

ASPECTS PERTINENT TO THE PROVISION OF  
SUSTAINABLE WATER SUPPLY PROJECTS IN THE  
EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE: A CASE STUDY OF  
NOMZAMO WATER SUPPLY PROJECT.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study explores views behind the failure of water supply projects to achieve sustainability, primarily from the 'users' perspective, and at a secondary level from the perspective of the government/funders. One completed water supply project was selected as a case study for the research project. The overriding principle behind the water infrastructure delivery programme is that the service must be provided in a sustainable manner, and that the community must actively participate and be involved in all the phases of the project.

The provision of water is not simply as it might look. In reality it is a complex process, which involves a number of organisations with different, yet important roles and responsibilities. Ongoing collaboration is important among these organisations if the service is to be provided efficiently and in a sustainable manner. In particular, local government has a Constitutional obligation to provide services to all consumers in an efficient, affordable, economical and sustainable manner. The National and Provincial governments, however, have a number of responsibilities in the field of water services.

Semi-structured interview method was used to collect data from respondents. Two sets of interview schedules were developed, one for the community/water project committee members, and the other for the government officials. The data collected was analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. This analysis enabled the researcher to draw findings, make conclusions and propose recommendations. The findings and conclusions of the study point to lack of clarity on roles and responsibilities; gender and cultural constraints; and, poor training and capacity building of the community as being some of the reasons for the failure of the project. The recommendations proposed entail, inter alia, massive community mobilisation and awareness creation programmes; improvement in levels of the service; adoption of a gender-sensitive approach to project development; and, implementation of a training and capacity building process in the community in order to 'revitalise' the project.

The study has merely focussed on one water project and sets the scene for further exploration of the subject. It certainly highlights some critical issues around sustainability of water projects, and hopefully will contribute towards the ongoing debate in this area.

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- Lastly, to my Lord Jesus Christ for his love and giving me the courage to produce this piece of work.

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work, and that the assistance obtained has been acknowledged in the text. I further certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

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DALUHLANGA AYFORD MPENDU  
January 2002

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The South African government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) identifies water as one of the basic needs to be met by the first of its five key programmes. This has culminated into a major national water initiative undertaken by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in terms of its White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation (1994). This White Paper provides a framework for government policy in providing access to the millions of people in the country without access to basic water supply and sanitation services. In 1994, it was estimated that 12 million South Africans were without access to adequate supply of potable water and 21 million were without proper sanitation. And for the Eastern Cape province, approximately 65 per cent of the 6,3 million people living in the rural areas are without an adequate water supply and at least 85 per cent are without safe sanitation facilities (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry 1999:2). As a result, to date billions of rands have been committed to the water initiative and this process involves national, provincial and local levels of government, non-governmental organisations as well as the private sector.

✓ However, despite this commitment and the tremendous amount of the resources employed by government in an effort to improve the quality of life of the rural poor, problems have emerged in the delivery of water and sanitation services. One such problem has been the failure of a too high proportion of the rural water supply schemes to achieve sustainability over the last five years. The pipes are on the ground and the taps are intact and visible BUT when the taps are turned on water doesn't come out (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry 2000: 9).

## 1.2 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The endeavours of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry during the period from 1994 to date has been dominated by the development of new policies, legislation and programmes of implementation in respect of its three legally mandated areas of activity: water resources management, water services (i.e. Water and sanitation), and forestry. This resulted in setting up three new policies by the end of 1998, namely the Water Services Act, National Water Act, and National Forestry Act. These policies and laws jointly heralded several fundamental changes in the ways in which South Africa's water and forestry resources, as well as the provision of water-related services, will be managed and regulated. In the arena of both functional and organisational transformation many of the internal policies and implementation strategies are now fully-fledged and operational.

The government's water supply policy is premised on a number of principles, which include, inter alia, the following:

- Water development should be demand-driven and community based, meaning that decision-making and control will be devolved as far as possible to accountable local structures.
- Basic services ( including water and sanitation) are a human right, which is interpreted as a right to a level of services adequate to provide a healthy living environment
- 'some for all', rather than 'all for some', meaning that priority in planning and allocation of public funds is given to those presently inadequately served,
- Equitable regional allocation of development resources, which implies the equitably distribution of resources for basic services among regions, taking account of population and level of development
- Water has economic value, where the manner in which water services are provided should reflect the growing scarcity of good quality water in South Africa in a manner which reflects their value and does not undermine long-term sustainability and economic growth

- The user pays, which is a central principle to ensure sustainable and equitable development, as well as efficient and effective management.
- Integrated development, since water and sanitation development is not possible in isolation from development in other sectors.
- Environmental integrity, as it is necessary to ensure that the environment is considered and protected in all development activities (White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation 1994: 8-9).

The policy also sets standards with regards to access to water services as follows:

- 25 litres of water per person per day within 200 metres from their dwelling. This is considered to be the minimum required for direct consumption, for the preparation of food and for personal hygiene. It is not considered to be adequate for a full, healthy and productive life, which is why it is considered as a minimum.
- a ventilated improved pit latrine (VIP) for each household. The VIP, if constructed to agreed standards and maintained properly, provides an appropriate and adequate basic level of sanitation service (White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation 1994: 15-16).

Central to the water delivery process is the notion that the water services must be provided in a sustainable manner, and that the community must participate and be actively involved in the planning, development and management of their project. These principles are essential and core to the community development process. Sustainability is defined as the ongoing successful functioning and growth of any development effort or project in a particular community or area (Duncker 1999:4). Gray (1998:52) is convinced that the more participation is encouraged, the more sustainable community development becomes. Participation is more than just involvement but must actually lead to the empowerment of the community or target group. And as Gray (1998:58-59) has put it:

Community development is a method of intervention which emphasises the involvement of people within localised communities in proposing, planning and promoting development priorities for their own communities. The 'method' refers to a participatory problem-solving process, which empowers the participants.

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH**

Given the fact that a significant number of the water supply projects in rural areas in the Eastern Cape are proving to be unsustainable (Department of Water Affairs & Forestry 2000: 14), this study attempts to develop an understanding of some of the reasons why this is so from the perspective of both the users on the one hand, and funders on the other. For purposes of the study, one water supply project, namely Nomzamo water project, was selected as a case study. The study was aimed at providing a 'deep' look at reasons why projects fail to be sustainable and to recommend some remedies or possible solutions to the problem.

The Nomzamo project had been chosen randomly as a case study as it fell under the category 'completed projects' in the Department's database of projects. The Department is concerned about lack of sustainability of most of the projects completed, and the researcher felt this might contribute positively to the 'search' for some of the causes of the problem.

The objectives of this research can be summarised as follows:

- To explore what the community and other role-players perceive to be the causes of projects not achieving sustainability.
- To examine the respondents' views on how water projects should be run in a sustainable manner.

## **1.4 THEORETICAL POSITION**

Sociology is defined as the scientific and objective study of society and the social system. Sociological theory serves as a basis for explaining society and the dynamics in the communities that are studied.

There has been a lot of debate in academic circles and contemporary development theory about an existence of traditional/modern society as well as rural/urban patterns. Central to the debate is the notion of 'community', which depicts an aggregate of people who have formed a sense of solidarity or shared identity (Dreyer 1998: 4).

The study moves from the premise that the participation of the poor in their own development is a key factor in the success of development projects (Burkey 1998: 56). Participation by the people themselves is therefore a key component of the development process. It is a process whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives. Without it all efforts to alleviate the plight of the poor will be immensely more difficult, if not impossible. Dreyer (1998: 5) notes that in the development process the decisions of the poor must be assessed from the perspective of their circumstances which rarely happens when projects are conceptualised. Related to this is the principle of putting people first in their development.

## **1.5 METHODOLOGY**

The research was conducted as a case study using Nomzamo water supply as a research project. Three categories of people were interviewed, namely: the project steering committee members, the community members and government officials who are involved in the water delivery programme. A total of twelve people were interviewed from the project committee/community category, whilst five people from the government/funder category participated.

Semi-structured interview schedules were utilised in the data collection. Two sets of interview schedules were developed: one for the community/project committee category, and the other for the government/funder category. At the community level the interviews were conducted in the local language, namely Xhosa and the interviews were administered by the researcher. In the government/funder category some officials filled in the schedules themselves and only a few were administered by the researcher. The collected data was organised into broad sections, analysed and presented in the form of research findings.

## **1.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The participants were not coerced to participate in the research project. No participant was forced to participate in the project. The research was conducted only with the informed consent of each participant. Also, the researcher ensured anonymity of participants, and confidentiality had been maintained at all times.

## **1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Given the small size of the project as well as that of the participants, the findings of the study may not be generalisable. Nevertheless, given the importance of achieving sustainability in projects and the need for participation by the community in their development process, this study cannot be considered irrelevant or inappropriate.

The researcher's position within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (responsible and in charge of the Institutional and Social Development Sub-directorate), and the fact that he is involved in the delivery of the water programme in the Eastern Cape Province, might have influenced his involvement and interpretation of the research process. As a result the researcher had constantly tried to guard him from being biased or subjective, and this was not an easy thing to do.

## **1.8 ANTICIPATED VALUE OF THE STUDY**

✓ It is believed that the research will be of value and benefit to the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry as it will contribute towards the 'mission' of finding solutions to the problem of lack of sustainability in water services projects. The study highlights critical issues around the sustainability of projects and will hopefully inform policies, strategies and guidelines which would enable development that is ecologically sound, economically viable and socially equitable. For this reason, the research findings will be made available to politicians and administrators in an effort to improve programme planning, to assist in decision-making, and to assist policy-making.

The recommendations, conclusions and findings of this study will be ploughed back as knowledge to the community in the form of a workshop, and it is hoped this will assist them in understanding their situation or problems as well as prospects for future development initiatives in their area.

## **1.9 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

The concepts that will be discussed in the research are as follows: sustainability and sustainable development, community, community participation, gender, development as well as community development. These concepts serve a useful purpose by helping explain the dynamics that exist in communities, including the community in the study area.

## **1.10 HISTORY OF THE NOMZAMO LOCATION**

Nomzamo location is situated in the King William's magisterial district. It is approximately eight kilometres North of the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature in Bisho. The location is also called Border Post, a name derived from a Border Post that was erected by the then former Ciskei regime during the early 1980s. This 'post' was intended to regulate the movement of vehicles and people entering or

going out of the Ciskei land, either from the former Transkei homeland or the Republic of South Africa.

This location was established in 1989, and started with a few homesteads. The first people to arrive were resettled by the regime from the nearby Nompumelelo and Ndakana locations. Later on people from other areas forced their way into the tiny location and unlawfully occupied the land. The regime had no option but to give them residential sites as well. The location has since grown to over 3 000 homesteads.

The area is suitable for farming, with most residents ploughing their fields and also rearing some livestock, mainly goats and cattle. However, the fields and grazing camps are not fenced as vandals stole the fencing that was already installed by the Ciskei regime. The rainfall per annum is fairly high. The location now boasts a number of facilities, which include, amongst others, a post office, a local Higher Primary School, household electricity, telephones, etc. However, the villagers still fetch water from rivers and dams as far as two kilometres as their water scheme is not operational. According to the respondents interviewed, the unemployment rate in the community is high, more especially amongst the youth.

### **1.11 HISTORY OF NOMZAMO WATER PROJECT**

The Nomzamo water project was initiated by the community in 1995 through an application to the government for financial assistance for the implementation of their project.

According to the Nomzamo water supply project Business Plan (1995), a total funding of R 566 800 was made available towards the project, and the project was implemented as a joint venture between the Provincial Department of Public Works and the National Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. R 394 000 was granted by the Public Works department (through the Community Based Public Works Programme) whilst the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry granted

R 172 500. A consulting firm was appointed by the government on behalf of the community to investigate and facilitate the feasibility and viability of implementing the water project in the location. The feasibility study entailed, inter alia, the identification of various supply options and the most favourable was found to be a purchased supply from the then Kei Road Transitional Local Council (TLC). The community favoured this option and a supply agreement was entered into between the TLC and the Nomzamo community. The agreement required that the community shall pay the local council for the water supplied at the Bulk Supply Rate charged to consumers within its area from time to time.

According to the Technical Report of Nomzamo water supply project (1997:2), the project was carried out as a community driven construction project apart from the two concrete reservoirs that were constructed by an outside contractor who was awarded an open tender for that portion of the works. Technical training was carried out by the consulting engineers on site, whilst 'soft skills' training was carried out by the social facilitator, also on site. On completion of the project the system was filled, tested and was found operational. However, a few days later a number of leaks caused water to be lost and this aggrieved the community. Because of these leaks, and the poor quality of the works in general, adequate cost recovery was never achieved and the system remained largely unused. Also, because there was no cost recovery, the Kei Road TLC disconnected the water supply as a consequence of an outstanding debt for water of approximately R 5000.

The scheme has therefore not been utilised since 1997 when it was commissioned. Most standpipes and taps are missing due to vandalism.

#### **1.12 THE DEPARTMENT OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY APPROACH TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION.**

The White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation (1994: 6) outlines the approach, which guides the implementation of water supply and sanitation projects. The

approach is developmental and is derived from the principles, which underpin the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme. It is also informed by substantial, sobering, international experience gained during and after the International Drinking Water Decade of the 1980s.

Integrated development and sustainability have been identified as critical to the success of service provision. The recognition is that there is limited value in having a water supply or sanitation strategy, which is not part of a comprehensive and coherent development strategy. The Department also recognises the need and significance for development to be people-driven. The involvement and empowerment of people is a cornerstone of the approach since international experience confirms the view that the provision of services in poor rural communities will fail if people themselves are not directly involved. Because water supply and sanitation should be integrated into other programmes, the co-ordination of the various public organisations involved in the planning and delivery of basic services is also a critical feature of the approach.

### **1.13 THE ROLE OF THE VARIOUS STAKEHOLDERS IN THE WATER AND SANITATION PROVISION.**

A number of stakeholders are involved in the water and sanitation programme, and each has a crucial role to play. The White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation (1994: 10-14) outlines the various stakeholders involved in the water and sanitation business as follows:

#### **□ The role of National Government**

The National Government's role in the water services sector is two-fold:

- Managing the nation's water resources in the public interest
- Ensuring that all citizens have access to adequate water and sanitation services

For the provision of water and sanitation services National government has a less direct role. National government must be able to comply with the constitutional obligation to ensure that every citizen has an "an environment which is not detrimental to his or her health or well-being" (White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation 1995: 10), and the equality provision in the Constitution. This requires the necessity of national policy guidelines and strategies, setting of minimum service standards, as well as monitoring and regulating service provision.

#### □ **The role of Provincial Government**

Provincial government share the responsibility for assuring service provision, specifically through the promotion of effective local government. There is close collaboration between National and Provincial government, given the joint responsibility with regards to the development of capacity of local government to provide water and sanitation services on an equitable and efficient basis.

#### □ **The role of local government**

The responsibilities of local government are clearly outlined in the Constitution as being to:

"...make provision for access by all persons residing within its area of jurisdiction to water, sanitation [and other services]... providing that such services and amenities are rendered in an environmentally sustainable manner and are financially and physically practicable" (The Constitution 1996: 8).

The key to sustainable water and sanitation service is the existence of functional, viable and competent developmental local government. However, the moral and political pressure for water services forced the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry from 1995 to take immediate action to address the backlog, as local government did not have capacity. However, over the years, local government has

improved their capacity and have gradually assumed the responsibility for the provision of water and sanitation. Nevertheless, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry is still directly implementing some of the water projects, but with full consent and support of local government. It is envisaged that this will continue for the next two to three years until local government is on its feet, thereafter the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry will assume her constitutional responsibility, that of regulating water services and providing ongoing support to local government.

□ **The role of the private sector**

The private sector represents a vast resource, which has been harnessed to contribute to the implementation of the water services programme. There are various areas the private sector contributes to and these include, amongst others,:

- Capital investment
- Operations and maintenance
- Training and capacity building
- Organisation development
- Financing and commercial services

□ **The role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)**

NGOs have played an important role in South Africa under difficult and trying times. This has produced organisations and leaders with proven capacity to innovate and work closely and effectively with communities.

NGOs and the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry are working together in the implementation of water services programmes and this is bearing fruit.

## □ **The role of the community**

The community is a key stakeholder in the delivery process and is not merely the receiver of the service. In order to ensure sustainability of projects, the community has to play an active and leading role in the planning, development and implementation of their project. They are expected not to be merely passive recipients but to have a say and take ownership of the development process.

The community also has responsibilities on projects. They are responsible for operation and maintenance of the project. Also, they are expected to pay for the service they are getting so that the project can continue to be sustainable.

## **1.15 CONCLUSION**

This chapter provides background information to the advent of the government's water delivery programme. It sets out a clear picture of the legislative framework which guides the programme and outlines the roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders involved in the provision of the water services. The objectives, methodology, limitations, envisaged value of the study as well as history of the location and the research project are also described to provide insight into the research project.

The next chapter takes a closer look at the relevant literature and theories, which underpin the development process.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1. BACKGROUND

This chapter looks at the theoretical perspective that the study is assuming, and broadly on relevant (social) theory upon which the research is premised. Sociological theory is founded and organised from a number of concepts and perspectives, which provide a framework for explaining society. The concepts themselves help explain the dynamics that exist in communities in general, and the community under study in particular.

The concepts that will be examined in the chapter are: **sustainability and sustainable development; community; community participation; gender; development;** and, **community development.** All these concepts have relevance to the manner in which development programmes are implemented, and in all respects impact on the sustainability of these programmes. Similarly, these concepts are relevant to the study itself as each concept has or should have had a bearing on the implementation and development of the study project.

Talcott Parsons in (Cuff, Sharrock & Francis 1990: 49-50) places importance on norms and values as the basis for classifying and categorising any society – and this culminates into his 'pattern variables' scheme. Parsons suggests that the fundamental value system of a modern society can be characterised by certain pattern variables (such as achievement, universalism, affective neutrality, self-orientation) whilst traditional societies may be characterised by other different pattern variables (such as ascription, diffuseness, particularism, affectivity). The concept of pattern variables enable us to analyse, interpret and understand the nature of the relationships that exists in society, and the interdependence operating between the various elements of a social system.

Dreyer (1998: 50) takes the debate further when she argues that there has been a lot of writing in the academic circles about existence and differentiation between traditional/modern as well as rural/urban society. She identifies traditional societies as being rural with certain elements (agricultural-based, autocratic, tribal political control, sparse settlements, patriarchal control, conservatism, family/community orientation) and identifies modern societies as being urban characterised by certain elements (individualism, achieved status, democracy, innovation, cosmopolitan identity, dense settlement, change and progress, open-mindedness). This typology has certainly dominated thinking on lifestyles for a very long time and has in certain respects influenced development thought. But this kind of thinking is no longer relevant to modern thinking because experience show that industrialisation/modernisation has not necessarily meant that those societies undergoing transformation have abandoned their traditions and customs (Dreyer 1998: 51). Dreyer concludes by saying that an important aspect of this debate is the role of the community, which by and large is associated with a traditional, rural lifestyle.

## **2.2 MAJOR STRANDS OF THOUGHT DOMINATING THE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENT**

Two major strands of thought have dominated literature on the study of development or economic development at a global level. These are:

- the 'linear stages model' theories of the 1950s and early 1960s; and the
- 'structural-internationalist' theories of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Todaro 1994: 67)

### **□ The 'linear stages' model**

Todaro (1994: 69) contends that the thinking of the 1950s and early 1960s focussed largely on the concept of successive stages of economic growth in which the process of development was seen as a series of successive stages through which all societies must pass. Third World countries therefore were all to proceed

along the same economic growth path, which historically had been followed by the more developed countries of the world. Development thus became synonymous with economic growth. This doctrine of 'linear stages' has as its main advocate the American economic historian Walt Withman Rostow, and has been the basis of the modernisation theory.

Though this model has had an international focus, it has had relevance to the South African situation. The West had been convinced that development in South Africa could be accelerated through transfer of Western models and technology. However, debates in the country today surrounding participation and management in development are much more important and gaining momentum. According to Liebenberg & Stewart (1997:124) the current approach in South Africa is that development should be seen as a process of empowerment, which enables participants to assume greater control over their own lives. And the overriding principle in the new approach is that of sustainable development, meaning development that meets the needs of the present without prejudicing or compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs as well (Swanepoel & de Beer 1997: 31).

#### □ **The 'structural-internationalist' model**

This approach has gained support as a result of the disenchantment with the 'stages of development' theory, and views the Third World as being beset by a variety of institutional and social rigidities, and being caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship to rich countries. Todaro (1994:73) contends that within this model, there are two major streams of thought:

- the '**neo-colonial dependence**' model, which is an outgrowth of Marxist thinking. This model attributes the existence and maintenance of Third World underdevelopment to the highly unequal relationships between the rich and poor countries. The argument here is that Third World's continuing poverty is a result of the existence of policies of the Northern Hemisphere and their

extensions in the form of small but powerful elite groups in the less developed countries.

- The '**false paradigm**' model, which attributes Third World underdevelopment to primarily faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed international 'expert' advisers from both the developed-country assistance agencies and multi-national donor agencies. These 'experts' offer sophisticated concepts, elegant models and complex technical methods and policies that merely serve the vested interests of the existing power structures, both domestic and international.

The 'structural-internationalist' model is the basis of the dependency theory. It is much more relevant to the South African situation where economic growth and social development has been compromised by the policies of the rich countries of the North (Gibbon 1993: 245). These policies have in all respects been irrelevant to the needs of the people of South Africa, especially the poor. Onimode (1992:5) is convinced that it is in fact these very policies and principles from the West that have stifled economic development in the country and continued to widen the gap between the rich and the poor, with the beneficiaries being the peoples of the North.

### **2.3 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT**

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 17) assert that after the Second World War, the American and British conceptions of development have been relatively vague. They emphasised the need for balanced development but were much more precise about the economic rather than the social aspects of development. However, they recognised the interdependence of social, economic, political, cultural and technological aspects of development but the nature of its relationship was not made clear. Once more, the theorists did not manage to give a general norm for determining a condition for full development.

Also, there was an assumption that the Western models of development or modernisation were appropriate for application to the development of any country, particularly the Third World. Development was equated with a process of modernisation where Western values, technology, production systems and consumption patterns had to be simulated by poor communities in an attempt to modernise along capitalist lines (Fair 1982: 5). In this process, the role of the local communities was largely ignored and there was an assumption that development would always be in the general interest - a forward movement. And, the fact that the capitalist system has largely contributed to the emergence of development theories cannot be overemphasised. One needs to understand that each phase of capitalist development produces one or more theories of development. And as Burkey (1998:27) points out:

The emergence of capitalism and the advance of industrial revolution gave a distinctive form of Western developmental thinking.

The three key theories of development are: the **modernisation theory**; the **dependency theory**; and, the **basic needs theory** and these are discussed below:

### **2.3.1 The modernisation theory**

In the 1950s and early 1960s, a number of social scientists, particularly a group of American scholars, developed the modernisation theory. This interest in modernisation was prompted by the decline of the old colonial powers. After World War 11, the Third World became the focus of attention by First World politicians, academics and economists who were eager to demonstrate (particularly to countries that were pushing for independence) that sustained development was possible under the western wing. Prestons (1997: 165) has argued that the modernisation theory is "... concerned with lack of development in other countries, particularly the Third World, and comes up with models of how the non-developed societies might be expected to modernise".

Coetzee & Graaff (1996:42) assert that the modernisation theory was based on the assumption that societies were independent of one another, and that development or non-development was the result of the internal characteristics of societies. This implied that in order to aid less developed societies, all attention should be focussed to internal reforms and that external or international forces on these countries should not be taken into account. Furthermore, the modernisation theory assumed that a dichotomy could be drawn between traditional and modern society.

Lerner (1964:50) claims that traditional societies were seen to be resistant to change, conservative, largely static and homogeneous whilst modern societies were seen to be highly adaptable, differentiated and dynamic. And the idea of what constituted a modern society was based on existing modern societies, namely the Western societies. This led to the Western ideological bias in modernisation theories.

Larrain (1989 : 87-98) identifies a number of versions of the modernisation approach and he groups them into three categories, namely : the sociological version; the psychological version; and, the economic version.

#### □ **The Sociological perspective**

This version emphasizes the role of a wide variety of social and institutional variables and carries out mainly a sociological analysis of the transition and development.

Prestons (1997: 17) asserts that Talcott Parsons was a key resource in producing this approach, and his theory comprised, amongst others, the scheme of pattern variables. The pattern variables theory begins to make a distinction between developed societies and poor societies in terms of the variables, which each society exhibits.

Warren (1980: 171) is of the view that the pattern variables approach is merely there to shift the blame from capitalism. In his view, the capitalist system itself has produced tensions and conflicts, which have led to further polarisation, pauperisation and homogenisation of the working class. In my view (which is also supported by Sowell (1985: 68), the pattern variables theory in many instances does not hold water when it comes to the South African situation. It is not a true reflection of the real issues. The exploitation of labour in South Africa has led to further pauperization of the working class. The workers in the country have, and still continue, to earn meager wages. The black population in the old South Africa was subject to adverse segregation where opportunities to advance were virtually limited. It is only now that policies have been put in place to ensure an equitable treatment of all citizens and where the advancement of people is beginning to be premised on performance and merit.

#### □ **The Psychological perspective**

According to Larrain (1989: 94), this version stresses the principal role of psychological factors and other 'internal factors' which are supposed to be the driving forces of economic development. Theorists in this category are interested in the values and motives, which enable men and women to exploit opportunities, to take advantage of favourable conditions and most importantly to shape their destiny. Larrain (1989: 96) says that McClelland in particular discovered the 'need for achievement' (n achievement) which he defined as "the desire to do well, not so much for the sake of personal recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment". He concludes by saying that the motivation to do well therefore is not hereditary or innate but that 'children acquire it early in life'.

In my view, this version applies differently to the South African situation. Through the policy of separate development, the citizens of the country received unequal treatment and suffered due to unequal distribution of resources. In education, for

example, the white minority received the biggest slice of the education budget and their children were educated for self-reliance (Fitzgerald 1992: 27). The Bantu education system on the other hand meant that children from the black population received the smallest percentage of the education budget. Black children were in no way educated for self-reliance. The school subjects that were offered to them did not prepare them for competing in the world out there.

It is only now that the present government has put in place programmes which aim at addressing the past imbalances. But these intentions get frustrated because only a certain group has the expertise and skills. In an attempt to address this problem, the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry has embarked on a major recruitment drive by offering bursaries to South African students to study at tertiary institutions towards the 'specialized fields' (e.g. civil engineering, geographic information systems, environmental science, forestry, etc. The Department has further embarked on an intensive in-service training programme, which also entails the re-training of staff in order to improve their skills, build capacity and to increase productivity.

#### □ **The Economic perspective**

Fair (1982:5-7) outlines the economic factors in the process of transition. Walt Rostow's view of the stages of economic growth is one of the classical examples of the application of this theory. According to Rostow it is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within five categories, namely: the traditional society; the pre-conditions for take-off; the take-off; the drive to maturity; and; the stage of high mass consumption.

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 20) is convinced that the Rostowian model should be regarded as homogenous and as mere impressionistic interpretation of a number of historical experiences rather than a rigorous, scientific analysis. Within the South African context, it is my opinion, the stages of growth theory has to be rejected as inadequate with the contempt it deserves. The stages theory has no

concept of history as it treats South African society as purely traditional. The entire approach to economic development and change attributes history to the developed countries but denies all history to South Africa. Rostow's theory is silent about the initial contacts (the conquest, slavery, etc.) that the country has had with the West in the past. Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 22) support this view when they say the penetration of Western elements and the transfer of Western technology, skills and values to South Africa has in fact suffocated the economy of the country.

Frank (1981: 83) criticises the modernisation theory as being silent on the initial contacts and relationships the now underdeveloped countries have had with the advanced countries. The model obliterates the fact that through these very relations the now developed countries have totally destroyed the pre-existing fabric of these poor societies through, among others, the process of industrialisation and conquest. These processes have resulted in the exploitation of the developing world's resources, and this included human labour and primary products (Roxborough 1981: 51). The Structural Adjustment Programmes in particular have forced the Third World governments to cut down on social spending (Gibbon 1993: 296), and this has resulted on further pauperisation of the poor in these countries. Therefore, the idea by Rostow of picturing the Third World as 'many aeroplanes waiting to take off in an airport' should be rejected.

Whilst the modernisation theory reflects important worldviews about development thought in general (Swanepoel & de Beer 1997: 20-21), the model served a limited purpose. The theory is evasive on the vital issue of poverty of the masses, especially the rural poor. However, continues Swanepoel & de Beer, despite all its problems, the modernisation theory has made a remarkable contribution towards the development debate. Perhaps the most productive spin-off is that it managed to generate the identification of personality attributes, value orientations and social characteristics associated with the achievement of economic progress and social transformation.

### 2.3.2 The dependency theory

The criticisms that were leveled against the modernisation theory and the 'problems' associated with the modernisation paradigm provided ammunition to those who opposed the modernisation theory. Their critique initiated the dependency or underdevelopment school of thought.

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 2) views dependency as an "... umbrella concept for the various theories that are critical of the modernisation theory". Santos (1973:76-77) on the other hand defines dependency as a "... conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others".

According to Frank (1981: 79), Third World countries are characterized by what he refers to as the "metropolis-satellite" structure. His argument is that this structure can be identified at two levels: first, at the international level and, second, at the national level. At the international level, argues Frank, there are societies who supply labour and raw materials to the metropolitan countries. He claims that this metropolis-satellite structure also occurs at the national level 'where the periphery supplies raw materials to the metropolitan centres'.

Three hypothesis flow from Frank's use of the concept of metropolis-satellite structure, namely:

- That the metropolis tends to develop while the satellite tends to underdevelop. The satellite is used as an instrument to suck capital or economic surplus out of its own satellites and channel part of this surplus to the world metropolis;
- That the satellites experience their greatest economic development if and when their ties to the international metropolitan countries are weakest; and,
- That regions or countries that are the most underdeveloped today are the ones which have had the closest contact with the metropolis in the past. They are

the regions, which were the greatest exporters of primary products to metropolitan countries (Frank 1981: 80-82).

It is my opinion that Frank's theory is of significant relevance to the South African situation. The country has been a major supplier of raw materials and cheap labour to the rich countries of the North for a number of decades. This relationship was exploitative in nature in the sense that the manufactured products and surpluses from the raw materials were in turn channeled back to the country and other poor areas at huge profits. At the national level in South Africa for instance this metropolis-satellite relationship is much more evident even today. Let's take the example of Gauteng and Alice. Gauteng is a typical metropole in many respects. Labour in Gauteng comes from Alice and is largely exploited. Raw materials do not come from Gauteng but it is Alice and its surrounding areas that supply Gauteng with raw materials. In turn the Alice community has to buy the manufactured products from Gauteng at huge and sometimes unaffordable costs.

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 52) are convinced that the urban-rural imbalances are still visible in South African development. This imbalance has always been beneficial to the urban areas and detrimental to the rural sector. This has been due to, amongst other things, deficiencies in policy which does not treat rural areas and urban areas equally. This relationship and bias has relevance to this study as well. The study area is characterised by high levels of unemployment and lack of access to basic services. Yet a few kilometers away from the village you find Bisho/King William's Town (capital of Eastern Cape) with high levels of living, state-of-the art infrastructure and 'posh' facilities. The point of departure from this scourge, argues Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 53), is to first recognise that rural and urban areas are an integrated unit and should be approached in a holistic manner. Favouring urban areas has severe repercussions for the rural areas.

My view therefore is that this metropolis-satellite structure is destructive and promotes the underdevelopment and exploitation of the poorer areas through,

among others, unequal terms of trade and other related measures. This inevitably keeps the poor countries or poor areas in a subordinate position.

In a nutshell, Swanepoel & de Beer (1997:22) observe that the dependency paradigm promotes a break with the world capitalist system and actually encourages countries to promote self-reliance. The dependency theory pays most of its attention to external variables and puts the blame on the modernisation theory for ignoring external variables and only seeking an internal explanation to the problems of underdevelopment.

The dependency paradigm has, like the modernisation theory, undergone rigorous and penetrating examination, which brought into the open many of its inadequacies. Warren (1980: 165) referred to dependency as a " nationalist mythology ", and he presented a general critique of the theory. He concludes by suggesting that what is needed is for the Less Developed Countries to achieve political independence as this will give them freedom to pursue economic policies of their choice. This assertion is much more relevant to South Africa. There is now a new democracy in the country and a people's government led by the black majority. Since achieving political independence the new government has made strides in terms of its social and economic policies as well as passing of legislation which is intended to address past imbalances, meeting the basic needs, and reducing poverty and improving economic growth.

Nevertheless, argue Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 20-21), the dependency theory, like the modernisation theory, has also had a significant contribution to development thought in general. The theory has attracted a lot of attention among development scholars.

### **2.3.3 The basic needs theory**

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 27) assert that likewise, the basic needs approach grew out of the failure of modernisation theory. The theory represents a shift in

emphasis away from economic development and more in the direction of a human-centered approach.

Swanepoel & de Beer further recall that by the 1970s, many observers had discovered that economic growth in the aggregate did not necessarily alleviate poverty. This then led to the formulation of the 'basic needs theory', which was adopted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1976. The ILO defined basic needs to include a number of elements: first, they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption (e.g. food, shelter, clothing); and, second, they include essential community services (e.g. water, sanitation, health, transport, education)

Preston (1997: 245) claims for the first time the basic needs theory stimulated debate which managed to draw a distinction between economic growth and the provision of basic necessities of life. The general notion of this approach, he continues, implied that aid and development work had to be targeted at the poorest and that success had to be closely monitored.

Webster (1984: 34-36) contends that a basic needs strategy should seek to do at least two things:

- First, to relieve as quickly as possible absolute poverty through intensive and direct assistance; and,
- Second, to meet the basic needs of all in terms of material wants and social needs.

This, in my opinion, implies that the success of a basic needs strategy requires changes not only in the political structures alone, but changes in the economic as well as administrative structures. Of particular importance in this regard is the notion of a 'bottom-up' strategy with which a basic needs strategy should coincide.

In a country like South Africa where many households still have unsatisfactory access to basic services, and where 18 million people live in the poorest 40 per cent of households (Office of the Executive Deputy President 1998: 3-4), an accelerated programme which begins to address the basic and fundamental needs of the poor should certainly be top priority for the government. Whilst the South African government is making efforts in terms of coming up with policies aimed at fighting poverty, there is still a need to develop strategies which will vigorously enforce the redistribution of assets, including resources for land reform.

#### **2.3.4 Towards a new general approach to development**

As it has been mentioned above, the traditional development models assume a linear evolutionist process in which the whole community will progress in essentially along the same development path (Fair 1982: 5). But contemporary development literature points to another direction. It indicates that the traditional development approach has not brought about sufficient insight into the process of change. My opinion then is that development must be approached from other viewpoints as well – and not to reduce it to merely problems of insufficient economic progress, insufficient political participation or restrictive social structure. In other words, whilst economic progress is an essential element of development, it is by no means the only component.

Development in South Africa is about people themselves making decisions and taking control of their own destiny. It is about the community participating in their own development process.

Preston (1996: 315) claims that development theory is undergoing reconstruction and development as practitioners and scholars adjust to the lessons learned over time. Further, of major influence is the impact of the recent changes in the global economic order. In Preston's view, a new approach to development " . . . will be concerned with the structural analysis of the dynamics of the global industrial-

capitalist system and with the elucidation of the ways in which popular local groups read and react to the system's constraints and opportunities".

What is needed in South Africa is a critical mass, which can begin to think not only progressively but also globally.

### **2.3.5 The New Growth Theory**

Todaro (1994: 88) comes up with a new concept or theory which he calls the "the new growth theory" of development. He claims that this theory is an emerging approach and ". . . is a result of poor performance of classical and neo-classical theories . . . (and in particular) a general dissatisfaction with the traditional theory". Todaro's theory in a sense represents a key component of the emerging development theory for the 1990s.

In his theory he propounds for an active role which states must play in promoting development, and this must be in terms of the policies that the state promulgates. In the case of South Africa there is no doubt about the governments' commitment to promoting development. This is evidenced by the plethora of government policies and programmes which are certainly the indication of the government's broad commitment to the reduction of poverty and inequality (May 1998 : 58 ). However, government alone cannot solve the problem of poverty. There is therefore a need for a concerted effort between government, business and the NGO-sector if we are to be effective in the 'war' against poverty.

## **2.4 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

An attempt is made to define some of the key widely used concepts in development theorising. These concepts are in many times given different interpretations and may have different meanings to different people. The concepts are discussed below:

### **2.4.1 Sustainability and sustainable development**

Sustainability is a term that is widely used but which has different meanings depending upon the context within which it is being used. It is a vision of the community's future where this vision is community-oriented and focussed on long-term goals. It takes into account the linkages between the social, economic and environmental aspects of the community. According to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (1999: 24), within the context of water supply projects sustainability is achieved when: the benefits of the service continue to be realised over a prolonged period of time; the facilities are maintained in a condition which ensures a reliable and adequate water supply; the water consumed is not over-exploited but developed in a sustainable manner; and, there are no unplanned external interventions. Sustainability therefore is primarily considered in terms of continuing to improve human well being, whilst not undermining the natural resource base on which future generations will have to depend.

In a nutshell, sustainability refers to the degree to which the project will continue to function once the external agents withdraw. Sustainability can also be defined as the continuing functioning of a certain developed service and its continued utilisation by the group it was meant for, resulting in the benefits originally aimed for, when the external support has stopped. Thus, in a water project sustainability refers to whether water flows over time, whether infrastructure is maintained, whether cost recovery occurs and whether organisational and community capacity remains in place over time (Department of Water Affairs & Forestry 1998: 7).

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 30-31), in an attempt to define sustainable development, argue that there is broader interpretation of sustainable development. According to them, ". . . sustainable development means to sustain the economy as well as social and ecological systems. Culture occupies an important place in this interpretation ". This interpretation implies that sustainable development also means that a space is created for different cultures and knowledge systems as well. A further implication, according to them, is that

development should first and foremost be ecologically sound and sustainable, and the rest of the issues should be subject to this.

Lele (1991: 608) claims that sustainable development literally means development that can be sustained for a definite or an indefinite period. And Brundtland (1987) in Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 31) tries to provide a workable definition of sustainable development when he says:

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs

Norgaard (1994:27) recognises that the concept sustainable development has three dimensions: the environmental sustainability (whose focus is on maintenance of the environment); economic or financial sustainability (which is concerned with optimal utilisation of resources); and, social sustainability (which encourages the involvement of the people and providing them with choices and opportunities).

Within the South African context there is realization that sustainable development is not something that can happen easily. As Fitzgerald, McClellan & Munslow (1997:4) have observed: "... it (sustainable development) requires, amongst other things, massive educational effort so that citizens are made aware of the need to manage their resources wisely...not only to fulfil their needs today but those of their children tomorrow and of future generations". And the challenge for the ongoing policy process in the country will be how far it succeeds in making the development process sustainable.

There is realisation that there are different and sometimes competing views and/or diverse ideas around the concept of sustainable development. It is this very diversity that encourages fresh debate and provides a worldview of the trends in the literature on sustainable development.

Carley & Christie (1992: 77-8) attempt to put up different views on the concept of sustainable development and they distinguish those in four categories as follows:

- The technocratic management view: which emphasizes the maximum exploitation of resources in order to meet the needs of the growing population. Protagonists of this view do not pay sufficient attention to ethical issues but are more concerned with good management and preservation of the environment.
- The populist view: This view links more to the radical needs theory. It puts emphasis on local self-sufficiency and promotion of other knowledge systems for development. It promotes grassroots action for sustainable development. Further, it pays more attention to social, cultural and environmental development, and views empowerment and local capacity building as points of departure.
- The Marxist view: Here the view is that the environment is an important resource for development and for this reason its outputs must be maximised for everyone and it should not be preserved for the upper class only. The argument is that high population growth is not a problem, but the problem is unequal distribution of resources. And capitalism, according to this view, is a worldwide problem and it is responsible for ecological degradation.
- The deep ecological view: This view promotes a new ethic with an emphasis on new behavior patterns. It is claimed for instance that western thought deals with men, women and the environment not as a unit but as separate entities, and this ignores the reality that they are in fact 'dependent' on mother earth. This view is also concerned with gender inequality. The argument is that many women have an important ecological knowledge, which is critical for conserving nature. Therefore, gender inequality must also be addressed to combat ecological degradation.

These views are applicable in various ways within the South African situation. The technocratic view has been particularly relevant and applied in the apartheid South

Africa where government was neither concerned nor interested in the welfare of people on whom development was supposed to impact. The technocrats were much more interested in getting the outputs of the development process and paid little attention to the needs, aspirations and experiences of the community. The populist, Marxism and deep ecological view are particularly relevant to the post-apartheid South Africa. In the country there is now strong emphasis on community participation, empowerment and capacity building, and therefore a realisation that development can only be sustainable if these elements are as well taken on board during the development process. The trade union movement in the country has been particularly vocal on issues affecting the poor and has time and again lobbied for a development process which begins to address the fundamental needs of the people, especially the poor.

The question of gender has also been on the agenda across the wide spectrum of the South African society. The government in particular, and the South African public in general now realise that women have a central role to play in the development process and the gender policies and programmes that are in place are an evidence in this regard.

The debate on sustainability and sustainable development is still in its infancy stages. Nevertheless, it has in many ways 'shaken the roots of development thought' (Swanepoel & de Beer 1997: 40), and there is an indication that it will dominate and occupy a prominent position in the development debate for many more decades to come.

#### **2.4.2 Community**

Within the field of rural water supply, projects are negotiated with a 'community' on the basis of assumed unity or solidarity.

According to Dreyer (1998: 4) the term 'community' refers to an aggregate of people who have shared identity or have formed a sense of solidarity on the

grounds of common characteristics such as shared beliefs, frequent social interaction, close ties or residence. De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 18) argue that no general agreement of "community" exists. The concept has many uses and its use has not been without problems. In certain circumstances, the concept has been used for political purposes.

Nevertheless, community can best be conceptualized and understood as a cultural notion people use so as to give reality and form to their social actions and thought. And when people live together and show signs of 'community', outsiders often assume that there is social unity (Dreyer 1998: 5).

### **2.4.3 Community participation**

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 20) claim that like "community", "community participation" is also an elusive concept. They distinguish between two analytical groupings, "the participation as involvement", and the "empowerment" schools.

People mean different things when they talk about 'community participation'. There are a number of different ways in which the community members may participate in development projects: by means of community labour, cost-sharing, contractual obligation or community decision-making. Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 21) contend that participation should in fact go beyond the provision of labour and other inputs for development projects but must be seen as a process of empowering the beneficiaries by developing their skills and abilities, and equipping them to take their own decisions. Empowerment, in their view, is a process in which knowledge is acquired by all people in the process of living, a process where people must be enabled to express and assert what development means to them, otherwise development cannot take place (Liebenberg & Stewart 1997:22).

#### 2.4.4 Gender

There are several different definitions of gender. However, gender refers to those characteristics of men and women, which are socially determined, in contrast to those, which are biologically determined. The Water Research Commission (1999: 2) provides a working definition of the concept of gender:

People are born female or male, but learn to be boys and girls who grow into men and women. They are taught what the appropriate behaviour and attitudes, roles and activities are for them, and how they should relate to other people. This learned behaviour is what makes up gender identity, and determines gender roles.

Gender has significant implications in the manner in which water projects are implemented. For a number of years, development projects, including water projects, have focussed on the technical aspects, with communities merely seen as just users and beneficiaries. Although projects said they worked with "villagers", "leaders" and "committees", they almost always dealt with the male population (Water Research Commission 1999:3). Women were usually pushed aside. Yet women have an important role to play in the planning, management and maintenance of development projects.

Linked to gender is the question of culture. Myburgh (1981:47) views culture as the motivation for the way human beings do things. Culture exists on the social, economic, political, religious, educational, and technological levels. Duncker (1996: 41) defines culture as a set of rules through which we view the world. Each individual is conditioned to view things from his cultural perspective. This is reflected in people's belief about the behaviour they view as appropriate as recognised and entrenched within the community. Williams (1994: 19) contend that both culture and gender are interrelated and both have profound impact on the way in which projects are implemented. Culture and gender results in women

and men assigned certain roles in the community, and these roles are consistent with the values and norms in a particular community.

## **2. 5 WHAT CONSTITUTES DEVELOPMENT?**

Development is a concept difficult to define. Fred Riggs (1981: 46), one of the pioneers of Development Administration, referred to development as a concept with "an overloaded" meaning. He claims that an astonishingly large number of different concepts are all called development. Development, according to Riggs, can be a synonym for: "growth, change, evolution, progress, transformation, improvement, modernisation, industrialisation". Its meaning must therefore be deduced from the context within which it is being used. Todaro (1994: 18) echoes this when he says: "...the term development may mean different things to different people".

Nevertheless, there seems to be consensus among development scholars that there are at least three basic components or core values that should serve as a conceptual basis and practical guideline for understanding the inner meaning of development, namely: life-sustenance or satisfying the basic needs; self-esteem or being a person; and freedom from servitude or human freedom (Todaro 1994: 21).

Todaro (1994: 23) further suggests that development in all societies must achieve at least three objectives. These are as follows:

- To increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods;
- To raise the levels of living, in addition to higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and humanistic values; and,

- To expand the range of social and economic choices available to individuals and nations and by freeing them from, amongst others, forces of ignorance and human misery.

Burkey (1998:26) takes it further when he refers to development as " a whole new jargon as well as a jet set that has grown up ". He says discussions on development are peppered with expressions such as 'community development', 'modernisation', 'dependency theory', 'ecodevelopment', 'structural adjustment', 'appropriate technology', 'self-reliance', 'gender awareness', 'vulnerable groups'. Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 44) say that whatever the case may be, development is about people, their needs and their circumstances. As a result development can never rely on predetermined long-term plans and goals. For development efforts to be a success, there is a need to appreciate and replace the previous ideas on development by recognising that development activities represent action hypotheses, experiments that require continuing organisational learning.

### **2.5.1 Aim of development**

Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 121) are convinced that addressing basic human needs is the central aim of development. They claim that the best development process is one that allows for the greatest improvement in people's quality of life. Quality of life in itself depends on the ability of the people to satisfy their fundamental human needs adequately. Burkey (1989: 29) further conceptualizes human needs as those needs that an individual must have in order to survive as human beings. This does not only refer or restricted to the provision of economic goods only but must be expanded to include nonmaterial human aspects such as protection, freedom, affection, understanding, participation, identity, creation, participation.

Maslow provides a concrete analysis of the nature of human needs, and argues that human needs can be organised into four hierarchical categories or classes, and these are:

- Physical needs (hunger, thirst, etc.)
- Safety needs (need for security, stability, protection)
- The need for belonging (need to give and receive feelings)
- Self-determination needs (need for self-fulfillment and achievement)  
(Liebenberg & Stewart 1997: 122).

Therefore, the primary aim of any development process should be to try and satisfy as many of the needs as possible.

### **2.5.2 Development – the radical viewpoint**

For Marxism development or underdevelopment is a historical process. The specificity of this history relates to the formation of the modes of production, and for Marxism, the capitalist mode of production. Marxist theories define development as a process of economic underdevelopment of countries located within the Southern Hemisphere by countries in the Northern Hemisphere (Coetzee & Graaf 1996: 57). There is therefore a narrative historical relationship between the South and the North, and what fundamentally ties the two in the relation of interdependency is capitalism. Capitalism is viewed by Marxists as having an 'imperialistic character', which is an inherent force that operates to undermine and disrupt the development of other countries. Marxists are convinced that development is a capitalist project and almost everything that happens within capitalist societies is linked to the global capitalist process. Moghadam (1992: 15) explains that in the project of development " ... social actors are conceptualised in terms of race, gender, ethnicity, and class".

And very recently, development scholars have raised concerns and questions about development. These questions are motivated by postmodern theory, and raise doubts about the theoretical and practical concerns of development studies (Escobar 1995: 27). This phase in development studies call for a fundamental rethinking of development. Coetze (1996: 44) argues that it is not sufficient to

propose a people-centred development whilst still operating with the “old concept of development and its implications”. Development therefore needs to be considered outside its conventional usage – it should be “conceptualised as a postmodern practice”.

Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 28) contend that within the South African context, the radical debate on development moves away from mobilisation of community resources, community organisation and involvement in preplanned projects, to issues of powerlessness, decision-making and empowerment. They come up with the concept “another development” which has emerged as a clear and coherent system of developmental analysis to contrast with top down, finance oriented economism of conventional development strategies. Ekins (1992: 99) identifies five main characteristics of ‘another development’ as follows:

- Need-oriented, and addresses material and non-material human needs.
- Endogenous, in that every society’s values and vision of the future should determine development.
- Self-reliant, in that power and energy in every society’s natural and cultural environment is used for development.
- Ecologically pure, because planning and action occur within the confines of the ecology.
- Based on structural transformation of social relationships, economic activities and power relations.

### **2.5.3 Development problems in Africa**

The proponents of development strategies for Africa analyse the development problems in the continent from different ideological perspectives. However, none of them proceeds to examine critically the outcome of their proposals (Taylor & Mackenzie 1992: 1). They ignore the fact that calling for the ‘empowerment’ of local people is to challenge social structure. Weaver (1984: 138) points out that in Africa one is dealing with ‘politics’ not ‘policies’, with ‘struggle’ and not ‘strategy’.

Taylor & Mackenzie (1992: 215) observe that at the macro level the quality of life for the majority of Africa's inhabitants has been declining in both absolute and relative terms. They identify three key features of the continuing development crisis in Africa, namely:

- A disintegration of productive mechanisms and infrastructural facilities.
- A deterioration in the main macroeconomic indicators.
- An increasing decline in social welfare.
- Increasing decline of the physical environment.

They cite that, for example, between 1980 and 1988, per capita income for Africa as a whole fell steadily by 2.6 per cent per annum and wage employment fell by 16 per cent. GDP per capita in 1978 was US\$ 854; by 1988 it was US\$ 565. In 1978 the per capita growth rate was 3.03 per cent; in 1988 it was – 0.88 per cent. The debt burden has risen from US\$ 48.3 billion in 1978 to over US\$ 230 billion in 1988, and debt servicing obligations now exceed 100 per cent of export earnings in several African countries. Certainly, this state of affairs and figures is disturbing and a better description of this situation would be 'increasing degradation' than 'development'.

A number of factors are responsible for the state of affairs in Africa, and this involves a complex set of external, internal, and environmental factors. These factors are closely interlinked and no one factor operates in isolation. Mabogunje (1988: 25) is convinced that the false start in all African countries has been largely due to the high level of governmental and bureaucratic domination of the economy with its consequences of inefficiency, profligacy and inappropriate control. Mussa-Nda (1988: 3) argues in the similar vein when he says the development strategies followed by African countries during the past few decades has gradually led to the continent into its present destitution, and " ... all plans designed by those concerned with development ... are incapable of bringing about any growth recovery in the foreseeable future". Beckman (1988: 26) sums it up

when he says the African state “ ... is under attack from left, right and centre”, and he concludes that this has led to a serious questioning of the role of the state in formulating and implementing policies to alleviate the current crisis.

#### **2.5.4 Development from below – the hope for Africa’s survival**

Fitzgerald (1992: 233) notes that the development ‘from below’ concept was primarily developed in a ‘Third World’ context and grew out of a synthesis of a variety of perspectives and ideas, which were broadly related to the emerging number of ‘alternative development’ strategies. To a greater extent, development from below is strongly influenced by the dependency theory and by the concept of ecologically sound development. The concept saw development as an essentially indigenous process in which concepts of self-reliance and popular participation loom large. Development from below is based on the maximum mobilisation of each area’s natural, human and institutional resources, with the primary objective being the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants of that area. The strategy is basic needs oriented, labour intensive, ecologically sensitive, regional resource based, rural centred and argues for the use of appropriate rather than highest technology.

Stohr & Taylor (1985: 19) are convinced that the policies based on models of the North have not been able to improve or even stabilise living levels in the least developed areas of the Third World, including South Africa. They argue that a development strategy from below is particularly suited for the many Third World countries. Development from below need to be closely related to specific socio-cultural, historical and institutional conditions of the country concerned. They identify, amongst other things, the following elements of development strategies ‘from below’:

- Provision of broad access to land and other territorially available natural resources as the key production factors in the less developed areas.

- The introduction of new, or revival of the old, territorially organised structures for equitable communal decision-making on the integrated allocation of regional natural and human resources.
- Granting a higher degree of self-determination to rural and other peripheral areas in the utilisation or transformation of existing peripheral institutions to promote diversified peripheral development in line with self-determined objectives.
- Assignment of priority to projects which serve the satisfaction of basic needs of the population, using to maximum regional resources and existing formal or informal societal structures.
- Improvement of rural-to-rural and rural-to-village transport and communication facilities should have preference in order to increase commodity and service markets within peripheral areas, increase the scale and diversity of factor markets and thereby facilitate increased processing, purchasing and market activities in peripheral areas.

Egalitarian societal structures and a collective consciousness are important prerequisites for a strategy for development 'from below'. They should by preference be retained or initiated through internal initiative. Where this is not possible, external support may be necessary. Where such external support 'from above' is necessary it should be facilitated, both between and within countries, preferably on a non-government basis, through ideological or religious groups, organisations of committed intellectuals or independent volunteer cadres (Stohr & Taylor 1985: 21).

The concept of development from below has received a lot of criticism. Fitzgerald (1992: 233-234) contends that a variety of interpretations is given by those involved in it. The concept is criticised on a number of grounds which include, inter alia, the following:

- Inadequate specification of the theoretical underpinnings of development from below.

- Failure to specify the necessary and sufficient conditions in which development from below could emerge.
- Failure to add an adequate theory of explanation to what in essence was a theory of policy.

Another strand of criticism had been expressed by indigenous planners who claim that development from below and concomitant ideas were just one example of theories developed in the North being applied to the South.

## **2.6 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

Lombard (1992: 108) argues that a definition of the concept "community development" can only come to its right, if it is given from within the perspective. She is of the view that the focus of development, and therefore community development, in any country is determined first and foremost by the current circumstances and for this reason the emphasis and approach to development will vary between that of a Third World country and that of a First World country. Before the Second World War era, strong emphasis was placed on economic development in an attempt to rectify the unequal division of wealth and prosperity. This focus had been related to the increasing concern of the Western World about the development of the Third World.

Du Preez (1981: 12) observes that to the West development means technological advancement and economic growth. This 'attitude' resulted in supplying the so-called backward communities with financial and technological means so that their conditions of living could be improved. Unfortunately, the economic revival of the less developed countries was minimal despite the contribution from the West. Despite the massive injection of capital and other resources, the gap between the rich and the poor countries rather became larger.

However, there is now realisation that although resources and technology are necessary for development, they are inadequate as a means to an end (Ferrinho

1980: 21). It is essential therefore that people are motivated to apply technology and resources in a rational manner. This brings us down to the notion that people are the nucleus of development. Van der Roy (1988: 6) summarises it well when he says:

It is therefore of the utmost importance to always bear in mind that development is for the people who are in need of it. For nobody else. And those people are experts in the art of survival. Their expertise should be utilized.

This implies that the skills of the people as well as their participation are critical to the success of the development process. People therefore are the target and instrument of development.

### **2.6.1 Definition of community development**

Community development is a widely divergent concept, which has caused confusion and resulted in considerable differences of opinion about what it really means in practice. Ravitz (1982: 1-2) says community development is regarded as "community education" in some circles, in others as "community organisation" or "community participation". In all these diverse terms, the concept refers to the active involvement of people at the local level to either oppose or support a matter, a phenomenon or a programme in which they are interested (Lombard 1992: 111).

Sanders (1975: 457) is of the view that community development should always mean different things to different people or countries. His argument is that because the concept is used in so many countries to describe programmes and to achieve certain goals, it is bound to mean different things to different people. And Sanders definition of community development is regarded respectfully in the literature and is used as a starting point by many development scholars. Sanders

(1975: 458-462) tables four points on his view on community development as follows:

□ **Community development as a process**

The idea of a process refers to phases economies and societies have to undergo to achieve the desired objectives. As a process the emphasis lies on what happens to the human being and his/her development, both psychologically and socially. According to Sanders (1975: 458) community development as a process moves by means of phases, from one situation to the other. This entails progress with regards to the desired changes in terms of specific criteria.

□ **Community development as a method**

Lombard (1992: 113) assert that community development as a method is regarded as a procedure aimed at achieving a predetermined goal/s. This procedure (i.e. method) takes place in line with the phases of the community development process, and this therefore implies that community development as a method also entails community development as a process. Lombard further observes that community development as method is supplemented by other methods such as education and therefore doesn't take place in a vacuum. In this way, the method and process of community development can be applied by all disciplines in their various fields of study in order to attain the predetermined goals.

□ **Community development as a programme**

Lombard (1992: 115) says that as a programme, community development consists of methods (a set of procedures), and contents (a list of activities)). The execution of these procedures also means the execution of activities. Thus when a formalised broader plan is implemented, the focus is not on what happens on people involved in the programme but is placed on the programme itself.

This programme approach to community development is a crucial matter when it comes to defining community development amongst the black peoples of South Africa (Maqhashalala 1974: 337). In South Africa, when projects are implemented in communities, a situation is created where the non-white communities feel that the programmes are forced on them, and that the needs of the community are not taken into consideration. As a result, experts decide beforehand what would be best for these underdeveloped communities and then an attempt is made to combine the programme decided upon, with the needs, aspirations and decisions of the community.

But, according to Lombard (1992: 116), the reality is that the experts 'behave' as if they know what is good for the people, they design programmes for the community, according to their own viewpoints and then submit these plans to the community for their approval. This causes people to be manipulated or forced to take action. In this way, it seems that community development, as a programme does not adequately accommodate the needs of the community.

In my view with regards to the South African case in particular, the living conditions of the majority of citizens – the poor – requires that more sensitivity should be shown when community development as a programme is introduced or implemented. The community should first and foremost be given the opportunity to realise their needs and problems regarding the programme of their own, before it can be expected of them to give their support.

#### □ **Community development as a movement**

Lombard (1992: 114) assert that as movement, community development is intended to improve the quality of life for everybody and is regarded as a cause to which people are dedicated. It has an emotional input – some will approve of it, others will not. It is not a scientific nor neutral process but rather philosophical and is focused on progress (development). As a movement, community

development is inclined to be institutionalised. Underlying the progress on which community development as a movement is focussed, are specific values and goals, which differ in the various political and social systems.

Ferrinho (1980: 41) illustrates the importance of community development, as a movement when he says that community development cannot be regarded only as a technique (method, procedure) because techniques are only concerned with the efficiency of the methods to achieve their goals. He claims that techniques do not judge the value of methods and goals, while community development may well do so. This is endorsed by Ravitz (1982: 2) when he states that community development is more than a process and emphasizes that it is a movement, a philosophy and an orientation as well.

Therefore, community development is influenced by the current circumstances within society, which may be the wider political, social and economic environment in which programmes must function (Thomas 1983: 111). This then suggests that community development is not a static concept, which may be applied to any situation. Ferrinho (1980: 40) is of the view that when defining community development it is necessary to identify the collective quintessence in a wide range of valid experiences. He holds the viewpoint that the self-help effort of local people is the basic characteristic in definitions of community development.

Nevertheless, Lombard (1992: 118) attempts to provide a definition of "community development" as a process, a method, a programme, a movement aimed at enabling and encouraging communities to become involved, with the necessary support from the private and government sectors, in improving and managing their own living conditions in all areas of development.

According to Lombard (1992: 109), community development is one of the strategies, which can be used to bring about change in communities, and for achieving the goals of development. And the connection between development at

the community and national level can best be illustrated by means of the process of development.

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998:1) argue that in essence, community development has been on the scene for a number of decades, and has enjoyed mixed success as well as mixed support. Over the years, views on community development have shifted and altered and this has been due to shifts on the main trends in development thinking. For that reason, there are marked variations in the thoughts on community development of a few decades ago from those maintained at present. And in a country like South Africa, community development cannot happen in isolation – it is an integral part of the wider socio-political, psychological and economic changes the country is undergoing.

### **2.6.2 The origins of community development**

Liebenberg & Stewart (1997:23) cite that the practice of community development dates back to the history of the early civilisation when mankind initiated actions from which groups benefited in some or other ways. Some American authors attribute the more recent origin of community development to the practice of agricultural extension, instituted in 1870 in some mid-western states of the United States of America. Cornwell (1986: 11) points out in agricultural extension the aim was primarily to transfer knowledge regarding agricultural practices and techniques, and, later on, also to promote self-help projects in rural areas.

A somewhat different explanation on the origin of community development is given by Phifer, List & Faulkner (1980: 19) when they say community development originated in the USA in 1908 with the Country Life Commission report and the 1914 Smith-Lever Act in terms of which the Cooperative Extension Service came into being. With this exercise the aim was to set up organisations at the community level which would promote better farming, more education, better living and better citizenship. Cornwell (1986: 12) is convinced that in fact the aims

of the Cooperative Extension Act concur with the aims attributed in recent literature to community development.

Jeppe (1985: 19) also has his own explanation. According to him, during the twenties and thirties, methods were applied successfully in countries like India, Egypt and Jamaica: the same methods, which in later years would be called "community development". However, community development was only accepted and implemented on a large scale during the fifties and sixties. The term community development, continues Jeppe, was nevertheless already adopted in 1948 during the Cambridge Conference and the Ford Foundation Project. Dore (1981: 13) claims that " ...community development is probably as old as recorded history – at least in the sense of attempts, through some kind of collective action. This viewpoint is confirmed by Brokensha & Hodge (1989: 12) when they say that community development has a long history and many antecedents. In their view, the origin of community development can be largely attributed to two main factors: education; and, social work.

Brokensha & Hodge (1989: 36-38) elaborate by saying in Great Britain the concept community development was adopted in 1948 to replace the earlier concept of "mass education". In the USA the concept of community development may also be basically founded on education. The education of American Negroes for example also provided the stimulus in Africa for educational work and community development.

The claims of an American origin of community development have received a wide range of criticism by development scholars, both from within the First and Third World. Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 23) are convinced that the most realistic way and starting point for explaining the origin of community development is perhaps an attempt by the Institute for Rural Reconstruction, created in 1921 in India. The aim of this institute was:

"...to bring back life in all its completeness, making the villagers self-reliant and self-respectful, acquainted with the cultural tradition of their own country and competent to make an efficient use of modern resources for the fullest development of their physical, social, economic and intellectual conditions" (Dasgupta, quoted in Brokensha & Hodge: 1989: 40-41).

This programme, continues Liebenberg & Stewart, emphasized the use of local resources and the need for an integrated approach towards development.

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 3) explain that the popularity of community development reached a peak during the 1950s and 1960s. This period coincided with the so-called cold war: a period during which the United States regarded community development as a tool or method through which democracy could be established and community kept at bay. By the early 1960s community development programmes were in place in more than sixty countries; in more than half of those countries the community development programmes represented the national development efforts.

Dissatisfaction and disappointment with the lack of success of community development eventually led to the emergence of 'new' or alternative approaches to community development. Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 25) confirm that integrated rural development (IRD) was such an attempt. While community development stressed the mobilisation of local resources, IRD was more concerned with the delivery of services and programme inputs to rural areas. However, both community development and IRD used the same organisational methods, such as change agents and self-help projects. Method is consequently one of the themes constantly present in the earlier discourses on community development. The method usually entailed the use of a change agent whose aim was to stimulate the participation of the community in development projects. The method debate has, however, become stale and has lost its vigour (Korten 1989: 571). In the subsequent debate on community development the focus moved

towards the question whether the community is the master or client in development.

### **2.6.3 The South African history of community development**

Lombard (1992: 111) contends that with regards to South Africa, appreciation for community development originated in 1977 in the former Department of Cooperation and Development. This led to a departmental conference on community development, held in Pretoria during June 1979. This conference was a starting point of serious study and the resulting implementation of community development in the National States. Jeppe (1985: 5) has argued that non-state initiated and controlled community development in Southern Africa originated at the dynamic Africa Cooperative Action Trust (ACAT). ACAT is based on and functions according to Christian principles and furthers its interest mainly by improving the production of agricultural products in less developed areas. During the early fifties, the South African Tomlinson Commission emphasised that the broad social development of the people of South Africa is of utmost importance. The Commission recommended a strategy which is today known as "community development" (Jeppe 1985: 9). Resulting from the President's Council report on demographic trends, community development in South Africa has been implemented since 1984 at an interdepartmental and interdisciplinary level (Lombard 1992: 111).

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 10) argue that community development was not popular in South Africa during its international heyday. This was as a result of mistrust and skepticism in government circles about its potential for political change. It only really made headway in the Black Consciousness Movement and in evangelical missionary circles. The varying emphases found in community development literature were very much part of South African scene up to the early nineties. The apartheid regime commissioned an official study of community development as it was perceived and implemented internationally before introducing it to the former homelands. De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 11) further

observe that it is in the mid-1980s that the then Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs, and the Chief Directorate Population Development gave some attention to community development. With the abolition of administration boards in 1987, many of their functions were transferred to the provinces and the erstwhile provinces were involved in the promotion of community development. In 1993, the Department of National Health and Population Development played an increasingly important role in community development. When the new government took over the reigns in 1994, this function was transferred to the National Department of Welfare and Population Development, which has since been changed to the Department of Social Development.

#### □ **Community development in the Bantustans**

(Kotze 1987: 19) contends that community development in the Bantustans was not given the attention it deserved. Bantustan policies restricting normal rural/urban migration and access to production resources have resulted in abnormally high rural population densities in the homeland areas with ever increasing resource degradation and spiraling poverty. The very lack of understanding, expertise and knowledge in community development caused some homeland governments to toss community development from pillar to post – by shifting it from this department to another.

Cooper (1988: 56) argues that in the bantustans agriculture was regarded as a point of departure for community development. But agriculture in the country as a whole was based on the ruthless unjust racial and ethnic division of land and other agricultural resources. This was fostered by the Native Land Act of 1913, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Population Registration Act, and the Group Areas Act. These acts made it a law that the conservative white farmers exclusively owned most of the productive farmland (85 per cent), while millions of Blacks were crowded into smaller fraction of the country's total land area (13 per cent) set aside for Bantustans. In this manner, continues Cooper, white farmers deprived



Africans of a land base that would support independent production and forced many into low-wage labour.

Freund (1988: 262) explains that what linked the white farmers and the Bantustans was cheap labour. Industrialism brought about new employment opportunities and people from the rural settlements migrated to the urban areas in search for jobs. Because capitalists had a drive for greater profits, the worker's wages were kept to a minimum level. However, in the 1960s agriculture became commercialised in the farms and most of the exploited workers became redundant. The Bantustans were forced to absorb these redundant workers. And as Freund (1988: 263) had asserted:

This marked the end of pressures to induce labour to the cities with the new emphasis instead on penning as many Africans as possible into the reserves.

This in itself inevitably led to the problem in the development of the rural areas in the bantustans. Political unrest was exported into the bantustans and backward labour-intensive farmers were placed at a much greater disadvantage (Freund 1988: 265). The bantustans did not have a concrete policy on rural nor community development. People regarded development as a government matter, which they had to accept but in most cases reluctantly. Several commissions, including the Tomlinson Commission, were appointed to formulate a fresh strategy on community development policy for the bantustans. Some of the recommendations were implemented and others were merely accepted. But the communities did not understand the structure of these plans. The policies and structures of community development were then in a state of flux and thus not conducive to the success of development process (Kotze 1987: 11).

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 11) cite that despite the state of flux in the bantustans, community development, although not very popular, was acknowledged and pursued at various levels. One such level was that of local self-

help groups. Local groups were assisted by officials to start projects. Agricultural extension officers for example demonstrated agricultural techniques to groups. Community health nurses on the other hand supported women's groups in efforts to promote primary health care. Because of the success of some of these groups, the government incorporated them into a formal structure, arranged to finance some of the aspects of their activities and either expanded the groups or their activities. The Zenzele Women's Association is but one good example of primary health care groups, which operated mainly in the rural areas, with strong presence in Kwazulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga.

De Beer & Swanepoel(1998: 12-13) further identify the two types of groups that existed and promoted community development in the 'old' South Africa, namely: the **care groups**, which started as a trachoma control programme especially in Gazankula whose activities were later extended to include health, vegetable gardens and toilet building; and, the **community based organisations**, which include burial societies, sports clubs, savings clubs and women's groups. These organisations are dominated by women, with women assuming leadership positions.

Generally, care groups and community-based organisations can play a pivotal role in community development by imparting knowledge and skills as a process of capacity building of their community.

#### 2.6.4 Principles of community development

Swanepoel (1997: 2) contends that it is necessary that everyone involved in community development be guided by a vision or theory. The philosophy or vision should form the belief system of organisations involved in development. In turn, the belief system must be informed and supported by principles acting as guiding lights on the difficult road to development. These principles should be non-negotiable and should not be compromised. Swanepoel (1997: 2-12) outline some of the principles of the community development process as follows:

#### □ **The principle of human orientation**

The principle here is that development must be humanistic, with a single focus – that being the human being. Dignity is promoted by giving people recognition: by recognising them as capable of making their own decisions and accepting responsibility for their decisions.

#### □ **The principle of participation**

This principle implies the use of the local people's knowledge of the social, political, economic, cultural and natural environment as this can be of immense value to development efforts. Swanepoel (1997: 7) says that developers who do not use this knowledge base to the full are shooting themselves in the foot. The huge problem of sustaining development and maintaining facilities instituted by development is resolved if the affected people participate, knowing that they have a stake in the effort and the results. Participation means supplying them with information so that they can make enlightened decisions.

#### □ **The principle of empowerment**

The principle of empowerment stipulates that people should participate because it is their democratic right to do so (Swanepoel 1997: 9). Participation therefore is decision making and participation means having power. According to this principle, participation is the natural result of empowerment. It is not a means to an end – it is the objective of development. Kilian (1988: 122) argues that empowerment does not mean giving people facilities that were previously denied or were not available to them, or giving them skills that they lacked. It is about the acquisition of power and the ability to give it effect.

#### □ **The principle of ownership**

This principle seeks to entrench the ownership of development where it belongs, with the community. Ownership according to Swanepoel (1997: 10) means that development should not be externally managed but people themselves should run their own projects with the light guidance from the 'outsider.

#### □ **The principle of learning**

The logic here is that all those involved in development must learn. By continuously striving to fulfil their needs, people learn to realise their objectives much more easier. Korten (1991: 6) comes with the principle of 'bottom-up' learning which he claims evolves from the 'coming together' of the community worker and the community.

### 2.6.5 **Institutions of community development**

Howell (1987:103) says the importance of institutions at the local implementation of community development programmes cannot be over-emphasised. The institutional set-up in any community development process is quite complex as it involves a number of aspects. He is particularly convinced about the importance of institutions at the local or implementation level.

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 34-42) divides institutions for community development into three large segments, namely: **government organisations;** **non-governmental organisations;** and, **community based organisations.** Within these broad segments there is a great variety of other organisations which in various ways influence the community development process. De Beer & Swanepoel also emphasize the importance of these institutions in community development when they say that institutions can be regarded as the "make or break", the success or failure of community development.

## □ **Government institutions**

The dilemma facing the government institution is that it can be too broad or too restricted, can have too little power or can assume too much power. Jeppe (1985: 53) sees the central government's role in regard to community development as being: "...initiating policy formulation, overall planning, administrative structuring, financing, coordinating and controlling, staffing and training, surveying and/or researching and evaluating". Swanepoel (1997: 62) suggests that in order to get out of this dilemma, government institutions should be seen as playing a supportive role. In this way decision-making can be vested in the people themselves and government institutions only providing them with the necessary support which will enable them to make informed decisions.

The state therefore has a important, very definite – and even decisive - role to play in development. For development to be successful there should be a firm, long-term government commitment which gives a climate for development to grow and prosper. Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 56) says this kind of commitment should be concretised in the following important inputs: national policy support; administrative support; and, national planning and programming

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 57-63) contend that the state has a peculiar role in development and categorize this role as follows: the state as policy maker (where the policy making should reflect the needs and aspirations of the people for whom it is intended); the state as policy implementor (where the state should act in the best interests of the general public when implementing policy); and, the state as development supporter (where the state supports the people's initiative by an enabling policy, and provision of expertise, some infrastructure and some finance). However, argues De Coning (1995: 218), the initiator and manager of the development has to be the people. Development needs to be localised, with local people taking responsibility, making decisions and planning activities themselves.

## □ **Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)**

NGOs are another larger structure responsible for community development. De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 39) recall that there was a spate of new NGOs around the time of independence in many African countries, and these organisations have continued to grow in the post-colonial era. However, since the 1980s NGOs have mushroomed, doubling and tripling in many countries. Fowler (1991: 54) attributes some of the proliferation of NGOs to the failures of governments on both political and economic levels. The expectation had been that NGO activity would help mitigate the negative effects of macroeconomic policies on the poor.

There is now general realisation that NGOs have an important role to play in the implementation of development programmes and projects. And as Peng (1983: 16) has observed:

NGOs can contribute towards enhancing the (quality of) lives of the poor and protecting their basic rights. This includes attempts by NGOs to prevent communities from being displaced and impoverished by so-called development programmes.

### • **Defining NGOs**

NGOs are problematic in nature and this creates a difficulty in finding a definition for them. Kane (1990: 14) argues that the concept varies from organisation to organisation, and this in itself makes it extremely difficult to define the concept. However, despite this difficulty, Kane (1990: 14-15) identifies three criteria that could assist in the definition of NGOs:

- They should be privately set up (as opposed to being set up by the state) and structured and sufficiently autonomous in their activities and financing
- They should be a non-profit-making institution to ensure their 'voluntary' or 'benevolent' character.

- They should support development.

NGOs are therefore not part of a government and should not be established as a result of an agreement between governments (Padron 1987: 71).

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 66) propose a definition of the concept when they say NGOs are autonomous privately set up, non-profit-making institutions that support, manage or facilitate development action.

- **Strengths of NGOs**

Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 75-76) outline the strengths of NGOs which include, inter alia, the following:

- Because they are able to facilitate a relatively high degree of community participation, they can accurately identify the specific needs of a community. They can more effectively identify community needs because they are closer to the community than government structures
- Because they are functioning at community level, they tend to enjoy more legality in the communities they serve
- The high degree of community participation creates a conducive environment in which the local knowledge and technology can be utilised and adapted to local development needs
- Because of their structure, which is not characterised by the same bureaucratic nature as the government, they are very flexible and adaptive to local conditions and changes in the environment

In addition, Fowler (1991: 56) presents some of the important advantages that NGOs have over the bureaucracy:

- They are more cost-effective in their work among the poor. They spend less money on administration and more on actual help

- For this and other reasons they are able to operate on fairly low costs
- They tend to focus on and to reach the poorer and the more needy. They are therefore less prone to elitism.
- They are able to promote popular participation through facilitating resource mobilisation
- They have the capacity to innovate and adapt
- They help to increase diversity of opportunity in society
- They broaden channels through which resources and benefits can reach groups, which would otherwise be bypassed.

- **Weaknesses of NGOs**

Despite the many advantages, NGOs also have certain limitations and weaknesses that can impede their functioning.

Merrington (quoted by de Beer & Swanepoel, 1998: 40) summarises the weaknesses of NGOs as follows:

- Inadequate planning, organisation and management
- Inadequate staff training
- Inability to replicate projects and ensure sustainability
- Inability to collaborate with other role-players effectively
- A lack of coordination of the efforts of individual NGOs.

Clark (1990: 57) also cites leadership and relevant management skills as other limitations within the NGO sector. Leadership in NGOs tend to be charismatic, and once such a leader disappears from the scene there is nobody to fill in the leadership vacuum. Also, because of high level of isolation and rivalry among them, NGOs are unable to learn from the mistakes that the other NGOs have made.

Nevertheless, NGOs have an important role to play in community development. The involvement of NGOs in community development efforts can lead to a widening of scope – “a re-examination of basic strategic issues relating to sustainability, breath of impact and recurrent cost-recovery (Korten 1987: 148).

□ **Community based organisations**

Community based organisations (CBOs) also have an important role to play in community development. They act as channels for government and non-governmental attempts at development. They link with outside organisations to enable the flow of input and must mobilise local people so that they can play their proper role in community development (de Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 41). White (1986: 249-250) is of the opinion that CBOs provide a basis for community development only in so far as they are building an organisation and bringing the community together around mutual concerns and needs. However, he points that CBOs are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for community development.

Salem (1978: 19) is convinced that CBOs fare better in community development. He claims that the participation of people in CBOs is much more intensive and more authentic and small groups seem to be able to enhance the learning process. Members of CBOs tend to accept new ideas more readily; tend to achieve more collectively than most people who work alone; have better access to information; are motivated to be more productive in the presence of others in problem-solving situations; and are more likely to maintain changes that were introduced.

CBOs, although they are better placed to democratise and avoid bureaucratisation, also have their own peculiarities, limitations and weaknesses. Cernea (1988: 19) says CBOs have limited self-sustainability and technical capacity, and lack a broad programming context. This is echoed by Brown & Korten (1989: 26) when they add that CBOs have limited ability to scale-up successful projects, they lack strategic initiative, and have limited managerial and financial capabilities.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, CBOs have the potential to carry community development, more especially in the rural areas and among poor small farmers (de Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 42).

### 2.6.6 Community development project management

Project management is a relatively young profession. As with other professions such as law, medicine and accounting, this body of knowledge rests with the practitioners and academics who advance and apply it. De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 49) argue that projects have become an acceptable way in which development can be realised. According to them, projects have certain characteristics or elements as follows:

- Disciplined, conceptual desegregation of complex or ill-defined problems into discrete tasks.
- Specific time limits for projects
- Pre-programmed activities
- Applied economic and systems analysis used in the appraisal of a project
- Standardised reporting procedures (de Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 49).

Further, de Beer & Swanepoel identify a number of advantages of projects as follows:

- Projects are identifiable, defined and organised sets of development activities.
- They can be an effective means of translating development plans and policies into specific courses of action
- They are vehicles for mobilising and allocating resources to development efforts.
- They can be analysed and appraised before funds are committed
- Projects are temporary activities that can lead incrementally to achieving larger development goals

- They can be used to undertake unique, innovative or non-routine development initiatives
- They can be used to channel development resources to specific groups of beneficiaries and to particular locations
- Projects can be formulated as manageable units of activity guided by well-defined planning and administrative procedures
- They can be organised in a variety of ways and undertaken by a wide range of organisations (de Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 49-50).

Invariably then, community development takes place through projects. However, despite their many advantages, projects also have some inherent weaknesses. Rondinelli (1983: 317) describes some of the weaknesses of projects for community development purposes:

- They are often too formalised, too discrete and too well planned
- Projects take away the incremental and experimental nature that makes up the learning process and helps build up the institutional capacity.
- Owing to their complexity, they are often managed badly and therefore do not reach their goals.
- As well defined sets of activities, they are misused to control instead of embodying uncertain development efforts.

Nevertheless, projects have become important channels through which governments and other multi-national donor agencies invest their resources, and for this reason projects are likely to remain the primary means of translating development policies into plans of actions (Rondinelli 1983: 4).

A key principle in projects is that the community must participate and be involved in all the phases of their project. Participation should not be 'window-dressing' but should be about people making decisions concerning their project. The first step in achieving genuine participation is a process in which the poor themselves become aware of their situation, of the socio-economic realities around them, of their real

problems, the causes of these problems, and what measures they themselves can take to begin changing their lives.

De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 50) argue that from the community development perspective, organisations involved in project management must plan with the people and link knowledge building with action. People must be seen as independent initiators of activities, and provided with some basic support, they can and will identify and act on their own needs appropriately. Community development project managers should facilitate rather than control the interaction of individuals and groups who have some resources, knowledge and experience.

### 2.6.7 The project management cycle

Any community development project has to follow a process or cycle, from the beginning to end – what is referred to as the project management cycle.

The project management cycle is a process and objective oriented project management system, which covers the full project cycle. It is based on the principle of ownership and responsibility for projects. It demands partner orientation with clear understanding of roles and responsibilities, participation of target groups, transparency and team management approach.

From the community development perspective, Gray (1998: 61-74) introduces a model for community development. He refers to his model as the **PRAISES** model, the name being derived from an acronym of the community development process. They are:

- Stage 1 PR – Preparation
- Stage 2 A – Assessment
- Stage 3 I – Implementation
- Stage 4 SE – Systematic Evaluation
- Stage 5 S - Sustainment

### **Stage 1: Preparation**

This stage involves the preparatory work that needs to be done in order to facilitate access to the community. It consists of three steps: first, getting to know the organisation under whose auspices the community development work will be undertaken; second, getting to know the target community; third, assessing knowledge and skills that the community brings to the situation.

An important aspect of this stage is the compilation of a community profile. The approach used in entering the community is of particular significance. This approach should be people-centred, as distinguished from 'expert' technocratic, planned development where 'outsiders' attempt to reshape communities according to a predetermined model.

### **Stage 2: Assessment**

This stage involves collecting data about the problem, which in turn will lead to the setting of specific goals and strategy for action. This process entails four steps: first, fact finding which includes data gathering; second, data analysis; third, goal determination; and, fourth, planning and programme development.

### **Stage 3: Implementation**

This is the stage in which the main work of community development is carried out. It's where goals are tested and revised as and when required. People are encouraged to participate, and all the workers' skills are brought to the fore. This stage has three important steps: first, group formation and development; second, group planning for action; and, third, group process when the actual work on the project is accomplished.

#### **Stage 4: Systematic evaluation**

Systematic evaluation is a crucial part of the community development process and involves monitoring of events throughout the project. As an ongoing activity, it is not stage-specific. Its objective is to ascertain whether the objectives of the project are being met or not. The process of evaluation occurs on a number of levels: first, evaluation of goal achievement; second, evaluation of each stage; and, third, evaluation of entire project

Project records, which consist of a diary of activities, are a most valuable source of information for project evaluation. In formally documenting the project, it is valuable to compile a comprehensive project report, which can be shared with others involved in community development.

#### **Stage 5: Sustainment**

Sustainability is the key concern in any project that concerns all stakeholders involved. Sustainability rests on the community's involvement and ownership of their project as opposed to the absence or presence of the 'outsider'. Projects that are self-sustaining have the following features or characteristics:

- They are owned by the community
- They are managed by trained local people
- They are organised to generate income
- They are recognised and supported by other organisations in the community.

Sustainability is therefore only possible if the entire community is involved right from the outset and all decisions around the project are made with full community participation. Sustainment needs to be considered from the outset, not only at the end of the project. Of particular importance is the income generating potential of the project. There is certainly a need to move away from small-scale, isolated local development initiatives focussing on only one side of the coin (participation or

people involvement) towards income-generating programmes, which empower people both economically and socially.

The model presented by Gray is not the only method of the community development process. However, it is becoming widely used as a model in development projects aimed at poverty reduction. What distinguishes it is its holism as it integrates knowledge and skills required for work at the individual group, community and policy levels into a holistic, integrated framework for community-based intervention (Gray 1998: 76).

## **2.7 WATER AND SANITATION – THE KEY ISSUES?**

Before 1994 no national institution was responsible for ensuring equitable and sustainable access to water supply or sanitation services, and no structured national legislation existed which regulated the provision of these services. Water supply and sanitation was dealt within a partially inconsistent and fragmented fashion in Provincial Ordinances. Rural water supply and sanitation was primarily left to the homeland governments to handle.

The Water Act, 1956, repealed by the National Water Act (Act No 36 of 1998) didn't provide a framework for the provision of water services to households and in a way was not systematically structured for this purpose. In particular, it did not address long-term sustainability of water resources to the benefit of all South African citizenry.

Subsequently, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry was tasked to come up with new legislation to address the following:

- The protection, conservation, development, management and control of the nation's water resources.
- The provision of a regulatory framework for the provision of water services

The above led to a legal framework within which water services to communities are to be implemented, operated and maintained as contained in:

- **The National Water Act, Act No 36 of 1998**, which aims to provide for fundamental reform of the law relating to water resources, to repeal certain laws and to provide for matters connected therewith. The purpose of this act is to ensure that the nation's water resources are protected, used, developed, conserved, managed and controlled in ways which takes into account a number of factors.
- **The Water Services Act, Act No 108 of 1997**, which is one of the measures the Department uses to fulfil its obligations. It aims to provide a developmental regulatory framework for the provision of water services by clearly defining the roles and responsibilities of the different spheres of government. This is defined in a manner consistent with the Constitution, while ensuring that the RDP goals and the Constitutional imperative of achieving equitable access to basic services is achieved (Department of Water Affairs & Forestry 1999: 2).

In addition to the above acts, the implementation and operation and maintenance of water services is subject to a whole range of other acts covering local government issues, environmental issues, social issues, institutional issues, etc.

### **2.7.1 Local Government Legislation and Involvement**

One of the most important elements of transition in South Africa is the development of viable and effective local government that meets the needs and expectations of the residents at the local level. This is a formidable objective given the almost total lack of local government in most parts of the country, which existed at the end of the apartheid system. The new Constitution calls upon local authorities to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote social and economic development of the community (The S.A. Constitution 1996:81).

The Local Government White Paper (1998:19) recognises that there are a large number of services and activities, which must be undertaken by local governments. This White Paper outlines a set of principles and alternative options for service delivery, and clearly spells out the roles and responsibilities of national and provincial governments in assisting municipalities. Further, the White Paper requires that each local authority should develop an Integrated Development Plan. An important element of the local government White Paper is the notion of 'developmental local government'. Developmental local government is intended to work with citizens and groups in the community to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and expectations, and most importantly to improve the quality of lives (White Paper on Local Government 1998: 21).

Legislation pertaining to local government has had a major impact on the Department's activities. In terms of the Water Services Act local authorities are responsible for water services provision. There are various pieces of local government legislation, which have an impact on water services, notably:

- **Municipal Structures Act**, 1998 (Act No 117 of 1998). This Act, known as the 'Structures Act', deals with the following matters:
  - It sets up the basis for the establishment of new municipalities
  - It defines the way municipalities are to be established
  - It establishes the way councils are to function
  - It determines the division of powers and functions between municipalities
  
- **Municipal Structures Amendment Act**, 2000 (Act 33 of 2000), which assigns the function of potable water systems and domestic sewerage and wastewater to Category C municipalities.
  
- **Municipal Systems Act**, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000), which focuses on the internal systems and administration of a municipality. It covers the following matters:

- Public accountability and public involvement in policy formulation and decision making
  - Guidelines for making bylaws
  - Establishing Integrated Development Plans
  - Establishing a performance management system
- **Division of Revenue Act**, (enacted annually), which gives effect to Section 214(1) of the Constitution. The Constitution requires an Act of Parliament to provide for the equitable division of the nationally raised revenue among the three spheres of government. The Act contains various schedules, which set out:
- The respective equitable shares in respect of national, provincial and local spheres of government
  - The respective shares of each province
  - Other allocations, including conditional grants, unconditional grants and indirect transfers (Department of Water Affairs & Forestry 2001: 4-6).

These pieces of legislation have had a major impact on the Department's thinking in terms of the transfer of water infrastructure to local government in the Eastern Cape.

Although the Department is assisting local authorities as far as possible, it is neither the responsibility nor within the financial means of the Department to undertake this task alone. For this reason the Department is co-operating with the provincial Department of Housing and Local Government in approaching water and sanitation delivery jointly. Recently, the two Departments together with all the six District Municipalities in the province have established the Integrated Water Services Management Forum. The key task of this Forum is the management of water services in the Eastern Cape, and in particular to support District Municipalities in assuming their responsibilities.

### **2.7.2 Original strategy of water delivery and progress to date**

Prior to April 1994, services to the majority of the people were non-existent in especially the rural areas of the former homelands. Provinces like the Eastern Cape were the hardest hit as these areas were incorporated into their area of jurisdiction. The province inherited both the former Transkei and Ciskei, and these were the areas that were previously neglected in terms of services. This required immediate action and this in itself posed tremendous challenges for the new provincial government.

While the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry focussed on water supply in the rural areas, the Department of Constitutional Development, working through the Department of Local Government and Housing in the Province assumed responsibility for urban areas. The initial projects identified by the Department in the Eastern Cape during 1994 were known as " Presidential Lead Projects ". To date 8 projects have been completed under RDP 1, 24 under RDP 2, 17 under RDP 3, and 5 under RDP 4 in the Province. The other projects are at various stages of construction ranging from construction phase to design and planning phases.

Approximately 7 million people in the country (1, 5 m. people in the Eastern Cape) have been provided with access to basic water supply between 1994 and June 2000 (24 % of original population without access to basic water supply) (Muller M. 2001: 57-59).

### **2.7.3 The applicability of the various legislation and key challenges facing the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry**

The Water Services Act in particular provides a clear framework in terms of how projects should be implemented. It allocates clear roles and responsibilities to the various spheres of governance. However, the implementation of the Act has not been without problems. First, when the first round of water projects were implemented after 1994, the focus was not on sustainability but on laying pipes on

the ground. After 1996 there was realisation that this approach made projects to be unsustainable. It was then identified that there was a need to put more emphasis on institutional and social development issues. As a result a section called Institutional and Social Development was later established within the Department to ensure that the projects are implemented in a sustainable manner. And because of lack of emphasis on institutional development and capacity building on projects, this has meant that over 50 per cent of projects that are complete are in one way or the other not sustainable. This is the challenge that faces the Department and, of course, ultimately local government.

The Department is acutely aware of the need for sustainable water services projects. The Department has therefore shifted its focus over the last two years from implementation at all cost to the achievement of sustainable projects. A number of actions have been implemented during this period to facilitate this change in focus. The change in focus is however not always easy as the Department operates in a rapidly changing environment and must adapt to changes in: political priorities, budget allocations, institutional change and changes in legislation.

In terms of the Water Services Act, all communities receiving water services should pay for services consumed, irrespective of the level of service. But traditionally communities were not asked to pay the government for the operation and maintenance of their schemes. Also, there is reluctance from some communities to pay for the services even those being served by the newly developed schemes. There is currently a discrepancy in that some communities need to pay for operation and maintenance (especially on the new post-1994 schemes) while others are not paying (those being served by the pre-1994 schemes – these are the schemes the Department is still operating until they are refurbished and therefore ready for transfer to the relevant local authorities).

The transfer of schemes and staff to local government is hampered by many obstacles which include, inter alia:

- The sustainability of the services to be transferred.
- The capacity of the institutions to whom the assets are to be transferred.

The Department also experiences problems with cost-recovery for bulk water provided to towns in especially the old Transkei areas. Much work has nevertheless already been done in this regard. Although accounts are sent on a regular basis, many towns still do not pay their accounts.

The **Free Basic Water Policy** poses further challenges to the Department. There has been lacking of clear understanding of the principles of this policy. It has been misconstrued by many that the policy is attempting to do away with the payment for services, and this is despite a lot of work placed by the Department on ensuring cost-recovery in projects. In most water schemes people have already stopped paying for water. This is despite their municipalities not having as yet put in place their measures to provide for the free basic water. This will therefore in one way or the other affect the sustainability of the completed projects. The Free Basic Water Policy implementation will be a process especially for the smaller and vastly rural municipalities.

#### 2.7.4 **Gender issues in water supply projects**

Ostergaard (1992: 6) contends that the concept of gender refers to the qualitative and interdependent character of women's and men's position in society. His view is that the relations between women and men are socially constructed, and gender relations should distinguish such social relations between men and women from those characteristics, which can be derived from biological differences. And as he puts it:

No study of women and development can start from the viewpoint that the problem is women, but rather men and women, and more specifically the relations between them.

Moser (1995: 3) contends that it is important to note from the outset that 'gender' means both men and women. However, gender issues are usually seen as women's issues. Gender crystallises in the social differences between men and women. However, for many decades projects had always worked or dealt with the male population and women were pushed aside and ignored. Only men were viewed as 'leaders' and as legitimate members of 'project committees', and women's participation in planning, implementation, management and maintenance of development projects was grossly ignored.

There is therefore a difference between 'gender' and 'sex', and this distinction has significant implications for the way in which projects are conceived and implemented. In this way, gender plays an important role in shaping the opportunities and constraints that both men and women face in building strong communities.

As a result, since the 1980s a more gender-sensitive approach has revealed that women have in fact several crucial roles to play in project/programme development, and, of course, in matters of development in general. Experience shows that the participation of women in the projects enhances the effectiveness and efficiency of the installation and operation and maintenance of sanitation and water supply facilities. Women are often clear of what they want and what they need.

In a study conducted by the Water Research Commission in 1999 (v) entitled 'Strategies for empowerment of women in water supply and sanitation projects', a number of findings or conclusions and recommendations are made. Some of the findings are that: men played a prominent role and were seen by both men and women as the leaders and decision-makers; involvement of women in decision-making during project planning and implementation was very informal and unobtrusive; cultural norms and values played a major role in the participation and decision-making processes where men are regarded as superior to women; and,

women also showed the tendency to push the men to the fore when interaction with the outsiders had to take place because the men were seen to be more educated and capable of handling the situation.

A number of recommendations have been made by the study: government departments need to invest in developing gender policies and regulations in their areas of expertise; a 'culture' of gender awareness needs to be facilitated at the community level, where roles and responsibilities are shared across gender role boundaries; gender awareness programmes should be developed in order to address issues around the empowerment of women within their cultural settings and constraints. Ostergaard (1997: 10) supports these arguments when he argues that: "...women's potential is part of the human resource base in any society and should be dealt with by bringing women into the mainstream of economic development".

Gender issues and participation of women will be looked at within the study projects.

## **2.8 THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE: POLITICS, POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENT**

Brotz (1987: 38) argues that under its apartheid policy, South Africa created and formed ten 'bantustans'. The purpose of this was to divide South Africans in terms of their ethnic groups. However, some of the homelands like the Ciskei and Transkei were already in existence long before the apartheid policy was promulgated whereas others were newly created pseudo-tribal 'states'.

The emergence of these bantustans was through an act of parliament. Letsoalo (1987:37) recalls that it is the Bantu Self-governing Act of 1959 which, amongst others, abolished the representation of Africans in South Africa's parliament and subsequently the establishment of nine ethnic groups – Qwaqwa (Southern Sotho), Ka-Ngwane (Swazi), Boputhatswana (Tswana), Gazankulu (Tsonga),

Kwazulu (Zulu), Venda (Venda), Transkei and Ciskei (Xhosa) and Lebowa (Northern Sotho). This is confirmed by Brotz (1987:41) who adds that later on, a tenth territorial authority for the South Ndebele (Kwandebele) was established.

The term 'bantustan' was introduced by the 1913 Land Act, which entitled Whites to 87 per cent of the country's territory. 'Bantustan' then referred to the land of the Bantu, essentially designated for an African ethnic group. In 1968, the Bantustans were renamed 'homelands' and some of them were later declared 'independent' like the Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana. Later on, the homelands were also referred to as 'national states'. However, Hadjor (1992:56) argues that all these terms were meaningless "... as none of the Bantustans were internationally recognised". And as he has succinctly asserted:

the 'independence' was in itself a cornerstone of the apartheid system intended to create the myth that Africans were free in their land.

A noticeable feature of the bantustans was a continuous underdevelopment of the rural areas and the growth of shanty urban settlements and towns. The inhabitants of these areas lacked access to services, which included, inter alia, safe water, sanitation, health services and electricity. The poverty was rife not only in rural areas alone but also among the Africans who lived in the townships in 'matchboxes'. Kotze (1987:81) contends that the homelands did not have a solid foundation on which to build. There was no concrete policy on rural development. The policies in the homelands did very little to foster public participation and involvement and as a result many people viewed development efforts or projects as a government matter which they had no choice but to accept. Development was top-down providing very little scope for local initiative. Development planners and experts did not recognise the importance of giving the people the opportunity and space to organise themselves so that they can develop a strong voice in policy and programme development. As a result, the communities did not take ownership of the development programmes and the end-result was that development projects failed to achieve sustainability.

The year 1990 saw the beginning of the end of the apartheid system. This was the year which saw the unbanning of political organisations. This was indeed the dawn of the new era for the South African citizenry. In April 1994, the first democratic elections were held in the country and the people of South Africa affirmed a new government. For the first time the black majority had the opportunity and right to vote for their own government.

### 2.8.1 South Africa after Apartheid

Fitzgerald (1992: 13) claims that the ending of apartheid in South Africa marked the beginning of the peace process and democratisation of the country, which were indeed the prerequisites for co-operation, as well as economic and social progress.

In 1994, the African National Congress published the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP was intended to mobilise all the people of South Africa and all the country's resources with the objective being to build a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (The RDP document, 1994:1). The RDP was therefore a plan to address the many social and economic ills which had beset the country - problems such as lack of jobs, inadequate education, lack of housing, violence, inadequate health, lack of democracy, a failing economy.

According to the RDP Document (1994: 3-9), the programme contains five key programmes that aim at improving the quality of life of all South Africans. These programmes are:

- Meeting the basic needs (jobs, land, water, electricity, food, health care, social security and welfare, housing, transport, environment, telephones, etc.)
- Developing human resources (literacy, education and training, arts and culture, sport and recreation, youth development, and so on).

- Democratising the state and society (mining and minerals, industry and trade/commerce, agriculture and forestry, upgrading infrastructure, reform of the financial sector, etc).
- Building the economy (the new Constitution and the Constituent Assembly, National and Provincial government, public sector, local government, civil society, security forces, etc.)
- Implementing the RDP (financing the RDP).

Further, the RDP is premised on six basic principles, namely:

- a programme to address the whole problem by bringing together strategies to make the best use of all the country's resources.
- a programme which puts people first by focussing on the people's most immediate needs.
- a programme for peace and security by establishing security forces which will protect all the people of the country and a legal system which would treat all people fairly and equally, according to the Constitution.
- a programme to build the nation which would play part in the development of the whole Region.
- A programme to link reconstruction and development by developing the economy and providing money to develop the poorer, disadvantaged communities
- a programme based on democracy by affording the people to take part in making decisions.

According to Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 10), the implementation of the RDP plans, especially the lack of delivery and implementation has been the subject of much debate and negative comment from a broad spectrum of South African citizenry. The RDP has been blamed for failure to meet its own standards, for example the one million houses in the first five years. The visible persistence and growth of inequality, poverty and social disintegration have also drawn wide criticism of the policy. In particular, the delays in setting up viable local

government structures impeded the RDP processes and success. The SA Ministry in the Office of the President (1996b: 7) identifies the specific problems that arose in RDP programme implementation, with specific reference to the RDP Office, as follows:

- lack of project management experience in the RDP office itself.
- Lack of accountability in the form of business planning.
- Lack of consultation with the communities
- Slow development of management structures.
- Absence of local government.
- The time lag between planning and delivery.
- Political differences in the standard of delivery
- The effectiveness of the Masakhane campaign.

Nevertheless, according to Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 10), the RDP has had a number of successes, and these have included, amongst others:

- the spread of RDP culture inside ministries.
- General government legislation
- The effectiveness of new state structures, for example NEDLAC
- Success of the democratisation process
- Re-orientation of civil society and the private sector to non-racial, participatory and development-style goals and processes

In a nutshell, the RDP integrates growth, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified programme. The key to this is an infrastructure programme that will provide access to modern and effective services such as water, electricity, telecommunications, sanitation, transport, health, education and training for all the people of the country (Liebenberg & Stewart 1997: 11).

### **2.8.2 The Constitution**

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 is a supreme law of the Republic, which is aimed at:

- healing the divisions of the past and establishing a society which is based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- laying the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will and desires of the people where every citizen is equally protected by the law;
- improving the quality of life of all citizens and freeing the potential of each person; and,
- building a united and democratic South Africa (Constitution, 1996:1)

The Constitution provides for a bill of rights, which serves as a cornerstone of democracy in the country. This Bill of Rights enshrines the rights of all people in the country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality, access to services and freedom. The Constitution grants to all South Africans an equal and inalienable right to adequate housing [Section 26. (1)], and guarantees everyone the right to have access to health care, water and social security [Section 27. (1)]. It requires the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve progressive realisation of these rights.

### **2. 8.3 Poverty and development in South Africa**

Poverty is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon and is therefore a difficult concept to define. Webster (1984: 16) asserts that " ... the problem of defining poverty arises since the measures one uses to compare populations will depend on a whole range of assumptions about adequate standards of living which some enjoy and which some don't". This in itself poses a major challenge for those wanting to study poverty.

Webster (1984: 16) continues and says there has been two kinds of poverty throughout human evolution. **Absolute poverty** on the one hand is largely characterised by acute scarcities of natural resources and low levels of technical know-how, skills and resources. **Relative poverty** on the other hand is rather socially constructed – it is shaped by the political, social and cultural factors and inequalities among nations, groups, classes and peoples at both the global and local levels (National Department of Welfare 1999: 24).

According to Webster (1984: 16) absolute poverty is the most vulnerable position “...where the next meal may literally be a matter of life or death” as the increasing effects of malnutrition and starvation ravages and weakens all, especially children. The Third World is particularly in or close to this position. And in his view, relative poverty can only be described by means of comparison of the circumstances of one group of people or entire economy with the other.

Spier (1994: 3) is of the opinion that poverty is not only economic but has a strong psychological dimension as well. His view is that poverty is also linked to self-esteem. As he succinctly puts it:

If people don't have expectations, they feel they can't take decisions, they feel they can't do things, they just have to drift along.

In essence the power lies in people having greater self-esteem, and giving people a sense that they can take charge of their destiny. And this boils down to the notion that development means first and foremost the development of the people. Thus a people-centered development strategy, according to Spier (1994: 7), can only succeed in an economic and socio-political environment empowering the individual, the family and the community, which forms the immediate environment of the individual.

The Welfare Update (2000: 1-2) reports that South Africa is sitting in a time bomb of poverty and social disintegration. The nature and extent of the social crisis in the country is such that it leaves one with a strong feeling that the welfare system is failing those people who need it most. The rising levels of poverty, social inequality, social alienation and violence (especially among women and children) put an excessive burden on the existent social welfare services. The growing incidences of HIV/AIDS further compound the problem, and poor people are the most vulnerable.

The Poverty and Inequality Report (PIR) in South Africa (1998) presents a detailed analysis of the poverty trends in the country. The report highlights that even though South Africa is classified as an upper middle-class, most South African households experience outright poverty or vulnerability to poverty. Most South African households still do not have access to basic services including water, energy, health care and education. Further, the Report states that South Africa is among the most unequal in the world when it comes to the income and wealth distribution. The PIR goes on to say that about 18 million people in the country live in the poorest 40 per cent of households and are classified as poor, and 10 million people live in the poorest 20 per cent of households and are thus classified as ultra-poor (Office of the Executive Deputy President 1998: 3-4).

The Welfare Update (2000: 2) reports that 45 per cent of the SA population live in rural areas but the rural areas contain 72 per cent of the people that are poor. Most people who are poor are black people, particularly Africans where 61 per cent of Africans and 38 per cent of coloureds are poor, compared with 50 per cent of Indians and 1 per cent of Whites. In all these cases the majority of the vulnerable are women. Further, South Africa compares unfavourably with several other middle-income countries in terms of measures of human development such as life expectancy, infant mortality and adult illiteracy. The poorest 40 per cent of the households receive only 11 per cent of the country's total income, whilst the richest 10 per cent of households receive more than 40 per cent of the total income. And the most vulnerable households are in the rural, peri-urban and

township areas. In my view, these statistics are a matter of grave concern and are an indication of human suffering experienced by communities, particularly those living in the margins of our society.

#### **2.8.4 The role of South African Local Government in poverty alleviation and development**

The South African Constitution (1996: 46) identifies one of the most important elements of transition in South Africa as the development of viable and effective local government, which meets the needs, and expectations of residents at the local level. This is a formidable objective given the almost total lack of local government in most parts of the country which existed at the end of the apartheid system. The new Constitution itself calls upon local authorities to give priority to the basic needs of the community and to promote the social and economic development of the community.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998: 48) recognises that there are a number of services and activities, which must be undertaken by local government. Poverty alleviation and sustainable development requires good planning, good governance, sound administration, technical proficiency and financial discipline. The White Paper requires that each local government should prepare an Integrated Development Plan. An important element of the local government White Paper is the notion of "developmental" local government. Developmental local government is intended to work with all citizens and groups in the community to find sustainable ways to improve the quality of their lives.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) further outlines a set of principles and alternative solutions for service delivery. It also spells out the roles and responsibilities of national and provincial government in assisting municipalities. The White Paper recognises that there is a need for a common vision for transformation for the development of local government to enable them to meet the considerable challenges of social, economic and material development in all

communities. Developmental local government has to address the backlog which is a direct result of deprivation of millions of people of access to basic services. Municipalities, according to the White Paper, have a wide range of delivery options to enhance service provision. And in choosing delivery options, municipalities should be guided by a number of principles which include, inter alia, accessibility of services, affordability of services, accountability for services, quality of services and products, integrated development and services, sustainability of services, value for money, promoting development, and so forth. The White Paper lists three essential capacities that should be developed within local government: strategic capacity, integrating capacity, and a community orientation (White Paper on Local Government 1998: 49).

Co-operative governance therefore becomes key if services are to be provided in a sustainable manner. In the interests of efficiency and in the spirit of co-operative governance, sectoral departments need to focus their support functions within the framework of the overall development of local government. In order to achieve this, emphasis needs to be laid on communication and co-ordination with all parties involved in the process of local government support and development.

South African local government faces mammoth challenges in promoting human rights and meeting human needs, addressing past backlogs and spatial distortions, promoting LED and planning for a sustainable future. These challenges can only be met by working together with the local citizens, communities and businesses, and also important, adopting a developmental approach to service delivery.

## **2.9 CONCLUSION**

Development theorizing is dominated by a number of strands which build up into key theories of development. It is these theories that shape the development process. A number of concepts are described which serve a useful purpose to the development debate. The primary aim of the development process is to satisfy as many of the basic needs as possible. However, this is only possible if people are

given the space to take part in decision-making around processes that affect their lives. In particular, the responsibility for the provision of services lies with local government, with the other spheres of government playing a supportive role. A number of challenges face the provision of water services and these include, inter alia, the transfer of the water services infrastructure from the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry to local government as well as the implementation of the Free Basic Water Policy.

The methodology that was followed in undertaking the study is outlined in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

This chapter looks at the methodology that was employed in carrying out the study. It includes the research design, the data collection techniques, data analysis, ethical consideration and limitations of the study.

#### **3.1 Research design**

Rubin & Babbie (1989:79) define research design as a blueprint and a detailed plan of conducting research right from the beginning until the end.

An informed decision has to be made as to which research method to follow. There has been an incorrect perception that case studies are easy to carry out and that they do not necessarily require comprehensive strategies like other types of research. But Baker (1994:304) disputes this assertion as being unfounded and incorrect. And as she puts it: "... they (case studies) require forethought, careful planning, data collection and final preparation for reporting". Case studies, continues Baker, are important as they may come up with theoretical conclusions that have widespread and long-range implications, both politically as well as in terms of theoretical developments in a particular field.

With the above factors in mind, the researcher explored a range of options with regards to the research methods that he could employ to fulfil his objectives. After careful consideration a conclusion was made to should opt for the qualitative research design. The researcher is of the opinion that qualitative research is much more suited for case studies of this nature. The research was dealing with people in a social world and for that reason the researcher had to employ methods that would be sensitive to the people's real situations in their everyday lives. The strength of the qualitative research process is that it enables the researcher to

know the subjects personally and get to understand what their experiences had been in real life (Taylor 1984:7).

However, it is important to note that the quantitative data collected from the research process was used to lay the foundation for the qualitative research process.

### **3.2 Research Methodology**

Bailey (1987:33) defines methodology as the "philosophy of the research process". He argues: " ... it (methodology) includes the assumptions and values that serve as a rationale for reaching research conclusions".

The research was undertaken in order to provide some answers to policy makers, decision-makers, implementers and funders regarding the reasons behind the failure of the majority of water projects to achieving sustainability. The study is therefore intended to highlight critical issues around the sustainability of water projects, and development programmes in general, and thus contributing to the adoption of policies and strategies which would allow sustainable development that is ecologically sound, economically viable and socially equitable.

#### **3.2.1 The research process**

The research was conducted over a period of four weeks in the project area, namely Nomzamo. The request to conduct research in the location was made in writing to the local councillor. A follow-up visit was made in person by the researcher when he visited the councillor in the location. The purpose and objective of the research was explained to the councillor and after a long discussion he gave permission for the research to be conducted in the location. He assisted in organising the categories of people to be interviewed within the location, namely the Project Steering Committee (PSC) members as well as the ordinary members of the community who were going to be participants. Only five

of the original PSC members were available for the interviews. The rest were either not available as they were busy with other household duties or were in places of employment. Seven people were interviewed from the community outside the community.

Further, permission was also sought with and granted by the Department of Water Affairs (as funders) and also Amatole District Municipality (as responsible local authority) to conduct the research. Within the government/funder category, the following people were interviewed: the Director for Planning, Development & Implementation as well as the project officer (Community development officer) who was involved during the implementation of the project; the Chief Director for Local Government and Planning in the Department of Local Government and Housing; the local councillor; and, the Amatola District Council Administrator for the area.

### **3.2.2 Data gathering techniques**

The qualitative data collection technique that was used in the research was the semi-structured interview.

There are a number of advantages of the semi-structured interview tool. Welman & Kruger (1999:167) contend that semi-structured interviews offer a versatile way of collecting data, and can be used with all age groups. They claim that unlike completely structured interviews, "... semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to use probes with a view to clearing up vague responses, or to ask for elaboration of incomplete answers". Marlow (1998:60) contends that in a semi-structured interview, the interviewer can improvise with questions and "... has more freedom to pursue hunches". Besides being focussed, this method allows flexibility in terms of the questions asked as well as time involved. Royce (1999:110) is convinced that this method achieves a higher response rate, and actually guarantees spontaneity. The method does not require high levels of literacy on the part of respondents. And as Welman & Kruger (1999:167) have

pointed out: "... we can use them (semi-structured interviews) with all age groups, and with young workers participating in ABET who are still unable to read, as well as elderly people with poor eyesight."

It is for these reasons that the researcher believed that the semi-structured interview method was the best method for conducting this research. Illiteracy rates are high in rural areas. The method also gave the researcher a better insight and understanding of the real issues relevant to the provision of sustainable services, which in turn will provide an impetus in terms of future policy direction.

However, the method is beset by a number of disadvantages. This method was particularly time-consuming and expensive. Quality control of the interview process was also difficult to achieve and maintain.

Two sets of interview schedules were developed for each category of participants, the categories being 1) the community and project committee members, and 2) the government/funders category. Each questionnaire was tested with colleagues beforehand to determine whether it was suitable or not.

The interview schedule for the community and committee members covered the following:

- Age
- Sex
- Source of income
- Household composition
- Training received and skills acquired
- Process for formation of project steering committee
- Involvement of women and men in water committee
- Decision-making process
- Community participation and involvement in project development
- Reasons for project failure

- Remedies for project failure

The interview schedule for the government officials covered the following areas:

- Professional responsibilities
- Understanding of community development, community participation and community empowerment
- Process followed by the particular institution in development of projects
- Strengths and weaknesses of this process
- Role of culture and gender
- Causes of project failure
- Factors necessary for achieving sustainability
- Role of local government on providing water services
- Role of other agencies/private sector on provision of development projects.

The interview schedule was written in English. However, interviews were conducted in the home language of the participants, namely Xhosa. The interviews with the community and project committee were administered by the researcher. The objective of the study was explained to each and every participant before the start of the interview. The participant was encouraged to ask if they didn't understand any of the questions. The participants were encouraged to share the experiences they had and probes for more information were made with a few of the participants. Each interview lasted for between 25 to 35 minutes.

The interviews with government officials varied from one person to another. Some officials were happy to complete the interview in their own time. However, some of the interviews with the officials were administered by the researcher, and were all conducted in English.

Also, as part of the data gathering exercise, relevant development literature including policy documents and development-related research were consulted in the planning of this study. The project business plan, which serves as the basis

for, amongst other things, securing the funding was consulted and this has provided more insight in terms of understanding the project better.

### **3.2.3 Analysis of data**

Vithal & Jansen (1997:27) argue that the researcher can only make sense of the data through organising and arranging such data into manageable form.

The data was coded by categorising and breaking it down into broad sections in order to make sense of the accumulated information, and answer the research question. This was done in order to select the data that was not highly relevant to the study so as to reduce the data into a manageable load.

The quantitative and qualitative data was captured, coded and analysed using the Microsoft Access data analysis program to present data into graphs in preparation for analysis.

### **3.2.4 Ethical considerations**

Social science researchers are confronted by ethical dilemmas when they conduct social research. These dilemmas arise out of the methods they use, the environment where the research takes place or the research problem itself. In many cases, social scientists face a conflict between two rights: the right to research and acquire knowledge, and the right of the individual participant to self-determination, privacy and dignity (Nachmias & Nachmias 1987:78).

#### **□ Informed consent**

Marlow (1998:151) emphasizes that it is important that researchers should always obtain informed consent from the participants. He stresses that the participants must always be told about the purpose and goals of the research and that they must give voluntary, informed consent before the research can start.

In the researcher's case, at the start of each interview with each participant the purpose of the research was clarified. The research only proceeded with the consent of the participant. The researcher also asked each participant to stop him at anytime during the interview should a need arises. The only time the participants stopped him during the interview was when they wanted some clarification on certain questions.

#### □ **Anonymity and confidentiality**

Both anonymity and confidentiality protect participants against harm. Anonymity requires that the identity of individuals be separated from the information they give. In other words it means that the researcher cannot identify a given response with a given respondent. Confidentiality on the other hand means that the researcher knows the identity of the participants and their associated responses but ensures not to disclose this information (Marlow 1998:190).

In the research, it was difficult to ensure anonymity, as the researcher had to conduct the interview face to face with the participant. However, identification codes were put on the questionnaire to facilitate easy follow-up should a need arise. These codes are only known and understood to the researcher. All the participants were assured that the information they give out will be confidential and will not be given to anybody. The researcher explained to his participants that confidentiality will also be preserved when writing and disseminating the research report.

#### **3.2.5 Limitations of the study**

The fact that only one project was covered as a case study means that the findings of the research may not be generalisable. Also, the size of the sample (seven community members and five project steering committee members) impacted on generalisability. The research has excluded the views of other

community members who might have had valuable contributions to make to this study. The researcher is of the opinion that the sample size was not sufficient to provide in depth knowledge or insight into the project. The researcher also feel that I could have done things differently. For instance, he could have looked at using focus groups as part of his data collection exercise. This could have enabled him to 'dig more' on the real issues but unfortunately time and other constraints did not permit, as these were not allowed for in the planning of the research.

Another limitation has been that the researcher had to constantly guard against himself being subjective on the research. This is so because he works for the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry and for that reason has a theoretical understanding of some of the problems experienced in projects, and which measures, on a theoretical level, should be put in place in order to achieve sustainability. The researcher had to keep on checking that what he was bringing into the data analysis as well as conclusions and recommendations was in no way prejudiced by his own feelings, assumptions and experiences. The participants knew that the researcher works for the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and a few were familiar with him. This meant that assumptions could easily be made. Some respondents did not bother to provide detail in their answers to the questions asked. And as one respondent said: "Mr. Mpendu, you also know what the problems are in the water schemes that your government is giving us, our project is therefore not different".

Further, it was almost impossible for the researcher to stick to his research timetable. Although appointments with the participants were made in good time, those were not honoured for eighty-percent of the time. This was the case with both the participants at community level as well as government officials. In most instances he had to go back to King William's Town without having conducted a single interview for that day as either the participant was committed with other things or was not even at home due to a problem that has cropped up unexpectedly – this was despite the fact that we had agreed on the appointment. In one instance the researcher had to drive to the project four times in order to

interview one person whom he was convinced that his input would be crucial to this research. Getting government officials' time was a nightmare. Government officials are very busy people who have hectic schedules. As a result the researcher had to do the questionnaire with one official twice because he didn't put enough attention when he administered the questionnaire by himself. When the researcher finally got hold of the participant he said: "My friend, thanks for coming. Honestly I didn't have time for your questionnaire and I just filled it in without thinking. We better do it together now as I will be out of town for the next three weeks on a training course".

Lastly, the difficulty was that the study, especially at the community level, was relying on what participants could remember and what they felt was relevant to talk about. This meant that there was a great chance of omitting some of the important information that could have been useful to the study. This may impact on the validity and reliability of the data.

### **3.3 CONCLUSION**

The research design used in the study is qualitative, although quantitative data also served a useful purpose by laying the foundation for the qualitative analysis. Besides the semi-structured interview process, a wide range of development literature as well as the project business plan were consulted during the study. Like most social research, the study was beset by a number of limitations as outlined in the chapter.

The next chapter presents the analysis, interpretation and discussion of findings from the research.

## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

This chapter looks at the major themes emerging from the data obtained from the semi-structured interview questionnaires. The analysis and discussion of the findings is related to the literature on development and community development. The objective is to reflect what the participants perceive to be the reasons behind the failure of the water project to achieve sustainability, and what mechanisms could be put in place to achieve sustainability. The views of the government officials are also included as part of the findings. The analysis is divided into two: quantitative analysis, which consisted of data from the committee and community members; and, qualitative analysis, which used data from all the categories of participants. Under qualitative analysis the data has been grouped into key questions which attempt to address the research question.

#### **4.1 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS**

All the quantitative data was obtained from the interviews with the community and committee members category. The total number of participants interviewed in this category was twelve.

##### **4.1.1 Age of Respondents**

The ages of men interviewed ranged from 31 to 50 years, while the ages of women interviewed also fell in the same category (i.e. 31 to 50 years).

Neither men nor women younger than 30 years were available during the day for interviews as they were either schooling or at work in and around King William's Town.

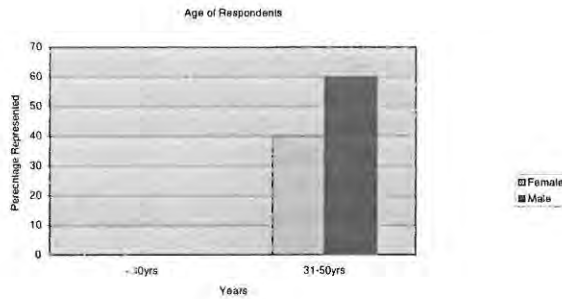


Figure 1 Age of respondents.

#### **4.1.2 Gender of Respondents**

Men constituted the majority of the respondents at 60 percent and women at 40 percent of the participants. One reason is that most women were busy with household chores or other household responsibilities whilst men were relatively "free".

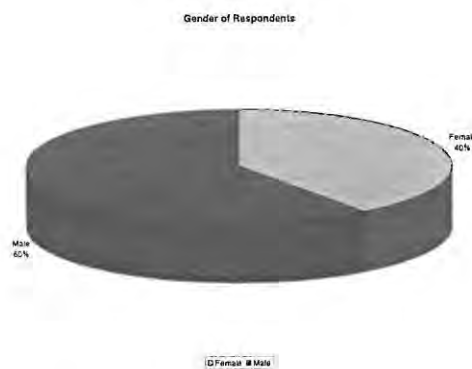


Figure 2: Gender of respondents

### 4.1.3 Income Sources

55 percentage of the participants that were interviewed have salaries/wages as their source of income. Only 10 percent of participants are dependent on remittances, whilst 35 percent of participants were unemployed. The percentage of unemployed males interviewed was equal to that of unemployed women participants, both at 50%. The unemployed respondents depend on other family members living with them in the house for food and other basic need.

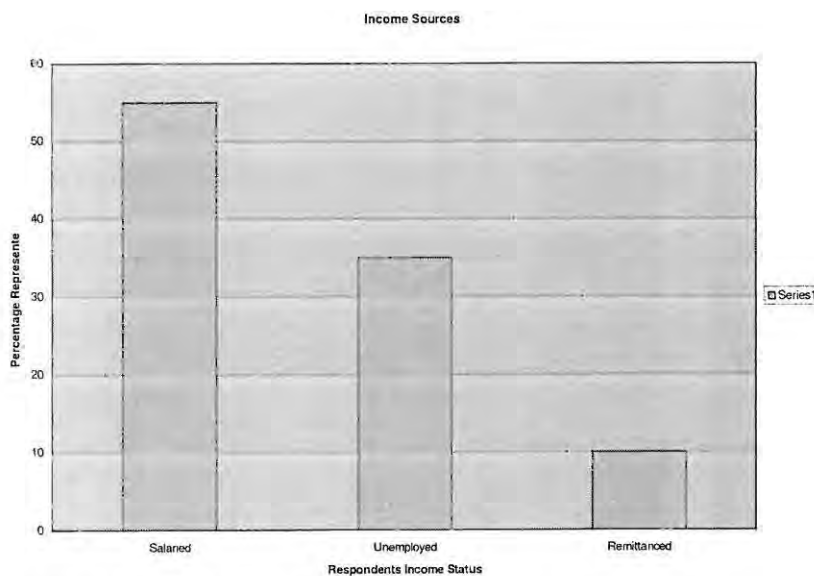


Figure 3 Income Sources

### 4.1.4 Levels of Income Per Month

Only 10 percent of the participants had a total household income less than R200 per month, and also 10 percent of households had a total monthly income of between R 201 and R 500. 55 percent of households had an income of between R 501 and R 800.

The households earning between R 800 to R 1000 was recorded at 15 percent, whilst those households with a monthly income of between R 3000 and R5000 stood at 10 percent.

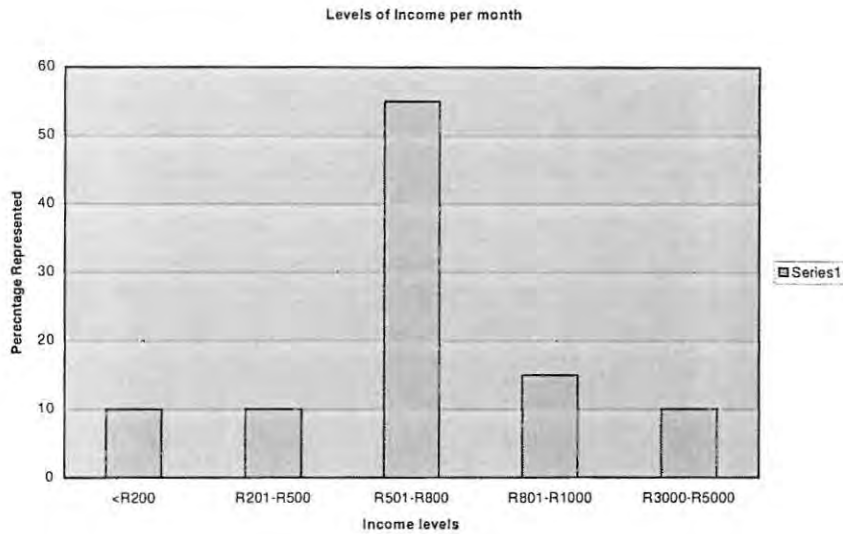
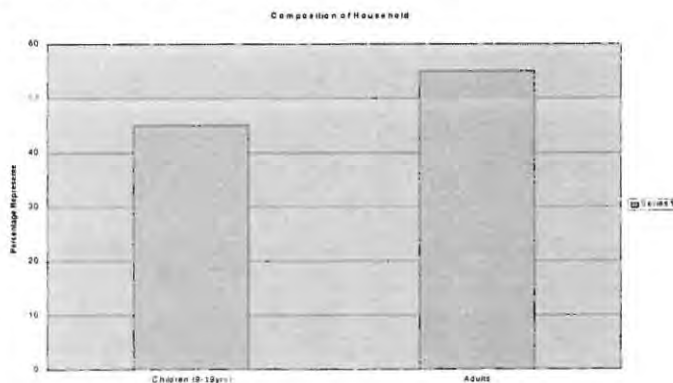


Figure 4 Levels of Income per month

#### **4.1.5 Composition of households**

From the respondents, the households consisted mostly of adults of both sexes totaling 26 whilst children (ages between 9 and 15 years) were nine. Children aged between 4 and 8 years totaled 5, whilst infants (0 to 3 years) amounted to 3. In all, children constituted 45 per cent of households interviewed, whilst adults comprised 55 per cent.

Figure 5 Composition of households



#### **4.1.6 Formation of Project Committee**

All the participants (100%) who were interviewed said the water project committee was elected by the entire community in the general meeting. However, 10 percent of the respondents claimed that the process of election was neither participative nor transparent as the election was “imposed” on them. But 90 per cent said the elections were participatory and were therefore satisfied with the election process.

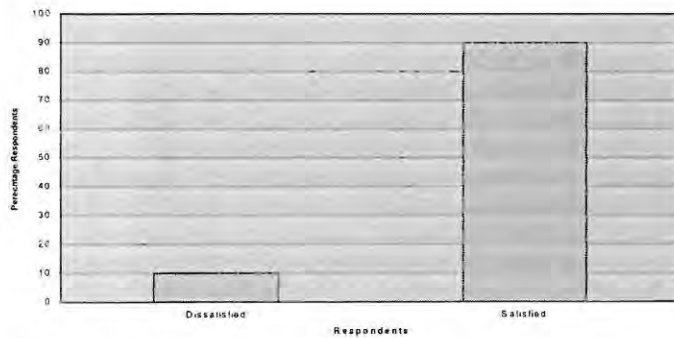
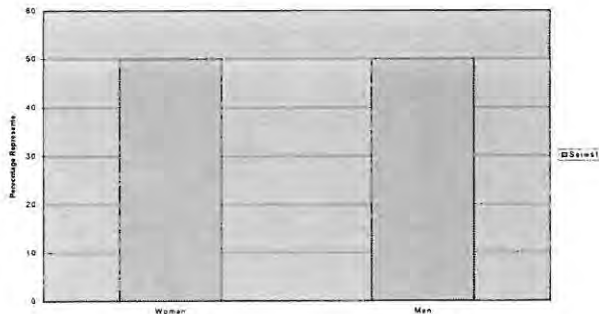


Figure 6 Formation of project committee

#### **4.1.7 Representation on the water committee**

Representation on the water committee was well balanced, with 50% representation from both sexes. This met the quota requirements of the funders, which required at least 30% women representation on the water committee. However, it was pointed out by some participants (female respondents) that the fact that they had good representation in the committee did not mean that in practice their voice was always heard.

Figure 7 Representation in the water committee



#### **4.1.8 Participation in the training programme**

The majority (80%) of the committee members had undergone training in various skills, which included, inter alia, financial management, project management, conflict resolution, store-keeping, administration. Only 20 percent of the committee members did not get the training, and those were only coached by the trained members as the project was being implemented. Ninety percent of the committee said with the skills that they have acquired, they can be able to implement similar projects in future. The remaining 10 percent were not sure if they could use the acquired skills in future similar projects.

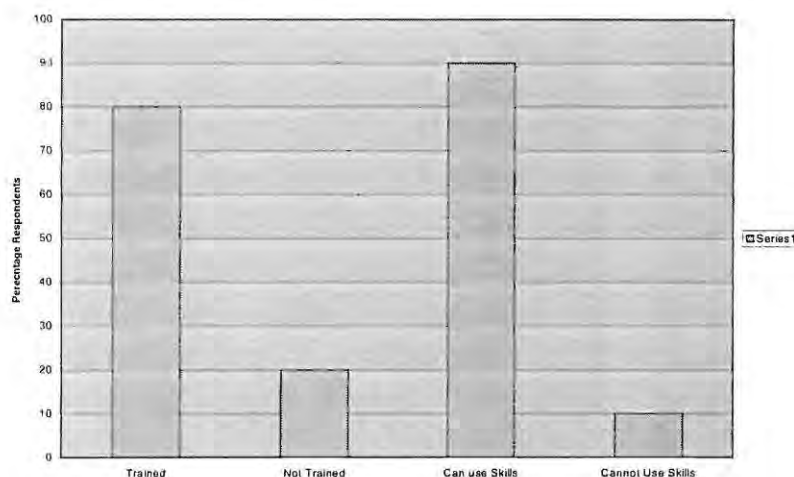


Figure 8 Participation in training programme

#### **4.1.9 Decision-making on the water project**

Sixty per cent of the male participants who were members of the water committee said all decisions around the project were participatory and everybody in the committee was listened to. However, 40 per cent of the female participants on the other said although decision-making initially was participatory, things changed at a later stage. Men later on met alone and took some decisions and "sold" those

decisions to women members in a meeting. Women had no choice but to buy into those already thought through decisions.

Forty per cent of the community members interviewed who were not part of the committee said they did not know how decisions were made. However they think decision making was not participatory as the community and the leadership time and again received complaints from some of the committee members that some decisions were imposed on them.



Figure 9 Decision-making on the water project

#### 4.1.10 Decision making on development projects

A Development project was defined as all the other development initiatives or projects in the community and included things like schools, community hall, crèches, post offices, playing grounds, etc. The majority of the participants (70%) claimed that the decisions on the development projects are done in a participatory manner. Villages input on all decisions and thereafter the leadership takes the issues to higher level structures e.g. ward committees.

However 20% of the participants said the leadership made the decisions on behalf of the community and only call the community to rubber-stamp their decisions.

10% of the participants did not know how decisions were arrived at as they either no longer attended meetings or lacked interest in the meetings.

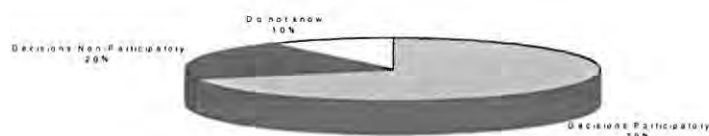


Figure 10 Decision making in development projects

## 4.2 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The qualitative data was obtained from interviews from both categories, namely the community and committee members category, and the government/funders category. A total of seventeen participants were interviewed [twelve from the community/committee category and five from the government/funder category]. Further, the responses to each key question were grouped or sub-divided into men's views, women's views, and views of government officials. A summary of the findings for each key question is included at the end.

### 4.2.1 Participation in decision-making

According to Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 38) participation in the process of development projects is both a means and an end. It is a social learning process – a process of awakening, raising of levels of consciousness, or conscientisation through which people grow and mature as human beings. In this sense participation is a basic human right.

The views as well as the findings from the participants during the field research around participation in decision-making on the project are summarised below:

**a) According to women:**

- Women had a voice on the project and on issues that affect their lives.
- Women participated in the water and other development projects
- Women are equal to men
- Men still feel superior to women and made most decisions alone and only consulted women at a later stage
- Women were not strong enough to take on responsibilities around management of the water projects.
- Men are leaders within the community but women should be given an opportunity to participate as well.
- What's the value of women making decisions on the water project – they have been excluded all along.

**b) According to men**

- Women did not have the courage to stand up and make their voice to be heard.
- Men will still remain the heads of household for a very long time and therefore made most of the decisions on the project.
- Men had always been prepared to work with women both at the home as well as on community projects
- Wives at least gave consent to the decisions made by the men
- Women were respected as they have very important responsibility within the household, like raising children, cooking, washing clothes etc.
- Men have always made the decisions in development projects. Why did we have to involve women in the water project.

### **c) According to government officials/funders**

- Women and men are equal in projects – the only difference is their genetic make-up
- Women, unlike in the past, need to be actively involved in decisions affecting them.
- Women were not confident to stand up for their rights during implementation of the project.
- Women must not only fight for their rights but must be prepared to roll their sleeves and 'walk their talk'
- Women must still respect their men irrespective of the fact that things have changed, and vice versa.

### **c) Findings**

In the study area the question of participation in decision-making is somewhat linked to the cultural norms within the community, and therefore tied onto the traditional roles or responsibilities traditionally assigned to the males and females. Although 40 per cent of the women participants felt that they had a voice in the decision-making on the project, the majority (60 per cent) of women felt that they were still undermined by the men who made almost all the decisions. In the village women are viewed as being inferior to men and this is linked to the cultural set-up within the village. Whilst most women respect their tradition, they are of the opinion that they should be given the space to make their voice heard.

The male respondents view themselves as heads of households and as leaders who should make decisions. The majority of male respondents (80 per cent) are of the opinion that women are not yet ready to take up leadership positions within the community nor making decisions. However, a few (20 per cent) male respondents felt that women have the capacity to be leaders and make decisions. They felt that women should be respected as they fulfil important roles in the family. This was echoed by government officials when they said women and men

are equal and decisions in projects should be reached by consensus, with both men and women participating.

From the literature review, Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 37-38) are of the opinion that participation in decision-making in development projects is an essential condition for true development, and therefore an essential part of human growth. They contend that in South Africa, participation in the development, implementation and management of development projects has been skewed, with women not given the opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes. Only very recently [after the first democratic elections] has an emphasis been put by government on the importance of involving women in development programmes. There is now realization that women are part of the community and have an important role to play in development projects which affects their lives.

The community was not introduced to the relevance and importance of their participation on the project. This is the reason why some participants did not see value of their involvement and participation in decision-making. Kotze's (1987: 11) opinion that in the Bantustans people regarded development as a government matter is particularly relevant in this regard. His assertion that community development in the Bantustans was not participatory has significant relevance to the study project as Nomzamo location fell under the Ciskei Bantustan. In the Bantustans, continues Kotze (1987: 12), men and women were not introduced to the decision-making processes, and this has been the case with the Nomzamo water project. As a result, the project experienced problems. Swanepoel's (1997: 3) argument that development should be humanistic by recognising people as being capable and participating in making decisions is contrary to what has taken place in the project. The Nomzamo community's dignity, especially that of women, has not been promoted because they were not given the recognition and space to make decisions.

#### 4.2.2 The role of culture and gender in the water supply project.

According to Williams (1994: 18) culture and gender are interrelated and both have profound impact on the way in which projects are implemented, and therefore have an effect on the sustainability of a project. Both culture and gender results in women and men traditionally assigned or expected to be responsible for different prescribed roles and responsibilities within the community. These roles are themselves closely linked to the values and norms persistent within that particular community.

With regards to the role of culture and gender on the Nomzamo water supply project, the views of the community and that of government officials, as well as the relevant findings, are captured as follows:

##### **a) According to women**

- We cannot easily do away with culture but women need to be respected.
- It is not acceptable for men to make decisions alone in the project, they must involve women.
- Culture is for everyone – it's not about either women or men
- Women had to do 'softer' tasks as they are not strong physically compared to men.
- The project could have been a success if women were directly involved.

##### **b) According to men**

- Development projects do not imply that we should abandon our customs – these two must go together
- Women did attend project meetings as well, so they were not excluded from the development
- Women were not yet ready to occupy key decision-making positions in the project.

- If women want equal rights they must be prepared to dig trenches as well, which is what they avoided to do.
- Men are leaders in the community but women must be given an opportunity as well.

### **c) According to government officials/funders**

- We need to adopt a gender-sensitive approach when designing and implementing water projects.
- Culture was an inhibiting factor in the project.
- Women did attend meetings, but not free to voice their opinions nor did they occupy decision-making positions
- Men in the community are heads of households but women need to be given the opportunity to have a say in the 'running' of the family
- The white male engineers did not understand the culture of the community and this impacted negatively on the project.
- All the people in the community are equal – the only difference is their genetic makeup.

### **d) Findings**

The research data displays that the 'culture' of assigning roles to men and women is still prevalent within the Nomzamo community. Men are still assigned the role of decision-maker, with women being viewed as playing a secondary supportive role. Whilst 20 per cent of women were 'satisfied' with men taking the leadership and decision-making role, the majority (80 per cent) of women participants felt that it was unacceptable and that such 'culture' should be done away with by allowing women to input on all issues surrounding the project. And as one woman respondent has put it: " We have brains just like man – God created us alike. What's this culture all about? ". This view is in line with Ostergaard's (1997: 2) when she says that the success of projects has got nothing to do with being male

or female, and that women, like men have the potential to drive development projects.

The majority (90 per cent) of male participants are adamant that women in the community still "need to grow" before they can be in a position to make decisions. Only 10 per cent of the male respondents felt that the 'culture' of restricting women was uncalled for, and women should be allowed to participate freely in the project. However, some women seemed comfortable with the status quo and seemed to lack self-confidence in themselves. Two female respondents said: "Men are strong by birth compared to us (women). They should therefore take the lead in the community. As women we are weaker and we should only handle 'softer' tasks".

The view of government officials that culture is an inhibiting factor to the success of development projects is supported by Ostergaard (1997: 3) who claims that the effects of development projects are beneficial to both men and women. She claims that development goals can only be reached by securing the active involvement of both men and women. Culture on the other hand will only mean that the advantages of development go to the men, whereas a gender-balanced approach will ensure that women are also brought into the mainstream of development so that each gender plays its own important role in the process.

In a nutshell, the views expressed by the participants are consistent with the views in development literature, and as expressed in particular by Williams (1994: 18-19) when he says that the roles assigned by society to men and women are closely connected to the culture, norms and values prevailing within the community. These values influence the way in which projects are implemented. This has particularly been the case with the Nomzamo community, where men and women were assigned differing roles, and this has impacted negatively on the success of the project.

### 4.2.3 Factors that hindered the sustainability of the water project

From the literature review, Fitzgerald, McLennan & Munslow (1997: 4) assert that sustainability in projects is not something that can happen easily. They claim that there are a number of factors that hinder the achievement of success in projects.

Below are the views of the respondents at the community level as well as those of the government officials on the factors which they perceive to have been a hindrance to achieving sustainability of the water project, as well as a summary of the findings:

#### a) According to the community

- The lack of trust between the project committee and the broader community resulted in poor community support for the project.
- The community was not too sure of their own roles and responsibility with regards to the water project
- The community members were reluctant to give out their water contributions to the committee members who were visiting each household as they were not sure if the money would be used for it's intended purpose.
- There was no regular feedback on the project progress from the water committee to the community.
- The water committee was not appropriately trained and skilled to handle the pressure and demand that the project posed.
- Community members were not satisfied with the quality of the works and the manner in which the water committee handled the project.
- Because most community members withheld their contributions, the agreement with the Kei Road TLC for payment for the water drawn could not be honoured. As a result the TLC switched off the water.
- There were 'free-riders' from neighboring communities who came to draw water from the Nomzamo village without paying or sanction.

- One section of the village, namely Nompandlana was left out of the project and therefore did not benefit.
- Many householders were not satisfied with the level of service, i.e. communal standpipes and wanted yard connections so that they can control their water usage.
- Locals vandalised the water scheme [e.g. standpipes, materials] but no action was taken against them.

**b) According to the government officials/funders**

- The local TRC at the time was 'toothless', as they did not have powers nor authority over the project.
- Non-payment for services was a major contributing factor to project failure.
- The project committee was not trained and empowered so that they can be able to manage the project.
- The 'ill-advised' project consultants did not give the right or proper guidance to the committee and the community.
- Lack of participation and involvement from the community in the design and implementation of their project made the project to be unsustainable
- Awareness was not given to the community on what their roles and responsibilities will be with regards to the management, maintenance and operation of the water project.
- Institutional and social development aspects were ignored when the water project was implemented
- The capacity of government officials to manage consultants on the project left much to be desired.
- Local government was not ready to take on their constitutional responsibility in terms of providing and managing water services.

### c) Findings

The data indicates that the majority of participants felt that the project experienced problems because the community as a whole wasn't sure of their role. As a result, the community members did not pay for the water, as they did not understand the rationale behind paying for the service. This was in itself a hindrance to the sustainability of the project. Fitzgerald, McLennan & Munslow (1997:4-5) claim that in order to achieve sustainability, there should be a massive educational effort so that the community is made aware of the need to manage resources wisely, including paying for the service. This clearly is contrary to what has taken place in the project – there was no educational drive (or very little of this was done) so that people could be clear on what their roles and responsibilities are.

Also, there were no sanctions or mechanisms to deal with the vandals and 'free riders'. The fact that people could vandalise standpipes and people from neighbouring villages drew water from the project with no action taken against them led to problems within the project. This demotivated most members of the community from paying for water, and as a result the project couldn't sustain itself. Further, the local TRC as a government structure was supposed to provide direction in the project but lacked the capacity to do so. The same applied to government officials who did not manage the consultants properly. As a result, consultants hijacked the process. This is contrary to the view by Liebenberg & Stewart (1997: 25) that change agents in projects are there to stimulate the participation of the community in development projects.

In the literature review, De Beer & Swanepoel (1998: 43) emphasise the importance of government institutions in community development projects. In their view government structures, especially at the local level, have an important role in supporting the development process. However, the decision making should be left to the people themselves, with government institutions providing the necessary support. On the contrary, this has not been the case in the study

project. This has been due to amongst other things the fact that local government was still new at the time, and the principles of ownership and participation when implementing development projects had just been introduced by the new dispensation.

Last but not least, the lack of trust between the community and the project committee hindered success of the project. This was due to the fact that, amongst other things, the committee was not properly trained to handle affairs of the project. This resulted in withdrawal of contributions by the community and this on its own crippled the project.

#### **4.2.4 Factors necessary for achieving sustainability of the water project**

After the community and the government officials identified factors that hindered the sustainability of the water project, they were asked to identify those factors they perceived to be necessary in order to make the water project sustainable. Their views as well as the findings are as follows:

##### **a) According to the community**

- Funds are required to revamp the water project, fixing all the problems in the infrastructure
- The entire community must be accorded the opportunity and also motivated to participate and be involved in the implementation of their project.
- The project belongs to the community and the elected committee must provide regular feedback to the community so that the community is kept informed and can provide advice
- Additional funding needs to be sourced to cater for yard connections, as it is difficult to control water usage if tapstands are collection points.
- More funds are required to implement pre-paid system on each standpipe so that people can only draw water if they have paid.

- There is a need to form a new water committee to take the project forward. Such a committee will need to be trained and must be representative of all formations/structures within the community
- We need government officials to be closer to the project and 'not remote control' to provide guidance to the committee. If they are closer problems can be detected at an early stage and can be dealt with on the spot
- There should be proper financial controls on project money to avoid embezzlement of project funds
- Awareness workshops are needed for the community so that the community is aware of their roles and responsibilities in so far as the water scheme is concerned. These workshops must be done beforehand and also continue parallel to the construction process
- There should be an element of trust between the water committee and the broader community. The committee must be composed of people who are dedicated to the project
- The local authority must be fully involved in the project
- All the areas e.g. Nompandlana that were left out of the project should now be catered for as well – they are part of the same community.

**b) According to the government officials/funders**

- Awareness creation is required so that the roles and responsibilities of the community as well as those of the various role-players are clarified.
- The community must be fully involved by giving all the support to the project and being involved in all the decisions.
- Women have an important role to play in the development and implementation of their project and in development programmes in general, and for that reason they should be involved in all decision-making processes regarding their project.
- Local government should play a leading role in project development, as this is their constitutional responsibility.

- National and provincial governments should provide ongoing support to local government.
- The community must pay for the service in order for the project to be sustainable.
- The Institutional and Social Development issues must precede all the other [technical] matters in projects implementation.
- Monitoring and continuous evaluation throughout all the project phases is of critical importance.
- Government officials need to 'put their foot down' and manage the work of consultants and ensure that they deliver according to the terms of reference set out in their contracts.

### **c) Findings**

The views from all participants were that in order to achieve sustainability of the project, there is a need to get a buy-in and full involvement of the entire community. The starting point towards achieving this goal should be an awareness creation workshop which would begin to outline the roles and responsibilities of all the roleplayers in the project, especially that of the community. This should be followed by an adoption of a programme to resuscitate the project – this programme must be agreed upon by all roleplayers. The programme must allocate tasks accordingly, and must ensure that training and capacity building programmes are in place and should put emphasis on the importance and necessity of active participation and support from the broader community. And as the local councilor (who was also a participant) has put it: "People need to be made aware of the importance of their involvement in the water project. (They) must also participate. Local government must take the lead".

This viewpoint concurs with that of Carley & Christie's (1992: 78) view which sees community participation, empowerment and capacity building as crucial elements for the realisation of sustainability in development projects. Gray (1997: 71-72) is supportive of these views when he says sustainability rests on the community's

involvement and ownership of their project as opposed to the absence or presence of the 'outsider'. He goes on to say that self-sustaining projects are those owned by the community, and managed by trained local people.

The involvement of women was also identified as crucial to the success of the project. Participants felt that women have a crucial role to play in the project. This view is consistent with Carley and Christie's (1992:77-8) deep ecological view which is concerned with gender inequality in projects. Carley & Christie put forward an argument that Western thought deals with men, women and the environment not as a unit but as separate entities, and this ignores the reality that they are inter-dependent and each has a crucial role to play in ensuring success of development programmes. The project needs to work with women as well as they have a role to play in planning, management and maintenance of development projects.

The role and 'visibility' of government was identified as crucial to the success of the project. The participants felt that the government, both at local and provincial level, did not do enough to support the project. The local TRC did not provide clear direction and the government officials 'remote controlled' the project. Even when they were on site they didn't intervene in disputes and this exacerbated the problems in the project. Swanepoel & de Beer (1997: 56) are in agreement with this view when they say that for development to be successful there should be a firm, long-term government commitment which gives a climate for development to grow and prosper. However, continues Swanepoel & de Beer, development needs to be localised, with local people taking responsibility, making decisions and planning activities themselves.

A need for improvement in levels of service was identified as a factor necessary to achieve sustainability of the project. The participants felt that the RDP standard of 25 litres per person per day drawn from a standpipe was not conducive to sustainability. One participant has argued that: " This RDP standard is (in) itself a problem. We need water closer to us, in our yards (so) that we can pay for what

we have consumed. How can you pay for water that is in the street?”. Some respondents felt that if yard connections were not possible, then a prepaid metering system has to be implemented. This will avoid the hassle of going around collecting payments from each house. This means that people will only draw water if they have paid for it. All the respondents felt that there is a need for additional funding to resuscitate the project and also to cater for the prepaid system for now. However, there will be a need to upgrade the project at a later stage to cater for the yard connections.

The government officials in particular felt that serious attention will need to be given to monitoring and evaluation when revamping the project. They felt that this was not given the attention it deserved during the implementation of the project. Yet constant monitoring and evaluation is crucial to the sustainability of the project as it enables the early detection of problems and timeous solution of those problems before they have serious effects. Gray (1997: 70) seems to agree when he says that systematic evaluation is a crucial part of the community development process and involves monitoring of events throughout the project, ascertaining whether the objectives of the project are met or not.

#### **4.2.5 OTHER RELEVANT FINDINGS FROM THE RESEARCH**

The other relevant findings from the research which might have had a bearing on the success of the water project and development projects in general are discussed underneath:

##### **a) Factors necessary for achieving sustainability of development programmes in general.**

The respondents were asked to suggest what could be done in order to achieve sustainability in other development projects. The responses varied from participant to participant. The majority of respondents felt that development programmes need to be undertaken in an integrated fashion. A water project for instance must

be viewed as a springboard for other development programmes within the community. Also, their view is that development planners need to determine the appropriate levels of service in consultation with the beneficiary community right from the onset.

The feeling from participants was that government alone cannot address the current backlog on basic services. It was suggested that the private sector as well as Non-governmental organisations should form partnerships with government if the services backlog is to be addressed, and if sustainability is to be achieved. This view is in line with the thinking encapsulated in the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation (1994: 11-14) where emphasis is laid on the importance of partnerships between all spheres of government, the private sector, non-governmental organisations and community based organisations. Also, participants felt that local government must plan for services and projects in a holistic manner. The White Paper on Local Government (1998) requires all councils to produce Integrated Development Plans which should encompass all the activities of a municipality.

#### **b) Differing opinions on policy and process**

There was noticeable different, though not serious, understanding of the process and policy for water delivery between the various tiers of government. The approach used by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in some respects is different from the one adopted by the Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing, and also the approach followed by the councils. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry now places a lot of emphasis on social development issues and training as this is viewed to be critical for project success. The principle is that projects should not start technically unless the social development training has been done, and the project budgets and programmes are structured in a manner that realises this objective. With the Provincial Department, the approach differs slightly although there are similarities. During the interviews with the provincial government as well as local government officials

it was realised that emphasis was more on having the infrastructure on the ground. For instance, the CMIP projects within the provincial Department of Local Government and Housing do not make provision for institutional and social development training. The same applies to municipalities – their budgets are skewed towards the 'hardware'. This might have to do with the 'pressure' to deliver on the part of local government.

Also, the various government officials had different interpretations and understanding of the various legislation impacting on the water delivery programme. This included the Water Services Act, the Division of Revenue Act, the National Water Act, etc. There was no common understanding for instance on the various roles of each sphere of government as outlined in the White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation. Also the Division of Revenue Act was interpreted differently by the various officials. These differences in interpretation are not healthy for development as it could create confusion among the communities.

#### **c) Lack of regular feed-back from the water committee**

The majority of participants from the community's side felt that the water committee did not provide regular feedback to the community on the progress of the project. A few participants claimed they never had any feedback from the committee. They said that this was the reason why most community members lost interest in the project and withdrew their support. On the other hand the water committee claimed that whilst efforts were made to provide feedback, the community seemed to lack interest as they did not attend most of the meetings where feedback was provided.

#### **d) Affordability not the key reason for non-payment for water**

From the data and interviews, it transpired that affordability was not the key reason behind the non-payment for the water. Almost all the community members contributed towards the initial tariff collections. However, when the project

experienced problems – such as leakages in the system, theft of project material and vandalism of the infrastructure - people decided not to contribute any further towards the operation and maintenance costs of the project. However, within the community there were those households – the poor - who didn't afford to pay for the water.

#### e) **Political intolerance**

Politics also played a role in the project. Some participants felt that SANCO hijacked the project, and because of this there was conflict and tensions between the local ANC leadership and SANCO. This created problems and on a few occasions the leadership from the sub-region of the ANC was called in to intervene in the tensions.

Because the project was not enjoying the support of all the organisation in the community, some members of the community either took sides or withdrew their support for the project. This in itself created endless problems for the project, and affected the sustainability of the project. This confirms the argument by Gray (1998: 72) when he says that projects that are self-sustaining are those that are recognised and supported by other organisations in the community. Unfortunately, this was not always the case with Nomzamo water supply project

#### f) **The most crucial needs for the community**

As part of the questionnaire, and during the interviews, participants were asked to identify three other non-water needs in order of priority that they perceived to be most crucial for their community. The answers to this question varied but the following needs were identified, in order of priority:

- Local clinic
- Community hall
- Fenced ploughing fields.

## **4.2 CONCLUSION**

The chapter has looked at the analysis and discussion of the findings from the study. The analysis as well as findings has been categorized into two: quantitative and qualitative. Key themes were identified, presented and systematically analysed. The quantitative analysis helped in drawing a picture of the socio-economic status of the community under study, and laid the foundation for the qualitative analysis. The quantitative responses have been depicted in tables and graphs.

A number of findings emanate from the qualitative analysis, and these include, inter alia, that decision-making in the community has not always been participatory in that men made most of the decisions; that culture and gender had a profound effect on the manner in which the project was implemented and of course on the project's sustainability; that the community had not been empowered to know what their roles and responsibilities were towards the water project. At the end factors necessary for ensuring sustainability of the project are outlined.

The next and final chapter details key conclusions and recommendations, which emanate from the research.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This chapter first draws conclusions based on the findings of the study, and, second, proposes recommendations to remedy the situation on the project, and possibly on other similar projects in future.

#### **5.1 CONCLUSIONS**

##### **5.1.1 Roles and responsibilities**

In all the respondents interviewed at the community level, it became apparent that there was uncertainty with regards to the roles and responsibilities of each and every role-player in the project. The project steering committee, although trained, were not entirely geared up to take decisions that were to make the project sustainable. It appeared that at times they took decisions that were to the detriment of the project not because they did this intentionally, but because they were not properly trained. This was exacerbated by the fact that there were no government officials who were very close to the project to provide the necessary guidance and support. Women within the project committee did not stand up and make their voice heard and the men made almost the decisions all by themselves, and this has been due to the fact that the women were not too sure of their roles. This is related to the fact that in the village men are held in high esteem and the community had all the time relied on men to take the lead on all matters affecting the community and handling situations.

At the community level, there has been lack of willingness to support and therefore participate in all phases of the project implementation. This meant that the community could not own the project. The community is supposed to support the project in all respects but in the Nomzamo community this was hardly the case. Some community members did not attend meetings where feedback was

given, either because they were busy with other things or lacked interest in the project. The project committee on the other hand did not give regular feedback to the community and for this reason the community was not kept informed or involved. As a result, they lost interest as they didn't feel being part of the process. The community in general was not keen to contribute toward the running costs of the project, yet it is their responsibility to pay for the service. The lack of payment for water meant that the project couldn't be sustainable.

The government officials acknowledged that although training and awareness programmes were conducted at the community level, the level of commitment and participation was not satisfactory. Also, when the project was implemented, the RDP policy was new and not well understood by everyone. Everyone involved in the project, including government officials themselves, was on a learning curve. This in essence was 'breaking of new ground', and it was not an easy thing to do. This impacted on the success of achieving the objectives of the project.

#### **5.1.2 Decision-making**

Although representation of both men and women in the project committee was balanced, in practice the decision-making process itself was not balanced. Men made almost all the decisions within the water committee. Women only had to rubber stamp decisions already made by men. Even the positions that women held within the committee were not decision-making positions, whilst men occupied all the decision-making portfolios.

This situation is due to the fact that the perception within the community is that women cannot make some decisions or manage projects. This perception has entrenched itself within the community to such an extent that some of the women cannot "think out of the box". Some women are comfortable with this position and didn't see anything wrong with it. In a sense to a greater extent the project did not create an opportunity for the empowerment of women in the community.

The government officials conceded that women did not always display self-confidence at that time, and this had been a worrying factor. Efforts were made to build women's confidence and their participation in decision-making processes but this did not bear fruit. As a result men took advantage of the situation and took most of the decisions.

### 5.1.3 Culture and gender

Cultural values and norms are still rife within the community. Men are still regarded as heads of households and leaders within the community. The community is holding to its age-old tradition, which says that men must lead and women must follow. The perception is that women are not yet ready to occupy key positions within development programmes and it will take time for them to be ready for such responsibility. Most men are adamant that their culture "should not be touched" as they will not do away with it but emphasised that they are prepared to respect and work with women.

However, to some extent men do realise that women have a role to play in development efforts within their community. Women had not been driven away from community meetings and a few had made valuable inputs during community meetings. The feeling among some community members, including men, was that projects become a success if women are directly involved and participate in the decision-making processes.

The government officials are adamant that culture poses a serious threat to project development and success. They also agreed that cultural norms are still entrenched within the community, and this alone has made it difficult for women to participate freely in project activities. Women were not viewed as equal partners in the planning, development and implementation of the project.

#### **5.1.4 Training and capacity building**

One of the principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme is to ensure that people within the community are trained so that their capacity could be developed to handle the project themselves. The emphasis of this programme is on tapping on the local knowledge and resources thus ensuring that the process of capacity building is relevant to the local needs.

Training had been provided to the majority of the committee members but it was noted and confirmed by some respondents that with the training they had received they were not sure that they could use it in future projects. Also, the training programme wasn't sufficiently carried through to the community level in the form of workshops so that the community as whole could be aware of their roles and, for instance, importance of conserving water and paying for services.

The budget, according to government officials, was one of the constraints, which hindered the consultants from conducting effective training. Only a small percentage of the budget (about 3 per cent) was set aside for social development training, yet 'soft skills' training is quite crucial for project success. Also, it was difficult to evaluate training provided, as there were no key performance indicators (KPIs) set at the time. The lack of adequate training and non-existence of KPIs impacted negatively on the success of the project.

#### **5.1.5 Local government involvement and capacity**

When the project was initiated and implemented, local government was still new and their functions were not clearly defined. Also, the local government structures that were in place lacked capacity in many respects – personnel, expertise, finances, etc. This meant that although they were a legal structure in place, and represented in the water committee, they couldn't provide the necessary direction. The officials from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry were no exception – they also lacked capacity as well. In many instances they couldn't intervene or

give guidance, and as a result problems escalated in the project. Because of this, consultants 'had it their own way' on the project.

#### **5.1.6 Attitudes, policy and process**

The attitude of the entire community towards the project had been positive at the beginning. The project was initiated after new government had just assumed power. The majority in the community was enthusiastic that the government was at long last bringing services closer to them. However, this changed as the project progressed. One key reason for this change in attitude was the political tensions between SANCO and the local ANC. These tensions resulted in lack of trust with people either taking sides or losing interest completely on the project. Also, the fact that there were no regular feed-backs from the project committee to the broader community meant that people were kept in the dark on the progress, and this also contributed to lack of interest by most community members.

The different interpretation or lack of common understanding of policy by government officials has also been noted. Policy is supposed to be understood and applied uniformly but this becomes difficult if the understanding of such policy is not uniform. There is different understanding of the process of implementation among the three spheres of government, and this becomes a cause for concern.

A number of basic services are still lacking in the community, and these have been identified as a local clinic, a community hall and ploughing fields. These services are crucial to the health and the general well being of any community.

In a nutshell, there has been a common view in the study that for the water project to be sustainable the community must be actively involved in all phases and decision-making processes. The general agreement has been that the community is in a better position to and is the most effective unit to put into play the principles of sustainable development.

## **5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

From the above conclusions and findings of the research, a number of recommendations are made which are intended to contribute toward the achievement of sustainability, not only on the Nomzamo water project, but in other development projects as well:

### **5.2.1 Awareness creation and mobilisation programmes**

The first step in finding way to achieving sustainability of the project would be to embark on a mass mobilisation programme within the Nomzamo community. This programme should aim at outlining the roles and responsibilities of the community towards the water project. It has been established during the research that the Amatole District Municipality is setting aside funding to resuscitate the project. This is warmly welcomed by the community as this will mean that at long last they will have access to clean safe water. Both government officials and the community feel that for the project to be a success this time, emphasis should be put on the issues of ownership, participation and involvement of the community right from the onset. This could be achieved through the training or re-training of the project steering committee so that they can be able to manage the implementation process. Also, there will be a need to conduct awareness workshop right up to the household level. Such workshops should dwell on roles of the community as well as on the significance of health and hygiene issues. The funding should also make provision for infrastructure in the Nompandlana area. Excluding the area again may anger the people from within the area, and this might have negative consequences for the bigger project.

This research has established that affordability was not the primary reason for failure to pay for the service. Community members withheld their contributions because they either didn't trust the collectors or were not clear as to why they should pay for the water. Also, they were reluctant to pay because the collection points (i.e. tapstands) were too far from their homes. The awareness programmes

should therefore also emphasize the issue of trust among the community and the need to pay for services and the reasons why services should be paid for. The awareness programmes should also include the government's Free Basic Water policy so that people can understand what this policy is all about, and what it means for them. The consequences of drinking with animals (despite the fact that there is infrastructure on the ground) could be disastrous for the community's health, and this again should form part and parcel of the awareness programmes.

### **5.2.2 Improvement of level of service**

Another important and contributing factor to the failure of the Nomzamo water project has been the level of service (i.e. the tapstands) which the majority of participants perceived to be low. The majority of respondents have voiced their concerns that they were not pleased by the level of service. They felt that yard connections should be provided for if the project is to be sustainable. They cited difficulties in control of water usage as the reason why they opt for yard connections. One respondent responded that: "...it is in fact unfair to charge all of us one tariff, (yet) we don't use the same quantity of water". Some respondents said they could settle for the pre-paid tap-stand meters, if yard connections are not feasible at present.

It is therefore recommended that the local authority and/or funders should seriously consider making additional funding available for the pre-paid meter system on the project. However, the improvement of the level of service in the form of providing yard connections seems to be the most preferred option by the community, and in fact would be the most suitable option if cost-recovery is to be realised on the project. These options will have to be discussed with the community.

### 5.2.3 A gender sensitive approach to project development

It has emanated from the findings of the research that women were not accorded the opportunity to make meaningful input to the development of their project. This has in a sense amounted to the disempowerment of women. Although representation of both sexes in the project steering committee was balanced, women still did not wholly participate in decision-making processes. Men made most decisions and occupied the key positions within the committee.

A gender sensitive approach should therefore be adopted during the resuscitation of this project. Such approach should take into account the cultural sensitivities and power plays within the community. There is no doubt that, given the circumstances and the present era, there will be a process of change in the culture, values and belief systems in the community over time. Cultural awareness programmes should therefore be considered or adopted in other general community processes. The gender sensitive approach should accord women the opportunity to occupy the key decision making positions as well in project committees – and this should neither be apologetic nor piecemeal. However, the gender sensitive approach should not ignore men or discriminate against them as this might alienate the men and in turn make the project to be unsustainable.

Babacan & Gopalkrishnan (2001: 12) contends that in the country there is a need for gender mainstreaming both within organisations and projects to address gender inequalities. Gender mainstreaming is a popular strategy in development theory and practice, and is one of the strategies aimed at eradicating discrimination against women. The need to change entrenched sexist attitudes, and cultivate new values of respect and inclusivity, through which men respect women and vice versa, is critical to gender mainstreaming. It is recommended that gender mainstreaming training, which could take the form of workshops, should be conducted both within the project, and also among government departments as well as other agencies involved in community development programmes. The goal of these workshops would be to create new kinds of

organisations and communities in which men and women contribute equally. Of particular importance would be the monitoring and evaluation of the impact of those workshops on the roles of men and women in projects.

#### **5.2.4 Training and capacity building**

An equally important element crucial to the success of the project is the degree to which the community has been trained and empowered to take charge of the process. The project committee needs to be equipped with the necessary skills. An empowerment of the community is the objective of a people-centered development, and the training process becomes a tool for achieving this objective. Capacity building, according to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (1997: 16) is a process of imparting skills, knowledge and confidence so as to empower and enable people to develop and manage themselves and their communities more effectively and productively.

However, the training should go beyond the water committee and the community but must include the training of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry staff as well as staff from local government. Such training should include, inter alia, training on participatory methodologies, project management, financial management, monitoring and evaluation and conflict resolution. Also, working sessions and/or information dissemination sessions on the various pieces of legislation should be organised and conducted jointly for the officials from both the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry as well as officials from local government. Last. But not, least, gender awareness training needs to be provided to all officials in these spheres of government. The government needs to empower its staff so that they are able to manage and monitor the delivery programme, and ensure that the interest of the community is taken care of.

Within the project there is a need for the training of women to build their capacity and confidence as well. Such training should enable them to take decisions around their project and also manage the project in a sustainable manner. This training

for women should not only be on 'soft' issues but must be on technical issues as well. Those who missed the water committee training were all women, and the training plan for women should include, amongst others, numeracy skills, communication skills, project management skills, community bookkeeping and asset management.

Of particular importance is the training of the community on monitoring and evaluation. Monitoring and evaluation is an essential component of the community development process and is about keeping track of the events throughout the project cycle. The community itself has an important role to play in monitoring and evaluation to ensure effectiveness and sustainability of their programme.

#### **5.2.5 Concerted local government support**

According to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (1999: 3-4) the function of the provision of water services is the responsibility of local government. The National government, however, has a number of responsibilities in the field of water services. The function of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in relation to the provision of water services is four fold:

- A national regulatory function establishing norms and standards
- A support function to water services authorities and institutions
- A monitoring function
- An intervention function as a matter of last resort.

Given the fact that the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry is the national government department with sector specialisation in water, the Department has a responsibility to support the provision of water services and this must be within the framework of co-operative governance.

This support function of the Department, which is primarily aimed at local government, is quite crucial for the provision of sustainable water services. The function should focus on the following:

- Capacity building to local government in a wide range of areas including technical, social, administrative and organisational areas.
- Planning support, which will include support in the preparation of Water Services Development Plans, as part of the Integrated Development Plans.
- Institutional and social development support, aimed at developing institutions which include water services providers, water boards and other bodies
- Operations and maintenance support, to create an enabling environment for the taking over of water services infrastructure by local government.
- Support with the implementation of the 'Free Basic Water' policy, where the Department should conduct training sessions for all municipalities, including the Category B municipalities. This will enable the municipalities to implement the policy with less hassles and as speedily as possible.

This support to local government will enable local government to take over their function of the provision of water services. This would free time for the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry to assume their rightful role.

### **5.3 Relevance of the study to the water services delivery programme in the Eastern Cape.**

The study has been premised on a case study which looked at the reasons for the failure of water projects to achieve sustainability. The problems and challenges facing the water services delivery programme in the Eastern Cape are quite a mammoth challenge to overcome. The findings and recommendations from only one small stand-alone water project in the Province certainly cannot give a complete picture of what is taking place out there.

Nevertheless, it is trusted that this study will assist a great deal in terms of our knowledge as well as understanding of the 'real' issues surrounding the water programme. This is so because the study has highlighted some issues around the sustainability of water supply projects. Policy makers and administrators may find the recommendations of the study useful, and the study should contribute to the ongoing debate around the provision of sustainable water services programmes, and should in one way or the other inform policies and strategies which would create a climate conducive to sustainable development in the sector.

### 5.3 CONCLUSION

The conclusions drawn from the study bring to the fore crucial aspects surrounding the sustainability of the project. In this regard significant issues which had impacted negatively on the project's sustainability are identified and include, inter alia, lack of clarity on roles and responsibilities; imbalances in decision-making within the project; poor training of the community, and lack of community support to the project; entrenched cultural values and norms in the community which have favoured men; lack of local government involvement in the development process; and, differing interpretations of policy.

Recommendations to promote sustainability are outlined and these include: mass mobilisation programmes targeted at the community to inculcate culture of ownership, participation and involvement; improvement in levels of service to enhance cost-recovery; adoption of a gender sensitive approach when implementing projects; appropriate skills development process and capacity building targeted at the entire community; and support to local government from other spheres of government to enable local government to perform its function effectively and efficiently.

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# INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

**CATEGORY – COMMUNITY MEMBER, COMMITTEE MEMBER, COUNCILLOR**

## **SECTION A [PERSONAL PARTICULARS]**

1. How old are you?

Under 21 years	
21-30 years	
31-40-years	
41-50 years	
51-60 years	

2. Are you male or female?

Male		Female	
------	--	--------	--

3. What is your source of income?

Salary/wages		Pension		Remittance		Others (specify)	
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4. What is the total income of your household per month?

Up to R200	
R201 - R500	
R501 - R800	
R801 – R1000	
R1001–R3000	
R3000–R5000	
R5000 and above	

5. How many people are in your household?

Age Group	Male	Female
Infants (0-3yrs)		
Young Children (4-8yrs)		
Children (9-15yrs)		
Young adults (16-21)		
Adults (22-59)		
Pensioners (60+)		

**SECTION B [PROJECT DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT]**

1. Do you know about the Nomzamo water project in your village?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

2. What was the community's involvement in the development of the project?

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3. Describe how the water project steering committee was formed.

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-----

4. Did you participate in any training programme in this project?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

5. If yes, what skills did you enquire?

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-----

6. Do you think with the skills you have acquired you can be able to implement similar development projects in future? Please explain.

-----  
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7. When last did you have a meeting/feedback on the project?

-----  
-----

8. How many women are in the water committee?

If none, WHY?

-----  
-----

9. How many men are in the water committee?

If none, WHY?

-----  
-----

10. In the water committee, how are decisions made, and who participates in the decision-making processes?

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-----  
-----

11. In your community as a whole, how are decisions made and who participates in this process?

-----  
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**SECTION C [SUSTAINABILITY]**

1. Is water running out of the taps?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

If no, what are the reasons?

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-----

2. What is your [other] source of water

River		Dam		Spring		Other [Specify]	
-------	--	-----	--	--------	--	--------------------	--

3. Do you pay for the water?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

If not, what are your reasons for not paying?

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4. To what extent have you been involved and participated in the development and management of the project, and in what way?

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-----  
-----  
-----

5. Who in the community is responsible for operating and maintaining the project?

-----  
-----  
-----  
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6. Does the community feel ownership of the water project?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

7. If not, what do you think are the reasons?

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-----  
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8. Do you think this project has brought about an improvement in your standard of living?  
Please explain.

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9. In your view, is the water project meeting your needs and those of the community at large?

a) If yes, in what way? -----

-----  
-----

b) If no, what do you think are the reasons?-----

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-----

10. What, in your view, could be done in order to make the project to meet your needs?

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-----  
-----

11. What do you think should be done in future in order to make water projects successful?

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-----  
-----

12. Mention three most crucial needs in your community right now? [rank in order of priority].

- a)
- b)
- c)

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

**CATEGORY – GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS [DWAF, DHLG, AMATOLE DM]**

### **SECTION A [PROFESSIONAL PARTICULARS]**

1. How long have you been in the employ of the government?

Less than 1 year	
Between 1 and 5 years	
Between 6 and 9 years	
10 years and above	

2. What is your designation?

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-----  
-----

3. What are your responsibilities?

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-----

4. What is your understanding of community development and community participation?

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### **SECTION B [PROJECT DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT]**

1. Describe the process of development, implementation and management of water projects from your organisation" perspective?

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2. What do you think of this process?

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3. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of this process?

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4. What do you understand by community empowerment?

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-----  
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5. In your view, has this particular community been empowered through the implementation of their Project?

a) If yes, HOW?-----  
-----  
-----

b) If no, WHAT are the reasons?-----  
-----  
-----

6. In your view, should culture be considered in the implementation of projects?

If yes, WHY and HOW?-----  
-----  
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If no, WHY?-----  
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**SECTION C [SUSTAINABILITY]**

1. In your view, has the community participated the implementation of their project, and in what way?

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-----  
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2. Who, in your opinion, should be responsible for operating and maintaining the water projects, and WHY?

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-----  
-----

3 Do you think this particular project is sustainable?

a) If yes, WHY?-----  
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-----

b) If no, WHY?-----  
-----  
-----

4. What do you think should be done in order to make this particular project sustainable?

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5. What do you think in general is a hindrance to achieving sustainability on projects?

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6. What, in your view, needs be done in future to promote sustainability of development projects?

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7. What role do you think local government should play in implementing and operating water schemes?

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8. What, in your view, should be the role of other development agencies in the implementation of development projects?

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