receive title to it. The site is near the Timbila Primary and Secondary Schools. There is a constant demand for adequate housing for teachers. So the investment promises to be a wise one which provide a steady monthly return for them. They currently have enough capital to begin the building. They get underway with the procurement of materials and laying of the foundation as soon as the survey is completed and the property which has been donated is deeded to them.

### **PROFILE: Mrs. Martha Mruttu**

Martha Mruttu was born 61 years ago in Taveta, then a CPK Mission. As a young

woman she was sent by the mission to do a midwifery course in Mombasa which determined a career in the medical profession. She trained at Pumwani Maternity Hospital in Nairobi, and then found herself working with the Child Health Welfare Project with the Kenya Army in Nanyuki.



Here she led in forming her first women's group with wives of the askaris (soldiers) and women members of the Army. Using a leadership style she had seen in Ms. Serah Serai, who used to come to Pumwani Maternity, she encouraged the women to participate in a savings scheme. The Nanyuki Women's Group sewed, baked, and opened a kiosk. The proceeds were used to help Turkana and Acholi

children in the area. Martha's first attempt at the organization of a group was impressive. At one point the group gave dividends from a bank account of Ksh. 10,000 to its 60 members.

Martha retired after 21 years of midwifery with government hospitals in 1978 and joined Alice Kayuga in founding the Ngaghenya Women's Group. At 'retirement', her care turned full-time towards the community.

Since that time, her testimony stands in what one can see the group has achieved in Mahoo Village. These were difficult times, she says. Differences among people are the hardest thing. People are just born different. Some see things going bad and have good suggestions. Others just say nothing and watch it get worse!

How did she learn to organize and lead a group? "I listened to a lot of people, and attended some government seminars, and learned not to get annoyed so fast. I learned how to be a PART of a committee, not the dictator, to let the consensus be spoken from the group, not from me. I never let myself handle the money, I don't sign alone for any money, and nothing financial is secret."

What has been her greatest happiness? Seeing the 150 children going to the Day Care Centre every day. Asked when she 'retire', she says "How can I quit? This is my community, these are my children!"



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## NYAKIYO WOMEN'S GROUP

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P.O. Box 933, Nakuru, Kenya.

### Area Data and History

- **Location:** Mwariki Sub-location, Njoro Location, Nakuru Division four km. from Nakuru Town, on boundary of Lake Nakuru National Park.
- **Population:** 10,000 people. Kikuyu and Kalenjin tribes.
- **Agriculture:** Maize, beans, cowpeas, citrus trees, cattle, goats, sheep, poultry.

The Nyakiyo Women's Group is located at Mwariki Farms, near Nakuru. In the late 1970's this farm was called Rhonda Farms and was sub-divided to shareholders. Many former employees of the farm bought shares. The rest of the shares were sold to persons from across the country.

The Nyakiyo Women's Group has developed over several stages. First, in 1979, four women met to discuss projects that a women's group could initiate. Twelve members joined and they began to collect 20 shillings per member to purchase household utensils and furniture. Also, at this time three members travelled to Njoro to visit a women's group constructing dams. On their return they began holding meetings at Mwariki to discuss their own water project. Clean water was an urgent need as all local sources were dirty or contained unhealthy amounts of fluoride.

In 1980, this led to the formation of a committee representing 100 families who decided to build a piped water system from Nakuru Municipality to their area. From contributions raised by shareholders, a deposit of 720 shillings was given to the municipality. Also,

several pipes were purchased, which were connected to the municipality's system. The committee charged 30 cents per jerry can to the public. In 1981, the group was registered as the Mwariki Women's Water Project which enabled the Community Development Officer (CDO) to secure a grant equalling 10,000 shillings worth of pipes. This was followed by a donation of 108 pipes by the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru. This enabled the whole project to be completed by 1984, with piped water to 99 homes and to St. Luke's Polytechnic Training Centre for the handicapped.

Following the completion of the water project, new office holders were elected to continue the maintenance and repairs of the pipes. At that time, the 11 members who began as a self-help women's group, changed the name of the group from the Mwariki Women's Water Project to Nyakiyo Women's Group. Nyakiyo means 'ability to achieve' in Kikuyu and the women have demonstrated this ability during the four years of the water project. They provided the leadership and direction to accomplish their goals.

### TODAY'S APPROACHES

After four years there is piped water to 99 homes in the Mwariki Farm area. This represents three and one-half kilometres of trenches dug, three feet deep and two feet wide. The pipes are two inches by 20 feet for mainline and one-half an inch by 20 feet for lines going to each home or tap. There were workdays organised with 100 participants digging 300 metres each workday. The contributions collected from each shareholder and community member purchased the balance of materials not covered by the two grants. The success of this project ensures that clean water is available for home consumption, watering vegetable gardens and for cows to drink.

- **Securing external support.** It was important in a project of this type to secure

support from sources outside the area. The project committee invited the CDO of Nakuru to visit the site to see the work in progress. Following this, they requested assistance from the government in the form of pipes. In this manner, they also received assistance from the Catholic Church. The Church also wanted piped water available to St. Luke's Polytechnic and assisted the project to achieve this. Before assistance could be received, it was necessary to register the Mwariki Farms Women's Water Project in 1981.

- **Continuing maintenance and repairs.** When the project was completed in 1984, a new committee was elected to organise the maintenance and repairs of the system. They have several ways to identify problems. If cracks or leaks occur to the pipes they locate the area where the ground is wet and effect repairs. If the rate of flow is slow they check different sections of the pipes until they locate the section where there is a normal flow. They then effect repairs to the section identified as the problem. If the one-half inch pipe becomes blocked with dirt, each portion is disconnected and checked until the problem is found.
- **Creating a group consensus to get cooperation.** It was easy to reach a consensus and a plan of action for this water project. Every shareholder and community member experienced a lack of clean water. When the discussions first began, everyone wanted to participate and complete the project.
- **Fundraising.** The Water Project Committee decided to charge every shareholder the same amount of money, Ksh. 200. Some shareholders sold animals to meet this contribution. In this manner, everyone was committed to the project until the end, rather than just until water reached their home.
- **Effective leadership for workdays.** It took strong leadership during the project to involve 100 households in the workdays. Targets were set for each workday so that everyone knew how far they had to dig. Also, if some neglected to attend the workdays, he or she was fined Ksh. 10 for the time missed.
- **Use local skills.** The project committee used skills that were available locally whenever possible. In this manner costs were kept to a minimum with leaders and plumbers volunteering their services. The night watchman at St. Luke's Polytechnic had worked with a plumber before and played an important role in the workdays and on technical matters.
- **Locate a source of water.** It is important first to locate a water source, then ask permission to use it. For the Mwariki Farms, area, the closest source of clean water was from Nakuru Municipality. After deciding to utilise this source, the plan of action that was developed reflected the requirements of connecting to the municipality water.
- **Create realistic budgets.** It is important for everyone to know the costs involved. After deciding to use the municipality water source, the committee created budgets to know how much pipe and other materials were needed and what human resources were required. This allowed the committee to make knowledgeable requests for assistance to outside donors.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

One major factor which influence the development of the Mwariki area in the future is its close proximity to Nakuru. Over the past several years, housing estates and other developments have been constructed close to Mwariki. Some residents feel that in the next five to ten years, Nakuru City might even encompass Mwariki. With this in mind, the members

of Nyakiyo Women's Group have plans for three projects they want to complete.

### Grade Cattle

First they would like each member to have grade cattle. Since 1984, they have increased their monthly contributions to Ksh. 83 per member. Of this, Ksh. 13 is put into their savings account which already has Ksh. 13,000 for the programme on animal husbandry. They then hope to build cattle sheds, a cattle dip and sheds for storage of cattle fodder. Starting in April 1986, they began purchasing the animals. They collected funds to build the first animal shed between November and December 1985. The budget came to Ksh. 982 with the iron sheets for the roof.

### Water Storage Tanks

Another project they want to complete is the construction of 2,000 gallon water storage tanks in members' homes. They want to fill these tanks from the piped water to compensate for times when there is not enough pressure for the water to flow to their area. This should also involve the other 88 homes which have piped water.

### Grinding Mill

Finally, the Nyakiyo Women's Group would like to start a grinding mill for the area. This has low priority because of the strong desire to see the other projects completed first.

## PROFILE: Mrs. Frasure Kavoi Gitau

Mrs. Frasure Kavoi Gitau was born in 1940 in Kiambu. As a child she helped her mother on their farm growing maize and beans. Mrs. Gitau did not attend school at any time during her childhood. In 1960, she married a clerk who worked for the District Officer. Four years later they

moved to Nyandarua in Aljorasok Location. While in Nyandarua, Mrs. Gitau joined a women's group called Nyaroko Comboritop. This group was interested in farming and buying household utensils for its members.



In 1972 the Gitaus bought land at Mwariki Farm. Their two shares gave them four acres of land. Only Mrs. Gitau and her children moved. Her husband remained at his job as a clerk. In 1979, she invited all the women in Mwariki to form a group. Four women attended the first meeting and twelve the second but no others wanted to join. In the beginning, a monthly contribution of Ksh. 20 was collected from each member and was used to buy utensils. The monthly contribution is currently Ksh. 83.

The Nyakiyo Women's Group began to discuss ideas for a poultry keeping project. They realised that they had a problem in getting enough water. Therefore, they sent a delegation of three women to visit other women's projects and to the Municipal Council of Nakuru to discuss the issue of piped water. This was the beginning of the Mwariki Women's Water project. Now water is piped to every family in the community.

Mrs. Gitau believes that there are several important factors involved in being an effective leader. A leader needs to be a person who will start the action, is not deterred by what other people may say and yet, who follows the group's consensus. One problem that she had to face was people not wanting to participate in the workdays. To solve this problem, a Ksh. 10 fine was levied from each person ab-

sent. She derives great happiness from the fact that no woman in the community has to carry water and can use the time she previously had to spend collecting water to do other things. Mrs. Gitau feels that she is sustained in her work by the prayers of her family and friends. She looks forward to the group's next project, which is to obtain water tanks for each member in order to raise dairy cattle.

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## WACHO WOMEN'S GROUP

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c/o Bamba Trading, P.O. Bamba, Kilifi, Kenya.

### AREA DATA and HISTORY

- **Location:** Bamba Sub-location, Paziani Village, Kilifi District, Ganze Division.
- **Population:** 2,000 people. 60 families. Giriama tribe.
- **Agriculture:** Terrain semi-arid and desert, 50 km from coast.

The beginning of the Wacho Women's Group in 1981 was sparked by Sidi Tuva. After visiting the nearby Chapungo Women's Group, Sidi asked the women of Wacho to contribute Ksh. 58/50 each, the price of a bundle of maize meal. This money was used to purchase maize meal which was sold at the local small shop, the turnover being used to buy more maize meal. Twelve women agreed to Sidi's idea. After seven months, the women had made a profit of Ksh. 190. They decided to put their earnings towards the purchase of a farm.

In April 1982, the group experienced a change. At this time, severe malnutrition was a widespread problem for Wacho's children. A field worker from the Family Life Training Centre and a home economist from the Ministry of Agriculture were visiting Wacho to weigh children. They suggested to the Women's Group that they begin a goat-keeping project which would make fresh milk available. The goats milk would supplement the children's diet and decrease the incidence of kwashiokor (malnutrition).

The Family Life Training Centre arranged for a grant of Ksh. 6,000. Using this grant and money from their maize meal sales and monthly contributions, the women

purchased 26 goats and veterinary equipment and built a goat shelter. The secretary, Paul Mwambire, the only man of the group, let the women use his land for the shelter.

The group grew to 33 members as the idea of the goat project spread. Each new member contributed Ksh. 58/50 to join the women's group and paid the Ksh. 10 monthly contribution. In May 1982, the group was registered with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services. The following year they held an election and Sidi became their Chairwoman. The group prospered as the goats reproduced. The women decided that each member should benefit from their efforts and it was agreed to give each member one goat.

Originally, the group hired a goat keeper, but ran into difficulty paying a weekly salary from the monthly contribution. Now each member is responsible for goat keeping for a week at a time.

In April 1984, the group received Ksh. 7,000 from the Kilifi District Commissioner's Office. They had shown that they were capable of organising and running a successful project. The group bought an additional 20 goats and replaced the thatched roof on the shelter. The balance was saved and used when the roof needed repairing again. When the herd grew to 70 goats, the women needed a larger shelter. The women purchased land and began construction of a goat pen in 1985. By April 1986 the goats were moved to their new home.

The secretary of the group refers to the past five years as "five years of good harvest." In an area that has often suffered from drought and hunger, the Wacho Women's Group has united to show women throughout Kenya that prosperity is possible in even the most difficult situations.

## TODAY'S APPROACHES

The women of Wacho have accomplished a great deal in their short five-year history. From their original maize meal sales, they now have a herd of 70 goats as well as having given a goat to each of the 33 members. Through their organization, record-keeping and consistent contact with government officials, the group has been recognized throughout Kilifi.

With the experience gained through selling maize meal, the Wacho women have decided to run a small shop to sell maize meal, soda, paraffin and other goods needed in the community. They have built a kiosk and are waiting for funds to stock it.

As a group, the women have assisted the community by contributing money and materials for building extra classrooms at the school, assisting in building the new permanent stone church and made a contribution towards the visit of a missionary to Bamba Location.

When asked what advice the Wacho Women would give to other self-help groups, they listed the following:

- **Set up guidelines.** The Wacho Women's Group found guidelines helpful for working together. Decision-making, respect for others, electing and establishing committees were examples of the guidelines that the group used to run smoothly and accomplish its goals.
- **Obtain consensus at all meetings.** The weekly Sunday meetings have helped the members by giving each woman the opportunity to voice issues and concerns. After discussions, the groups decide together on their best option.
- **Hold celebrations to mark each event.** Eating meals together and singing have enhanced the spirit of the group and has given them the opportunity to mark their successes. The women sing and dance often and have written a group song.
- **Respect leaders and members of the group.** Each member should have the opportunity to voice their own views and concerns. Members should talk about group issues and not each other. Issues should be viewed openly and discussed freely.
- **Hold group workdays.** The Wacho Women hold workdays twice a week to clean the goat shelter. Workdays are also held for special projects such as assisting with the building of the church and school. The women plan to hold workdays for digging and planting the new farm. Everyone's participation is the key to the women's success, and their leader, Sidi, is the first to pick up a hoe.
- **Organise monthly fund raising events.** The Wacho Women make a monthly contribution of Ksh. 10 each. This money has enabled the women to carry on their projects as well as providing a savings programme for future projects that the group is interested in starting.
- **Care of goats.** The women of Wacho have learned a great deal about the care of goats and have the following suggestions to offer other self-help groups interested in a goat project.
- **Obtain outside advice and assistance.** The women have established a good relationship with the Ministry of Agriculture and a technical advisor visits them regularly. The District Veterinarian is available for consultation and has also assisted the women in obtaining financial help.
- **Maintain appropriate shelter for goats.** The women have made their shelter from poles and ropes with a thatched roof. The shelter measures 68 ft. by 18 ft. by 8 ft. The members suggest having three rooms in the shelter, one for the

young, one for females, and one for males. Cleanliness is important, so the shelter should be swept twice daily and treated for lice once a week.

- **Establish a routine for goat care.** Take goats out for grazing in the early morning and return them to the pen by mid-morning to keep them out of the intense heat. Observe goats often for signs of disease such as diarrhea, shivering, or not eating well. Check the hooves and trim them regularly. Check for lice, ticks and worms. The Wacho Women take their goats to be dipped twice a week in Bamba.
- **Mark goats for identification.** Each goat should be branded in the ear to identify the herd it belongs to.
- **Use goats milk to supplement diet.** To improve the diet of children in Wacho, the women milk the goats.

**To milk them:**

- Use clean hands.
- Milk a small amount and rub this over the teat to soften it, then proceed.
- Milk should be sieved and then boiled before consumption.
- Milk goats once a day.

## TOMORROW'S SUCCESS

The Wacho Women's Group, though very proud of their past and present accomplishments, continue to look forward to future projects. They already have some settled plans for the future, as well as some more long-range dreams. Their plans for the immediate future are secure due to a grant recently approved by the District Development Committee. They believed that they received the Ksh. 45,000 grant because of the clear records they keep and give to the Locational Ministry of Culture and Social Services Office.

The grant is in the form of materials and they have already created a budget.

### New Goats

The group has decided to spend the Ksh. 45,000 to buy 100 new goats. This will greatly increase the herd, and they hope will enable distribution of six goats a year to each member. They will also purchase four male Ngara goats which will increase the grade of the herd and produce better quality milking goats. The grant will enable the group to cement the goat house, making it permanent, roof it with iron sheeting and extend it so that the increased herd will be cared for. They will fence the area of the shelter and buy a door for it. They intend to pay a technician to do this work for them. Goats are often in need of veterinary supplies, especially for worms and lice, so the group plans to establish a stock of such supplies.

At present, the completed but empty kiosk is just waiting for the group to stock and open it. They intend to elect one member to work in the shop, which will be open six days a week. The shop attendant will be exempt from the goat keeping duties. They want to put all the profits into a bank account which will then be available to buy food when there is hunger in the village, and for school fees.

### Demonstration Farm

The third project that the group is presently involved in starting is a demonstration farm. With the active support of the agricultural officials, the group is starting the farm on land lent by the secretary while collecting money to buy their own land. They intend to plant the farm with sesame seeds, groundnuts, sukuma (dark green leafy vegetables), cabbage, cow peas, green beans, eggplant and beans. These crops will make a great difference to the diets of people who live in Wacho.

### Long-Term Plans

When the women's group has completed these projects, they are not going to relax their efforts. They still have many dreams for the future. Water is viewed as the main problem facing the village. When there is no rain, they have to walk five kilometres to get to the local stream. The women are hoping to have piped water at some point in the future. They have already started to dig a trench for the pipe from Bamba, a distance of about seven kilometres. They also hope to attach gutters to the iron-sheet roof to be built on the goat shed and construct a water tank for rain catchment.

Further dreams are to build a goat dip in Wacho Village to save the weekly trek to Bamba for this purpose. They hope to rebuild the school buildings to make them permanent. This will be carried out over the next few years with government aid and harambee fund-raising.

At present, there is a problem of buying food even when the women have money available from doing casual labour, so one of the most ambitious plans of the group is to build a market place in the village. They will then be able to buy such food as fish and fresh vegetables from Kilifi and resell it in the village even when the rains have failed for years.

### PROFILE: Sidi Mkutano Tuva

Sidi Mkutano Tuva has known hunger since she was a child. She has married and brought up her children through times of hunger. This is the normal life for most of the women of Wacho, but Sidi is helping to ease the burdens of this semi-desert village through initiating and leading the Wacho Women's Group.

Born in Paziani Village, Bamba Location, in about 1928, Sidi has three brothers. Though she received no formal education, she still remembers with pleasure

being taught the traditional Giriama dances during her childhood. Sidi moved to Wacho Village in about 1940 to become the first of her husband's four wives. Working on her 12-acre farm and doing casual work in local areas which have received rainfall, Sidi has managed to support her nine children.



In 1981, Sidi heard about a women's group in Chapugo which was helping to buy food for the members' children. She went to visit the group to discover how her village could follow the example. On her return, she and her husband started a five-member family group to buy and sell maize meal cooperatively. Visiting home to home they talked to others and convinced them to join the group. Within a year the group had changed its form and activities completely, evolving to corporate goat-keeping.

Sidi continued as a member of the group and in February 1983 was very happy to be elected chairwoman. Sidi is respected as the leader because she does not get annoyed easily in the meetings. She allows everyone to talk. When they moved into the goat keeping project they decided together that each woman was to look



after the goats for one week. Now no one refuses their duties because all of them have decided the plan. Having allowed the women to come to a decision, Sidi was the first woman to look after the goats.

The major problem that Sidi has faced as Chairwoman has been keeping the group going during the recent three-year drought. The women spent so many hours fetching water and doing casual labour far from home to buy food, that there was very little time to meet.

Sidi is encouraged by the singing of the group and by such events as the Baraza held to celebrate the completion of their goat shed. Visiting His Excellency, Daniel arap Moi, at his home in Kabarak with other chairwomen from women's groups in Kilifi was also a high point for her.

Sidi would advise other groups to cook and eat together to help them feel love for each other. She also advises other leaders not to abuse people in the group, not to behave badly towards the group, to do what the group tells you to do and to be happy with everyone.

## Conclusion

According to participants' own evaluations, the most valuable part of the entire process for them was simply being given the chance to review their history as a group - both struggles and successes - and to look at their future in a fresh light. They also appreciated the chance to share their learnings and to benefit from the experience of other groups.

An analysis of the "learnings" section of the documentation reveals interesting information concerning the factors to which groups attributed their hard-won success. They fell into the following categories:

- 30% said it was due to having correct or adequate technical information
- 30% said it had to do with proper financial procedures and project management skills
- 40% attributed it to a variety of "folk wisdom" on how to organise and sustain a group, e.g. meet weekly, everyone works, all share the benefits, men and women work together.

The process of people's self-review is a new one in many countries, Kenya included. It supports the government's priority of involving people in planning and implementing rural development programmes. It also has provided an example of how people working in local, isolated projects can begin to network together and obtain access to the resources of the wider development community. A number of the projects in the "Sharing Approaches That Work" scheme are now involved in a follow-up programme in which their personnel are being trained in project management skills.

As the programme continues to develop, it is anticipated that many people trained in particular skills will be able to offer their services to other groups which need them. This lateral exchange of information and know-how is the very essence of the IERD process and one of the keys to successful, long-term grassroots development.

### NOTE:

1. The notation in parenthesis refers to the number and section code of the project in Volume One of the IERD Series, *Directory of Rural Development Projects*.

## CATALYZING PRIMARY HEALTH CARE

Elaine Stover

*This last decade has witnessed a major turnaround in health care from curative to preventive systems. In many countries, increasing attention is being paid to the role of local people as those who can affect change in the health and well-being of millions of people. The IERD brought together a number of people involved in this grassroots revolution, to share their learnings. In this chapter, Elaine Stover reviews these learnings and examines them in the light of continuing efforts to make health care a locally-based reality.*

When the delegates to the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) met in New Delhi in 1984 they stated the key element in rural health was the focus on preventive health care. Because most of the diseases in rural areas of both developed and developing countries can be eliminated with basic preventive measures and early detection, the shift from a curative to a preventive emphasis is necessary to allow every community to have appropriate health care. This shift was a major one in the health field. It was a change from curative institutionalized medicine staffed by doctors and nurses to preventive community-based health care staffed by village people trained to serve their own communities. Health projects represented in New Delhi dramatically expressed this shift. There were efforts using this more comprehensive approach in even the most remote rural villages. In the Nutrition and Primary Health Project (See Volume I, Project LA-36) of Chiapas-Tuxtla, Mexico, volunteers were taking a preventive health package of nutrition and preventive measures to mothers and children in isolated communities. The health section of Volume II of the IERD Series was written from a micro-level perspective, describing many successful approaches used at the local level.

### Focus on Prevention

*"Health is a state of positive well-being, not just the absence of disease."<sup>1</sup>*

Preventive health care not only requires a shift in the organization and use of resources, but a shift in responsibility. An increasing emphasis is being placed on the training of local people so that they can understand and implement preventive health practices. One physician, a delegate to the New Delhi event, said, "Health can then become an individual (or community) responsibility, not just a doctor's responsibility to remove illness."

What were the technologies that implemented this monumental shift? How did it begin to take place?

### **Appropriate use of resources, especially human resources**

When it was recognized that the predominance of the resources - trained people, equipment and supplies - were available to only a very small percentage of the people, it was seen that this system was not going to make an appreciable difference in the health of the majority of the people. Therefore, a system needed to be devised whereby the majority could get accessible, affordable and acceptable health care. It was noted by the delegates that there was a marked reluctance among doctors to live and work in the rural areas. In spite of efforts made by governments to encourage medical students to become involved with the villages, the major trend was toward greater use of para-professionals, nurses and village health workers (VHW) who work directly and consistently in villages. The Integrated Community Health Services Development Project of Nepal (See Volume I, Project SA-65) provides basic minimum preventive and curative health services to the rural population on a door-to-door basis and mobilises local resources by involving local communities in health services. The emphasis in most projects is on training VHW's as a way to reach village people before they need the services of a hospital. Hospitals and health clinics serve as referral facilities, not a source of primary care.

### **Selection and training of VHWs**

The foundation for most preventive health programs was identified as the VHW who lives and works directly with the villagers. They can deliver appropriate health services and instruction to those who need them most, when they need them. They can reach the people who do not have access to, are too distant from, or are reluctant to use established medical facilities out of ignorance, fear or superstition.

Selection of the VHWs took place by the village community, either through the established leadership, through an existing village organization or through conversation with responsible people. Villages selected people who were willing to be trained for their new role, who had the confidence and trust of their neighbors, and who were mature and stable members of the community. They were not chosen on the basis of education (for this would eliminate most women in the developing countries), but on their ability to understand and communicate with the villagers in ways that an outsider could not. Although both men and women VHWs were used, women selected by the community and trained for this role proved more effective. This was particularly true for women with experience in bearing children and rearing them.

The method and content of training was usually determined by the local situation, the needs of the village and the roles the VHWs were expected to play. Training combined formal classes with on-the-job training. Periodic refresher courses were used to up-date and nurture the VHWs. Practical training was essential. By working side by side with experienced VHWs and observing them in practice, the trainee VHWs acquired many new skills. Their training, in general, was geared to deal with local health priorities. Though the emphasis was on health prevention and promotion, they also received some training in curative treatment of simple illnesses and use of a few basic drugs. At times, the VHW received special training to work with particular programs or campaigns, such as immunization or oral rehydration.

More advanced training was also given to health workers as their roles in the over-all health care delivery systems warranted. They often served as the link between the villagers and the health outposts and clinics, sometimes training villagers and VHWs. They were trained in screening out-patients who needed to be referred to the rural hospital. The most important factor in the training of health workers is the trainer's respect for the VHWs and confidence in their ability to learn and to be effective local caretakers. Particular attention must be given to the continual nurture, guidance and support of the VHWs. Regular meetings of the VHWs from a cluster of villages provide a forum for workers to talk about their frustrations, questions, concerns, learnings and experiences (See Volume I, Project SA-04).

#### **Active participation of communities in the planning and implementation of health care**

Even in remote areas where usual medical services were not available, it was possible to produce remarkable results if the villages were involved and engaged in practicing appropriate health care. Various schemes were used to further village involvement in order to provide the best possible health care to rural villages. Some of them were initiated by established health structures such as hospitals, medical colleges, government health agencies and by private or voluntary groups. Primary health care cannot be built on a preconceived standard model but needs to develop organically in each environment, according to the needs as perceived by the people. RUHSA (See Volume I, Project SA-27) places primary emphasis on the realization that, "the people's participation and involvement and involvement in their own future is essential for meaningful development."

#### **Integrated and supportive services to meet the varied needs of people**

Even though the focus is on prevention, when dealing with the community, all health needs must be addressed as a whole. Therefore, integrated health care systems, such as the three-tier system of health care delivery, were developed to meet the needs of even the most neglected segment of society, the rural poor. The first tier consisted of the VHW resident in each village. The second tier was a mobile health team which visited the village every fortnight. The third tier consisted of the main health center with facilities for diagnosis, emergencies and in-patient care (See Volume I, Project SA-4).

#### **Effective preventive measures or interventions**

- *Sanitation is essential for preventive health*

Sanitation systems involved practical, simple inexpensive actions, and were best done at the local level. In Kenya, the Kibwezi Community-based PHC Project (See Volume I, Project BA-16) is a major undertaking in village-level sanitation. Sanitation involves and benefits the whole community. Therefore, it is the foundation on which the rest of the health care system is built. Local terrain and resources significantly affect the cost of such systems, but there is no point in setting up other systems if the foundation is not a sound one.

- *Immunization provides protection against dangerous diseases*

Systems for comprehensively immunizing communities indicated the complexity of establishing a total preventive health system. Acquiring resources and personnel and educating the public to take advantage of the service when and where it was offered, were steps needed to be taken to put on immunization campaigns. One of the major

programs of the All Pakistan Women's Association (See Volume I, Project SA-48) is immunization of village children with vaccine provided by the Lion's Club. To establish a permanent system to deliver vaccines to every infant every year and educate every new generation of parents about the full course of injections took even greater organization and resources.

- *Adequate nutrition at the local level*

Nutrition has to do with the quantity, quality and proper balance of food consumed. Sometimes adequate quantities of food are produced at the local level, but distribution is not adequate. If the community depends on one foodstuff it may not be getting a proper balance to provide adequate nutrition. Programs focussing on training field workers to train community people in food production, such as vegetable gardening, planting fruit trees, small-animal raising and beekeeping have demonstrated how local diets can be supplemented to improve health and to provide additional income. Formal and informal instruction on the appropriate storage, preparation and combinations of foods can be most easily introduced by a village health worker. The Extension Training Centre, People's College (See Volume I, Project SA-19) of Uttar Pradesh, India, reported on a campaign among tribal people of the Haldwani District for every family to have at least four fruit-bearing trees in their courtyard. The campaign included five-day training camps at a central demonstration village as well as one-day and two-day camps in other villages, including both women and men. The camps involved demonstrations, training in improved farming techniques, nutrition, sanitation and home industries.

- *Health education is necessary to provide adequate context and understanding for people*

Understanding why an infant needs to be taken for vaccinations four times in one year is essential if parents are actually to make the effort to do so. Understanding that environmental sanitary conditions have a great deal to do with malnutrition of children is essential if mothers are actively to promote the growth of their children. Presenting simple, affordable options to take when diarrhea occurs not only saves money but may save a child's life. Health education, whether presented personally or by mass media helps people to make sense out of what is being offered and how they can benefit from it.

When listening to the delegates from the health projects participating in the IERD, it became clear that no single approach, no single resource holds the solution to meeting the health needs of rural areas. What clearly emerged, however, was the fact that health cannot be considered as an isolated concern.

The working group considered development as an interrelated process involving all aspects of life and aimed at improving the quality of life for all people. Health was seen as a means, a measurement, an integral part of total community development. Moreover, it was seen as a key part requiring basic change in peoples' attitudes and practices.

*"The shift to primary health care demands a number of fundamental changes in society; a redistribution of resources, assuring fair access to water, food, sanitation, housing and preventive and curative care for the most common illnesses; a new respect for people's ability to contribute to the solution of these problems. Such profound changes do not come easily to any society. They represent a revolution in thinking and living."*

## Primary Health Care's Ten Year Journey

It has been 10 years since the International Conference on Primary Health Care (PHC) at Alma Ata, in the Soviet Union, where over 150 governments became signatories to the Alma Ata Declaration to support PHC as national policy. From that experience, UNICEF and WHO concluded that "health for all by the year 2000" could be achieved by the route of primary health care. The formulation of the concept of PHC recognised the shortcomings of existing health care systems. In seeking radically and rapidly to improve the health of those who were increasingly denied access to care because it was inaccessible, unaffordable and unacceptable, PHC put community participation to the fore as the means by which to gain health improvements. It called for those involved to re-orient their tasks to extend beyond mere provision of services to building up, supporting and maintaining the involvement of each community in its own care.

PHC did not mean cosmetic surgery for the existing health care delivery system. It meant a total re-orientation of that system to address health not as a disease problem but a problem of poverty, of social justice and equity and most important, of people who had different problems and concerns. PHC was meant as an operating philosophy, not as a formula to solve the world's health problems. It was meant as a new approach responsive to individuals and communities with their own needs, resources and potentials.

These noble intentions have been difficult to realise, however. There are many reasons for this. In addition to political and social problems, a major reason has been the lack of training and experience of health care providers in community work. The community-based orientation of PHC has demanded that health providers seek ways of gaining the skills necessary to promote community involvement. Few training programs, particularly those based in medical schools, have found ways and means of meeting the increasing need for people to promote and implement community-based health programs.

To examine more closely the monumental shift in health care which is occurring at the micro-level, I want to look at:

1. Some of the major developments in the four arenas identified in Part I.
2. Some of the obstacles that have been faced in these arenas.
3. Some of the factors to be dealt with in the future in order that the revolution in health care can continue.

In some developing countries half the deaths are children under five who die because of dehydration due to diarrheal disease or because of acute respiratory diseases. In addition there are deaths caused by infectious diseases which can be prevented easily by immunizations, already used in the industrialised world for many years. In recent years a great deal of work has been done to determine how these deaths can be prevented with low-cost technologies that can be managed by parents with the assistance of a trained health worker. Even with a network of clinics in a country, the service has been shown to be too little too late when it comes to treating these illnesses. How could they be prevented in the first place?

## GOBI Sets the Stage for Local Prevention

GOBI stands for Growth Monitoring, Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT), Breastfeeding and Immunization. These are four low-cost preventive measures that can be used in a

community where death plagues the under-fives. UNICEF has actively promoted these measures and estimates that in 1986 alone immunizations and oral rehydration therapy saved 1.5 million lives, and that over one half of the 14 million annual child deaths could be prevented through these measures.

Oral Rehydration Solution (ORS) has been named the most significant medical discovery of the century, because of the number of lives it can save for the cost. Approximately five million children are killed each year by diarrheal diseases. Some 70% of these deaths are caused by dehydration which can be prevented in almost all cases by ORT. The most significant factor about these preventive measures, however, is that they can be put in the hands of parents and health workers. If this is done, these preventive measures can be organized and managed according to the peoples' own schedules, routines and culture. When these measures are used together, they have an upward effect on children's health which can counteract the downward synergistic effect of infection and malnutrition found in many developing countries.

Another example of the appropriate use of resources is the use of personnel and structures in the community for health promotion purposes. There are many more teachers than health workers in most countries and they have been found to be useful in a number of ways, especially in imparting health education. In most rural communities teachers, being educated, are respected and their advice is heeded. When they deal with children every day, they can have a significant effect on their attitudes and behavior towards health and prevention. One of the most effective programs in many countries today is the Child to Child Program, first begun by the Institute of Child Health in London. It teaches older children how to care for their younger siblings, and in turn, improve their own health.

When limited resources are available, it is necessary to determine who needs them most. One of the ways of determining this is to screen members of the community to see who is most "at risk". Who, given certain "risk factors", is most likely to become ill or die? For example, if a pregnant mother is over 35, under 18, has had previous problems with a pregnancy or a delivery, has more than 4 children or has had a baby within the last 2 years, she is "at risk". This mother is more likely to have complications with her pregnancy that could endanger her life or the life of her unborn child. She needs the frequent surveillance of the VHW to make sure that if any danger signals appear in her pregnancy she seeks medical help from the nearest clinic to make sure that she is not putting her own life in danger. In other words, the VHW does not necessarily visit each household in the community on an equal basis, but depending on the screening that has been done she will come to know who is most "at risk" and, therefore, who most needs her attention.

Mass media has been shown to play an effective role in changing people's behavior toward health. Ninety per cent of the population of Egypt has access to a TV set and seventy per cent watch it daily. Therefore, when the question arose as to how to market the Oral Rehydration Solution in that country, television was chosen to take the message to almost every household in the nation. Other child health messages have subsequently been delivered in this manner, such as for breastfeeding, immunizations and child spacing.

### **Obstacles Faced in Attempting to Use Appropriate Resources**

Governments continue to put enormous amounts of resources into expensive equipment that serves only a small percentage of the people. Then they put more money into building and maintaining hospitals to accommodate the equipment and into training doctors



and technicians to operate the equipment. Some developing countries are spending eighty per cent of their total health care budget on these three items. These are countries that cannot feed their own people, yet are following the lines of western medicine at the expense of the future of their country.

The use of ORS has been slow in some countries because of the poor cooperation and understanding of the medical profession towards it. Something as simple as sugar, salt and water was not believed by many doctors to have any significant effect in treating diarrheal disease. Only when government programs began having special training for medical staff, did they see and understand its effectiveness and start advising mothers to use it at home. Even then, many doctors continued to prescribe antibiotics as well, usually unnecessarily, and often to the detriment of the child's health and parents' pocketbook.

### **VHWs Use Preventive Measures in Their Villages**

Until the preventive measures mentioned above were established as effective technologies to deal with illnesses of children in the developing world, the VHW either dispensed simple medicines, tended to minor injuries and imparted health education messages. This was still in the realm of curative care, but at a local or primary level. However, in the past five years low cost interventions have become established as effective means of preventing illnesses and promoting growth of children, as mentioned above. But if they are kept within the walls of the health clinics, under the direction of doctors and nurses, their purpose is defeated. They need to be in the hands of parents. But when it comes to putting new knowledge into practice in their own day-to-day lives, most parents need practical advice and on-the-spot help. These preventive measures require interpretation and understanding in order to be effective.

This labor-intensive job can be done by the VHW in the village. She can weigh children monthly to determine whether adequate growth is taking place and advise mothers accordingly if it isn't. She can distribute ORS packets on her village visits and she can teach mothers how to mix and administer the ORS solution. She can advise the mother on continued feeding of the child during illness. She is able to give individual help if a mother is to persevere against the sometimes difficult problems encountered in breast-feeding. She can advise the family of the immunization schedule for their children and notify them when the immunizations are available at the nearest clinic. Many parents also need personal guidance and reassurance if they are to space their pregnancies successfully. In addition, she can advise and demonstrate methods of local food production to supplement the family's diet, distribute and instruct women with contraceptive devices and teach methods of preparing nutritious weaning foods.

All of these life-saving and health-promoting actions are many times more likely to be adopted by a community, and to become part of the normal way of bringing up children, if they are introduced and continuously reinforced by a well-equipped, well-trained and well-trusted health worker who is a permanent channel for putting new knowledge at people's disposal, for explaining it simply and often, and for helping parents put it into practice when the time comes.

VHWs have also been effective in designing and producing their own health education materials. They themselves know best what can be easily used and understood by the people in their village, and with assistance from project staff, health professionals and local artists, attractive materials can be produced.

Many health projects like AMREF (African Medical and Research Foundation) who selected trained VHWs five or more years ago are finding that the experienced VHWs are able to begin training other VHWs. A great deal of this training takes place on the job so that new VHWs can learn first-hand how to deal with the responsibilities of the position within the context of the community. In Upper Egypt, 25 women serving as health caretakers selected three of their group to be "coordinators". They lead monthly meetings, train new health caretakers, assist in the designing of health education materials and develop simple messages for the Mother and Child Health component of their program. They also supervise the other health caretakers in their work, reviewing the simple recordkeeping, computing the stipends according to the incentive scheme used, and serve as ambassadors of the program to other communities who are interested in starting such a program.

### **Social Mobilization**

There is no automatic process that translates technical advances into widespread improvements in the lives of the majority. Only conscious policies, backed by political commitment and the mobilization of the necessary social and economic resources can translate this new potential into a new reality for the world's villages.

The real challenge is therefore no longer scientific or technical. It is political and social. It is the challenge of generating the political will and the social organization to put today's knowledge to use on the necessary scale and at an affordable cost. And it is here that the most important breakthroughs of all are now beginning to be made.

What makes it possible to put today's solutions into effect is the recent transformation of the developing world's capacity to communicate with, and to support, the vast majority of its own people. Over the last twenty years, a communications revolution has put radios in a majority of homes, televisions in a majority of villages, schools in a majority of communities and given developing societies a communications capacity immeasurably greater than that available to industrialized nations at a comparable stage of their own development.

The majority of developing nations have now built up this infrastructure of communications and support capacity to the point where it is one of the most powerful weapons in the development armory. And it is this social breakthrough - in the millions of community health workers who have been trained, in the development of transport and communications, in the rise of mass media and mass education, in the expansion of government services, in the growth of thousands of voluntary movements, and in the increasing numbers of people's organizations of all kinds - which now makes it possible to put today's low-cost scientific breakthroughs into action on an unprecedented scale. This is the new potential which many nations and communities are now beginning to exploit. They are pioneering new strategies based on this new capacity to communicate knowledge to their peoples and to support them in using that knowledge to improve their own lives.

In doing so, they are also declaring that what is needed is a concerted rather than a sectoral attack on major social problems. They are showing that health, for example, is not the responsibility of health ministries or doctors alone, but of society as a whole. It uses not just its formal health services, but its education systems and its national religions, its radio and television services, its mass-circulation newspapers and its traditional media, its voluntary movements, its local community organizations and all branches of national and

local government - as well as the expertise and leadership of all levels of the health services themselves. Each nation's methods are unique to its own culture and circumstances. But their common thread is the forging of alliances between the professional health services and a wide range of institutions whose capacity to reach the majority of the population regularly is much greater than that of the health services acting alone. And their common lesson is that significant improvements in health can now be brought about if a society is prepared to mobilize all its resources in order to put today's potential at the disposal of the local people.

### **Intersectoral Action For Health**

To give the impression that PHC started at the Alma Ata conference would be totally misleading. This was a coming together of the people who for some number of years had been involved in "action research" in their own projects, like the Jamkhed Comprehensive Rural Health Project in eastern Maharashtra State, India (See Volume I, Project SA-04). They developed the 3-tier system in order to service the rural poor that were without any health care system at that time. Numerous efforts around the world were and are going on at the micro or local level that have contributed to determining the direction health care is taking. In the latter part of the 1980's the bubbling up has been happening in the arena of intersectoral action. What does this look like at the micro level and where is it going?

Intersectoral action is not something someone dreamed up as a good idea. It comes from seeing the need to be more effective in a project, to fill gaps and eliminate duplication in order to meet human needs and overcome inequities. It comes from seeing the need to incorporate another discipline, such as education with health in order to make an impact and improve the health status of a community.

In 1982 I was working in the Chikhale Human Development Project in Panvel Taluka, in western Maharashtra State, India (See Volume I, Project SA-31). Since there was no pre-school education for children, the previous staff had gradually started pre-schools in 10 of the 12 villages as a strategy to combine health and education for young children. When I arrived the pre-schools were struggling to stay open, especially after the funding for the teacher's salaries ran out. To my amazement the pre-school teachers continued to teach and continued to come to the monthly teacher's meetings for nearly six months because they saw their efforts were needed. By the middle of 1983 the ICDS (Integrated Child Development Services) scheme arrived in the Panvel Taluka. The pre-school teachers were asked to apply to be "anganwadi workers." (Anganwadi - literally meaning courtyard, referred to a centre in the village where different information and services converged to serve the development of the mother and child). They were the only village women in the block who had training and experience working with young children, besides having personal qualifications. When eight out of ten of them were selected as "anganwadi workers" the woman who was the Block Development Officer was delighted to have such an instantly successful ICDS program operating in her Block.

The program that operated initially, however, didn't look substantially different from the pre-schools that the teachers had operated previously. It took several years of orientation and training to discover that the Anganwadi Scheme, as it was called, was meant to be a scheme for promoting basic health care and pre-school education for the poorest 20% of India's families. But how was this scheme going to operate practically in this particular block?

As a health professional, I was eager to figure out how health care was going to be a part of this scheme. In three months of research it was revealed to us how the health component was supposed to work and how it was really working in the scheme. There was a big space between the two. We invited representatives from various health/nutrition structures in the Block to meet and discuss the possibilities for collaborative efforts. The question was, how could the health component of this scheme become an integral part of the health system of the Block, instead of being just a part of another program?

We looked at the resources each group brought to this collaboration and discovered great wealth that had been amongst us for quite some time, but had never been amassed and made conscious to us. Some organizations had daily contact with the local people because their field staff lived in the villages. One organization had voluntary medical expertise, including specialists, to serve the area in a weekly clinic. Another organization had funding for training purposes from an international service organization. Another structure had health para-professional workers assigned to the area to provide health interventions, like immunizations to the villages. A women's university had graduate students and professors of nutrition wanting to find a place to inject their expertise and learn from their actions. Clear to us, as well, were other structures in the area that were not only not represented, but seen as inept. How could the various structures reinforce each other and serve one purpose?

It was clear to all of us that a coordinated and integrated effort was what was needed. A plan emerged to proceed in providing preventive health care, linked to the Anganwadis Scheme which was administered by the central government. The plan was discussed with staff of the Ajivali PHC area (administered by the state government), which encompassed 37 anganwadis, an area of approximately 50,000 population, and then with the District Health Officer who gave his approval. The initial phase was training PHC workers in preparation for setting up Mother and Child Health clinics. These were not full-time clinics, but set-up in the anganwadi location when the team of two health workers visited the village on a fortnightly rhythm. Two days a month this team would do growth monitoring and nutrition education, immunize children, provide consultation on child spacing and oral rehydration therapy to mothers and organize supplemental feeding where necessary. If the health workers found mothers or children who needed medical attention, they would make a referral to the government PHC clinic, the weekly voluntary general clinic in the area, or to the monthly specialist clinic. Integrated services began to be a reality.

In the intersectoral action mode, however, every structure has its particular allegiance, priorities and quotas to meet. The MCH clinics operated effectively for about six months. At that point, there was a change in the doctor who administered the local PHC area. He did not have our "integrated" context for the MCH clinics and began cancelling them in preference to working on the immunization quotas that his superiors were enforcing. This meant that the health workers were instructed to go to basically the same places, but to concentrate only on one intervention - immunization - while they were there. After having instituted the MCH and given the training to the health workers and the anganwadi teachers, however, again we found many places where the integration continued, because that was what the women saw was needed. Mothers' questions continued to be answered, the scale for weighing the babies was hung up and used, and referrals were made for those who were ill.

At the micro level, in the local villages, it is almost impossible to be sectoral. Every day problems arise and human needs are revealed. A child does not eat one day, sleep the

next day and get clothed the next day. Neither does she/he get educated one day, treated for a minor cut the next day and taken to the temple the next day. All of these functions are a part of his/her total well-being, or total health. However, the village mother has had to relate to a number of different structures and people when trying to find assistance and guidance in dealing with one of these aspects of rearing her child.

As she is asked to participate in various programs and schemes with which she is not familiar, or did not have a part in planning, she discovers the "fit" between her family's needs and the programs. Can she get her child immunized at the correct times and still get her field work done? Can she find out how to mix the oral rehydration drink and have some on hand for when she needs it?

Mothers around the world are beginning to start thinking this way instead of: "My child is ill, I need to take him to the doctor today." A major step on the road to prevention has been taken. The new knowledge and measures previously discussed are becoming "common knowledge" or "common sense" for what it means to bring up children today. The tools of prevention are beginning to be in the hands of local people. Another chapter about the shift from curative to preventive health care has been written.

NOTES:

1. (ICAI) 1987, p. 155. Quoted from the report of the International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma Ata, 1978.
2. ICAI (1987), p. 177. Originally quoted in *People* Vol. 10, No. 3, 1983, p. 4.

## COOPERATIVES: KEY TO NIGERIA'S RURAL MOBILIZATION

Chief R.O.M. Offor

*Much has been written and said about the effectiveness of cooperatives as development structures. More often, their failures and shortcomings have been emphasized to the exclusion of most else. In this chapter, Chief Offor, Community Development Projects Advisor with the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria, describes the work in which he has been involved in successfully establishing cooperatives as a vehicle for rural transformation, at all levels of society in Nigeria.*

The importance of mobilizing the rural population for the achievement of rural improvement cannot be over-emphasized. This is because through mobilization, people come to understand the issues involved, the method of executing planned programmes and what role they are expected to play. As a result, they become committed to the cause and geared up for action. Practical experience from Shell's community development projects covering Imo, Rivers and Bendel States shows that cooperatives can be used for mobilization. I shall start discussing this experience by going over general principles. After this, I shall show how, through the principles, the organizations have been used to mobilize a community, six villages in a clan, a local government area and indeed several sections of states.

### General Principles

#### Village-level Cooperatives

The first is organizing primary cooperative societies at the community/village level. Loyalty and group spirit are necessary in cooperatives as the organizations depend to a great extent on voluntary service by members. These attributes are highest at the nuclear family level but decrease through the extended family, kindred, quarter or ward, village, clan, district, local government area, state, to the nation. At the community/village level the attributes are enough to generate the mobilization of the people provided the village is coherent and united. If this is not so, the society is likely to split into kindred-level cooperatives which from what has been said, is better for desired attributes. However, in

this case it would be good for wider mobilization, to join the splinter groups into a cooperative league or union still retaining the kindred cooperative identity.

### **Multipurpose Cooperatives**

As against single-purpose cooperative societies, multi-purpose cooperatives which usually promote several activities including thrift and credit, agricultural production, storage and marketing, cottage industries, crafts and so on, should be preferred. Because these societies touch on several undertakings corresponding with the varied interests of the rural population, they generate a wider mobilization.

However, there is a particular problem with these cooperatives. When benefits specific to certain activities are available for sharing and they have to be restricted to numbers engaged in the activities, others find it difficult to understand the rationale. They want the benefits also, even though they are not in the position to utilize them. At times, this issue threatens the unity and indeed the continued existence of the multipurpose cooperative.

A way of getting over this problem could be to have each member register his primary interest at the time of joining the cooperative. He should be made to understand that the registered interest is a guide to the group in determining the benefits he will derive from the society.

### **Project Support**

Because there is lack of high quality leadership, management expertise and other resources in the typical rural community, cooperatives would be extremely effective in mobilization if they could be made to operate under the umbrella of rural development projects. There are also problems which the cooperatives alone are not capable of solving. Even if they have the capabilities, local leaders of the societies, who are usually not paid for their services, cannot afford to devote too much time to the problems if they must make a living for themselves. General frontline public officers in charge of the organizations, because they have wide areas to cover and the sundry constraints characteristic of the Nigerian public service, seem unlikely to be able to deal adequately with the demands of the societies.

Those who can produce the required results are staff in designated projects. They operate manageable areas. They are well motivated and given the money and facilities to accomplish set objectives. They know that the spotlight is placed on them and that the only option is to perform. Cooperatives seem to be at their best under these conditions. As such, mobilization would be most successful if it could be continued with a project approach to rural improvement.

### **Motivating Incentive**

No Nigerian likes to belong to an organization from which he/she derives no benefits. If a high degree of mobilization is to be achieved through cooperatives, concrete incentives have to be provided for members. Nigerian rural people lack money and this is a big constraint to their efforts at improving their lot. Therefore, assisting cooperatives to secure loans either in cash or kind is offering a big incentive. Grants and aid from whatever source will catalyse the development of the organizations and accelerate mobilization. Needed inputs for farming, crafts and cottage industries should be provided at the right time, if possible at subsidized prices, otherwise at cost.

Everyone needs recognition. This fact should be made explicit. Certificates of registration should be presented to qualified societies in public and the event should be publicised. Banners, cooperative uniforms, organizing cooperative days during which substantial prizes are awarded to deserving individual cooperators and cooperative societies - all these are means of according recognition. If well conducted, they would raise the morale of the individuals and groups thereby making them the envy of the people outside the societies who, out of the desire to be similarly recognized, would become mobilized.

Having discussed the principles, let us now see how they have been applied to achieve the effective mobilization of the rural population.

### **Community Level Mobilization**

The principles of community-level cooperatives, project support and motivating incentives were used successfully to mobilise a farmland community called Ugada - Oguta in the Oguta District of Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta Local Government Area of Imo State.

Shell started a community development project in the area in 1979. A socio-economic study preceding the project showed that the main occupation of the people was yam farming and in this, there were three constraints. The first was lack of seed yams. The people had the tradition of buying these from outside believing that their soil was unsuitable for producing the materials. The second was lack of working capital. As the people had no collateral to offer to the bank, they had the habit of borrowing from money lenders at excessive interest rates. The third constraint was lack of marketing facilities in the community. The project formed a cooperative of 45 members aimed at mobilizing the community towards solving these problems.

The first problem to be addressed was lack of seed yams. The initial approach was for the project to give them as an incentive to the cooperative, to share amongst members on the condition that one third of the harvest would be returned to the project. Later, it was found that this would not be a permanent solution to the problem. A seed yam production demonstration was set up for the cooperative at a strategic point in the community. This was successful and later adopted not only by the cooperators but also other people. Now, over 66% of the population produce enough for their needs and there is a general mobilization for everyone to be self-reliant. The innovation introduced through the cooperative put a high value on the organization and many people started showing interest and registering as members.

Attention was next turned to solving the constraints of operating capital. In 1982, the company gave an interest-free loan of N16,000.00 to the cooperative. This was to be refunded in 12 months' time but the society paid it back in 10 months. Impressed by this, Shell gave N32,000.00 in 1983 and again the money was refunded in 10 months. In 1984, the group was introduced to the United Bank for Africa (UBA) which gave a loan of N64,000.00 to it free of collateral. In line with the tradition of the cooperative, it paid back in 10 months. The bank stepped up the loan to N90,000.00 in 1985 again without asking for collateral. As a result of all these experiences, membership of the society soared from 45 to 302 and there was a general mobilization of the community to expand production.

The focus finally shifted to providing marketing facilities in the community. The principle of recognition played a great role in the achievement of this objective. As the cooperative developed, it qualified for registration and was registered. Project staff planned ahead for a ceremonial presentation of the certificate of registration to the society at its home base



but there was no good venue for the occasion. The cooperative of which virtually all adults in the community had become members, was encouraged to undertake the building of two market houses of 32 stalls. These would not only provide the marketing facilities required but also they would serve as the venue for the planned ceremony.

The cooperative provided river sand through group work. Members who were owners of suitable trees which could be cut down and sawn into timber for the roofing of the houses, donated them to the society. The people provided unskilled labour while Shell contributed cement, gravel, written-off steel pipes as well as roofing sheets. The houses/stalls were built, the ceremony was conducted in them and a modern market started in the community. This boosted morale and brought about the degree of mobilization reflected in the following motto of the cooperative: "To Feed The Hungry World". The current plan of the society is to build a house for a primary school at the farmland.

It is relevant to highlight the role of project support in this process. The fact that it provided cash and material incentives has been illustrated. Equally important is the respect and trust which it generated. In fact, the people did certain things because they trusted the staff whom they believed had their interest at heart. This was borne out of the dedicated and honest dealings of the staff with them.

### **Village/Clan-Level Mobilization**

The principles used in this case were the village/kindred-level cooperative, multipurpose cooperatives, project support and motivating incentives. The places where the mobilization took place were the six villages of Uboma clan in Etiti Local Government Area of Imo State.

Shell ran a project, Uboma Community Project, in the clan from 1964 to 1978. The plan was to form one cooperative in each of the six villages. This was done in two villages but it was discovered that loyalty was weak in the groups. Each of the component sections/kindreds of the villages wanted to hold key positions in the societies and have the lion's share of benefits. Meetings were dominated by arguments and sectional views. Eventually they split into sectional/kindred societies. Several other such organizations sprang up in the remaining villages except one which had a village-level society so that instead of having the six originally planned, the project ended up with 21.

To achieve coordinated mobilization, the idea of a league was raised. Seventeen out of the 22 agreed to have the secondary association and the Uboma Cooperative League was born. The primary societies and the secondary organization were given a lot of project support. One aspect of this was the dedicated services of the project staff comprised of the leader who was an agronomist of Shell, an agricultural assistant and a cooperative inspector both seconded by the government. These men guided the societies and eliminated the major problems, as well as linking them up with aid agencies. Another aspect of the support consisted of the contribution of materials and facilities. The project provided an oil mill for the processing of oil palm fruits, a room at the project office to serve the league as a shop for the marketing of poultry feeds and a building which served as a cooperative centre.

Once every year, a Farmers' Day, which was virtually the cooperative day, was organized. To this, top government functionaries including Commissioners and the Registrar of Cooperatives were usually invited. Shell Management also used to be represented. Each cooperative had a uniform specific to it and its members attended the ceremony wearing

the outfit, sitting together at a reserved place. The award of a certificate of merit to the outstanding cooperative of the year was part of the package of incentives. In addition, the best society was given the opportunity of nominating somebody, a non-member from its area of operation, to be employed by the project for one year only. This was designed to serve as a public relations exercise for the cooperative and was aimed at encouraging the people in the area to join the society.

The government provided incentives also. At the end of the civil war in 1970, the rehabilitation committee set up at the local government level made available seed yams which were distributed in the clan through cooperatives. Further, the committee financed the building of a rice-mill house for the cooperative league, and essential commodities were sold through cooperatives. Besides, the Cooperative Finance Association of the state gave a loan to the league for rice production.

Voluntary agencies were not left out. The Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria gave a grant to the league to enable it buy an engine to run a rice huller which it purchased at the time. One of the primary societies had a grant from the Dutch Lenten Fund to set up a piggery while a missionary rehabilitation organization gave point-of-lay birds as in-kind credit to some cooperators.

All these generated great mobilization in the clan. Agricultural production boomed and in some cases cooperatives were regulating farm activities. In addition to being an agent of the government for fertilizer sale, the league went into the procurement and marketing of poultry feed and insecticides. Three cooperative rice mills, a palm oil and a corn-grinding mill were set up. Some societies went to the extent of providing access roads to community farm lands. The cooperative was the talk of the people. In fact, the cultural union of the clan, Uboma Town Union, became silent against the strident voice of the influential Uboma Cooperative League. Not only were some important visitors to the clan received by the league but also some decisions affecting the clan were taken at the meeting of the league.

### **Local Government-Level Mobilization**

The same principles discussed in this paper, have been applied to mobilise Ohaji/Egbema/Oguta Local Government Area (LGA) of Imo State. In the Ohaji District, four cooperatives are operating under the Shell project covering the area. One is a village-level society while three are run at the kindred level. A senior Shell staff member is in charge of the project and is resident in the district. As an incentive, improved cassava sticks are given to members. Yam setts (seedlings) are also distributed on condition that the cooperatives return one third of the harvest for revolving. Pineapple suckers are also given on the understanding that when suckers become available from the orchards to be established, the same number as received, would be returned, again for revolving. These incentives, as in other cases given earlier, have caused general mobilization.

In Egbema District, an experiment in cooperatives is going on. Three activity-specific societies have been set up. These are cassava, raphia palm wine and poultry cooperatives. The objective is to try to separate people according to their interests thereby avoiding the difficulty with multipurpose cooperatives in sharing benefits specific to enterprises, as was experienced in Uboma. So far the experiment has been successful as harmony is prevailing.

The cassava cooperative multiplies cassava sticks and makes these available not only to members but also to the generality of the people. Currently the cooperative has a loan of N34,205,00 from the United Bank for Africa for cassava production. It is operating three cassava graters and a cassava dewatering machine with a loan from the same bank. These are helping to mobilize the populace whose main occupation is cassava production.

Regarding the poultry cooperative, the incentive from the project was given at the initial stage. In-kind credits in the form of day-old chicks, feed and drugs were given up to break-even point and the values of these were booked against the people. They started paying back at the break-even point and when they finished, the birds became theirs. The cooperators are all now on their own, influencing and catalysing the people around.

With regard to the raphia cooperative, incentives were, as in the case of poultry, given at the beginning. Members received high-yielding quick maturing raphia palm seedlings raised by the project. Moreover they were assisted to plant them in the proper plantation way. Most of the palms have matured and are now yielding palm wine. By witnessing the income being derived by the cooperators, other people are engaging in the enterprise.

The mobilization at Oguta farm land was discussed earlier in this paper. If the stories of Ohaji and of Egbema are put together, along with the eight societies in the three districts which joined into a union called the Shell Cooperative Union, then the degree of mobilization achieved in the LGA through cooperatives will be appreciated.

### **State-Level Mobilization**

At one time it was thought that the success achieved in Imo could not be repeated in Rivers State. This has been disproved. Using the principles discussed, Shell's community development projects are now running 25 cooperatives in the latter state as against 16 in Imo (excluding the Uboma societies which are no longer current with the project). The move now is to group the 25 into leagues/unions. The success in Rivers State is reflected not only in the number of societies but also in a new dimension of mobilization. One of the societies is practicing cooperative block farming. In this, a large area of land is cleared and prepared by the organization. It is then split among individual members who grow for themselves the same type of crops.

This innovation is serving as a demonstration to the population and is spreading to other places though the land tenure system is a limitation. Shell's cooperative approach to mobilizing rural people is going beyond Imo and Rivers to Bendel State. Here, three societies are already being run by the Company's projects. Hopefully, the same results will be achieved.

### **Conclusion**

The Shell experience described here can be replicated throughout the country thereby achieving the mobilization of Nigeria's rural population through cooperatives. This approach has special advantages. First, the groups mobilized are recognised legal entities that can have business dealings with any organisation, unlike the masses mobilized by other methods. Second, the activities of the groups are guided and regulated by bye-laws. It is generally accepted that laws bring about orderly and purposeful development. As such, rural mobilization through cooperatives appears to lead to the achievement of better results. Finally, the activities of cooperatives are mainly economic so that the approach

based on the societies facilitates the viability of rural people and the eradication of rural poverty which should be Nigeria's cardinal philosophy for rural development.

**NOTE:**

Chief R.O.M. Offor presented this paper at a seminar on "Using Cooperatives as a Vehicle for Rural Transformation," held at the Federal University of Technology, Akure, Nigeria, on July 8, 1987.

## SELF-RELIANCE BY DEFAULT IN TANZANIA

Marja-Liisa Swantz

*In light of the failure of many development policies intended to enhance bottom-up development, local people have often taken their own initiative and found innovative, or "parallel", ways of supporting themselves. Marja-Liisa Swantz documents this phenomenon from her extensive experience as a Participant Action Researcher in Tanzania. She calls it "self-reliance by default, not by design."*

The general problematics of this chapter deals with grassroots dynamics in the situation of many failed development efforts and economic crisis. The cultural dimension, which here means people's technologies, mode of thought, their institutions and forms of organization, is treated as "the missing link" between people's own development and development measures introduced from the top. To describe and analyse the many ways in which culture is at present utilized and developed further by the grassroots people in a country like Tanzania gives renewed understanding of the grassroots dynamics and development in general. This chapter only leads to the threshold of this analysis.

In the new situation after a severe economic crisis the informal economy outside the official state structures has greatly expanded and gives income distribution new shape. The class distinctions, earlier based on wage scale, become blurred. Liberalized trade has often given people from marginal sectors of population unexpected economic lift. Hardly anyone in the country lives solely on his/her normal wage. Those who already have wealth and authority gain more power to build up their personal fortunes since they know how to utilize their influence and experience. But also people from the poorer classes have made use of inventive ways of earning income. In any case, it is obvious that the analysis of income distribution has to take on new tasks and find ways of grasping the complexity of the situation.

Both rural and urban development is profoundly touched by the dynamism of the informal economy. Through it the women's role, which always has been central, has been further enhanced.

### **Informal Economy and Self-reliance: Problem Formulation**

Many, if not most, of the developing countries have witnessed a general deterioration of the terms on which they can carry out their optimistically launched development efforts. The Government of Tanzania's expenditure has grown 380 per cent from 1976 to 1985, while revenue growth was 165 per cent in the same period.<sup>1</sup> Inflation was 6.9 in 1976 but 36 per cent in 1984. GDP per capita annual growth rate of 5 per cent in the 1960s went to -3 per cent in 1984, after having hit the all-time low of -4.4 per cent in 1981.<sup>2</sup>

The hopes for rapid transformation have dwindled and the situation today presents a threat on the great gains which a country like Tanzania had already made in raising the general welfare of her people, such as high literacy rates, improved nutrition and health standards, lower rate of child mortality and morbidity and longer life expectancy. While trying to adjust her economy to the new situation, Tanzania has witnessed a new kind of people's activism quite apart from the state-directed or controlled sphere of action.

Massive growth of economic activities which do not go through the official banking system, do not produce goods for export market and do not enable the Government to cover its development or current expenditure to keep the state machinery going, must from the standpoint of the state, be considered a negative phenomenon which at all costs must be overcome.

What is happening at present is in some of the literature and rhetoric referred to as a return to traditional ways of managing everyday life on subsistence level. Some discussion takes the thinking back to a dualist conceptualization of economics. Macro studies seek ways for external financial injections and for more innovative means of adjustment to the situation of the late '80s. There is a need for micro-level case studies in order to have more accurate information about what is happening at the grassroots. The formal and informal economy will have to be studied in interaction in an imaginative, fruitful manner. The informal economy need not only be considered as a negative phenomenon. It can be looked at optimistically, as a dynamic process which might shed new light on people's development.

What is happening in today's Tanzania both in the urban and rural sector, and in constant interaction between the two, gives us reason to look back and recollect how the people at the basic level initially shared the hopes of the Party and the Government and to a point still do - as the development policies were outlined and put into action. Gradually the people began to develop protective defences against interfering measures, to create space around themselves in which they could carry on daily life. This requires looking into the kind of strategies and mechanisms they have developed through which to manage their own lives.

What today is a formidable part of national life, often taking the form of illegal and from the standpoint of the state harmful activities, can be seen as a continuation of an ongoing process. The implementation of the official development policy has obviously to a certain extent missed the mark. In this chapter it is interpreted to mean that the formal development plans have failed to take into consideration the people's actual capabilities, their technologies, their wishes and actual concrete needs.

The people themselves have responded in a number of ways to the crisis. Some of these survival strategies have revealed a new dynamism and productivity which, if bolstered, could become a crucial factor in the development of the nation. Development would become reinterpreted. In some cases it has meant reviving traditional artisan skills, while in

other instances it has resulted in adoption of new ones. It has strengthened tribal, kin, family, and other "traditional" social relations which are utilized to accomplish things initially intended to be the domain of the state.

Some people have made use of strategies which they have learned in the formal sector, combining managerial and other skills to engage in enterprises of their own. A neat distinction between the formal and informal activities or between legal and illegal activities is no more possible to make. Although this study concerns itself primarily with those "informal" activities that stand outside the domain of government-regulated or government-directed initiatives, there is an underlying realization that the lines between the two are fluid.

There has been dramatic growth of the parallel market in recent years, to the point that the government has lost control of the pricing and subsidies of consumer goods.<sup>3</sup> The accompanying phenomena, crime, theft, bribery etc. have given the party and the government cause to view the whole sector with suspect. Yet it would be a mistake to dismiss the whole informal economy because of these evidently negative by-products. "All groups," writes Ndulu, "have reacted informally such as producers switching to parallel markets to sell their products to evade control and in the case of urban wage-earners there has been reduction in effective work time at place of employment as they use the rest for urban subsistence activities."<sup>4</sup>

In part, the strength of the informal sector and the pervasiveness of the parallel economy are indications of the weakening of the state's power and its inability to provide sufficient supplies of commodities. It appears that the government's efforts to implement policy are rendered meaningless to the extent that they do not effectively address the issue of the parallel market.

My former studies have indicated that village people have made use of a variety of alternatives available to them, utilizing the inherited cultural means and so-called modern sector alike. Women have played an important role as mediators between the old and the new and men have kept the channels open to tradition through the women, often purposefully insisting that the women's lifestyle must not change. Contrary to the general trend, at this point men emphasize the importance of their traditional culture, in order to keep their options open.<sup>5</sup> Thus a study on grassroots dynamics necessarily deals with aspects of rural life in which women are central. Different sectors provide the needed insight: agriculture, pastoralism, fishing, health, etc.

It is hypothesized that the present situation on a global scale is not only an outcome of a regression in the world system of economics, but that the regression itself is also a result of the failure of the globally promoted policy, based solely on the concept of development as a process of economic growth and modernization. On the world scale, thousandfold multiplication of misconceived development efforts has resulted in failure at the level where the basic production takes place. The general rejection and contempt of the poor people's management of their own lives and constant overhanded intervention and interference in their everyday reality have brought about the near disaster. The interventionist policies, which have in many cases been a direct continuation of colonial practice, have failed to respect people's ongoing toil and necessary effort to sustain the basic level of subsistence. Developmental interferences with repeated and constantly changing ideas as to what is good for the peasants in their assumed inertia have disrupted the producers' capacity to produce.

The overall perspective in the proposed study takes the policy of self-reliance, as it was spelled out in the Tanzanian development philosophy, as a theory for bottom-up development, should it have been possible to implement it as intended.<sup>6</sup> What we have witnessed is a reverse development: people have adopted self-reliant innovative ways of supporting themselves in spite of the development measures pursued by the party and the government or the external agencies. I have called it self-reliance by default, not by design. This maybe an exaggeration, and when examined in detail it may turn out to be a one-sided view of the matter. But it serves here as the setting from which the present situation is looked at. A few reservations are elaborated briefly.

Much of the national failure, as also the failure of performance of the individuals, is due to paralyzing effects of the external pressures, with historical roots. In the first place, without the years of teaching and building up of the political structures in the country the people would not have been equipped to work out innovative ways, which now can be taken as articulation of their personal development within the national development process. Secondly, national development has been frustrated because of the many external interventions and calamities such as the Ugandan war or droughts. Moreover, it has been thwarted by being part of a world system which does not allow much space for individual, peripheral countries to carry through their plans, however well orchestrated.

On the other hand, it is not possible to push off all the responsibility from those involved intimately in directing and carrying out the planned development. While the external causes are kept in mind, the intention of this paper is to look at the issue as the nation's own responsibility, within the limits demarcated for her within the world system. I examine the ways in which, and the reasons why the people have been activated to what I, at least initially, call self-reliant action. I ask the question whether this could be identified as a development process also from the national point of view. Further, the intention is to look for indications of the conditions under which such innovative action has flourished and see whether any generalizations or at least further hypotheses could be drawn from the results.

The argumentation is initially based on my own studies made on the grassroots level in different parts of Tanzania throughout the period of active implementation of development programmes and projects, both endogenous and external (cf. Bibliography). However, the new situation in which much of the economic activity by-passes the official state channels and machineries presents problems which cannot be approached only through an analysis of past failures. *The main emphasis must be on the present dynamics* searching particularly for cultural and social elements that have contributed to, if not created, the ferment in today's grassroots mode of life.

The world economic situation is too complicated to permit us to reduce the analysis of its effects on one country to simplistic schemes. The critics of Tanzanian policy and its implementation have been many and, whether aliens or citizens operating within or without the country, they have voiced correctives from their own ideological and theoretical background. The purpose here is to approach the question pragmatically. We look at the efforts that Tanzania made to build from bottom-up a self-reliant political and economic organization in order to instill in her people the belief in their freedom and ability to develop themselves and their land. The topic has been well covered, for that reason only a brief review of the main principles of Tanzanian Ujamaa and the steps taken in practice are given. We lift out and summarize some of the failures of Tanzania to carry out the lofty policies and sketch in a few lines generalizations from the recorded actions.



Since the argument is that directed development has caused excessive interference and intervention in the lives of the ordinary peasants the whole process must be examined in light of peasants' similar experiences, starting from the colonial times.<sup>7</sup>

Whatever the weaknesses that national development efforts have suffered from, the crucial difference that independence brought to the people in giving them a sense of dignity and self-esteem cannot be questioned. The people have the secure knowledge that the country is in their own hands. They have had concrete experiences of participation in the decision-making process through elections, meetings and demonstrations and their level of awareness of the political principles of the country is high. There are no Tanzanians who would want to go back to the rule of aliens, even if in fits of anger they express themselves in those terms (*Heri wakoloni!* Even the colonialists rather!). Such statements uttered before a foreigner show people's freedom to say what they think, but may also be uttered for the benefit of the foreign guest. Thus the presented argumentation must in no case be understood to minimize the basic, decisive value and the many benefits that independence has brought to the people.

The people's awareness of the freedom they have to make their own decisions is at present evidenced in the numerous new ways in which the people from different levels of society run their own and their families' lives. Some of the people belong to the highest social class, making use of the accumulated experience that they have gained running the state machinery. This type of self-reliant development is taken as a new kind of dynamism which can be looked at as a promise for future development, even if it has come about by default not by design and is not in line of the present party ideology. This means that the inequable chances for the utilization of the available resources that people have cannot be overlooked. The outcome in terms of greater economic differentiation and its consequences needs to be analysed.

### **People's Development and Implementation of Ujamaa**

The first five years of Tanzanian independence were a time of africanization of the administration and of building up the party structure as a genuine instrument for the people to govern themselves and truly participate in the running of the people's government. With the Arusha Declaration in 1967 came the leadership code following essential socialist principles, nationalization of the banks and larger business firms and industries and the creation of ujamaa policy in general. It also meant a new rural development policy and education for self-reliance.

"Development brings freedom, provided that it is development of people." These words of Nyerere express the core of the Tanzanian policy of development as it was outlined at the time of Arusha Declaration. It emphasized that the people's development meant their participation in the decision-making, planning and implementation processes; it meant increasing their understanding of their own situation, increasing knowledge and capabilities. People develop when they become aware of their potential resources and capacity to influence their own lives and the life of their own community. This had also consequences in shaping the development plans. It anticipated people's involvement in recognizing their own needs and problems and participating in the process of working them out. Such were the principles on which the people were trained. Even if they were not always well carried through in practice their intention became clear to everyone through media and the many speeches that particularly the rural population was exposed to.

The Tanzanian ujamaa policy did not look for support from any ready worked-out economic or cultural theory, apart from the general socialist principles adapted to Tanzanian conditions. "Arusha Declaration is not the work of someone or some people schooled in classic socialist formulations. Rather, it is the product of experience in the field of nation-building in Tanzania. It sprang from the hard and real struggle, from the realisation of people's interests."<sup>8</sup>

The programme for rural transformation was elaborated in *Ujamaa Vijijini, Socialism and Rural Development*, 1967. The plans for village development were further crystallized in subsequent Party declarations and legislation (Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act 1975). All the policies recognize that development is people's development and must basically be carried out by the people themselves. Material development is subject to people's development.

*"The duty of the Party is not to urge the people to implement plans which have been decided upon by a few experts or leaders. The duty of the Party is to ensure that the leaders and experts implement the plans that have been agreed upon by the people themselves - it is not correct for leaders and experts to usurp the people's right to decide on an issue because they have the expertise. If development is to benefit people, the people must participate in considering, planning and implementing their development plans."*

The process of rural development according to the policy of Ujamaa and education for self-reliance were the aspects that most concretely affected the rural areas. More than any other issue the villagisation programme became the test case in the implementation of the Ujamaa policy.

### Directed Development

The emphasis on villagising the rural areas in the whole country was on raising the level of living conditions so that people would have access to a clean source of water, be within easy reach of educational and health facilities, have land available for extensive cultivation and be encouraged to construct better houses. Ultimately the aim was to collectivise production by stages, but no time targets were set for achieving this part of the programme.

The first movements to new village sites and the forming of entirely new Ujamaa villages began with emergencies. The Rufiji floods and the war situation in Mozambique, caused the bordering Mtwara region to be declared a restricted area. In these two regions moving to villages was implemented as part of the emergency measures, thus the phase of voluntary moving that took several years in other parts of the country was non-existent in them.

In a discussion with the Vice-President in 1974, when I was questioning the manner in which the villagisation was then implemented in the Coast Region, I was given to understand that the village programme in Mtwara Region in South was considered by the Government to have been a success. People had moved willingly and were well established in their new locations. I was part of a research team working in Rufiji 1973-4, five years after the moving started. The feelings had not yet settled and the collected data on production figures after moving, gave evidence that the situation was ambivalent.

By 1973 most of the people were settled in permanent houses in villages with schools and clinics, but not all had willingly left fertile areas, especially at the delta. Those who no more could cultivate by the river did not reach nearly the same production figures as

before. Some of the new villages were even threatened by drought. The question of people's planning and own decision-making was raised by the research team before the final quarter of Rufiji population who had remained at the delta were pressured to leave their homes, built on stilts. The programme was carried through under duress. The rationale was that it was necessitated by the emergency.

In general, the fulfilling of the policy of Ujamaa was considered to be a matter of conviction. People could not be forced to agree to live and work towards creating a genuine Ujamaa village, not at least to collectivise their land and the proceeds from production. However, in the end the directive just to live in villages was given as an administrative order to expedite development, comparable to an order to pay taxes. It had been envisaged that by the end of 1976 all rural people would be living in villages. To make this a fact special operations were launched to accelerate the pace.

While considerable progress has been made the party and government leaders cannot escape the criticism directed toward them on the grounds of the very policy they set out to implement. The village development programme meant active interference in the lives of the grassroots people, in a way that was reminiscent of similar interventionist policies during the colonial times.<sup>10</sup>

The general rationale of the villagisation programme was understandable and clear. It was only after it began to affect people in concrete situations that it began to hurt. The leaders of regions and districts made it their opportunity to earn good favour before the top leadership. Many lost sight not only of the ultimate aim of the programme, but also all the thought of the country's policies about people and their right to make decisions concerning their own lives. When the meetings were held to discuss the new village sites and the decisions were to be made about them there was very little choice in face of the main issue, that of having to move.

The villagers who after their removal were sitting in front of their small temporary huts, at times having left behind permanent, decent houses which had taken many years to build, did not get any comfort from the fact that they were part of a larger programme which also demanded their moving. At times this happened even if they had already been living in a village with a school and a dispensary.

Those people who moved voluntarily also had a chance to take their things along and start building a house for themselves in the new place. In Rufiji houses were even built for them, in other places they were put up with collaboration by the villagers themselves. Those who resisted and delayed moving found their things lifted out from their houses and themselves under the open sky when the trucks came to move them or in the worst case, when they had to walk to their new destiny, to be fair, often not very far from the former village.

One of the most moving emotional responses that a woman expressed in talking about the life in the new village in Rufiji related to the celebration of the maturity rituals of young girls. In an expressive way she told how the women managed only to clap their hands but the voice dried in their throats, they could not sing. That was the measure of their sadness.

A sign of constraint under which people lived was increased fear of being bewitched by neighbours. A newspaper article told of an inventive Area Commissioner who asked the troubled villagers to put down the names of those whom they suspected of being witches. He then chose the ones whose names appeared most often and moved them all to another

site. The solution seemed to satisfy the ones who remained. The story did not continue to tell of the show of witching powers in the new village!

Goran Hyden points to the numerous different forms of organization which operate in the villages and warns from simplifying the analysis of social relations. He uses the concept "economy of affection" to describe another order in operation, apart from formal structures, which cuts across a neat analysis of classes among the peasantry. It becomes operational even in situations in which the class interests would augur different behaviour.<sup>11</sup> The constrained relations which bring witchcraft into being live side by side with the relations of affection, which I have referred to as "sociality". In fact one is the underside of the other.

The question can be asked whether the villagisation programme has in the long run compensated for the spiritual and material losses. We cannot dismiss the question about the mode of implementation and the human and economic price it carried. But it can also be argued that there was no basic fault in the programme itself, only its implementation was faulty and that the final outcome has strong social advantages. In assessing the economic benefits the reduced production figures speak for themselves.

No comprehensive study has been made which would look at the total situation after ten or twenty years, as the case may be. The country has been fully restructured and there is no thought of undoing what has been built up. However, some liberalisation has taken place. People have been permitted to move to cultivate in their former areas, providing that they keep their permanent residence in one of the villages. It is more and more common to see individual houses here and there when one travels around.

In spite of the conflicting aspects of village development, I present the hypothesis that the building up of the village structures was a promise of a possibility for a self-rule on the grassroots level, by the peasants for the peasants. It taught the people something about the possibilities within their reach, which yet remained unfulfilled. Through the positive and negative experiences they have gained a new kind of confidence in their own capabilities which they have started utilizing apart from the direction that comes from the government or the Party.

The assumption here is that ordinary citizens have learned a great deal, perhaps much more than they can themselves give credit to. Most of the rural people have been involved in some decision-making; they have participated in communal work to some degree, and most of all, they have become aware of the problems inherent in village development and of the obstacles encountered in trying to solve those problems. But there has been much frustration because people's numerous efforts have not been met with concrete responses from the authorities.

One cannot avoid the thought that much of what has happened is a repetition of directed development before independence. Gus Liebenow in his study of Makonde politics has given an excellent visual picture of the interferences that the short-term District Commissioners caused on the populace during the colonial times. Every administrator had to make his mark in the country that was given to him to govern, whether it was in the field of agriculture, beekeeping, alcohol consumption, hygiene, whatever. The longest period that one commissioner remained in his post was in one exceptional case seven years; most were staying one or two years and many only a few months, one can well understand what prompted Liebenow to call it all "white man's madness."<sup>12</sup> Such it must have been from the view point of the ordinary peasants.

One is tempted to think that the constant moving around of low and high level administrators in present Tanzania causes the same kind of frustration among the village people as it did during the colonial time. As in colonial times so also in independent Tanzania the interference and lack of continuity are some of the obvious reasons why the best defence for the peasants is to withdraw, become passive in relation to the many orders and recommendations that are showered upon them, often out of ignorance of what the predecessors have tried to do.

To the local orders must be added other countrywide policies; they tend also to change with every new Party Congress or meeting of the General or Executive Committee. Often also the words of the top leaders are heeded when they visit different parts of the country and their speeches get headlines in the mass media. One year the emphasis was put on irrigation, another time cassava growing became the great push, then again a new breed of maize or cotton and after a drought, there was return to sorghum or millet, just to give a few examples. There is not enough local adaptation, although more recently the need for this has been emphasized.

For example, after the people had settled in new villages the policy to be implemented was that of starting cooperative shops and the gradual abolition of private shops. Although it was relaxed after a short period, it yet caused considerable disturbance. About the same time in the 70s it was discovered that the houses were built too close to each other in many areas. The order spread around that some of the houses had to be removed. Even in old trading centres where houses stood close to each other white crosses were drawn on the doors of the houses which were to be eliminated. When complaints reached the Party Headquarters the order was cancelled, but its marks again were left in the villages.

The Tindiga are an extreme case. Being gatherers and hunters they move around in a territory into which no civil servant ventures to enter. In spite of the many encounters and meetings with them, most of them still keep to their former life style and have defied any efforts to settle them in the villages prescribed to them. Participatory Action Researchers had an excellent contact with them. But being Government servants and faithful to the policy of the country they steered the course toward the goal that the people would accept the village as their basic form of residence. It is hard to say how else the research team should have dealt with the situation, but obviously it did not bring lasting results. During my last visit to the area some years back the Commissioner was again looking for a way to deal with that minority group.

The Coast Region, in which I have done more research than in any other part of Tanzania, is another good example of mechanisms that people have developed during the long history of external interference and where all the efforts of the present Government are easily seen as a continuation of a long process. The coastal people exercise a manner of circumlocution which means that they twist their tongue and turn their words around in circles so that the visiting officer never can be sure what actually was said or what to expect as a result. From this arises at least partly the common accusation thrown against the coastal people, especially by those who come from upcountry, namely that you cannot trust their word; they do not keep their promises.

The differences between the values and interests of the bureaucrats and the villagers came clearly into the open during the villagisation. Many of the higher officers had then, and still have, a deep distrust of the people's intentions, capacity and integrity. They show it in many ways. People are summoned to come together to receive visiting leaders and

higher officers who expect them to sit and wait for them for hours and hours. The visitors seem to give little regard to the loss of working time, not even in the cultivation season when it hurts the most. Particularly the women find this intolerable. "They are so used to inconveniences that a few more do not make much difference", seems to be the line of thought. Too often when party leaders come around to the villages they only address the people. People are told what the newest policy is, what they must do or not do. Little opportunity is given for two-way communication. But when given a chance, people are quick to use the opportunity.

There is a contradiction between too much interference and non-interference. The villagers also complain that the leaders do not visit the villages neither do they care what happens to them. The villages situated along the main transport channels receive too many visits and visitors; other villages beyond easy connections feel neglected. The former have learned through experience that each passing visitor, high or low, foreign or own, readily makes promises and shows great sympathy; only seldom if ever do they fulfil these promises. The same is the case with the plans made. At times the officers actually come to the villages or the ward to discuss the needs of the people and to make some plans for future. Often nothing more is heard about it. The people are left in uncertainty whether the plans are pursued further or not or at what stage they are. They do not give grounds for people's own action because of this. More often than not the projects that are finally implemented are not the ones the people had asked for.

### **Imported Development**

With some exceptions, the imported development assistance projects have been fitted into the general government programmes. To a great extent they have introduced their own systems and modes of implementation and have seldom been instrumental in inducing greater self-reliance or innovativeness within the populace. The actions of the state have been constrained by its ties to the world market and dependence on outside loans and assistance.

While I was doing participatory action research in Rufiji villages with students from Dar es Salaam University, the Chairman of one of the villages asked the first thing after we had arrived and wanted to leave a student there to live for a period of three months: "How long are you going to stay around?" The meaning was clear. If it was our intention to have some research exercise of one or two weeks and then go, we should not even start. He was satisfied when he heard that the students would stay for several months and after that would keep the contact over a period of a year or two. If this question is raised when the people of the same country come around, there is doubly as much reason to ask it when an external development programme is brought to some spot.

There has been considerable improvement in the length of the so-called aid projects in recent years; they now are planned with a longer perspective in mind. But even now, the duration of one "expert's" stay rarely stretches over two years. If the Tanzanian administrators do not rub their shoulders with the village dwellers, the alien workers do it even less; because of the lack of language skills, if for no other reason.

I take an example of the fisheries sector. The artisan fishermen are at times waging a virtual war against the modernization of the fisheries in the country. Some of the main donor agencies engaged in developing fisheries are eager to give and the leaders of the country are eager to receive mechanised means for fishing. But in this sector, as in every other, it

seldom occurs to the expert to ask questions about how the fishermen around them used to fish before the expert came and how they most likely still continue to do it. The fishermen's own expert knowledge is ignored.

The artisan fishermen lack the simplest gear while the factory that produces fishing gear exports most of its products in order to gain foreign currency with which then to import trawling equipment. That in turn cannot be used by ordinary fishermen because of lack of sufficient fuel and ill repair of engines. The artisan fishermen with small hooks and lines and traditional traps failed to understand the logic of a fishing institute which had in its possession all the needed gear, technology and know-how, yet was unable to share it with them. It seemed to them that the experts went "beyond the sea to fish".

When asking a Government officer what benefit he thinks the artisan fishermen have from the existence of the fisheries department in the government structure the answer was: "Much benefit, for instance the registration of their boats and recording of their catches" (the latter had stopped for the time being). To the question whether this was of real benefit to the fisherman there was no further answer. When a village fishing cooperative had organized itself for marketing purposes and was carrying out its business to the fishermen's satisfaction, a fisheries officer happened to come in the company of some visitors and see the auctioning in action. He stayed behind in order to give the fishermen a talking to for having such an untidy landing place when visitors came around. He also scolded them for doing their selling without having formally re-registered their group as a cooperative. One would have expected that he would have greatly rejoiced in finding some initiative and actual fulfillment of the cooperative policies. Instead he saw as his task to impose state regulations. To him controlling and directing rather than advising and guiding was the essence of his job. This is not an isolated case, but comes close to the core of the issue.

The response of the fishermen to the lack of gear has been dynamiting. The nearby quarries supply enough dynamite with the arrangement of "I supply you and you supply me". There is plenty of money in fish. The market seems to be inexhaustible. The old system of patron-client relationship or relations based on neighbourhood and friendship, "the economy of affection", works well. Mutual services principle is in operation in circles within circles. They serve well those who fit inside them, but they also push out effectively those whose credit is not good.

On the beach of Bagamoyo and the islands there are scores of artisan boat builders making beautiful boats, using only non-mechanised traditional tools and methods. The size of the boats varies from a large dhow of 25 meters long to a small ngalawa. These boat yards flourish while most of the mechanised and modernised yards have come to a halt. The boats the latter have built are pulled to the shore or are constantly in for repair because of faults in construction. Yet there was little recognition of the usefulness to empower the craftsmen and women for continued production. Their resource inputs were not integrated into the existing production. They went to the modernized sector which operated on its own, apart from where people's self-reliance was in action. Even that would need materials and tools.

## Conclusion

Villagisation has been used here as an example of a far too common way in which the authorities meet the ordinary villagers, whether called peasants, masses or simply common

people. Resistance of the villagers has been interpreted by the leaders to be traditionalism. But rather it has been a reaction to directed development and to too much external intervention which has been planned apart from the people who yet were supposed to accomplish the common national goals. The leaders assumed that people would realize what was good for them once they had become partakers of the progress accomplished. In actual fact, even in the system which supposedly was built on people's own village government, there has been relatively little chance for the common people to be heard. For this reason it has not been easy either to have a clear understanding in each specific case or even in general terms what the real reasons for passive resistance have been.

The non-acceptance of a programme which is brought from outside often lay in the basic fact that people's foremost problems do not find an articulated form. The channels meant for two-way communication are utilized only from top to bottom communication. Ten house cells are there but the members do not meet to give expression to opinions which then would be passed on to the higher levels. The task of the cell leaders has been mainly to inform the people of party and government policies and orders. Actual problems are discussed in informal gatherings and when expressed in official meetings they are not recorded.

The researchers who have lived in villages, attended village meetings, and discussed informally with people from all the levels of society have learned to understand something of the struggle which many villagers have had to go through in order to survive. Labour cannot be stretched further than what surplus time permits, after the necessities have been satisfied.

However, because of the long past of listening to authorities, people have become used to accepting things dictated to them from above - or at least they have understood them as if dictated, even when not so intended. But people have also invented ways to resist things they do not accept. Resistance is not a new phenomenon. There are also numerous examples which show that during the time of independence, time and again, people have taken the party policies seriously. They have sent their delegations to the Party headquarters, and have received a favourable response. But more often such expressions remain within the confines of the village meeting place. The assumption is that the acceleration of the "informal economy" outside all government channels is evidence of increased resistance to directed development from the top down. It requires a formulated research effort to show in which ways people express their self-reliance under duress in times of economic crisis. Such a study is being pursued by the writer and her colleagues.



NOTES:

1. Ndulu (1986).
2. Addison (1986).
3. Ndulu (1986).
4. Ndulu (1987).
5. Swantz (1985), pp. 88 ff.
6. Nyerere (1971).
7. e.g. Liebenow (1971).
8. Arusha Declaration Souvenir (1977), pp. 11-12.
9. TANU Guidelines (1971).
10. Liebenow (1971).
11. Hyden (1982).
12. Liebenow (1971).

## EMPIRICAL STRATEGIES OF BOTTOM-UP DEVELOPMENT

David G. Blanchard

*A critical part of the International Exposition of Rural Development process was the broad-based research effort to identify and document successful strategies of grassroots development. Volumes One and Two of the IERD series provide more of the raw data of this research. In this chapter, David Blanchard analyses that data and synthesizes it into seven strategies for bottom-up development.*

### Theories of Bottom-up Development

The thesis of this paper is that many groups are independently developing similar strategies for local development. Although each local community has developed autonomously, a common approach to locally-initiated development is emerging. This view includes the following elements:

- Local people are capable of initiating and sustaining their own community development.
- While government, private and voluntary organizations are extremely important, the primary requirement for success in grassroots development is local leadership and local responsibility.
- A successful bottom-up development strategy will include broad-based local participation in comprehensive planning and decision-making, activities that promote participant motivation.
- Educational opportunities should be targeted to identified local needs.
- Emphasis on improving the utilization and management of resources should be on local resources.
- Responsible utilization of outside financial assistance is required.
- Replication of a community's success is a powerful factor in continuing local initiative.
- Those engaged in bottom-up development desire to build a world-wide network of people engaged in self-sustained autonomous community development.

The greatest difference in strategy of those engaged in grassroots development from the mainstream professional development strategies is the world-view that responsibility for change rests with those living in the local community, not government.

### **The Search for a Grassroots Development Strategy**

Development theory prevailing since World War II supposed that the growth of a few leading, presumably industrial, sectors would expand the opportunities for the poorer social groups and thus lead to their eventual development.<sup>1</sup> Cassen documents that while the strategy has had notable success, large numbers of poor have not received much benefit from this growth.<sup>2</sup> Governments and aid agencies are searching for a more effective approach to assistance for the poor.

Developers are beginning to believe that the solution to poverty rests with those who are poor. Over the last decade some self-help development projects working with the poor have resulted in rapid increases in incomes for the most needy.<sup>3</sup> While this still means a very low standard of living, grassroots development creates a self-support system with a low level of outside resource support.

A well-structured theory of grassroots development is not yet available.<sup>4</sup> A growing body of literature on the advantages and need for bottom-up community-based development point out the success of this approach and the difficulties of expanding such efforts.<sup>5</sup> Although proponents of grassroots development approach this problem from a number of perspectives, there is a common image of the elements of the process.

### **Professional Images of Bottom-up Development**

Stohr<sup>6</sup> has outlined the basic elements of a "development from below" strategy model which includes the following characteristics:

1. Development from below is territorially based in small poor communities and involves growth of the whole local economy not just a particular market or industry.
2. Local development requires broad-based participation of those affected by economic growth in decision-making and project implementation. Development from below is a different paradigm from the "welfare" approach of delivering services to the needy and requires that the recipients of new services also be involved in decision-making about their development.
3. Community-based development is as concerned with equity in distribution and consumption as it is with growth of production. Broad-based participation requires broad distribution of economic gains. The concept of equity spreads to a concern for long-term consumption as well and thus places a strong emphasis on the conservation of local resources.
4. Grassroots development involves an integrated approach that places a high priority on satisfying basic needs.
5. Bottom-up development requires external assistance from government and perhaps other agencies to provide favorable markets, local capital, and efficient communications with the region and world.

These last two points deserve further explanation. The concept of integrated development to meet economic and social needs in a community has come to be called the Basic Human Needs (BHN) approach. The World Bank has offered a coherent model of this concept which documents the causal interrelationship among health, nutrition, fertility, education, and income.<sup>7</sup> Improvements in any one area depend on improvement in all. This places the issue of economic development in a broad social needs context that greatly adds to the complexity of local development.

The paradox of bottom-up development as perceived by professional practitioners is that while the concept is to create development at the community level by local people primarily out of local resources, the prime initiator and facilitator is still perceived to be the national government.<sup>8</sup>

"BHN [Basic Human Needs] theorists are in universal agreement that the most important actor in any successful BHN strategy is the government of the country with the poverty problem."<sup>9</sup>

In fact, grassroots development does not require direct government action. The IERD process has identified tens of thousands of bottom-up development projects that had little if any government assistance. Ironically, even the proponents of bottom-up development assume that autonomous small-scale community development is not likely, if even possible.

This paper will summarize the findings of the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD) into seven strategies. The following sections of the paper include a fuller description of human development, the data collection process, a presentation of each strategy, and some conclusions.

## **The International Exposition Of Rural Development**

### **Human Development Concept**

The data from the IERD provides an opportunity to compare the academic model to the actual practice of thousands of local self-development efforts. The research component of the IERD has explored the successful elements in thousands of local projects. Through a process of project selection, documentation and regional and international workshops, local experience has been accumulated into a list of grassroots development components. These components have been validated by a comparison to on-going projects in India.<sup>10</sup> The International Exposition's research effort identified what grassroots development leaders believe to be the positive trends in local development and the key attributes of a successful development strategy.<sup>11</sup> These trends and keys are presented here merged into a set of development priorities.

The participants in the IERD found the concept of economic development and even Basic Human Needs development too narrow to describe the strategies they actually use in self-development. Instead they came to use the image of the "greenhouse" in describing the bottom-up development process. A greenhouse provides an environment which supports organism development by maintaining ideal conditions and reusing internal resources. This highly efficient environment reduces the need for external resources while creating rapid growth.

Like the greenhouse, development from below brings together the resources of the entire community to meet total community needs. It is primarily a self-sustaining process in

which needs are met only in a social and physical environment of interdependence. Therefore, the community must plan together, develop local leadership, expand educational opportunities, implement effective economic institutions, and build relationships with the broader region to sustain development efforts.

The fundamental difference between the strategies of actual grassroots projects and the assumptions of development theorists is that practitioners of self-development do not assume government initiative. Because grassroots development is locally initiated, it must be sustained through local efforts. This requires a number of additional components in the development process. Added to the components of economic development and basic needs are comprehensive planning, motivational activities, networking among social sectors and communications with other grassroots efforts.

These more comprehensive grassroots development strategies will be identified as "human development", a term increasingly used to refer to a holistic approach to social change. From the perspective of the local community and neighborhood, human development is a matter of freeing and focusing existing local resources. Participants in the International Exposition of Rural Development discovered that a large number of human development programs are being initiated at the local neighborhood and community level. Small groups in many nations are creating a process for local development utilizing the resources available at the local level.

### **The Data Gathering Process**

The validity of the data on which the seven strategies for human development are based is determined by the data gathering process. The process involved synthesizing large amounts of empirical data from several thousand people and projects into broad strategies of development. Who these people were and how the data was synthesized greatly influences the final results.

By the early 1980's a growing number of successful efforts at grassroots development were often unknown to the broader community and even leaders of successful projects were unaware of each other. In 1981 the Institute of Cultural Affairs International (ICAI) decided to facilitate a program to document and bring together representatives of these projects to (1) identify successful rural and local neighborhood projects, (2) discover the common approaches that work in grassroots development, (3) begin building a network of projects, and (4) establish a data base for assisting local development efforts in a three-phased process.

Phase I included the first eighteen months of the Exposition and involved identifying: (1) local development projects in over sixty nations and (2) research on successful development strategies. Out of this process projects were selected to participate in Phase II, a plenary "Central International Event" in New Delhi, India, during February of 1984. Phase III involved the expansion of human development in existing and new projects.

Agencies and committees have already begun to utilize the findings of Phase I and II to improve the effectiveness of their efforts. Network building and data base refinement are continuing. The publication of three volumes of the IERD materials and reports is part of this process.<sup>12</sup>

### Phase I

The primary tasks of Phase I were to begin collecting data on trends and successful approaches in rural development and to identify self-development projects for potential participation at the Central International Event. To identify such efforts, to select participants and to raise funds, a Global Advisory Board and National Steering Committees were established in many countries.

The selection of projects was facilitated through Regional Development Symposia. Over one hundred symposia were held world-wide in the year prior to February 1984. The format varied, as did the duration, but all of the one to three day events provided an open opportunity for local people to identify and describe their community project, submit documentation, and participate in workshops on their learnings from experiences in grassroots self-help. Thousands of projects were identified through this process.

Since the International Exposition of Rural Development was aimed at facilitating those already committed to local development to become more effective, the research method was concerned with identifying how to do successful human development. The IERD research task was to tap the experience of thousands of field workers on approaches that work in local communities, and to sort this data into useful categories for strategic planning. Toward this end the Rural Development Symposia collected data on the positive trends in local development from the practitioner's point of view and on the keystones, or important elements, of project success. These "trends" and "keystones" will provide the main data for this paper.

In order to understand the nature of the trends and keystones data the method of data collection will be described. The ICA workshop method uses a brainstorming and clustering process. Large groups are subdivided into small teams for brainstorming data. That data is intuitively clustered by the group into five to ten like categories. The clusters of data are then titled by a short phrase that holds the meaning of that data. The teams report back in plenary session and the entire delegation groups similar cluster titles together. The clusters are not ranked because each may be of great importance.

### *Trends*

Many of the Regional Symposia asked participants to identify major positive trends in grassroots development. One intent of the question was to discern both the perceptions of participants of their experience of the directions of development and to identify the desires of the participants for development. The trend statements are therefore a proxy for the hopes and dreams of those engaged in leading grassroots development efforts.

Reports from over thirty symposia were available in New Delhi when the results were synthesized for the Central International Event. The ICA setup team for the New Delhi event took over one hundred and fifty trends from these reports and regrouped them into eighteen trends.<sup>13</sup> They are:

1. *Renewed Development Emphasis*
2. *Greater Local Participation*
3. *Implementing Industrial Development*
4. *Strengthening Financial Linkage*
5. *Organizing Cluster Infrastructures*
6. *Networking Across Sectors*

7. *Emphasizing Improved Agriculture*
8. *Improving Environmental Sanitation*
9. *Involving Rural Women*
10. *Utilizing Local Resources*
11. *Expanding Single-Focus Development*
12. *Increasing Education Prowess*
13. *Augmenting Communication Means*
14. *Rural Information Exchange*
15. *Cooperative International Interchange*
16. *Training Underdeveloped Groups*
17. *Community Finance Management*
18. *Comprehensive Community Development*

### *Keystones*

Regional Symposia participants were also asked to identify the keystones, the critical activities and strategies that are, in their experience, required to make bottom-up development successful. These keystones are the necessary strategies for human development.

The pre-conference team took over one hundred "Keys" and "Keystones" from these reports and regrouped them into twelve comprehensive keystones.<sup>14</sup> They are:

1. *Total Community Participation*
2. *Comprehensive Pilot Demonstration*
3. *Committed Grassroots Planning*
4. *Cohesive Community Identity*
5. *Project Leadership Cores*
6. *Motivation Implementing Mode*
7. *Inclusive Resource Management*
8. *Viable Local Economics*
9. *Community Structural Approaches*
10. *Education and Skills Training*
11. *Supportive Multi-Sector Coalitions*
12. *Improved Interchange Networks*

Even a cursory reading of the Trends and Keystones reveals a great deal of commonality between the two lists. Together they present a common approach to grassroots development when this development is locally initiated.

### **Phase II Plenary**

It was the desire to share learnings in local development which brought together hundreds of local people in New Delhi, from February 5-15, 1984. The theme of the ten-day conference was "Sharing Approaches That Work". It involved three days of sharing development experiences, four days of visiting local projects in India, and three days of reporting and planning next steps for accelerating local development.

The six hundred and fifty delegates from fifty-five countries represented the most successful of thousands of rural and urban neighborhood programs. Potential candidates for the India event were selected from the projects at the Rural Development Symposia. The criteria for selection included the demonstrated success of the projects, whether the project's methods might be replicated elsewhere and the desire of project leaders to participate. Other criteria involved consideration of balance in types of projects, geographical representation, and age and sex of participants. Most of the major international and national development agencies were represented by their project staff.

As a result of the selection process, the participants at New Delhi brought a wide mix of experience and skills. Approximately seventy-five percent were local practitioners of development rather than professionals or academics. Participants came primarily from small villages. They included Native Americans, Australian aborigines, harijan and low-caste Indians, and African farmers. Thirty-two percent were women, an unusually high percentage for an international conference.<sup>15</sup>

The funding model for the international event followed the guiding principle that local development must be self-supporting. Local development is a high risk, volunteer, social change movement and, therefore, mostly financed out of diverse but interested sources. Recognizing the risk of an innovative international conference and subsequent lack of interest by potential large donors, the conference was self-supporting, primarily out of delegate fees. Most delegates raised their own fees and transportation costs. However, many international development agencies funded the costs of their project participants.

### *Priorities*

The trends and keystones from the Rural Development Symposia were reported to the International Exposition. The delegates, working in thirty subgroups, compared the trends and the keystones to their own experience and to the experience of the other three hundred projects as demonstrated in displays at the conference. Out of these first three days of workshops came a list of fifteen priorities for rural development.<sup>16</sup> They are:

1. *Local Control with Committed Interchange*
2. *Developing Appropriate Education*
3. *Functional Education & Skills Training*
4. *Participative & Balanced Planning*
5. *Involvement of Women in the Process*
6. *Management and Implementation Skills*
7. *Appropriate Financial Mechanisms*
8. *Maximizing Resources & Productivity*
9. *Community Motivation and Leadership*
10. *Effective Communication and Interchange*
11. *Holistic or Integrated Approach*
12. *Sustainable Agricultural Advances*
13. *Partnerships with Existing Agencies*
14. *Community Self-Help and Reliance*
15. *Upgrading Community Health*



These priorities were reassigned to subgroups which then visited successful rural development projects in thirty scattered locations in India to check the validity of the priorities. At the end of the four-day field visits the subgroups submitted reports on what they saw, and assessed the appropriateness of their particular set of priorities. There was no significant new priority data or formal change in these priorities.

## Identifying the Strategies of Human Development

### Clustering the Trends, Keystones and Priorities

A great deal of similarity among the trends, keystones, and priorities is apparent. The eighteen trends and the twelve keystones identified in the Rural Development Symposia and the fifteen priorities from the initial three days of the Central International Event have been regrouped by this author into seven clusters or strategies of local human development in the 1980s. The strategy titles are:

- A. Comprehensive community participation*
- B. Motivating local communities*
- C. Expanding learning opportunities*
- D. Improving local resource management*
- E. Localizing financial access*
- F. Replicating human development*
- G. Increasing communications and interchange*

This regrouping not only reduces redundancy but it also highlights the structural components of local development. Figure 16 is a chart of these clusters.

The seven strategy clusters turned out to be very broad and comprehensive. The "Basic Human Needs" approach is incorporated in the strategies "Improving Learning Opportunities", "Improving Local Resource Management" and "Localizing Financial Access". Strategies for successful self-development also include the key elements of comprehensive planning, motivational activities, developing multi-sector cooperation, and building communication networks for the exchange of ideas and participants.

Furthermore, the seven strategies are parts of one overarching strategy. The way the seven strategies fit together and the sequence in which they are implemented is very specific. The order in which the strategies are presented here is intended to facilitate explaining the interrelated elements of human development and the sequence of effective implementation rather than suggest the importance of each strategy.

## The Seven Strategies Of Human Development

The seven strategies of human development are presented below. For each strategy a brief description of the trends, keystones and priorities is presented, followed by a summary of the strategy.

### Strategy A: Comprehensive Community Participation

Proponents of development from below are almost universally agreed that broad-based community participation is essential. Gram notes that participants in development from

<b>I. COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION</b>	<b>II. MOTIVATING LOCAL COMMUNITIES</b>	<b>III. EXPANDING LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES</b>	<b>IV. IMPROVING LOCAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT</b>
<b>TRENDS:</b> Greater Local Participation Involving Rural Women Expanding Single-focus Development Comprehensive Community Development <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Total Community Participation Committed Grassroots Planning <b>PRIORITIES:</b> Local Control /Committed Leadership Participative & Balanced Planning Involvement of Women in the Process Holistic or Integrated Approach	<b>TRENDS:</b> Renewed Development Emphasis <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Cohesive Community Identity Project Leadership Cores Motivational Implementing Mode <b>PRIORITIES:</b> Community Motivation & Interchange Community-Self-help & Reliance	<b>TRENDS:</b> Increasing Education Prowess Training Underdeveloped Groups <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Education & Skills Training <b>PRIORITIES:</b> Developing Appropriate Education Functional Education & Skills Training Management & Implementation Skills	<b>TRENDS:</b> Implementing Industrial Development Emphasizing Improved Agriculture Improving Environmental Sanitation Utilizing Local Resources <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Inclusive Resource Management <b>PRIORITIES</b> Maximizing Resources & Productivity Sustainable Agricultural Advances Upgrading Community Health
<b>V. LOCALIZING FINANCIAL ACCESS</b>	<b>VI. REPLICATING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT</b>		<b>VII. INCREASING COMMUNICATIONS AND INTERCHANGE</b>
<b>TRENDS:</b> Strengthening Financial Linkages Community Finance Management <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Viable Local Economics <b>PRIORITIES:</b> Appropriate Financial Mechanisms	<b>TRENDS:</b> Networking Across Sectors Organizing Cluster Infrastructures <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Comprehensive Pilot Demonstrations Community Structural Approach Supportive Multi-sector Coalitions <b>PRIORITIES:</b> Partnerships with Existing Agencies		<b>TRENDS:</b> Augmenting Communication Means Rural Information Exchange Cooperative International Interchange <b>KEYSTONES:</b> Improved Interchange Networks <b>PRIORITIES:</b> Effective Communications & Interchange

Figure 16. Strategies of human development

below should be involved "in and control as many elements of project initiation, design, operation, and evaluation as possible".<sup>17</sup> To avoid the risk of becoming a welfare project, Gorman supports "genuine local and decentralized participation to ensure the longevity and vitality of Basic Human Needs programs".<sup>18</sup> Both authors emphasized the inclusion of women.<sup>19</sup>

The participants in the IERD process also see the focus of human development as a participatory process especially involving women. However, the participants broaden "participation" to include the entire community. Because their view is from inside the community, the strategic issue is not how to maintain a project conceived and initiated by outsiders but how to initiate local development from within the community. The focus is, therefore, on identifying specific needs in local communities and designing action steps to meet these needs. Human development attempts to access public and private programs but mostly utilizes local resources to meet the needs of the community. It also requires planning at the community and neighborhood level. Successful planning requires broad-based participation and a comprehensive assessment of needs and resources.

### *Trends*

The participants in the Rural Development Symposia identified a fundamental trend in rural and local development toward greater participation in community decision-making by local people. The entire emphasis is on new community structures and decision-making processes which place responsibility for local development in the hands of the community.

Increasingly, rural and neighborhood development is based on *Greater Local Participation* (2) in decision-making. Local people identify their own needs and lay out their own development strategies, emphasizing the symbolic significance of demonstrating their own capacity to implement development. Local people are providing the work force, the leadership, and the materials in demonstrations of self-sufficiency and self-reliance. New community organizational structures arise to take into account the more inclusive planning and the new self-help groups. Local people are also participating in leadership training to improve their own potential.

The *Comprehensive Community Development* (18) trend indicates that effective planning includes all ages and all social groupings of local people. Comprehensive planning involves economic, social, cultural and educational activities as interrelated components of an overall strategy for community renewal. Increasingly, the trend is towards geographical coverage and replication.

Individual projects and single village developments are now encouraged to spread success to larger territories creating a trend of *Expanding Single-focus Development* (11). Single-focus projects are still a major starting point for development, but increasingly they provide a demonstration that change is possible and thus motivate residents to build more inclusive institutional structures that facilitate the comprehensive participation, planning, networks and regional coverage.

Increasingly, development is *Involving Rural Women*(9). Women traditionally participate in providing community care. In human development this responsibility is expanding through development activities in agriculture and small industry as well as in literacy, preventive health care, home improvement and building community cohesiveness.

### Keystones

In human development, communities must do their own project for maximum success. Thus, there must be *Committed Grassroots Planning* (3). Only local people understand the basic problems of the community, the local resources, and the dreams. The local residents are in the best position to monitor progress and modify activities for greater effectiveness. Each community, therefore, must analyze its own issues, plan its future, and implement its own strategies. Human development works best when it mobilizes the whole community in *Total Community Participation* (11). This points not only to broad participation but also to consensus-based approaches in decision-making. Implementation through team-work and cooperation is important.

### Priorities

The greatest number of priorities identified by the Central International Event delegates deal with comprehensive planning. Emphasis is placed on *Local Control with Committed Leadership* (1) involved in a *Participatory and Balanced Planning* (4) process. The development process should be a *Holistic or Integrated Approach* (11) and especially *Involve Women* (5).

### Summary

The first component of human development is comprehensive community development planning. Human development depends on obtaining expansive participation of local people in their own neighborhood and community. The community must plan together, contribute leadership locally, involve local women, and integrate activities.

### Strategy B: Motivating Local Communities

Human development, as seen by those who practice it, depends on maintaining local motivation for change. Gram points out the need for developing and maintaining motivation at the local level.<sup>20</sup> For success in bottom-up development Stohr notes that creative energies are sustained by "spectacular demonstration projects", although he imaged these as national projects.<sup>21</sup>

The practitioners of grassroots development identify some of the critical elements in building motivation. First is the maintenance of hope. The planning process, if done well, raises the expectation of change. Implementation of development must meet that expectation, and encourage local participants to take more risks by understanding that change is possible. Secondly, self-development must be seen as fulfilling traditional community values. Rather than appear as foreign concepts, changes must be based on the current moral and ethical presuppositions of the community, such as local pride. Thus at least initially, in human development the reward system is far more social than economic.

### Trends

In local communities there is a trend toward *Renewed Development Emphasis* (1) that suggests a new sense of community dignity and the important role a community can play in improving life. Communities are recovering their own history and culture, new leadership is appearing, and change is being locally initiated. National and international governments and agencies are increasingly concerned with bottom-up development. Villagers are deciding that habitual patterns have to change.

### *Keystones*

There are several components to the strategy for maintaining motivation for community change. Firstly, for a *Motivational Implementing Mode* (6) new plans should be implemented so as to maintain excitement. This requires many development successes, no matter how small, to maintain the feeling of achievement. The rhythm of regular meetings, clearly scheduled tasks, and specific objectives and assignments builds motivation.

Secondly, the new must be linked with the past through a *Comprehensive Community Identity* (4). Change must be linked with the community's heritage through celebrations and festivals, the retelling of local history, and the use of uniting symbols and songs to heal misunderstandings and bridge divisions. Celebrations are also a way to mark the completion of major projects and express the joy of success. Additionally, momentum will be lost if *Project Leadership Cores* (5) do not develop to provide drive, encouragement and accountability. These cores cannot be outside experts and they may not be the official elected office holders. Women play an important role in these leadership groups. The primary role of the new leadership is to encourage participation when people become weary and disillusioned.

### *Priorities*

The priorities fitting into this strategy are the need for *Community Motivation and Interchange* (9) and the necessity for *Community Self-help and Self Reliance* (14).

### *Summary*

The data from IERD points to a growing interest in local development as a global movement. Human development involves a fundamental shift in world-view toward realizing that change can, even must, begin in local communities. Therefore, a major strategy of human development is to create an implementation process that builds motivation for change at the community level. Regularity of development activities and celebrations, the interpretation of the new as a continuation of past values, and nurturing new leadership are all critical to this strategy.

### **Strategy C: Expanding Learning Opportunities**

Education has long been recognized as an important element in development.<sup>22</sup> From the point of view of the Basic Human Needs approach the development of primary education is one of the five key components.<sup>23</sup> Gram suggests that education for grassroots development should be redesigned to focus on the needs of local communities, especially self-directed learning and skills training.<sup>24</sup>

Literacy is well recognized as critical to national development. Governments also support elementary, secondary, and higher education. Increasingly, manpower training is encouraged as the public sector becomes aware of the link between human investment and productivity increases. The World Bank notes the increasing emphasis on primary education as a valuable component in the development process.<sup>25</sup>

For participants in the IERD, education has a more precise role. Human development encourages the utilization of all educational opportunities but focuses education and training on the specific needs of the community. By tailoring instruction to address the particular educational problems of each community the productivity of the educational investment is greatly increased.

### *Trends*

A trend in local development called *Increasing Educational Prowess* (12) points toward expanding the functional effectiveness of rural people through a wide variety of educational activities. Most education in local communities is non-formal or on-the-job training. Interest in literacy and technical skills continues to expand. However, the newer areas of training are in leadership and planning methods plus techniques of community organization.

A second trend of *Training Underdeveloped Groups* (16) emphasizes that rural education is to insure the development of all groups in the community. Special focus is on education and training for women and youth. The content of this more inclusive education is expanding to include training in agriculture, cottage industries, business ventures, health and nutrition.

### *Keystones*

Three types of education are common in *Education and Skills Training* (10) - academic and skills training, leadership training, and conceptual education. General education in human development focuses on adult education and includes academic, artistic and vocational areas with a primary concern for improving productivity. Leadership training deals with all aspects of community organization and management techniques. Conceptual education attempts to change images of what is possible. Effective development education emphasizes the human quality of life. It is termed "imaginal" education because it emphasizes a positive or winning image being conveyed through training.

### *Priorities*

The highest priority in education is for *Developing Appropriate Education* (2). This is followed closely by with *Functional Education and Skills Training* (3) and *Management and Implementation Skills* (6) priorities.

### *Summary*

The special attribute of education in human development is the shifting of education from a passive role to an active response for meeting a community-identified critical need. Education is no longer primarily a personal benefit. Now the community has identified its social contribution and attempts to provide the educational opportunities for the good of all as well as the individual. Skills training particularly is focused on community need. Human development with its emphasis on comprehensive participation and locally initiated implementation places a high priority on upgrading skills to ensure everyone's capacity to participate.

### **Strategy D: Improving Local Resource Management**

Human development must also address economic growth in the local community because of the need for resources. The World Bank<sup>26</sup> notes that economic growth, in human development, depends on two strategies: increasing production and improving productivity. Increasing production requires an expansion of machinery, additional labor, and greater availability of natural resources used in the production process. Improving productivity involves not only more efficient and innovative production methods, it usually requires developing new institutions.

The data from the Exposition supports the conclusions of the World Bank. However, the participants in the IERD emphasize that human development requires that economic expansion and increased productivity be based on the use of local resources. A fundamental assumption of human development is that local communities have neglected resources to be developed.

### *Trends*

A general trend, *Emphasizing Improved Agriculture* (7) in rural development, is toward the use of local resources for local production. At both the national and the local level there is a growing interest in agricultural production. In many, perhaps most, rural communities inadequate food and poor nutrition can be minimized because improved technologies are available and many governments are offering assistance, price supports and subsidies.

There is a shift in *Implementing Industrial Development* (3) toward a concern for meeting community needs. Comprehensive community planning often identifies the need for local employment, cottage industry products and expanded community revenues. Industrial development often provides a means for economic improvement.

Another trend is that more and more emphasis is being placed on the care of human resources through *Improved Environmental Sanitation* (8). Not only is there continued interest in medical treatment, there is also a growing concern for prevention. The focus is increasingly on potable water, drainage, nutrition, and well-baby clinics.

Local development is increasingly emphasizing *Utilizing Local Resources* (10). Instead of importing the components of production, residents are using local materials, existing skills and indigenous technologies in buildings, agricultural improvements and new industries. The effectiveness of human resources is being enhanced through cooperation and teamwork.

### *Keystones*

Community leaders are learning that development requires *Inclusive Resource Management* (7). In human development the key term is "inclusive" because it is the comprehensive assessment and use of local resources which opens production opportunities. Resources are available locally for strengthening the community economic base. Not only are there usually long-ignored natural building materials but also usable land, vegetation and minerals. The introduction and utilization of appropriate technology unlocks these production factors. Experience has shown that utilizing local human resources opens the possibility of using other resources.

### *Priorities*

The delegates articulated three priorities in this strategy of human development: first, *Maximizing Resources and Productivity* (8), second, *Sustainable Agricultural Advances* (12) and third, *Upgrading Community Health* (15).

### *Summary*

The fourth strategy in human development is the more productive use of local human and material resources. Delegates to the New Delhi conference report startling successes of doubling and tripling of a community's annual income within several years, albeit from a very small base. Human development as self-development must approach self-sustaining

economic growth. Because external resources are scarce, local resources must be more effectively used in agriculture and industry through comprehensive resource planning and improvement. Human development broadens the concept of resource management to include the long-term care and improvement of the human contribution particularly in terms of family planning, improved nutrition and health.

### Strategy E: Localizing Financial Access

The approach to development through market expansion and industrialization assumes that economic opportunity would lead to the flow of funds and resources to those in need. Theorists of the Basic Human Needs approach suggest that 'selective spatial closure', the protection of a territory from free trade, may be a requirement.<sup>27</sup> The problem may be that the terms of trade run against pockets of poverty therefore blocking the flow of development resources to the local community. Cassen proposes that a new approach to assisting the poor include direct project funding.<sup>28</sup>

The participants in the IERD suggest that human development requires localizing financing so that communities become self-supporting, self-sufficient and self-reliant. The viability of local projects is increased with improved access to local funding sources. Initially communities often find that implementing their development plan requires very little capital. Improving the physical appearance of the community, celebrative events, even improving physical infrastructure may be accomplished through community workdays and pooling of supplies and tools. Eventually, however, the issue of capital improvement arises.

### Trends

In recent years there has been a trend of *Strengthening Financial Linkages* (17) as, increasingly, local communities are developing formal institutions for accessing, managing and distributing funds. Local informal patterns are being regularized and new organizational forms introduced to establish a system of cooperatives and credit unions. These corporate organizations have better access to external funds and provide an opportunity to improve management of funds both within the organization and within the community. The availability of local funds helps the community become increasingly self-supporting.

The trend also includes *Community Finance Management* (4) which is the development of funding strategies in the local community. Particular projects in agriculture such as dairy cattle, new production groups and cooperatives are established that will attract outside capital. The expanded investment opportunities often result in external agencies and banks establishing local outlets. These outlets provide expanded funding, local jobs, project management assistance and skills training.

### Keystones

The key to the fifth strategy on human development is *Viable Local Economies* (9) for increased self-sufficiency. The strategy of localizing financial access is related to the strategy of improving local resource management but focuses on new local organizations that expand external resource access. Localizing financial access requires creating or strengthening local credit unions, cooperatives, and other savings and investment institutions. Full self-reliance also requires that the markets for locally produced goods be expanded as well.



### *Priorities*

The Delegates to the Central Event reiterated the priority need for *Appropriate Financial Mechanisms* (7).

### *Summary*

Localizing financial access is very much like improving local resource management. However, financial access focuses on obtaining and accumulating production capital. For the local community the issue is developing an institutional framework that encourages responsible financial management and builds linkages to external funds. The strategy involves reshaping traditional financial institutions and introducing new corporate forms of savings and loan organizations.

## **Strategy F: Replicating Human Development**

Theorists of bottom-up development are clear about the need for demonstration projects and the strategy of replication. Rondinelli<sup>29</sup> lays out a strategy of pilot test projects, demonstrations of successful tests, and finally, replication of these demonstrations as a strategy for development where flexibility is a requirement, as in bottom-up development. Because the individual and small community "is in an unequal contest against large organizations", Gram<sup>30</sup> suggests that a network of supportive groups and agencies build intermediate institutions to buffer the development effort from stronger bureaucratic and economic interests. Both Gram<sup>31</sup> and Cassen<sup>32</sup> stress the need for strong governmental support through policy reform.

From the experience of IERD regional development conferences and the Plenary in New Delhi, participants became clear that many groups involved in human development have learned how to renew one community. The challenge is to replicate that experience in many communities. Expanding human development to a region requires resources and skills far beyond those needed for the original project. Furthermore, now the effort intersects more with local government and larger private enterprises. Now the task of human development is not just larger, it is different. Success depends on cooperation among the sectors of government, private enterprise, voluntary organizations and local people. Teamwork becomes an added dimension to development, and groups accustomed to competing with each other have to learn to work together for their common benefit.

### *Trends*

*Organizing Cluster Infrastructures* (5), one of the most recent trends to emerge, is the growth of cluster community projects and development networks to tap the resources of the whole region. This is not just the spreading of the development process to more villages. It is creating a regional cluster of villages around a successful village development project. The main advantage of spreading development to clusters of communities seems to be the increased efficiency in the delivery of services and physical infrastructure. Larger projects can more easily tap into extension services, transportation networks, utilities, and irrigation systems. Education, health clinics, and community centers may also become more cost effective.

The trend *Networking Across Sectors* (6) points toward bottom-up development and to the expansion of human development into clusters. It suggests increased cooperation among

the sectors of society including public administration and services, private business, local individuals and voluntary associations. Recently a trend of cooperation across these sectors has begun to generate a concerted effort toward local development. This cooperation has resulted in new networks which have improved inter-community planning and better person-to-person understanding.

### *Keystones*

The strategy of building replication capabilities is still being invented. Only within recent years has local development moved from the single village and project focus to regional concerns. However, the components of the strategy are emerging out of the experience of replication.

*The Community Structural Approach* (9) experience in rural and local development has demonstrated that utilizing existing institutional structures and building new organizations only where necessary is the most effective development strategy. Working with, rather than against, existing institutional structures often permits the tapping of existing resources and services. For example, a leadership committee has often proved to be a critical structure in the community or project.

Second, the keystone *Supportive Multi-sector Coalition* (11) reports that experience in local development has demonstrated the need to involve public and private institutions outside of the community in the community's development efforts. These external agents have resources which are unavailable locally and which may be critical to local development. These resources typically include technical expertise, public services, utilities and funds. When the various sectors have worked together in a team effort, community development has been very successful.

The third component in replication is *Comprehensive Pilot Demonstration* (2). It utilizes a successful demonstration of comprehensive community development as a model for other communities of what human development can achieve. A demonstration of a new community lifestyle portrays dramatic new possibilities open to all communities and thereby provides encouragement for others to act. The experience of being a model community also provides motivation for the pilot community to continue its efforts. Sri Lanka, Kenya, and Korea have taken this process a step further and are attempting cluster replication to larger regional and national levels.

### *Priorities*

The priority of *Partnerships with Existing Agencies* (13) was identified by the delegates.

### *Summary*

Human development enlists the assistance of other groups in a mutually beneficial task of community renewal. Human development operates out of an assumption that all people wish to improve economic and social conditions and furthermore, cooperation is the most effective way to accomplish improvement. A form of confrontation takes place in human development. However, the confrontation is with a successful demonstration of new possibility and a plan for the delivery of more success. The offense is to old images that things cannot be improved rather than against personal or organizational interests. The demonstration of development offers hope that all people may share in a better life.

### Strategy G: Increasing Communications and Interchange

Almost every agency, every profession, every unit concerned with development has its communications and exchange mechanisms. Often there is a combination of professional conferences, publications and informal networks. Such mechanisms are considered a critical part of sharing experiences and the development of new ideas. In fact, the development of interchange systems is considered a mark of success and maturity. The agency administrators and academics concerned with grassroots development have their forums for the exchange of ideas, the participants in development do not.

Development theory and practice have been sustained by academic and agency professionals, not by local development leadership. Because development theory is discussed in academic style and at expensive conferences and in inaccessible publications, the village practitioner is effectively shielded from participating in the debate or accessing new ideas. Furthermore, the professional literature is written from the outsider's point of view for outsiders and is of little help to the grassroots practitioner and therefore is inaccessible to those who need it most.

Human development practitioners have had no communication system. The main impetus for the International Exposition of Rural Development was to begin to build this communications system where community development participants can share their learnings about local development from the local participant's point of view. During the last several years this situation has begun to change.

#### *Trends*

Perhaps the most recent trend in human development is the accelerated sharing of all forms of information on local development. *Augmenting Communication Means* (13) refers to the trend in rural areas of improving roads, transportation, telephone and other information distribution systems. This improvement in the physical means of communication facilitates more conferences, meetings and planning groups among villages. The movement from rural to urban and back expands the opportunity to share development experience and learn new methods. Local media on development are produced.

The next step is *Rural Information Exchange* (14) with external communities and agencies. Success opens an opportunity to replicate the project. Communities learn that other locations have found solutions to similar problems and that others could benefit from their experience. This expands the communications requirements to include project documentation, how-to manuals, and site visits. Efforts are under way to create global databases so that government agencies and other groups may have access to local information on development.

Increasingly, through *Cooperative International Interchange* (15), local development is becoming tied into an international network of development efforts. Exchange between projects is becoming increasingly international including letters and printed materials, conferences and group visits, and personnel exchanges.

#### *Keystones*

The keystone of *Improving International Networks* (12) describes the expansion in communications in local development which is demonstrating that interchange may be the most important factor in the long-term success of any project. The process begins with informal communication, news briefs or regular meetings that keep the community

informed of the development effort. This sharing with others involved in similar struggles is proving to be very motivating for local people. They begin to see themselves not just engaged in an isolated social problem, but involved in a world-wide experiment of grassroots self-help.

### *Priorities*

The delegates reaffirmed the importance of *Effective Communication and Interchange* (10).

### *Summary*

Human development is very dependent on communication to share success and to learn new methods. Perhaps the most important outcome of communication is realizing that grassroots development is not a unique event but part of a worldwide trend. A community engaged in human development learns through communications that its experience can help all those trying to improve their own local situation. The process of sharing helps to sustain and motivate local communities.

### **Conclusion**

When the development process is viewed from the local community initiating the project, a logical coherent universal strategy begins to appear. Independent of culture, education, need, and creed, grassroots development shares common attributes. An image that conveys this is the "greenhouse". This is a place in which new growth is encouraged through the careful control of a relatively closed environment, and the appropriate amount of external energy is regulated according to domestic needs.

Just as the greenhouse turns out to be a complex ecology, so is the environment of human development. Each locus of growth has its own particular requirements, but the strategy for development is basically the same in all greenhouses and seems to be in all communities.

The key to initiating and sustaining bottom-up development is motivation. The critical initial step in building local motivation is broad-based participation in comprehensive planning for solving community needs. Breaking the hold of decades, maybe centuries, of entrenched patterns of relationships and limited images of what is possible requires a new community consensus that appropriate planning may provide. Comprehensive planning, if done well, identifies the points where change is possible and where change can have a catalytic impact on improving seemingly intractable problems. Planning can create new images of possibility, new themes, revival of traditional dreams that working together may make possible.

In many ways the other six components of the grassroots development strategy support and build on the motivation for change that planning provides. The second strategy, *Motivating Local Communities*, points to the ongoing need to maintain hope in a community. Weaving the traditional social and cultural patterns and values into development activities helps to maintain community cohesiveness and direction. However, leadership identification and training may be just as important for building local motivation.

The literature on the Basic Human Needs (BHN) approach to development from below has richly described the critical interrelationship of education, nutrition, health, fertility, and economic production. The participants in the International Exposition of Rural

Development had very little to add to the content of the Basic Human Needs approach. Participants did, however, suggest two strongly held values. The first value is for expanded educational opportunities of all types. Education was identified as the most critical factor in the BHN strategy. Secondly, grassroots development was seen as involving mostly local resources. Practitioners of locally initiated development build on resources available locally because they have limited access to government largess.

The fifth strategy of *Localizing Financial Access* again reflects the view of development from the community perspective. Limited funds availability encourages creative forms, (often modifications of traditional institutions) of project financing. Even where outside funding is possible, the community becomes most responsive when it has responsibility for repayment.

The sixth and seventh strategies of grassroots development are peculiar to the greenhouse approach. From the point of view of the developing community, replication is a life sustaining activity. The telling of the community's development story and the facilitation of other community efforts provides meaning to the struggle already experienced and purpose to the uncompleted tasks. Replication requires resources and, often, skills beyond the local community and, therefore, requires the building of multi-institutional networks. The IERD provided the opportunity to broaden those networks beyond national boundaries.

The strategy of *Increasing Communications and Interchange* is the most recently identified factor from the list developed. In the several years since the New Delhi Plenary, regional conferences have been held, books published of the conference materials, an international computer network initiated for grassroots development projects, and new linkages between local initiatives and international agencies established. This embryonic global movement is beginning to provide a way for local practitioners of bottom-up development to access information and support structures that in turn encourages expanded efforts and makes locally-initiated development more likely to succeed.

#### NOTES:

1. Stohr (1981), p. 1.
2. Cassen (1986), p. 11.
3. World Bank (1980), p. 3.
4. Stohr (1981), p. 40.
5. *Ibid.*; World Bank (1980); Cassen (1986); Rondinelli (1983).
6. Stohr (1981), p. 64.
7. World Bank (1980), p. 37.
8. Stohr (1981), p. 1; *Ibid.*, p. 64; Gorman (1984), p. 45; Cassen (1986), p. 45; Rondinelli (1983), p. viii.
9. Gorman (1984), p. 45.
10. The research process and initial findings are available in The Institute of Cultural Affairs (1983) pp. 8-11; Institute of Cultural Affairs International (1984a); and Institute of Cultural Affairs International (1984b).
11. *Ibid.*
12. Institute of Cultural Affairs International (1985) and (1987).

13. Institute of Cultural Affairs International (1984c).
14. *Ibid.*
15. Institute of Cultural Affairs International (1984a), p. 5.
16. Canadian Institute of Cultural Affairs (1984).
17. Gram (1983), p. 22.
18. Gorman (1984), p. 44.
19. *Ibid.*; Gram (1983), p. 22.
20. Gram (1983), p. 150. See also Stohr (1981), p. 39 and 43.
21. Stohr (1981), p. 476.
22. Harman (1979).
23. World Bank (1980), p. 14.
24. Gram (1983), p. 22.
25. World Bank (1980), p. 14.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
27. Stohr (1981), p. 45.
28. Cassen (1986), p. 324.
29. Rondinelli (1983), p. 20.
30. Gram (1983), p. 146.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Cassen (1986), pp. 64-324.

## DEVELOPMENT WITH A HUMAN FACE

**Rob Jennings-Teats and Ann Ensinger**

*Development finally comes down to people - individuals who make decisions about the future of their lives and their communities. These people are not usually written up in development publications, nor do they attend seminars and conferences. But their role in social change is pivotal. This chapter tries to capture the spirit and power of such individuals through two stories from different parts of the world. These stories, based on real events, are written by those who came from outside to work shoulder to shoulder with village people and support them in their endeavors.*

A most interesting recent work by Robert Bellah and others, *Habits of the Heart*, documents the struggle Americans have between public and private life. The authors believe that the notion that private life and public life are at odds is incorrect. "Viewing one's primary task as 'finding oneself' in autonomous self-reliance, separating oneself not only from one's parents but also from those larger communities and traditions that constitute one's past, leads to the notion that it is in oneself . . . that fulfillment is to be found." They instead suggest that "their public and private lives are so deeply involved with each other that the impoverishment of one entails the impoverishment of the other."<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand, people desire to be recognised and participating members of community. On the other hand, people are focused on their own individual pursuits. The dilemma that most people experience, is that they do not know how effectively to get together with others to change the world.

It is difficult for people to understand that their personal enrichment and growth depend on more than their own efforts. Michael Lerner states the problem clearly. It is whether we come to think, "I can change my world", or whether we come to think, "We can change our world."<sup>2</sup> Individuals have responsibility, but it is a responsibility to get together with other people and collectively engage in activities to change things. In that process, they must be aware of all the forces that will work to undermine the possibility of people working together smoothly. "Each person who joins with others to work for social change will bring along their own pains and problems - and will inevitably make mistakes, push others away out of fear, and have a tendency to give up too quickly."<sup>3</sup> The most successful community models encourage the development of both the individual and the community.

This chapter explores this development through the lives of two ordinary people who were creative and courageous in bridging the gap between themselves and their community. It is written by those who came as outsiders to village life and reflects their attempt to grasp after the struggles and aspirations of local people. Though names have been changed and some details may vary slightly from the original events, the stories are based on real happenings in rural development projects. Through the eyes of Murlidhar, a poor Indian farmer, and Maria, a hard-working Peruvian housewife, we can see many valuable insights about successful approaches to development. Through their voices we can hear what it takes to bring about real and substantial change. We can learn from them about the tremendous personal effort required to transform centuries of injustice or situations of hopelessness into something positive and creative.



## THE GREEN DREAM

Rob Jennings-Teats

Maria is a woman of vision. For twenty-four years she believed that her village could be a green emerald instead of a grey clod.

As a child growing up in Rosario de Asia she knew nothing of trees and flowers. There were none in her town. She knew plenty about dust and how the wind engulfed this tiny village in an impenetrable grey cloud that left everyone gasping for air. It wasn't until she made a trip to Lima with her new husband, that she saw the wonder of living trees, the scent of fragrant flowers and the touch of luxuriant grass. Although her trip was brief, the impression was overwhelming and lasting.



She began to ask herself, why is Rosario de Asia so stark, so dead? Is it possible that it could have its own trees? What would it be like if our small home had bright flowers? Would our corn stalks be blown over if we had trees surrounding our fields? Could we make our part of the desert bloom with greenery? As time passed these and many other questions remained unanswered.

Her mind soon placed these questions and longings somewhere hidden in the back of her memory, while she dealt with the more immediate problems of raising two sons and helping her husband in the fields. In her picture of heaven, everything was green and there was no dust. She would sometimes dream and imagine herself there, walking down the tree-lined streets. Then, she would suddenly be brought back to the reality of her situation and the hellishness of the hot, suffocating dust she knew only too well.

Maria was not altogether content to live in her dreams. She felt that some part of heaven could be brought to earth. Sometimes she would talk with the other village women and share her green dream out loud. Most would laugh and ask how she thought trees could survive in this desert place? In this way Maria continued to dream and hope for a greener future, one that seemed more likely in the hereafter.

\* \* \*

Twenty-four years after her vision for a green Rosario de Asia began, two young men visited her town. They spoke with the village leaders. They had come to Rosario de Asia to hold a community meeting. They held a letter from the district governor explaining that their purpose was to help the village identify ways they could improve their community. The village leaders agreed to a meeting and set the time for that very night. The young men went about the village to inform everyone of the meeting and encourage all to attend. Maria recognised these two as coming from a nearby village.

At the meeting, Maria surprised herself. Before she knew what was happening, she found herself standing. Her knees were shaking and everything looked blurry through her moist eyes. Somewhere inside she felt there was a voice trying to escape and release her dream. She spoke of the wonder and beauty of green trees and plants. She told of her vision where there were flowers at every house, trees giving shade from the hot sun and fields protected from the wind by stout trees.

When she finished and sat down there was a strange silence. Then all at once the voices began to hum. Others spoke about their hidden hopes. Women spoke as well as men. Even a few shy youths said something about a new football field. Some talked about increasing farm production, others about good health for their children, some saw a new church and a school. As the evening wore on, everyone agreed that the first priority was the greening of the village. As the meeting came to an end, a committee was organised to start work immediately on the "Greening of Rosario de Asia Project". To Maria's deep surprise, she was chosen overwhelmingly to be the committee's leader.

In her entire lifetime, she had never experienced responsibility beyond her church and family. At this point she became aware that she was the central figure. If her longed-for dream was to become true, it would be up to her inspiration and leadership to make it happen. Her dream became a catalyst that could cause a whole village to change itself, to become more than a poor, dusty wasteland.

As Maria returned to her simple house after the meeting, many self-doubts began to pull at her. She thought, "How can I lead this village in this cause, I'm only a woman after all?" It seemed like all of her limitations began to seize her. She thought of her advanced age of nearly fifty. Her education was simple. What did she know about planting trees and flowers?

Many technical problems came to mind. Where would they get the trees? Who would water them? What kind of trees could grow well here? Who would plant them? Where is the best place to plant them? Do they need fertilizer? The flood gates of doubts and uncertainties opened and Maria discovered her new-found confidence being washed away. In moments like these Maria usually prayed.

She silenced herself and sought guidance. There was no simple answer or blinding revelation. There were only images of trees and green. She felt that she must act quickly.

\* \* \*

The following morning she set off to find Raul and Jose in hopes that they had not left to visit the next village in the valley. She discovered them drinking coffee in the town's only shop. It was small and not well stocked. Here one might buy bar soap or a wick for a kerosene lantern.

When Maria saw them together sipping their coffee, she began sharing her concerns. She reasoned that she might not be the best person to lead the village, but she was willing. She only needed help. She pulled out a crumpled piece of paper from her pocket and read the technical problems she felt she could not answer. Raul and Jose also had no easy answers for her. They had never done tree planting. But they did know there was a government plan for such things. The government forestry department might be able to answer her questions and help them get started. They offered to meet Maria the following week and travel to Yauyos, the district capital, and meet with the forestry officials.

She didn't let the week pass quietly. She began to imagine for herself the precise locations where trees might be planted. She visited every family in the village and asked them where they would want trees planted. She began to bring the other villagers into a shared picture of their community. A new image was being planted in everyone's mind as she asked them, "Where would you plant trees?" There were some who said, "When I have the trees then I'll tell you." But she persisted until even these folk were caught up imagining a new future for their village.

Maria also asked each family to say why they thought trees would benefit the village. She hoped that people would begin to see that trees were in their own interests. She also thought it would be good to share these ideas with the authorities. She could say, "My people in Rosario de Asia know exactly why they want trees: trees would improve the beauty of the village, they would provide shade from the intense sun and act as a windbreak for their fields."

When it came time for Maria to travel to Yauyos, she was well prepared. She knew exactly what the village wanted. Now she only needed to figure out how they would do it. Together, Raul, Jose and Maria entered the district forestry office. It was small and cramped and cluttered with maps. There was a desk and one decrepit typewriter. Behind

it was the smiling face of a short uniformed man named Mr. Gomez who greeted them. It appeared that this office might not get many visitors.

After introductions, Raul asked Maria to explain Rosario de Asia's plan and ask her questions. After more than an hour, the meeting resulted in several surprises for Maria. First, the forestry department would be glad to help. They had never received any request from the Canete valley villages and any previous attempt to start something there on their part came to nothing. So they would do a site visit and help determine what trees would be best suited for Rosario de Asia's elevation and soil type. They would hold a training session for the villagers so they would know how to care best for their trees. They would also provide the seedlings once the proper species were identified. In turn they would expect the village people to plant and care for the trees.

It seemed unbelievable to Maria that they could make so many decisions so quickly. She never really expected anyone in the government to talk with someone like her for that length of time and actually decide there and then to do something. All her questions were answered. Everything was going much better than planned. But there was one surprise she wasn't so sure about. While they were talking, Mr. Gomez asked Raul and Jose why the other villages in the valley weren't also planting trees? They explained that Rosario de Asia had this plan as a result of a village meeting. Most of the other villages hadn't held community planning meetings and so they weren't involved yet. Mr Gomez felt the program would be more successful if other villages were involved and given training before starting the forestry project. Could Maria share her village's vision and see if there was any interest in the other villages to do the same?

For Maria, it was difficult to believe that anyone from the government would ask her to take responsibilities beyond her own village. And yet deep inside she was glowing to think that she of all people would be seen as a capable person able to take responsibility for such a big job. Her fear of her own simple background and the wonder of being chosen for this task were pulling like opposite forces inside her. With Raul's and Jose's gentle insistence she agreed to join them in visiting the other villages.

\* \* \*

Over the next several weeks, Maria traveled throughout the Canete Valley and found that seventeen villages were interested in tree planting. The only villages not interested had no available water source and felt they could not properly care for the trees as they bought all their water at an expensive price.

Maria led all the villages who were interested in a meeting to help the village map out a plan of action. They planned a community work day to plant the trees, decided what land to use and who would be responsible for the watering and care of the trees. Following these meetings an engineer from the forestry authority visited the proposed planting sites and recommended the most appropriate variety for that place.

Most villages decided to plant trees along a main avenue, in a central park or plaza and around private cultivated fields. Those villages that decided upon having trees in front of each house along a main avenue left it to the families to tend to their own trees. Similarly, those families that requested trees for their fields were expected to care for them on their

own. When public land was used, one person, a rotation of people or the school children were made responsible.

Maria became known everywhere she went as the advocate for trees. Every village discovered through her a dream that would change the entire presence of their communities. People felt her courage. They could tell it was not easy for her to stand up before a strange village and lead a discussion. They knew the risks she was taking. Above all, they felt her determination, her spirit that demanded change, that sought the seemingly impossible. People were inspired to try something completely new, because this short, older woman, spoke simply about a vision for Rosario de Asia that could also be their vision. They joined with her in her hope. Committees were formed and plans were made.

Before the trees were planted a training course was offered on reforestation. Forty-five representatives attended from seventeen villages. These people returned to their villages to share what they had learned about the importance of trees and their care.

In all 7,000 trees were planted with plans underway to plant 50,000 more. Some of the villages had better success than others in maintaining them. In Correviento they planted palms and cypress in their park. The trees are all healthy and growing at a good rate despite soil that looks like moon dust. The primary school waters the trees daily. On weekends and holidays, families rotate responsibility. In the villages of Bujama and Rosario de Asia trees were planted at each house and along the roadside and in the plaza. Ninety percent have survived. In El Carmen the trees are already five meters tall and healthy. The people claim it is because of the training that their trees are doing so well.

In another village they experienced failure. A group of boys pulled out all the trees by the roots the night of the planting. It seems that they might have done this because they were not involved in the preparation and implementation of the project. Those communities that delegated specific responsibility for the trees have had better results.

Now these desert villages have trees where there were none before and they are proud. As the trees grow and as the villages continue to develop their own human spirit, many will no doubt forget what Maria did for them. But her legacy remains and the village is forever changed because of her.



## THERE ARE NO LEADERS HERE

Ann Ensinger

On August 5, 1975, Murlidhar had no way to predict what was in store for him. No one did. Squinting from the glare of sunlight passing through a sky unfettered by clouds, Murlidhar could distinguish the outline of three strangers walking toward his neighbor Asaram. They had just arrived on the bus from Aurangabad and were obviously not comfortable here. Hands that gripped tightly a set of official-looking papers and eyes that scanned the streets in all directions signalled a need for help.

"Who are the village leaders?" they asked somewhat abruptly. There were four donkeys tied to an old post near him and Gopal just gestured lazily in that direction and said, "They are our leaders!"

Murlidhar overheard this change and felt very ashamed. So, without thinking, he blurted out: "Leaders, you want? I am a leader!" To himself he said, "Me? A leader? Ridiculous! Headstrong? Yes! Proud? Yes! But a leader . . . well . . ." If he had known what was about to happen, he might not have been so quick to speak up!

Murlidhar was a farmer. Not a farmer like his 20th century European or American counterpart, or even like many small farmers in countless villages spread across India. But a landless farmer. A farmer with no tools of his own, with no land, no livestock. Even his small hut of mud bricks and stone was not his own. He toiled loyally day after day in someone else's fields, earning money to secure someone else's future.

His father, Vishwanath, a leader of the small number of Buddhists in his village, always gently reminded him of the joy of being a part of the natural cycles of the earth. "You do your best and leave the rest up to God," he would say. "When the night time comes, God will give you the fruits of your labor." The farmer-son often pondered the wisdom of such advice. "Is this all that there is for me?" he would ask himself. "Maybe Buddha knows another path for me." Still, such thoughts never interfered with Murlidhar's relentless

obedience to his task. After all, he did have a wife and a toddler to feed and another baby soon to arrive. Besides, there was something vaguely reassuring about always being so close to the land.

The land, however, in his dusty village was not always so friendly to those who sought to know it intimately. Drought had been frequent in past years. Great amounts of energy were required by most of its 1,200 residents to sustain an economy based largely on growing fruits and vegetables, sugar cane and millet. There were no tractors or any modern equipment. Farming technology resembled methods established centuries ago.

"Why did my grandfather and his father decide to stay here?" Murlidhar had asked himself so many times. And yet, somehow, it did seem right that they were there. There was no real explanation for this attachment except for a sense of continuity . . . a pride in a vital, purposeful past.

For five years, there had been no rain to speak of. The people of Maliwada laboring in their dry fields under the shadow of the majestic Daulatabad fort, produced scarcely enough food for themselves. Though the grandeur of the once famous fort had continued to attract attention, the villages at its foot were bypassed and neglected. By 1975, walls had crumbled; wells had filled with silt; creeks had disappeared and the fields lay brown and barren.

\* \* \*

Having made his declaration, Murlidhar was in a daze. All he knew at that moment was that he was facing three strangers who expected him to be an authority in his village!

The three strangers asked if they could speak with him for a few minutes. Now, he began to worry. These people must be treated hospitably. He must have some tea for them. But there were only two small tea stalls in the village and besides, he had no money for tea.

Parvatibai, his wife, was still out near the fields cutting grass. It was late in the afternoon, but she usually worked as long as she could so she would receive four rupees instead of three for her day's efforts. That extra money meant a lot.

So, he smiled and motioned for the men to follow him to his home. There was no electricity in the village and the hut was very dark inside, so he seated the guests on a charpoy rope bed outside near the door. Then, he ran with much haste to the spot where Parvatibai was most likely to be working. Luckily, he found her right away. He told her to come immediately to prepare tea, for they had three guests, one European and two important looking Indians.

Murlidhar was very anxious then, about what was going to happen next, but his fears must have simply made him seem energetic and eager to talk. As hard as he has tried over the years, he can never remember exactly what happened. They talked about Maliwada: what it had been, what it was and what it could be. When they finished, Murlidhar knew he wanted to live in the future Maliwada that they talked about together.

Because it was late that August night and buses seldom stopped in Maliwada, Murlidhar asked the men to spend the night in Maliwada. This time though, he recognized his limits and went to the home of Rambhau, a small businessman who had by local standards

managed to become successful by working on several enterprises at once. Rambhau had an extra room and a kerosene lantern and moreover, a keen sense for knowing if something would work or not. In exchange for taking his charges, Murlidhar agreed to find some extra food for the gentlemen.

Something wonderful must have transpired that night because the next morning as Murlidhar was hoeing a row of jowar, he looked up to see the European whom he had aided the day before waving to him. Murlidhar put down his hoe and waited while the man approached. "We talked with some others last night and decided to have a big meeting," the man explained. "Everyone in Maliwada will be invited. It will last for a whole week and will start on December 8 in four weeks. We want you to make a speech since you are the one who helped us first. Rambhau didn't think that I should ask you, but I didn't know why a leader such as yourself should not be included. My colleagues and I will be back with more friends to help with the preparations. See you then."

Murlidhar did not even have a chance to speak. Even if he had, words would have failed him. He was reeling from the impact of the news. He felt that Rambhau was right. Of course, the visitors did not know that he was simply a landless peasant. Or did they? Hadn't at least one of them seen him working the fields today? Hadn't he seen several other higher caste villagers going in and out of Rambhau's house late last night? Surely, his neighbors must have said something . . . but still, the man had not even really asked if he would speak . . . he just seemed to assume that Murlidhar should and could do the job.

A sense of unease and exhilaration washed over Murlidhar all at once. He sensed that from this time forward, his life would be forever altered.

The next month became a blur of activity. People worked as though crazed by the local country wine. The whole village seemed to be driven by some invisible power source. The pace was hectic but somehow directed - not chaotic. Everyone seemed to know that they were moving toward something great, something exciting, something even necessary. Murlidhar always felt that it was this sense of a common task, more than anything else, that kept things together during those days of setting up "The Project". There was really no other way to explain it.

After the three strangers' first visit, Rambhau and his neighbor, Hamid, carefully went to each man in the village who oversaw a family or who, like Vishwanath, held authority over any segment of the village. Rambhau was sensitive to everyone's need to understand, but he was so convinced of the need for a "Village Planning Consult" that he had little patience for lengthy discussions about potential problems. Hamid was less impetuous and could often see both sides of the conversation. His presence in these initial meetings provided the necessary balance to create genuine - although shaky - consensus to go ahead.

In his own right, Rambhau had gained the confidence of many villagers. Through hard work and a willingness to risk, he had done well over the years. And no one ever complained that he gained at their expense. Instead, most felt that his gain was a gain for the village. So, many trusted without understanding why. Somehow, a spark was ignited in the imaginations of enough people to propel the efforts of the rest of the villagers into the set-up process.

Maliwada, although set in a country rich with religious and national traditions and celebrations, had always been too poor to sponsor any real festivities. No one could afford to bring religious leaders to the village for ritualistic blessings and sacrifices. But in preparation for the consult, the villagers were making up for this lack. Parvatibai, however, was sensing the calm that comes before the pains of labor. She knew that she would soon have more to deal with than feeding adult guests. She had difficulty at times, concentrating on the festivities as her thoughts kept dwelling on other preparations.

But her reflections were also clouded by constant thoughts of her husband. She often thought of him these days. She wondered what was happening to him. It wasn't that he looked any different. And he still always found time for a kind word to her and a playful tussle with Shankar. But it wasn't the same. At night, he would disappear into the "ghost castle", the rambling old house with the courtyard, which reputedly was haunted, ever since a cow had fallen down its well and died, sit for hours at the back of the room and listen to the discussions of the outsiders who'd come to help with the planning consult. He didn't talk much, she knew, but he had ideas. Some nights, his eyes shone with a glow that seemed almost trance-like.

Like a loving wife, Parvatibai wanted to shield her husband from the pain of disappointment. She felt that he was allowing his hopes to soar beyond any reachable heights. Still, it was exciting too. She reluctantly admitted to becoming caught up at times in all of the talk about change. "There are many things that I have often dreamed of for Shankar and, now, the baby," she thought. "Maybe they could go to school and have a fine suit of clothes to wear . . ."

But now, as she thought, Parvatibai's attention was drawn to Murlidhar. He was pacing back and forth in front of their hut, gesturing and mumbling. His face was captured by a deep scowl. Tomorrow was the Opening Ceremony. The Opening Ceremony meant speeches and for Murlidhar that meant just one speech - his. The European had not forgotten his request and Murlidhar was actually scheduled to give some opening remarks to welcome all of the visitors to Maliwada. Garlands were being strung and hung in profusion around the roped-off meeting space. A colorful shamiana was being erected over the rows of chairs for the expected dignitaries. Women were busy washing their saris which they lay on the hot stones to dry.

For Murlidhar, getting ready to make a speech was agonizing. He had not had a restful sleep for days. He was constantly torn between a picture of himself as a poor, uneducated farmer - never able to be greeted by the wealthier villagers without saying his "namaskar" first, and a strong desire to do something as wild and outrageous as speak at this wonderful event before many people. But he was ready. Somewhere deep inside, he knew he could do it.

The next day, as he peered out over the faces of the one hundred sixty people gathered for the opening of the Maliwada Human Development Consult, Murlidhar began to question his sanity. "How could I ever have thought that I was ready for this?" Indeed, no-one present had ever witnessed anything quite like this. There was an anticipation in the air that could almost be touched, felt, held onto. Awe permeated the atmosphere. Never before had Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims worked together in Maliwada and joined in a common celebration. Old men, women with babies, a blind beggar, the Chief Executive Officer of the District, and white-skinned foreigners with strange accents were all a part of the human mosaic present that day. Everyone was happy. It was not a happiness that



broke forth into laughter. It was a happiness that was rooted in a sense of confidence in one's accomplishments.

Murlidhar was aware of all of this as he rose to speak. He knew that it was important for a common person to be seen and heard supporting this new effort. He was nearly overcome with the sense of honor and privilege that was given to him to be that spokesperson.

He started off slowly, and quietly. He began by recounting the story of the arrival of the strangers and the fear that he had felt when first thinking about Maliwada being different. But he talked of his hope, too . . . of his secret dream that one day, Buddha would show him another way to live. He ended by saying that he now knew that things could be better. He called for everyone to join with him and work together to make all of their dreams come true. Finally, he declared that they do this not only for themselves or their children, but also for India and even for the whole world!

Murlidhar sat down. At first, he thought he had said something wrong. No one moved. There was complete silence across the crowd. Then, suddenly someone at the back began to clap and the response that followed was exuberant and rocking. It took minutes before the next speaker could begin. The crowd continued to clap and shout words of encouragement. Everyone had been moved by the words of this humble laborer.

Somehow the villagers of Maliwada had glimpsed their common future. In each of their hearts, there was a stirring of hope, of wonder, and of dread. The people of Maliwada knew that together they were embarking on a daring and irrevocable adventure which would forever change their lives.

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People everywhere were caught off guard by the holiday spirit of the Consult week. Land owners and their overseers were constantly seeing this one or that one who had dropped his hoe to run off to see some amazing new tool or device or to take part in a huddle with others to discuss the most recent questions being posed. Women, too, had to abandon their routines to cook large amounts of dahl and curry to feed the voracious visitors.

Probably the most delinquent peasant, though, was Murlidhar. By Wednesday, Patil, his supervisor, had decided that it was useless to keep chasing him. "Let him go," he told himself. "He will think twice about his actions when he only gets a couple of paise at the end of the week." Murlidhar was not really worried about losing his week's pay. What he would receive during that one week would far outweigh the few coins which he would bring home from the fields. He was certain of the necessity of being a part of the process.

What convinced him of the need to attend was the report of a neighbor the first night. His friend eagerly told him of a foreigner who had come to the door of his hut and through an interpreter asked him what his hopes and dreams were for Maliwada. "Can you imagine?" his friend continued. "Why would someone ask me a question like that?"

Why indeed? Murlidhar could not stop thinking about that question the whole next day in the fields. His mind was whirring. There were so many things that he hoped for, but no one had asked him that question - not this week or in the whole twenty-seven years of his life. He wanted desperately to talk to someone . . . to share his dreams too. After running home to eat with Parvatibai and Shankar that evening, he headed for the "ghost castle".

life. He wanted desperately to talk to someone . . . to share his dreams too. After running home to eat with Parvatibai and Shankar that evening, he headed for the "ghost castle".

Inside the large room, shadows danced on the walls as flames flickered in several old lanterns. At the front of the room, a new kerosene lamp made clearly visible a lot of writing on a large chalkboard. It seemed that everyone was talking at once. Apparently, conversations had been generated when the consult leaders had shown the village members a chart on which was recorded a statement of Maliwada's "Vision". One leader explained how all of the comments and hopes and dreams gathered from everyone the day before had contributed to the collective hopes and dreams or "Vision". That was amazing.

Everyone was pleased. Everyone except Murlidhar. He felt bitterly disappointed. The chance of a lifetime had just passed him by. No one wanted to hear about his dreams now. It was all over. He was a poor foolish peasant. There was no reason for him to have expected anyone to have valued his ideas. Resentment and anger began to replace the disappointment he felt.

As his emotions played with his insides, they also shifted the expressions on his face. Across the sea of seated bodies, someone had noticed Murlidhar's arrival and was concerned to see his face cloud over. Wondering what was wrong, Rambhau squeezed his way through the crowded room and laid a hand on Murlidhar's shoulder. The gesture startled Murlidhar and shook him out of his introspection. When Murlidhar complained about not getting to share his dreams, Rambhau explained that there would be other questions asked and that he would have many chances to be heard.

The dark cloud lifted from the laborer's face and anger was replaced by a new emotion - resolve. Then and there, Murlidhar made a silent pledge not to be left out again. When plans were being made he would be there too.

For the rest of the week, Murlidhar was true to his commitment. He eagerly listened and tried to understand all that was going on. He became a constant presence at the back of the room. Even though his intentions were great, his shyness was too. So, he seldom said anything. When he did venture forth a comment, it was conveyed to the whole group by someone next to him. Gradually, though, he felt more and more comfortable with this strange group of "dreamers".

Murlidhar's participation did not go unnoticed by the Consult leaders. They were encouraged by his presence and continued efforts. And they were quite astonished when, on the last evening of planning, Murlidhar rose to his feet to challenge a comment made by a fellow villager. They were talking about priorities: which programs should be started first and why. The previous speaker had convinced everyone that what was needed was for Maliwada to invite a major industry from Aurangabad to relocate its factory in Maliwada. Murlidhar was indignant. He spoke with the force of words which had been forming all week long. "What about those who work in the fields?" he asked. "Something should be done for them first."

Faces began to turn in his direction. Heads began to nod. Murlidhar's plea rang true with almost everyone in the room. After all, didn't this village derive its very name from the fact that for centuries they had been tillers of the soil? Hadn't their forebears been the suppliers of grain and produce to the legendary Moghul court whose seat had been in the nearby Daulatabad fort? At this critical moment in the history of Maliwada, Murlidhar had struck a deep chord in the hearts of his fellow villagers in reminding them of their glorious heritage.

People began to talk now of new irrigation projects, hybrid sorgham and even a tractor in the village. The District Agricultural Officer volunteered to appoint one of his Extension Officers to help the farmers of Maliwada upgrade their crops of grain and vegetables. Murlidhar knew he had spoken well and felt again a strange kind of sensation come over him. It was as though every time he opened his mouth, unexpected yet powerful words tumbled out. He didn't understand this at all but he felt compelled to trust what was happening to him.

Murlidhar stopped a minute. His mind flashed back to the first day the strangers came to Maliwada. He remembered the donkeys Gopal pointed to as the leaders of the village. That cynical joke seemed to have lost its power now. Of course there were leaders here. Not very likely ones, he admitted to himself. Just ordinary folk like himself. But now something had captured their imaginations. They saw new possibilities for their community and there was a revitalising sense of energy throughout the village.

### Conclusion

Personal and community transformation are an integrated reality. Both are necessary for the full development of the human potential. As individuals, we daily confront decisions and opportunities to act. At times we may find ourselves motivated by laziness, fear or self-interest at the expense of others. But the stories of Maria and Murlidhar show the dignity and contribution of the individual toward the changes in self, community and consciousness which occur in a development effort.

People's efforts to improve themselves, their neighborhoods and villages are like a snowball rolling down a hill - it starts out small but gathers speed and volume as it rolls. One person can make a difference in the world today. This capacity comes in the movement toward growth of self, community and the world. One is drawing from within oneself the life spirit with which one infects others. One's task is really the encouragement of individual growth in others and that is best done by example.

We are all part of several communities - our town or city, our political party, our family, professional groups and more. Identity as part of a community is one of the first steps in developing human spirit. With such an identity, one is encouraged to take action to benefit the whole. Through the establishment of neighborhoods, cities and nations which embody the qualities we would like to promote, we are participating in the development of human spirit.

### NOTES:

1. Bellah (1985)
2. Lerner (1986)
3. *Ibid.*

4. Assistance in the writing of this story was given by Mary D'Souza, Mariam Gibson and Ronnie Seagren.

## CONCLUSION

It is time to bring this book and series to a close. Volume I, *Directory of Rural Development Projects*, introduced the organisations and groups that took part in the IERD. Volume II, *Voices of Rural Practitioners*, recorded the experiences of rural development workers, analyzing common themes and approaches. Volume III, *Approaches That Work in Rural Development*, has documented audience reactions, from the perspective of local initiatives, emerging trends and methods of participatory development.

In Volume III, there is a variety of articles. There are some that are contextual: philosophical/theological (Epps, van Arendonk), historical (Bambawale, Hyden, Leet, Swantz and van der Heijden), and cosmological (Harman). Other articles focus on further learnings about people-based development with documentation of programmes in a number of countries, some of them the result of the IERD process (Yallop, Powell, Seagren, Hayes, d'Souza). Many articles focus on the increasing role of NGOs/PVOs/PDAs in the development process and the challenges and issues that role brings (van der Heijden, Leet, Campbell).

Yet another series of articles reports on the increasing dialogues and partnerships between governmental, non-governmental, bilateral and multilateral agencies - the achievements and learnings to date, and some of the issues. The categories of cooperation - a stance or attitude, collaboration - a working relationship, and coordination - an alignment of actions within common parameters, provide a simple, practical screen through which to view this trend.

This conclusion is not a summary of the variety of information and perspectives presented in these volumes. That would require another book. It is an impressionistic reaction, intuiting connections and sniffing out trends. It is subjective and inevitably gives some material less attention than it deserves and other more.

### **The Shift in Context**

The IERD process emphasized what is happening at the local level. It documents "the Fairness Revolution",<sup>1</sup> the shift from seeing the situation as one of "misfortune" to one of "injustice". Misfortune calls for charitable relief *for* the unfortunate by those better off. Injustice calls for those oppressed to change their situation with or without help from those who are only indirectly affected or even beneficiaries (in a limited sense) of the unjust state of affairs. The demands of this revolution are:

- basic human needs (food, shelter, health care, education, employment, and security of the person);
- a sense of the dignity of being human;
- a sense of becoming (a chance to achieve a better life);
- a sense of justice or equity;
- a sense of achievement, related to something worth achieving;
- a sense of solidarity, of belonging to a worthy group and of participation in decisions that affect the group's and one's own destiny.

This revolution extends the rule of law to every situation and individual on the planet. The plethora of declarations and treaties that have come from UN conferences of the last two decades have spelled out this "restructuring of international society around recognised fundamental rights."<sup>2</sup> But, there is a second revolution: a fundamental paradigm shift. It makes sense, but a different kind of sense, of the trends, points, issues raised in these books.

Harman, van Arendonk and others have said the existing dominant paradigm is a scientific approach to reality that assumes there is an objective universe which can be explored and described more and more precisely with quantitative models. What is "real" is only that which is physically observable (positivism), and that complex phenomena are best explained by reducing them to more elemental events (reductionism). It maintains/explains a society that is economically-oriented and production-focussed. It has gradually eroded all previously existing value systems and replaced them, more or less accidentally, with a pseudo-value system that is relative, and utilitarian and based on external measurable factors.

This system often co-exists uncomfortably with older inner-directed "religious" systems, even within an individual scientist - the "priest" or authority figure of this paradigm. The "development expert" is one version of this authority figure. The people most affected by this social paradigm are the ones who are marginalised by it, i.e. those who cannot be productive under its terms, who cannot or do not fit modern industrial society. They are the 800 - 900 million rural and urban poor, the great majority of whom are women. Because they don't fit, some of those who do benefit from this modern social order (we who are reading/writing this book for example), worry about them, and try to figure out how to enable them to fit or at least how to get *for* them a fair share of the products of the system. This "fair share" is the core of the fairness revolution.

Apologists for the existing paradigm explain that the poor are forced back to subsistence farming because the industrial market economy hasn't been able to expand to include them. The poor are driven to create work for themselves in the "informal sector" because employment hasn't been created yet in the formal sector. In order to have adequate income, the poor have to resort to illegal activities, like selling their goods and services on the black market at prices other than those decreed by governments, or growing the drugs used in modern societies to fill the inner void.

However, if one uses the emerging paradigm as a screen of analysis, these activities appear differently. In her article, Swantz writes:

*"the present situation is not only an outcome of a regression on the macro level in the world system of economics . . . that regression itself is a result of a globally promoted policy, based on the concept of development as a process of economic growth and modernisation and on purely technical solutions. People have adopted self-reliant innovative ways of supporting themselves in spite of the development measures pursued by the Party, . . . the Government (and) the external (development) agencies."*<sup>3</sup>

Those stepping outside the system in Tanzania aren't proof of the failure of African socialism as opposed to free-enterprise capitalism, they aren't a demonstration of how bad the Tanzanian government is. They are evidence that many governments are increasingly incompetent because they try to put into place or maintain an unsustainable system based on an obsolete paradigm. The people opting for self-reliance in spite of government and development agencies are doing something about creating a new system that embodies the emerging values. As Willis Harman reminds us: "Throughout history, whenever the social system has undergone . . . basic change, it has come not from the top down, but through vast numbers of people changing their minds and demanding change."<sup>4</sup> Seen from this perspective, the marginalised - those that survive - are in fact part of an "evolutionary mutation" creating new social forms.

Further evidence of this comes from the growing number of success stories about development assistance that have to do with what conventional finance considers impossible: credit extended to the very poor. A bank in the United States recently sent some of its directors and employees to visit the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh to learn what they had discovered about extending credit to people "red-lined" by the existing system. It is now commonplace knowledge that credit schemes extended to the poorest - Grameen Bank, Naam/Six S, Sewa Bank, Diviseema Social Service Society and others - have consistently higher rates of repayment than credit schemes extended to wealthier people in the same countries who are, in conventional banking terms, better risks. All aid donors know this is true and are eager to offer money to organisations which have schemes for such marginalised people.

What are the characteristics of these schemes? *First*, the successful loan schemes have required some savings on the part of the poor as a prerequisite for a loan. *Second*, they have required joint guarantees, i.e. solidarity. *Third*, they are for very simple basic things - purchasing rice for resale, buying a milk animal, setting up a bicycle repair shop on the roadside. These are loans for local production and consumption, loans for purposes often outside the "official" economy that will not increase the gross national product, yet do increase the well-being of many. *Fourth*, the credit officer usually does not evaluate the economic viability of the individual purposes to which the loans will be put in any detail. He/she concentrates on the credit-worthiness of the individuals - defined in these schemes as their personal trustworthiness - and this is largely determined by their peers. Thus, it is really character, an "inner value", that is the basis for the loan.

What is going on here? Within the existing paradigm it has been hard to explain this success. Analysts have resorted to Oliver Twist/Horatio Alger-type terms to explain this phenomenon - "The very poor are so grateful for a chance to lift themselves up a bit that they will do everything to repay." Or they resort to heroic explanations - "The poor are the best savers and most efficient producers in the world otherwise they don't survive." From this new perspective however, a system based on the inner worth of people, solidarity, conserving(saving), cultural diversity, basic needs and a process approach succeeds, because these *are* the (re)emerging values.

It is also easier to see why "process" *has* to replace "blueprint" as an operating mode when working with marginal people. Every nation and community is a developing community with existing models of "developed" being questionable if not obsolete. For instance, what industrialised country has figured out how to sustain its current level of social welfare services and agricultural price supports beyond the next decade? The effects of the increasing global economic, political and cultural connectedness are beyond the best minds' capacity to predict. The most any scientist can say for certain about climatic changes in a particular region due to the planetary greenhouse effect is that there will be some. Therefore, claims to being able to design and complete socio-economic projects of any size and duration according to preset detailed specifications are pretentious and naive. It is because of this fundamental uncertainty that the priority arena of action for development work today is not provision of "bricks and mortar" infrastructure, but the creation of environments enabling self-sufficiency, co-responsibility and self-identity.

This situation clarifies the increasing role of NGOs/PVOS/PDAs. Their reluctance to adopt management principles from the business sector partly stems from their awareness of the production-increase/utilitarian orientation that is the foundational "value" of all modern economic institutions. There undoubtedly are basic principles of human organisation as Piers Campbell maintains, but the process of sifting these out from production-biased ones is not simple. Organisations that deal with the disastrous consequences of the existing macro-economic system at the micro level can be forgiven their caution.

The paradigm shift also illuminates the "scaling-up", "replication" and "third generation" debate about the future of PVOs. Economies of scale - implying bigness - have no inherent virtue in the emerging paradigm. A capacity for autonomous administration on a scale maximising direct human relationships both with the people being served and within the organisations' staff is a higher value. In such a system, multiplying positive action is achieved more through networking and interchange, than through "scaling up". This is the finding of organisations involved in the IERD, for example the Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society (CROSS):

*"CROSS believes that political change at the macro level is the only real answer to the people's problems. All the present efforts at the micro-level by numerous agencies are means to such an end. This does not mean a small group expanding itself as a national force. This type of vertical development of one organisation will jeopardise the people's cause instead of encouraging it as it would end up as another institution with all those ramifications.*

*Because of this belief the CROSS group encourages formation of small groups in different parts of the country. It conducts periodical meetings of various action groups . . . Realising the necessity of the need for establishing links with urban groups, CROSS started linking up with urban organisations . . . Efforts are being made for further strengthening of these contacts."*<sup>5</sup>

### Future Projections

The global economic system will undergo repeated crises. The energy crises were preludes. The debt crisis will be more and more unsolvable within the existing set of parameters. Here and there clever manipulations of the crisis will occur, such as environmental groups in Europe and North America buying sections of tropical rain forest through paying a portion of a country's international debt. On the larger scale, though, the paradox of flourishing underground, informal, or illegal economies will perplex orthodox

economic planners of the North and the South more and more. They will continue to try to integrate these economies into the existing system, seeing them as revenue for debt repayment and maintenance of modern administrative infrastructure.

People, especially the poor, will continue to opt out and actively resist such co-option. It will be more and more obvious to them that they are being asked to pay for mistakes they did not make, in a system that does not serve their needs or invite their participation in shaping it. They will continue to artfully dodge co-option initially out of basic "survival economics", then out of an awareness that they are doing better going it alone.

The more the poor are supported in their efforts, the more the modern system will be undermined. A paradoxical situation will emerge: various countries described by official economics as disasters, "basket cases" by such measures as debt repayments, will see the living situation of some of the poorest of their populations (those most actively opting out) stabilise and possibly even improve, while their middle classes and wage labourers will experience greater hardship and marginalisation.

NGOs will receive more and more direct funding from governments, both from their own and from foreign donors - as block grants, as payments under contracts and as revenue from service charges made on monies managed by them in revolving loan schemes. Those who succeed in stabilizing their funding in this way will come to play major roles in their regions. They may become power brokers, resented by government officials and by staff of other NGOs who are not recipients of such stable funding. To a greater and greater extent these NGOs will be ones from within less developed countries and will be regional or national in scope depending on the size of the country and the people they are serving.

More national and regional PVO/NGO umbrella organisations will form. They will continue to grow in numbers of member organisations and in influence. They will deal both with the governments of the countries where they operate, and with international agencies. They will be engaged in politics as advocates for the people they serve, helping to shape government policy constructively and critiquing it as necessary. There will be conflicts with these partners resulting from policy differences, from structural differences, and from different degrees of alignment with the emerging paradigm. There will also be conflicts resulting from arrogance and stupidity on both sides. Some governments will try to control the PVO sector in the interests of honesty, efficiency and good government. Some NGOs with foreign funding will have staff better paid, with more congenial working conditions and more flexibility in programme implementation than the government officials they deal with and this will create resentment.

Some will accept and will find the point at which "diseconomies of scale" begin to operate, occurring sooner than they had anticipated. There will be attempts at "efficiencies of scale" through financial incentives encouraging PVOs to expand. The "multiplier effect" will occur more through networking and interlinking of regional and local organisations, groups and individuals than through expansion of existing "successful" private voluntary organisations, though this will be hard to measure.

Dialogue and partnership between various agencies, governmental and non-governmental, national and international will grow. The model of a working consortium of an indigenous NGO in a region, a parastatal organisation, and an international donor or donors will become a formula. For example, the Indo-German Pilot Project, with several experiments of this type, is seen by the West German Ministry for Economic Cooperation as a model for future forms of aid. The focus will be on such collaboration/joint ventures, with the NGOs



providing the local-level contacts and know-how and the other partners the funds and infrastructure and, where needed, the technical skills. Although there will be diehard resistance in all camps, eventually, maybe within five years, the concept will become accepted.

Collaboration will be sought after by all parties because it can be most clearly defined and because it involves the greatest transfer of resources from the government to the NGO side. There is the real danger that these collaborations will again create projects designed for the people not *by/with* them, because the NGO will be assumed to "speak for" them, and because the scale involved will make it difficult to conceive of processes whereby the "beneficiaries" could be meaningfully involved.

Cooperation and coordination will prove much harder to achieve. Cooperation requires a change in attitude - to a belief in the innate value of sharing information that results in seeking out opportunity for interchange with all parties involved. In most organisations it is harder to get \$1000 for an activity of this type approved than \$100,000 for "bricks and mortar". Coordination, as Sandy Powell observed, entails a certain "loss of sovereignty" and this is feared not only by governments but by private organisations and departments within governments as well.<sup>6</sup>

Educational trends will intensify at the two extremes: the broadest possible context - the paradigmatic one; and the most practical - skills training in the informal sector. Methodologies appropriate to both will involve more group and individual reflection in right brain as well as left brain modes and less formal lectures and studies.

## Challenges

### Gender

Gender has emerged as a major issue. Gender inequities have been dealt with in two ways up to now: as misfortune and as injustice. A third way, requiring a shift in paradigm has not taken place. There are programmes for women that treat them as unfortunates, people who have been left behind by progress or hurt by its inevitable consequences and who need special supports to enable them to catch up and adjust. Then there are programmes insisting on equal status for women, seeing their status within the existing social system as unjust and pushing for their right to full social and economic citizenship. Some agencies are implementing procedures which ask for the effect on women of any programme being developed. However, less change has taken place in staffing. Women are still rare in the middle and upper level administrative staff of development agencies and government departments, and are much less than half the personnel of most.

Women are more than half the poor. The burden of caring for children and elderly family members falls largely on women. Tradition, division of labour and the increasing number of men working as emigrant labour in cities and richer countries increases the burden. It would seem logical to employ more women than men at every level of development aid administration, and certainly in those parts of it that focus on poverty alleviation. The argument that there are fewer qualified women is specious. There are large numbers of women with formal training. More to the point, the best qualification here is personal experience. Agencies and departments could assist women field staff to increase their capabilities through in-service training and leave for formal studies. Such training should emphasize interchange with women working in similar roles in other agencies.

These comments refer to women within government and private organisations. A different question arises where self-help movements created by women are concerned. The women in these groups, even when they have expediently organised themselves in a standard social form such as a cooperative, a trade union or a registered women's organisation, create their own ways of working and internal structure. Support for such women's groups, whether it is financing, training or management advice, should empower the integrity of their approaches and not force them to fit existing moulds.

Gender is an issue for all cultures. Men in Asia, Latin America and Africa hide behind arguments that "women's lib" is a western phenomenon, the acceptance of which means further erosion of their own cultures. But the liberation of women, as the UN Decade and especially the Nairobi conference showed, is a global phenomenon, and the basic issues are the same, though the approaches adopted to deal with them may differ according to the local situation.

A shift in paradigm within organisations and within the development community in general to reflect "feminine" perspectives on development philosophy, objectives, methods of negotiating, of analyzing and so on has not yet taken place. It cannot take place within the context of "misfortune" and "injustice" because both of these assume that the existing system is O.K. - it just hurts or excludes a category of people from benefitting and/or participating. These views do not require men and women to examine the presuppositions on which structures and programmes themselves are built. Without such an examination, changes in structures and standard operating procedures cannot take place.

The predominance of men in development organisations at the policy level may also help to explain why so many programmes have been organised as "shortcuts"<sup>7</sup> or quasi-military campaigns. Military imagery such as strategy, tactics, target group, logistics, etc. permeates the development community's jargon. Softer, more "feminine" words like "nurture", "enable", are used less often and with reluctance. They make the preciseness of the action, the feel of containable effort, with measurable accomplishment at the end of it, go fuzzy. Such "feminine" words are however more accurate descriptions of the kinds of attitudes, styles and approaches needed if people are agents of their own development.

The military approach, the focussed campaign, the "war on . . ." will still be needed - that approach did eradicate smallpox, has helped make Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) widely available and may do the same for river blindness and other diseases. Unfortunately, epidemic diseases are as much symptoms as causes of poverty and injustice. The "campaign mode" used to deal with such health problems is not replicable when dealing with the root issues of empowering marginal people, shifting gender images, and so on. Indeed, its tight time frame and narrow focus block integral approaches.

## Methods

A typical development conference is still a cockpit of professional egos. The standard operating techniques are formal presentations, usually someone reading a prepared text, questions from the floor and a panel discussion. Eighty percent of the time "questions from the floor" are someone else making a mini-speech to put his own ego forward. More and more people express dissatisfaction with this method. Many who come to conferences meet informally around the edges and stay away from the formal sessions, unless they are giving a presentation. Where the action is, is in things ancillary to the "main event". A recent good example was the Society for International Development (SID) Conference in

New Delhi. Many of those who attended the main event as well as the Gender and Equity gathering which preceded it said that the workshops and small group discussion methods of the Gender and Equity gathering were more effective, more human than the formal panels of the main event. What was learned years ago in working with people at the local level has yet to be applied methodologically on a large scale at the upper levels.

An enabling environment is needed here too surely, one that encourages listening, combining ideas, looking for consensus, building on what others have said, minimising egoism. It is no surprise that there are inappropriate programmes, if development administrators live, work and communicate in one atmosphere to develop programmes which are to be carried out in a very different way.

The scientific method that is central to the modern paradigm is still the essential approach used to research, plan, implement and evaluate development programmes whether done by governments, by bilateral or multilateral agencies or by international NGOs. The latter and to some extent the former, when they are successful, will usually acknowledge that it appears to have been in spite of, not due to the method. Factors such as the right people with empathy in place for long enough to understand what was really going on and to be trusted by the people were often more crucial to the outcome.

Participatory action research is another example of being caught between paradigms. Originally, it acknowledged the centrality of the people's own developing perception of what was happening and saw the outside researcher as a stimulus to that process. Lately however, there have been attempts to develop it as a new method for basic research, with the possibility of being expertly qualified in it.

### **Destructuring**

In the preface to this volume, Goran Hyden describes four phases in the evolution of development. He sketches it as a spiral outward of growing awareness of the breadth and interconnection of the issues, as well as the emergence of new strategies and structures at each phase. It can also be seen as a spiral inward from focussing on the external situation, seeing people as circumstances to be altered, to seeing individuals themselves as the focus of development, recognising the necessity of them evolving their own perspectives and approaches.

This implies a new starting point for creating programmes and infrastructure. Local groups will have to manage much of what in Northern societies has been handled by state bureaucracies, because the system is not financially sustainable otherwise. Then some of the organisational superstructure created in the previous three phases is inappropriate and superfluous. Furthermore, to the extent that this superstructure drains away resources - human, material and financial - that could be better used elsewhere, creates bureaucratic complexity and increases opportunities for corruption, it blocks action appropriate to this phase. This comment applies to government agencies and programmes within less developed countries, to donor agencies, bilateral, non-governmental and multilateral as well as to state-run cooperatives, village level government extension services, donor agencies staffed and run projects, and research and training institutions. But who will be the first to acknowledge that their institution is no longer the best use of resources and wind up their operations?

### The Burden on Local Change Agents

The IERD began as a process which put a major emphasis on the people who bear the brunt of all development schemes - the residents of local communities and the village-level workers. It was designed to involve them in documentation of their own efforts and learnings and to have them be the bulk of the representatives at the Central International Event. It is only fitting to close this series with a return to them.

A personal anecdote to begin. I attended a conference on integrated rural development was held in West Germany in 1985 with representation from universities and development agencies including the World Bank. A number of countries were represented. On the second day, a question was asked from the floor. The woman who asked it was from a university in the Philippines. She said:

*"The persons who carry out all of these strategies are the field workers, the people who actually talk with and work with the target groups. According to our research, the average time local-level development workers are effective before they burn out, quit, are fired, resign because of ill health or are killed, is three years. How is this factor taken into consideration in the project strategies you are talking about?"*

There was no answer from the panel or from any of the other 200 people for some time. Then the panel convener said something polite about it being a very important question and the conversation moved on.

The strains on the change agents, be they self-selected within a village or group or the field worker for an organisation, are enormous. They receive the fewest financial benefits. If they are paid it is often irregularly. They are the most vulnerable to political and economic pressures from forces antagonistic to what they are doing. They have fewer opportunities for training. They are more likely to be ill or undernourished - in poor physical condition. In addition they are under great psychological strain because they are the ones who have to reconcile at the person-to-person level, the needs of the people they work with and the kinds of programmes available. The paradigm shift already alluded to is an element of this stress. The more they become aware of the appropriateness of the people working through their own solutions, the more they are struck by the illogical nature of programmes for which they are required to produce results.

### Conclusion

The last forty years of development practice have been a spiralling process. In the beginning, there was the idea that the problems of poorer, less developed countries could be solved by the adoption of policies and approaches from the developed world, especially from the United States. The community development programmes of the 50's along with the Marshall Plan approaches to economic stimulation were the result.

In the sixties and seventies, the awareness grew that every situation would have to be dealt with as a unique problem. There could be no wholesale importation of "made in Europe" or "made in the USA" solutions. The belief in the validity of modern methodologies for analysis and planning lasted longer, but it too was eroded as the effect of people-centred development grew.

Now, the ecological and debt crises require global solutions once more. These solutions, however, require the *willing* participation of millions of ordinary people. For example, peasants in Nepal can play a vital role in stopping floods on the Indo-Gangetic plains by

limiting their tree-cutting for firewood and by helping to reforest the denuded mountainsides. They will only do this if they *see* the sense of doing so in terms of their own lives. Again, consumers in Europe and North America will be the ones who decide if fewer hydrocarbons go into the air, fewer tropical rain forests are destroyed and the greenhouse effect is slowed by their willingness to change their individual lifestyles in regard to such things as hairsprays, fast foods and automobiles. Government action in both cases can only support the conscientisation process, it cannot replace it.

In *Our Common Future*, the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."<sup>8</sup> Such development is dependent on the participation of people across the planet, creating their own solutions to problems and networking with others. The experiences and reflections contained in this volume, and in the IERD Series as a whole, describe early efforts to enable this process.

John Stringham

NOTES:

1. Harman, Chapter 1, p. 28.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
3. Swantz, Chapter 10, p. 307-308.
4. Harman, Chapter 1, p. 28.
5. ICA International (1984), p. 323.
6. Powell, Chapter 4, p. 55-56.
7. Hyden (1983).
8. World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), p. 43.

In addition to the articles in this volume, the following works were helpful in writing this conclusion:

1. *Armutsbekaempfung durch Selbsthilfe*. Interim Report of ES-31, special study group of the Ministry for Economic Cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany. Karl Osner, Bonn: BMZ, 1986.
2. *Awakening the Heart: East-West Approaches to Psychotherapy and Healing Practice*. John Welwood (Ed.) Boston: Shambala Press, 1983.
3. *The Decline of Patriarchy and Its Effect on Change Agents*. Thesis in process. Jill Egland. Friends World College: London, 1988.
4. *Voluntary Aid for Development: The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations*. OECD Development Action Directorate: Paris, 1986.



## WOMEN BUILDING THEIR FUTURE

Erica Mann

Kenya

On behalf of the Council for Human Ecology - Kenya, I have established an integrated rural development project for 4,000 women in Kibwezi, a semi-arid area in Kenya. (See Project BA-14, Volume 1.) These women are part of 100,000 landless, destitute people of the Kamba tribe who came to this area in search of greener pastures and a better life.

To induce development of the land to its fullest potential, security of tenure was deemed essential. Land adjudication was started early in the program through an intervention in parliament. To date, three Land Adjudicators have been stationed in Kibwezi and have completed their work in three of four Locations.

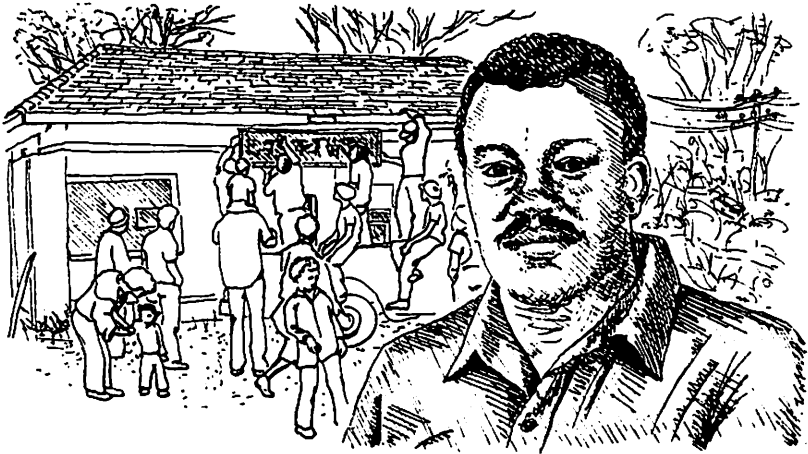
Since Kibwezi is an ecologically delicate area, we have introduced income-generating action programs that were ecologically sound. One is a zero-grazing improved milk-goat breeding scheme in which some 2,000 women are involved. They have built goat houses, dips and rainwater tanks and sell castrated surplus male goats. Many children in the area are now drinking goat milk, where goats were never milked before.

As Kibwezi is also known for the fine quality of its wild honey, we introduced bee-keeping for the women. Traditionally this has been a man's occupation. Initially, sixty women were trained in apiculture and today we have 2,500 paid-up members of a women's bee-keeping cooperative. We operate out of our own honey and wax refinery and package and sell 1,000 kg. of pure honey per month. The refinery was built by another group of women trained in brickmaking. This group is now making bricks for a canteen, two classrooms and a women's hostel.

Two groups of older ladies are busy knitting cardigans for schoolchildren in the area, as well as making baskets for export and sale in local boutiques. Two new projects have also been started by other groups of women - rabbit-raising for meat and pelts and fish farming.

The women organised several "harambee" (fund-raising) meetings and have built a secondary school for girls which now has 120 pupils. Having dealt with the education of their daughters, they have now asked for instruction in adult literacy. All the women's groups, in addition to many individuals, have opened postal savings accounts.

To see the look on the faces of these women today - women who had no idea of their own potential - is more than satisfactory. Once shown that they can do what they had never dared imagine they could, they have become self-confident enough to come forward with their own ideas and projects.



## CRISIS CATALYSES INITIATIVE

Clyde Kilgore

USA

I represent a small black community in Clarksville, Tennessee. It is a rural community made up of about 300-400 people and we have formed an organization called the South Guthrie Community Improvement Association. (See Project NA-23, Volume 1.) The purpose of this organization is to better the community as a whole, to bring up the living standards of the community in terms of improvements in roads, pure water and sanitation, health and education.

Most of us have to experience a crisis of some sort before we become involved in community development. In my case, I lived in a shack. I had spent my own money to fix it up to live in. The house was owned by a lady who was very dear to me as a mother. She allowed me to live there provided I'd fix it up. My crisis began when she died and her foster-son became the owner of that property. He told me that I had thirty days to start doubling my rent and I was not to spend any more of my money on his house because he didn't need any more home-improvement loans. That stirred me up to want to do something for myself - a self-help project. Each individual wants to raise his/her standard of living.

We didn't start off with a great big issue. We just wanted to come together in Christian love and see what we could do about our community problems. Each individual contributed what he/she could to the project. Our first project was to buy a \$27.85 gate to close off our cemetery. Then we started a clean-up campaign. From these little things that we accomplished we decided we could have a whole community project and set up a workable plan of action in writing. That started the ball moving.



Through the efforts of the Association we have improved some thirty-four brick homes out of the seventy-eight residences in our community and we have remodeled the remaining structures. We are proud of what we have because we came up from the grassroots to build our community as it is today. We had run-down houses, poor roads, and inadequate education. We have renamed our community from "Squig" to "South Guthrie". South Guthrie stands today as a proud community.

**Part IV**  
**APPENDICES**

## Appendix A

# RESOURCE MATERIALS

The following development resources are available from the office of the ICA International, rue Amedee Lynen 8, B-1030 Brussels, Belgium, or from the ICA office listed under each item.

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### BOOKS

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#### *IERD VOLUME I: DIRECTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS*

IERD Secretariat

1985 516 pages \$30.00

291 project descriptions prepared for the International Exposition for Rural Development (IERD) held in New Delhi, February 1984.  
ICAI Brussels

#### *IERD VOLUME II: VOICES OF RURAL PRACTITIONERS*

IERD Secretariat

1987 574 pages \$30.00

Self-analysis of rural development projects to stimulate networking between projects and related partners.  
ICAI Brussels

#### *IERD VOLUME III: APPROACHES THAT WORK IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT*

IERD Secretariat

1988, 450 pages, \$30.00

A dialogue between local initiatives and emerging development trends, with special emphasis on methods of participation.  
ICAI Brussels.

#### *WHAT MORE COULD WE ASK FOR*

Donna-Marie West

1986 170 pages \$9.50

The story of the community of Conacaste, Guatemala in its journey to community awareness, and the role of the author as a volunteer.  
ICA Lima/ICA Chicago

#### *IMAGE*

ICA India

A quarterly publication focusing on organizational transformation trends in South Asia.  
\$20/Yearly subscription

ICA Bombay

#### *EDGES*

ICA Toronto

A quarterly publication synthesizing current thinking within the human potential movement.

\$30/Yearly subscription.

ICA Toronto

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### CASE STUDIES

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#### *YOUNG FARMERS IN DEVELOPMENT*

Tupou Young Farmers Association

1987 44 Pages \$5.00

A Review Of The Youth Employment Initiative Project, Kingdom Of Tonga, 1986.  
ICA Sydney

#### *THE PEOPLE'S EVALUATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME*

ICA India

1988 180 pages \$10.00

Documentation of the "people's evaluation" of a development project in West Bengal from 1974-1985.

ICA Calcutta

#### *THE MACHAKOS SIMULATION GAME*

A game which simulates a year in a Kenyan village in partnership with a team and a village, implementing village priorities. See Appendix B for more details.

ICA Houston/ICAI Brussels. (Facilitation fee negotiated)

**PARTICIPATION: THE KEY TO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT**

Mary D'Souza

1987 20 pages \$4.00

Written for INSTRAW, this article describes the centrality of participation in all aspects of human development.

ICA New York

**THE COOPERATIVE MEMBERS PARTICIPATION PROGRAMME IN KENYA**

E.J. Nyoka and Terry D. Bergdall

1986 13 pages \$2.00

Prepared for an international consultation on cooperative development, the paper describes a successful, grassroots participatory planning process and its results.

**THE HEALTH CARETAKERS PROGRAM AT THE BAYAD VILLAGES, BENI SUEF, EGYPT**

Linda Oldham and Karina Lotayef

1987 42 pages \$5.00

Documentation of an innovative primary health project focused on the role of illiterate village women.

ICA Cairo.

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**AUDIO - VISUALS**

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**YOUNG FARMERS IN DEVELOPMENT, TUPOU YOUNG FARMERS ASSOCIATION**

1987 40 minutes \$25.00

Documentation of a project to train young farmers and enhance the image of agriculture as a viable and respected occupation

ICA Sydney

**FIFTH CITY**

1987 25 minutes \$25.00

Narrated by Opra Winfrey, this tells the story of a local self-help organisation on the west side of Chicago.

ICA Chicago

**THE COURAGE TO CARE**

1985 16 minutes \$25.00

Narrated by Sir Richard Attenborough

A glimpse of the need in the world and what is possible through a partnership approach to development, highlighting the IERD.

ICA Chicago

**SONG FOR THE EARTH**

1987 14 minutes \$25.00

The story of how two villages in Latin America (Peru and Brazil) began reforestation projects - the successes and learnings.

ICA Chicago

**PEOPLE VERSUS HUNGER: LATIN AMERICA**

1986 20 minutes \$25.00

A description of a grassroots development approach throughout Latin America.

ICA Caracas/ICA New York

**WOMEN OF THE WORLD: THE UNFOLDING PROMISE**

1986 18 minutes \$25.00

A global picture of women in the developing world, the challenges being met by them and the hopes ahead.

ICA Chicago/ICAI Brussels

**CLUSTER OF HOPE**

Rotary International

1986 20 minutes \$25.00

The story of the successful partnership of Rotarians and a cluster of villages in the mountains of Jamaica.

ICA Kingston

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**DATABASES**

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**RURALNET**

1985 - continually updated, free access

350 profiles of rural development projects world-wide. Accessible through ECHO (Luxembourg) and MCI (U.S.A.) in French, German, Dutch and English. See Appendix C for more details.

ICAI Brussels/ICA New York

## Appendix B

# THE MACHAKOS DEVELOPMENT SIMULATION GAME

The idea of a Machakos Simulation Game came from Steve Harrington, a Minneapolis volunteer with the Institute of Cultural Affairs. He was interested in devising an innovative method for debriefing volunteers returning from village development experiences. His vision was to create a simulation that would bring the "world of human development" home to people who had never travelled beyond their own nation's borders. Such a game could contribute to transforming the picture many people have of development from a one-way process to a "people process".

In 1982, Steve pulled together a team to work on the game's invention. It comprised a volunteer recently returned from two years of service with ICA's Machakos Human Development Project in Kenya, a professional game consultant, a city planner and other ICA staff and volunteers. Using documentation from the Machakos experience, the team set to work building a simulation game based on real people, real villages and a real development process being used in the nation of Kenya.

In 1984, the ICA's Houston office received a Biden-Pell Grant to develop its "Heart of the Matter Development Education Program". A key part of this program was the Machakos Simulation Game. Since that time, the game has passed through several versions and is still being adapted to different countries and settings. Its primary application to date has been with schools, universities, church organisations and development agencies in Europe and North America.

### Objectives

The overall objectives of the Machakos Simulation Game is to give participants practical, personal experiences with the following aspects of development work:

- the importance of fostering long-term self-sufficiency in village development
- the cruciality of teamwork among volunteers who work together in the field
- the necessity of working creatively with cultural differences
- the need to work with limited resources in the development task
- the complexities of communication and project coordination in another culture.

The game aims to challenge participants' capacity to assimilate a development process, initiate projects, work as a team, train and equip villagers, and seek out and link resources in a culture that is unfamiliar to them. An important discovery made in the midst of the

game is that comprehensive human development anywhere in the world starts with the people.

### **Dynamics of the Game**

This three-hour event engages a team of five people in catalyzing local development in the villages of the Machakos District of Kenya. Visual tours, specific village development projects, role-playing and skirmishes with chance all enable players to work with villagers to complete projects and to create self-sustaining villages. Cooperative teamwork is an essential ingredient to success. The Game unfolds in four phases:

#### *Phase One: Welcome to Rural Kenya*

This transports participants from their home country to Kenya and orients them to both the urban and rural scene. Participants are introduced to their living quarters in the village of Kamweleni in the Machakos District, and to the accomplishments of the Kamweleni Human Development Project during its first two years. Some of these accomplishments pictured in the audio-visual presentation include agricultural terracing, improved nutrition through diversified agriculture, simple water catchment systems and infant growth monitoring. In this phase, participants role-play villagers as a means of getting inside the realities of village life and the hopes, dreams and concerns of the villagers.

#### *Phase Two: Training in Project Completion*

This phase communicates the "rules of life" in the world of the Machakos Human Development Project. Participants learn the ins and outs of working with villagers to complete projects called for by the villagers' own plan for their development.

#### *Phase Three: Venturing Beyond One Village*

This phase takes participants through the expansion of the Machakos Human Development Project from one to five villages. They learn about the crucial role of the "Human Development Consultation" for involving villagers in planning their own development. They also experience the necessity of teamwork and the logistical challenge of maintaining development momentum across five villages. Within a limited time span, they complete as many of the 17 projects generated by the consultation as possible.

#### *Phase Four: Preparing to Return Home*

This brings an opportunity for participants to reflect on their experience of living and working in rural Kenya through a guided reflective conversation. They become aware of their learnings and of the ways in which their images of the world have changed as a result of participating in the simulation.

The entire simulation can be run in one three-hour period or over a series of four 50-minute class periods. Recent games have proven the benefit of scheduling a whole-day session, with a lengthier time given over to discussion of the game and its implications for the participants. This reflection provides an opening into questions of cross-cultural communication, processes of social change, effective teamwork, interaction of the physical and cultural environments, and personal, social and civic responsibilities.

A Guide Start-Up Kit for the Game consists of one set of materials for every team of six people, one set of Machakos slides, one set of Machakos wall visuals and masters for disposable score charts.

## **Audiences**

The Machakos Simulation Game is designed for use with a broad spectrum of audiences. Depending on the audience it can be used as a curriculum tool for stimulating higher order thinking skills and problem solving techniques, as a means of deepening a group's context for the day-to-day realities of local development field work, or as a practical training experience for development staff or volunteers in the field. The following are specific audiences for which the game is particularly useful:

- private voluntary organisations (PVOs/NGOs)
- trusts, foundations and other development funding agencies
- staff training departments of private and public sector organizations
- universities and colleges, especially development studies departments
- primary and secondary schools
- religious organizations
- youth groups

For further information about the game, contact:

Susan Wegner  
Coordinator  
The Machakos Simulation Game  
Institute of Cultural Affairs  
1955 Portsmouth Street  
Houston, Texas 77098  
USA

Telephone (713) 522-7933

## Appendix C

### RURALNET

The RURALNET database is a free-access collection of short profiles from a proprietary database of over 300 development projects (primarily rural) from 55 countries. The database was initially developed from research conducted during the International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD), organized by the Institute of Cultural Affairs International. It is continually being updated to include a greater variety of projects and is being translated from English into French, Dutch, German and Spanish. The initial series of projects entered into the database are printed in Volume One of this series.

RURALNET is available to anyone. It enables community leaders, development organizations and development practitioners to share workable and tested project experiences. Administrative and policy-setting agencies will find it informative for their decision-making. It provides a source of primary information on grassroots development projects for academic and other research specialists.

The initial database design was created with the free technical assistance of the Control Data Corporation, Minneapolis, USA. All rights are reserved by the ICA International.

#### Information Available

RURALNET on-line profiles include 12 fields of information on each project which can be used for search fields as well. They are:

- Project Name.
- Location: Country, state/province, district/county, town/village.
- Directory Code which cites the code number in the *Directory Of Rural Development Projects* (Volume One of the IERD Series).
- Sponsors: Name of sponsors and or major supporters of the project.
- Initiation Date: Date the project began.
- Conclusion Date: Date the project concluded or is expected to conclude. Completed projects can remain in the database as long as there is a contact person who can respond to enquiries for information.
- Subject Codes: A field containing subject codes for the arenas in which the project works. There are 85 categories, ranging from agriculture to youth and including subjects like land reform, education, health, home gardens and village industries.
- Activities: Selected representative activities describing how the project goes about implementing its work.



- **Abstract:** A short description of the focus of the project.
- **Contact person(s):** The primary local contact person at or near the project site and/or the sponsoring agency supervisor.
- **Contact Address:** The address(es) for obtaining more information.
- **Database number code.**

### Accessing Ruralnet

RURALNET is available to anyone through the European Community Host Organization (ECHO) network of the Commission of the European Communities (CEC), located in Luxembourg. To connect up to ECHO, users will need a 'teletype compatible' (TTY) device working in asynchronous mode. These devices work at 300 or 1200 bits per second and have a V24/RS 232C interface which connects the device to the network via a modem or acoustic coupler. This device can be anything from a 'dumb' terminal to a micro-computer or text-processor. As on-line services are generally accessed via public packet-switched data networks, a micro-computer should be able to communicate and it should do so following the standards adopted for such networks.

The transmission setting on the terminal should be: full-duplex, no or even parity, eight bits transmitted (seven databits and one parity bit). The communication alphabet used is referred to as ASCII, ISO 646-1973 or IA (International Alphabet) Number Five.

The computer of ECHO is connected to the Luxembourg packet-switched network LUX-PAC. This network is interconnected to all national packet-switched networks. Therefore you have to connect your terminal or micro-computer via modem or acoustic coupler to your national network.

### Connection Procedure

1. Following network connection, enter in the ECHO NUA (Network User Address), 270448112.
2. Having correctly entered in the NUA, you will then be prompted for your ECHO password with the following message:  

PLEASE LOG ON AT V . . .
3. If the password has been typed in without any errors, you may then begin your search (after the welcome message), by entering in a base command:

e.g. BASE RURALNET

**User Contract and User Manual:**

To get a password for ECHO, please ask for an ECHO User Contract by contacting:

ECHO Customer Service  
177 Route d'Esch  
L-1471 LUXEMBOURG  
Tel: (352) 48.80.41  
Telex: 2181

If you send the contract back to ECHO, you will get a User Manual describing all the databases available and an individual password for accessing them.

Accessing in USA: RURALNET can be accessed in the USA through MCI. For information on how to access, phone MCI at (914) 937-3444, or the New York office of the Institute of Cultural Affairs (212) 475-5020.

**Specialised Published Searches**

While RURALNET only contains 12 fields of free access information, the proprietary database contains many more which are described in the Index. Searches of the proprietary database may be done for a small fee which provide a modest level of support to maintain the database.

**Database Expansion**

Any project may become part of this network and any organization, agency or individual may become a user. Both governmental and non-governmental organizations are being invited to submit project profiles. If you are in a project or have information about a project that has an "approach that works", please send the information to either:

The Institute of Cultural Affairs International  
rue Amedee Lynen 8  
B-1030 Brussels  
BELGIUM  
or  
The Institute of Cultural Affairs  
206 East 4th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10009  
U.S.A.

The possibility of a second edition of Volume One of the IERD Series, containing additions to the database and the original volume, is currently being discussed. Profiles received will be considered for inclusion in this publication also.

## IERD PHASE III PROGRAMME SUMMARY

A representative list of activities undertaken by participating organizations during the period  
1984 - 1988.

Country	Programme/Project	Place	Sponsoring Organization(s)	Date
Australia	Women's Development Training Programme	Gerard S.A.	Gerard Aboriginal Community; TAFE; ICA: Australia	5-85
	Community Methods Towards Self-Management	Wellington S.A.	Combined Council of the Aboriginal Communities in the S.E. of South Australia, ICA: Australia	5-86
	Week of Community Services and Well-being	Gerard S.A.	Gerard Community Council; ICA: Australia	5-87
Belgium	IERD Books Seminar on "Managing Agriculture"	Brussels	ICA: Belgium; American University (Brussels)	2-85
	Under The Pipal Tree	Brussels	ICA: International	8-87
	IERD Series, Volumes I, II & III	Brussels	ICA: International; K.G. Saur Verlag	85-88
	Ruralnet database, translated into French, Dutch & German	Brussels	ICA: International	86-88
Bolivia	Community Participation Seminar	LaPaz	The National Confederation of Mothers Clubs in Bolivia ICA:Peru	9-86
Canada	Symposium on Local Development	Orillia, Ontario	Canadian ICA	5-84
	Crackerbarrel Conference	Brandon, Manitoba	Manitoba IERD delegates	6-84
	Promoting Excellence in Local Development	Red Deer College, Alberta	IERD Delegates from Alberta and British Columbia	6-84

	Community Social and Recreational Needs Assessment by the Chippewas of the Rama Band	Rama, Ontario	Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission; Department of Indian Affairs; Ministry of Citizenship and Culture; Ministry of Community and Social Services; Rama Community, Working Committee; Canadian ICA	1984
China (ROC)	New Directions for Rural Development in Taiwan	Taichung	ICA: Republic of China	4-85
	Asia Pacific Regional Assembly	Taipei	Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement; International Farm Youth Exchange Association; ICA: International	11-85
Egypt	Sharing Approaches That Work in Primary Health in Egypt	Bayad El Arab	ICA: Egypt	12-85
	Sudan Training and Exchange Programme	Bayad El Arab	ICA: Egypt	4-88
Germany (BRD)	IERD Books Seminar	Giessen	IKA: Germany; University of Giessen Institute for Rural Sociology	4-85
	Seminar on Rural Development with Journalists from Francophone Africa	Kassel	IKA: Germany; University of Witzenhausen	5-85
	Practical Modes of Cooperation in Integrated Rural Development Workshop	Hunoldstal	GTZ; ICA: International	6-86
	Seminar on Methods and Techniques of Project Management	Berlin	ICA: International; DSE; Team Consult	8-86
Guatemala	Congreso Sobre Desarrollo Comunitario Integral en Guatemala	Guatemala City	ICAD; ASECSA; APROFAM; CEMAT; ICA: Guatemala; ASINDES; AADB; CONFECOOP; FENACOVI; REDH INTEGRAL; World Vision; Presidents' Secretariat for Social Welfare; Social Welfare Council of Guatemala	4-86

	<b>New Horizons In Learning Conference</b>	<b>Guatemala City</b>	<b>ICA: Guatemala, FAFIDESS; Asociacion de Gerentes de Guatemala; ASINDES-ONG; IGA; OPS; OMS(WHO); UNDP; Commindad Judia de Guatemala; Universidad Francisco Marroquin</b>	<b>10-87</b>
<b>Honduras</b>	<b>Course for Community Leaders</b>	<b>El Coyolar</b>	<b>Honduran Federation of Farm Women; People of El Coyolar; ICA: Guatemala</b>	<b>8-85</b>
<b>India</b>	<b>Rural Development Methods</b>	<b>Dahod, Gujarat</b>	<b>Standard Mills Surat Cotton Rural Development Project</b>	<b>9-84</b>
	<b>IERD Book Review</b>	<b>Mermier Farms, Karnataka</b>	<b>BIRDS; Federation of Voluntary Organisations in Rural Development in Karnataka (FEVORD-K)</b>	<b>10-84</b>
	<b>Women In Development</b>	<b>Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh</b>	<b>Rural Development Advisory Service</b>	<b>12-84</b>
	<b>Women's Economic Development</b>	<b>Satara District, Maharashtra</b>	<b>Women's Economic Conference</b>	<b>12-84</b>
	<b>Design Conference</b>	<b>Dholka Taluka, Gujarat</b>	<b>Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG)</b>	<b>1-85</b>
	<b>Forming the Karnataka State Task Force on Rural Development</b>	<b>Bangalore, Karnataka</b>	<b>Federation of Karnataka Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FKCCI), FEVORD-K</b>	<b>1-85</b>
	<b>Planning Methods</b>	<b>Jamshedpur, Bihar</b>	<b>Tata Steel Rural Development Society (TSRDS)</b>	<b>2-85</b>
	<b>Village Futures Planning</b>	<b>Dholka Taluka, Gujarat</b>	<b>Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG)</b>	<b>2-85</b>
	<b>Design Conference</b>	<b>Jamshedpur, Bihar</b>	<b>Community Development and Social Welfare Department (CDSWD)</b>	<b>2-85</b>
	<b>Women In Development (Interview Series)</b>	<b>Khandala Block, Satara District &amp; Panvel Block, Raigad District</b>	<b>ICA: India</b>	<b>3-85</b>

	Project Planning and Coordination	Jamshedpur, Bihar	CDSWD	3-85
	Women in Development (Interview Series)	Kalyan, Maharashtra	Rotoract Club of Kalyan	3-85
	Women in Development	New Delhi	Vishwa Yuvak Kendra; ICA: India	3-85
	Rural Development Approach Interchange, IERD Book Review	Meth Village, Thane District, Maharashtra	ASPEE Foundation, Bombay Chamber of Commerce	4-85
	Women in Development	Bombay, Maharashtra	ICA: India	4-85
	Rural Development Approach Interchange, IERD Book Review	Dattapur, Wardha District, Maharashtra	Indian Institute of Youth Welfare; Bharatiya Adim-jatti Sewak Sangh; Industrial Service Institute; Village Uplift Society; Ghandi Seva Ashram Samiti; ICA:India	4-85
	Think Tank and Strategic Planning	Bangalore, Karnataka	FKCCI; State Bank of Mysore; Vijaya Bank; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; ICA: India	9-85
	Local Development Practitioners School	Jawale Khanda Taluka, Satara District	ICA: India	12-85
	Human Resource Development Centres, Partnership in Development and Futures Research	Bombay, Maharashtra	ICA: India	6-86
<b>Kenya</b>	Sharing Approaches That Work: 31 Project Description Laboratories	Kenya	Kenya National Council of Social Service; Ford Foundation; UNDP; ICA: Kenya;	85-86
	Workshop "Toward Creating a Collaborative Action Plan To Provide Effective Health Care and Population Activities in the Urban Slum Communities of Nairobi"	Nairobi	The National Council for Population and Development; the Nairobi City Commission; The United Nations Fund for Population Activities; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; ICA:Kenya	7-88

<b>Malaysia</b>	The Human Development Training and Facilitation Seminar	Kuala Lumpur	ICA: Malaysia	6-87
	Participation Documentation Laboratory	Kuala Lumpur and Bukit Kuching	ICA: Malaysia	1-88
<b>Mexico</b>	Training of Rural Development Promoters	All states of Mexico	Mexican Foundation for Rural Development; ICA: Mexico	86-87
	Community Health and Nutrition Training	Otomi Communities	SEDAC; ICA: Mexico	87-88
<b>Nigeria</b>	NIRADO Shield	Okrika-Tai-Eleme L.G.A.	Ajokpori Farmers' Multi-purpose Cooperative Society; NIRADO; Shell Petroleum Development Company	2-87
	Construction of a prototype biogas plant	Ikene	NIRADO; Indian High Commission	3-87
	Solar energy seminar-cum-exhibition	Lagos	San Luis Valley Solar Energy Association; NIRADO	4-87
	NGO Leadership Training Conference	Lagos	NIRADO; IFESH; Nigerian ICA	2-88
<b>Peru</b>	The Peru Potential Rural Development Symposia	Canete	Several hundred regional and local organisations from the private and voluntary sectors; ICA: Peru	5-84
		Lima		12-84
		Cuzco		2-85
		Piura		3-85
		Arequipa		5-85
		Cajamarca		6-85

		Huancayo		7-85
		Tarapoto		8-85
		San Martin		9-85
		Juliaco-Puno		10-85
	Strategic Planning Seminars	Lima	National Rice Producers Association; Foundation for National Development; ICA: Peru	11-85
	National Assembly on Microregional Integration	Lima	ICA: Peru; Foundation for National Development	1-86
	Monthly Project Directors Courses	Azpitla	ICA: Peru	86-87
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<b>The Philippines</b>	Philippine Exposition of Rural Development	San Leonardo	ICA: Philippines; BRW-MOLE; PRRM; NACIAD	5-85
	Human Development Training and Facilitation Seminar	Manila	ICA: Philippines	1986
	Human Development Training and Facilitation Seminar	Cebu	ICA: Philippines	1987
	Roundtable on "The Role of Women in Rural Development"	Manila	ICA: Philippines	10-88
	Roundtable on "Hear the Suffering"	Manila	ICA: Philippines	5-88
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<b>Tonga</b>	Youth Employment Initiative Project	Tonga	Tupuo Young Farmers' Association; ICA: Australia; Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; AIDAB; FAO	86-87
	Pacific Youth Economic Development Project	South Pacific Nations	Tupuo Young Farmers Association; ICA: Australia; AIDAB	88-89



<b>U.S.A.</b>	<b>Colorado Exposition of Rural Development</b>	<b>Colorado</b>	<b>Community of Lamar; San Luis Valley; Solar Energy Program; 13 Co-sponsors of private, public and voluntary organizations; ICA: West</b>	<b>6-84</b>
	<b>Rural Development Showcase</b>	<b>Tulare &amp; King Counties</b>	<b>Self-Help Enterprises; ICA: West</b>	<b>3-85</b>
	<b>New York City Symposium on Women in Development</b>	<b>New York</b>	<b>The National Congress of Neighborhood Women; ICA: New York</b>	<b>4-85</b>
	<b>Moving Forward Together</b>	<b>Jackson</b>	<b>Governor's Office of Community Development; Governor's Office of Voluntary Citizen Participation; Southern Rural Development Centre</b>	<b>4-85</b>
	<b>Blueprints for Success</b>	<b>Kansas City</b>	<b>Greater Kansas City Alliance of Business; Kansas City Regional Council of Higher Education; Mid-America Regional Council; Neighborhood Alliance; University of Missouri: Kansas City; ICA: Chicago</b>	<b>5-85</b>
	<b>Colorado Exposition of Local Development</b>	<b>Glenwood Springs</b>	<b>Colorado Department of Local Affairs; Colorado Department of Agriculture; Piton Foundation; ICA: West</b>	<b>6-85</b>
	<b>The Metropolitan Exposition of Local Development</b>	<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>ICA: West</b>	<b>(I) 6-85</b>
				<b>(II) 8-85</b>
				<b>(III) 10-85</b>
	<b>Celebrating the IERD and Creating New Modes of Service</b>	<b>Chicago</b>	<b>ICA: Chicago</b>	<b>11-85</b>
	<b>Strategic Planning Workshop on "Building Collaborative Strategies for Development"</b>	<b>Chicago</b>	<b>ICA: Chicago</b>	<b>11-85</b>
	<b>The Wingspread Conference</b>	<b>Racine, Wisconsin</b>	<b>ICA: International</b>	<b>1985</b>

<b>Zambia</b>	Human Development Training School	Kapini	ICA: Zambia; UNVDDS	2-85
	Human Development Training School	Kapini	ICA: Zambia; UNVDDS	5-86
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	Human Development Training School	Harare	ICA: Zambia; private companies	9-85
	Village Leaders Implementation Training Program	Five Provinces	ICA: Zimbabwe	1986
	Project Description Laboratories	Six Provinces	ICA: Zimbabwe; Ministry for Cooperative Development	1987

## ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

**Linda Alton** has spent nine years working in village mobilisation projects in the Philip-pins and Kenya. From 1983 to 1986, she participated in people's self-review workshops across Kenya, as part of the IERD "Sharing Approaches That Work" programme. In her capacity as Chief Administrative Officer of ICA International, she has played a key role in the publication of this volume.

**Juan Arce**, a consultant with Rural Development Services in Lima, Peru, has worked in Bolivia, Chile, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama and Peru. He has Masters Degrees in both education and rural development, the latter from the Institute of Social Studies in The Netherlands.

**Usha Bambawale**, Research Officer and Reader in Sociology at the University of Pune, India, has written and lectured extensively on social issues in India today, especially those affecting women. Amongst her numerous publications are *Inter Religious Marriages*, *An Introduction to Social Demography* and *Women in Indian Industry*. She is a member of the Virginia Gildersleeves International Fund for University Women and has been President of the University Women's Association (Pune) since 1985.

**Terry Bergdall** is a Programme Specialist with the Swedish Cooperative Centre in Nairobi, Kenya. He is responsible for the design and evaluation of programmes which train trainers in the Cooperative Members Participation Programme (CMPP). Before going to Africa, he spent five years working in inner city development projects and as a consultant to municipal governments in the United States, and four years working in rural development projects in North-East Asia.

**David Blanchard** occupies the Chair of the Department of Economics of the University of Wisconsin (Oshkosh), U.S.A. In 1982, he was the recipient of the Distinguished Teaching Award for his professional services. He has always blended his duties as a teacher with an active involvement in wider social and development issues, both on and off campus. His participation in the IERD process enabled him to produce the analysis of bot-tom-up development, which he has contributed to this volume.

**Piers Campbell** is Programme Director for the International Council of Voluntary Agencies and Coordinator of the NGO Management Network, Geneva. Educated in the U.K. as an archaeologist, he has spent the last ten years working for international NGOs, mostly organizing education and training programmes in Africa. He is the editor of *NGO Management*, a bilingual publication networking people and organisations concerned with NGO management development.

**Mary D'Souza** works as a human resource development consultant with public and private sector organisations in Hong Kong. A graduate of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay, she has had broad experience in rural development, both as an NGO project manager and as a consultant to government and international projects. A major focus of her work has been the advancement of women in rural and urban areas.

**Ann Ensinger** is an educator and development consultant with skills in training, program design and curriculum writing. She has lived and worked in such diverse settings as a Samoan village and Chicago's inner-city neighborhoods. She is currently Assistant Director of the Office of School and Business Linkages for the New York City Board of Education. Her publications range from the national social studies curriculum for Western Samoa to training manuals for election workers in New York City.

**John Epps** brings to the development community a rich variety of skills as a writer, researcher and organisational consultant. During his 16-year career with the ICA, he has worked in South-East Asia, the Pacific, Australia, India, Kenya and his native United States. He played a key role in the design and development of the LENS programme, a highly participatory approach to group planning and team building. He currently lives in Malaysia where he and his wife are co-directors of LENS International (M) Sdn. Bhd.

**Willis Harman**, President of the Institute of Noetic Sciences, Sausalito, California, is an author, researcher and futurist. During his 16 years at the Stanford Research Institute, he worked on long-term strategic planning and policy analysis for corporations, government agencies and international organisations. He has authored *The Study of the Future* and co-authored *An Incomplete Guide to the Future, Changing Images of Man, Higher Creativity and Paths to Peace*.

**Goran Hyden**, a noted authority on east and southern African affairs, was the Ford Foundation Representative and Programme Officer in Nairobi from 1979 to 1985. He has lectured extensively in political science and public administration at universities in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, Sri Lanka, Canada, the United States and in his native Sweden. He is currently Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. Amongst his numerous publications are *No Shortcuts To Progress, Beyond Ujamaa In Tanzania And Cooperatives In Tanzania*.

**Rob Jennings-Teats** was a staff member of the Institute of Cultural Affairs from 1977 to 1987, during which time he was director of several Human Development Projects in Indonesia and Malaysia. He also has served in a programme support capacity in ICA offices in Brussels, London, New York and Chicago. Along with his wife, he is currently Co-Pastor of the United Methodist Churches in Mendocino County, California.

**Rocio Lanao** is a rural development consultant who has worked in Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama and Peru. Along with her husband Juan Arce, she is concerned about the application of participatory approaches to development planning and evaluation. She lives in Lima, Peru.

**Glen Leet**, Co-Founder and Director of the Trickle-Up Program, was the first U.N. Consultant on Social Policy and the first Chief of the Community Development Unit of the U.N. He is President of the International Society for Community Development and holds key positions in numerous other American and international organisations. He developed the computer conferencing systems used at major U.N. conferences. He has also been the recipient of many awards for his work in community development.

**Mildred Robbins Leet** is a Co-Founder and Director of the Trickle-Up Program, which was a recipient of a 1985 Paul G. Hoffman Award. She is a past President of the National Council of Women of the United States and has held many key positions on other national and international organisations. In 1986, she was named "Woman of Conscience" by the National Council of Women. Along with her husband, she has been the recipient of many awards for service to society.

**Chief Raymond Ofor** is the Community Development Projects Adviser for the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited. During his 25 year career in rural development, he has worked in both the public and private sector, as well as with voluntary organisations including NIRADO, of which he is a trustee. He was awarded his chieftaincy title in 1965 for outstanding efforts in rural development in his native Imo State. His numerous publications span both technical and community aspects of development.

**Frank Powell**, currently working with ICA:Kenya, has a long history as an organisational and community development consultant. He has conducted strategic planning and training seminars for over 50 organisations in 10 countries, most notably in the United States, Australia and Malaysia. His clients have included private sector companies, parastatals and NGOs. He prefers to work on in-house training, where it is possible to work with a client organisation from program design through to evaluation and follow-up.

**Sandra Powell**, Director of the Southern Africa Grassroots Training Programme, is an organisational development consultant with over 20 years experience in the field. She has worked throughout Europe, the United States, South-east Asia and the frontline states of southern Africa. Her expertise includes project design, planning, evaluation and documentation, and training of trainers. She specializes in the use of highly participatory group methods which emphasize "action learning". She is based in Nairobi, Kenya.

**Ronnie Seagren**, a co-editor of Volume Two of the IERD Series, has extensive experience as an educator working in a development context - with Indochinese refugees, Latin American immigrants, inner-city black children, Indian villagers and Japanese students. She is presently involved in ICA Canada's participation in development projects in Jamaica and Africa and is researching "the cultural roots of partnership as a strategy for social change."

**Elaine Stover** is a community nutritionist with over 20 years working experience, half in industrialized countries and half in developing countries, notably India, Egypt and Eritrea. In the last five years, she has concentrated on developing Mother and Child Health programs, including writing a health education curriculum. She is presently a free-lance health consultant based in Brussels. Her recent writings include a manual for community health workers in Egypt and health education materials for Eritrea.

**John Stringham** has worked in urban and rural development projects in India and Canada. He was a member of a research team which created *Voices of Rural Practitioners*, Volume Two of this series. He lives in Frankfurt, the Federal Republic of Germany where he works with the Institute of Cultural Affairs, designing and guiding conferences, seminars and simulations on development questions.

**Marja-Liisa Swantz** is Director of Development Studies at the University of Helsinki and a Senior Fellow of the United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research. She has spent the last 20 years as an action researcher in Tanzania, which is reflected in her chapter in this volume. Her major publications include *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society with Special Reference to Women*, *Women in Development: Creative Role Denied* and *Research for Human Development*.

**Joseph Van Arendonk**, Assistant Executive Director of UNFPA in New York, has worked with the United Nations for over 20 years. A Dutch national, he has spent considerable time in the Philippines, Iraq and Indonesia, as well as the United States where he now resides. His publications include *The Economic Ideas of the Entrepreneur Armand Diepen*, *The Problems of Developing Countries* and *Ideological Critique*, as well as numerous articles on socio-economic issues.

**Sony Van Arendonk-Marquez**, a Filipino-born sociologist, is currently lecturing at the Department of Sociology, The New School, New York. She is independently working on an innovative project proposal to introduce children's play into the development process. A speaker of four languages, she has travelled widely throughout Europe, Asia, North America and the Middle East. She lives with her husband and two children in New York.

**Hendrik Van der Heijden**, a Dutch national, joined the World Bank in 1964 as an economist. He has worked with the Bank in the Pakistan and Latin American and Caribbean Divisions. He was Chief of the World Bank Regional Office in Bangkok (1976-1982) and managed the Brazil Division from 1982 until 1984. He then became Head of the Aid Management Division of the OECD in Paris. In 1986 he left this post to carry on research and prepare a book on private development agencies. He still consults with the Bank and UNCTAD in the area of NGO activities in human resource development and in the least developed countries.

**Rose Worden**, born in Bolivia, is Co-Director of the Institute of Cultural Affairs:Mexico. Her work as a consultant and trainer in strategic and operational management has been carried out in Caracas, Miami, Atlanta and New York. The collaboration between ICA:Mexico and the Mexican Foundation for Rural Development, which she has been instrumental in facilitating, has reached over 1,400 development workers in Mexico.

**Anne Yallop**, has designed and implemented grassroots development projects in India and Egypt, as well as worked in a support capacity to development organisations in Sydney, Hong Kong and New York. In her current role as Co-Director of the Institute of Cultural Affairs: Egypt, she is a consultant to the Jordanian government to introduce participatory programme planning to development staff at both regional and ministerial levels.

## THE INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS INTERNATIONAL

### Foundation

The ICAI was founded in 1977 in Brussels, Belgium. It is an international non-profit association which facilitates the activities of autonomous national member Institutes (ICAs). The first national Institute emerged in the United States in 1973 from a related body known as the Ecumenical Institute: Chicago, founded in 1964. The Ecumenical Institute focussed on training leaders for church renewal and social action. As a secular body, the Institute of Cultural Affairs developed a programme of research, training and demonstration in community and organisational development.

### Aims

The principal aim of ICAs is to develop and test methods of individual, community and organisational development. Their programmes are highly participatory in nature and are often conducted in collaboration with other organisations, be they public, private, voluntary or local community groups. ICAI services to member ICAs include programme coordination, conference organisation, information exchange, publishing and staff training.

### Activities

ICA national offices undertake a variety of activities depending on their particular location. These include community meeting facilitation, educational research and training, organisational transformation, youth and women's programmes, rural development symposia and projects, leadership training, personal development workshops, strategic planning seminars, conference facilitation, documentation and evaluation.

### Relations With Other Organisations

The ICAI has Category II Consultative Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Consultative Status with UNICEF, Liaison Status with FAO, and Working Relation status with WHO. It is a member of the European Association of Development, Research and Training Institutes (EADI), the International Association for Community Development (IACD) and the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW). Each ICA establishes its own relations with NGO networks and other bodies.

### Funding

ICAI is supported by subscriptions from member ICAs and by contracts and consultancy fees. Funding for ICA programmes comes from a broad base of contributors to member ICAs in each country. Sources include individuals, trusts and foundations, religious organisations, companies, bilateral and multilateral agencies and programme/consultancy fees. Current major grants to ICAs come from AIDAB, CIDA, ICCO, IFESH, Misereor, ODA, the Sainsbury Family Charitable Trust and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

### Staff

Many full-time staff of the Institute are members of a volunteer organisation called The Order: Ecumenical. They live in communities in rural and urban centres. They support themselves through a variety of economic enterprises and contribute their services to the work of ICAs. Other non-resident staff work in full-time and part-time capacities to help facilitate Institute programmes.

## ACRONYMS

<b>AACC</b>	<b>All African Conference of Churches</b>
<b>AALAE</b>	<b>African Association for Literacy and Adult Education</b>
<b>AIDAB</b>	<b>Australian International Development Assistance Bureau</b>
<b>ALAHUA</b>	<b>Latin American Association of Habitat, Urbanism and Architecture</b>
<b>APRA</b>	<b>Asia Pacific Regional Assembly (of the IERD)</b>
<b>ARDP</b>	<b>Association of Rural Development Practitioners of the Philippines</b>
<b>CDO</b>	<b>Community Development Officer</b>
<b>CEC</b>	<b>Commission of the European Communities</b>
<b>CIDA</b>	<b>Canadian International Development Agency</b>
<b>CMPP</b>	<b>Cooperative Members Participation Programme</b>
<b>CROSS</b>	<b>Comprehensive Rural Operations Service Society</b>
<b>DC</b>	<b>District Commissioner</b>
<b>EADI</b>	<b>European Association of Development, Research and Training Institutes</b>
<b>EC</b>	<b>European Community</b>
<b>ECHO</b>	<b>European Community Host Organisation</b>
<b>ECOSOC</b>	<b>Economic and Social Council of the United Nations</b>
<b>FAO</b>	<b>Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations</b>
<b>FMDR</b>	<b>Mexican Foundation for Rural Development</b>
<b>GTZ</b>	<b>Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)</b>
<b>HDTP/S</b>	<b>Human Development Training Programme/School</b>
<b>IACD</b>	<b>International Association for Community Development</b>
<b>IAPBW</b>	<b>International Association of Professional and Business Women</b>
<b>ICAI</b>	<b>Institute of Cultural Affairs International</b>
<b>ICCO</b>	<b>Interchurch Coordination Committee for Development Projects</b>
<b>ICSW</b>	<b>International Council on Social Welfare</b>
<b>ICVA</b>	<b>International Council of Voluntary Agencies</b>
<b>IERD</b>	<b>International Exposition of Rural Development</b>
<b>IFAD</b>	<b>International Foundation for Agricultural Development</b>
<b>IFAP</b>	<b>International Federation of Agricultural Producers</b>
<b>IFESH</b>	<b>International Foundation for Education and Self-Help</b>



ILO	International Labour Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Project
IREN	Development Innovations and Networks
KENGO	Kenya Energy Non-Government Organisation
KNCCS	Kenya National Council of Social Service
KNFC	Kenya National Federation of Cooperatives
NCCK	National Christian Council of Kenya
NGLS	Non-Governmental Liaison Services
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIRADO	Nigerian Integrated Rural Accelerated Development Organisation
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OISCA	Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement
PDA	Private Development Association
PDL	Project Description Laboratory
PERD	Philippines Exposition of Rural Development
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
PYED	Pacific Youth Economic Development Project
RDS	Rural Development Symposium
SCC	Swedish Cooperative Centre
SHO	Self-Help Organisation
SHPI	Self-Help Promotion Institution
SID	Society for International Development
TYFA	Tupuo Young Farmers Association
UNCRD	United Nations Centre for Regional Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Childrens Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNV(DDS)	United Nations Volunteers Programme (Domestic Development Service)

<b>VIDCO</b>	<b>Village Development Committee</b>
<b>VOICE</b>	<b>Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprise</b>
<b>WHO</b>	<b>World Health Organisation</b>
<b>WFUNA</b>	<b>World Federation of United Nations Associations</b>
<b>YEIP</b>	<b>Youth Employment Initiative Project</b>

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