

**PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICE:  
THE CASE OF THE ZIKHOVA-NGQINISA SIDIBENE  
WOODLOT TRUST PROJECT**

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## ABSTRACT

This study addresses the question of people-centred development as a transformative aspect of the new South African development arena. The concept is defined as the involvement and active participation of people in the decision-making, evaluation and implementation of the development processes. It is one of the forms of democratisation which involves the decentralisation of authority to the lower tiers of government.

This study provides an analysis of the efficacy, relevance, advantages and disadvantages of people-centred development in the South African context. The Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Trust Project was chosen as a case study. The reason was that through the process of devolution of the Department of Forestry and Water Affairs (DWAF), which involved the handing over of the management and financial resources of the small woodlots to the communities for their own benefit, the two villages, Zikhova and Ngqinisa, were given the Zikhova woodlot. The devolution of DWAF is one of the various forms of decentralisation that has given more autonomy to the lower tiers of government in the sense that the communities now have to satisfy their own needs.

The main focus of the study was to identify and analyse constraints on the implementation of people-centred development specific to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Trust Project. Other interrelated aspects of people-centred development such as sustainability, community involvement and benefits of the project were also investigated and analysed.

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that “A critical analysis of some factors that constrained people-centred development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project” is my own work and that all the sources used have been acknowledged. I further declare that this study has never been submitted to any other university for the purpose of obtaining a degree.

## ACRONYMS

ADC	Amatola District Council
ANC	African National Congress
CHARA	Chara Residents Association
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPA	Communal Property Association
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IGWG	Inter-government Working Group
ISCOR	Iron and Steel Company
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
RDIC	Rural Development Initiative Convention
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SANCO	South African National Civil Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front

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# Chapter 1

## General Orientation

### Arrangement of Sections:

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Research Statement
- 1.3 The aims of the Study
- 1.4 Methods of Research
  - 1.4.1 Literature Study
    - 1.4.1.1 Secondary Sources
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  - 1.4.3 Personal Interviews
  - 1.4.4 Personal Observations
- 1.5 The Research Layout

## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

People-centred development encompasses participation, community-driven action and capacity building. The previous authoritarian and centralised South African style of government denied public participation in decision-making on matters relating to their environment. During the apartheid era the majority of Black South Africans were excluded from political participation. This led to the emergence of administrative, legal and social structures which inhibited people from active participation in matters related to their daily life. Black South Africans specifically developed a dependency syndrome that was rooted in their powerlessness in the political and decision-making processes. The planning of rural development projects under the previous South African government was promulgated by scientists and engineers, lawyers, politicians and administrators and other professionals (Sowman and Gawith, 1994:557). The rural communities can be involved in decision-making processes, especially with regard to development projects related to them, even though guidance by the administrators or professionals is necessary.

The aim of participatory development is to promote and encourage the involvement of people who have been marginalised with regard to decision-making during their lives. The participatory approach lays the foundation for the acquisition of skills by the local people. It is stated by Guijt and Shah (1998:1) that the ultimate goal of participation is the attainment of equitable and sustainable development. Participation has its own shortcomings and strengths and these will be identified in this study.

This study focuses on the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project in which the two villages share the woodlot project as a trust. This is a new project that was developed as a result of South Africa's new development strategies since 1994.

## **1.2 RESEARCH STATEMENT**

The researcher believes that people-centred development, even though it is not a new phenomenon, is a viable tool for the political and economic empowerment of the people at the grassroot level, specifically those who were disadvantaged through the

previous South African government's apartheid laws. The main point of the research lies in the identification and analysis of some factors that inhibit people-centred development, with specific reference to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project. There are other interrelated questions that the researcher examined that also form an integral part of the research project:

- To what extent were the people involved in decision-making processes in this woodlot project?
- How does the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Committee manage to utilise the available resources?
- What is the role of the Zikhova and Ngqinisa local authorities in promoting participation by their respective communities?
- How does the Amatola District Council contribute toward people-centredness with reference to the Woodlot Trust Project?

Factors that inhibited or constrained people-centred development in the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project cannot be examined in isolation. The researcher also acknowledges that people-centred development promotes accountability and responsibility. This implies that local communities are responsible and also answerable for anything that goes wrong with the project. Blame cannot be apportioned elsewhere. Local unity is also promoted as the community works closely together in managing the project. People-centred development provides a sense of ownership and belonging. The communities feel that they own the project and this enables them to take care of it. It also promotes transparency because problems and development matters are known to everybody. People-centred development lays the foundation for local initiatives because the local communities are able to voice their needs and priorities since they know better than an outsider what they need.

### **1.3 THE AIMS OF THE STUDY**

The main aims of this study are to:

- identify some of the factors that inhibited people-centred development in the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project and to suggest some solutions.
- define and analyse the concept of people-centred development.
- comment on the implications, efficacy, and relevance of people-centred development in the South African context.
- identify other variables that hamper people-centred development generally and relate them to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa context.
- identify the advantages and disadvantages of people-centred development basing the analysis and interpretation on secondary and primary resources.
- lastly, make recommendations and suggestions regarding the improvement of people-centred development in the Zikhova-Ngqinisa communities.

#### **1.4 METHODS OF RESEARCH**

A formal letter requesting permission to conduct the research study was presented to the Woodlot Trust Committee, and permission to conduct the study was granted by the Committee (see Appendix A). In investigating or identifying some factors that inhibited or constrained people-centred development, the following methods have been used.

##### **1.4.1 LITERATURE STUDY**

###### **1.4.1.1 SECONDARY SOURCES**

Research reports, manuscripts, books and journals have been reviewed by the researcher. The purpose was to obtain a broader view of the concept, its strengths and shortcomings and its relevance and implications in the South African context.

#### **1.4.1.2 PRIMARY SOURCES**

Business plans, official reports, minutes of meetings and training manuals provided a documentary source for this study.

#### **1.4.2 STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE**

Two different but interrelated questionnaires were prepared for the 12 members of the Woodlot Trust Project Committee and for the sample of community members (see Appendices B & C). The purpose of the research was explained to the Woodlot committee, which in turn informed their communities about this research. Both questionnaires required the respondents to provide evidence of various reasons which constrained people-centred development, specifically in relation to this woodlot project. They were also required to comment on the following issues: community involvement, sustainability, as well as the benefits of the woodlot project.

The sample from the community members was selected with the assistance of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa community leaders, in particular Mr Bosman (Zikhova) and Mr Rululu (Ngqinisa). They negotiated with the community members, especially those who would be able to complete the questionnaires for the purposes of this study. The questionnaires were handed out by the researcher at a community meeting at which representatives from both communities were present. 15 of the members present accepted the request to complete the questionnaires, and 12 questionnaires were handed over to the Woodlot Committee. Although the meeting had been called to deal with matters concerning the project, the researcher used the opportunity to meet the community members while the majority had gathered together. The researcher set an appointment date for the purposes of collecting or clarifying any questions that might arise with those who had taken the questionnaires. On the appointed date, the researcher received 17 completed questionnaires out of the 27 which had been handed out. Of this total, 9 were from the community members and 8 from the Woodlot Committee. Of these 17 respondents, 10 were from Zikhova and 7 from Ngqinisa. Apologies were sent by the 6 who did not complete the questionnaires.

### **1.4.3 PERSONAL INTERVIEWS**

Interviews were conducted with the Community Forester, Mr Goodman Mhle, who assisted in drafting the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Business Plan. Mhle has been working with consultants, namely Mr Mike Howard and Mr Frikkie De Waal, in facilitating the process of transferring the woodlot to the community. He submits progress reports to the Regional Director of the Eastern Cape Province Department of Forestry. Goodman Mhle is one of the Community Foresters who participated in training the Woodlot Committee in various administrative skills. The training was conducted in 1998 with the help of the Irish government (refer paragraph 3.3). Mr Mhle was interviewed to inquire how they planned to facilitate people-centred development and what the barriers were to attaining that goal.

Interviews were also conducted with the Deputy Chairperson of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Committee, Mr Bosman, who is a bona fide resident of the Zikhova Community. He was interviewed to explore his experience of the problems they encountered in the realisation of their goal, i.e. that of managing and controlling the Woodlot Project.

Interviews were also conducted with the members of the Woodlot Committee in order to discuss factors that constrained participatory development in their project. The researcher also contacted the committee occasionally during her study whenever she was in need of information regarding the project. She would go about this by making an appointment to meet them.

### **1.4.4 PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS**

The researcher visited the Woodlot Project and attended four of the meetings for the purpose of acquiring more knowledge about the progress of the project and also about the factors that constrain it.

## 1.5 THE RESEARCH LAYOUT

Chapters are divided as follows:

- Chapter 1 consists of a brief introduction, a research statement, the aims of the study, and methodology of the research.
- In Chapter 2 the researcher provides a broader analysis of the concept of people-centred development, with a review of all its implications, relevancy, efficacy, impediments and also shortcomings. The literature has been studied to provide a better analysis and understanding of the concept of people-centred development in theory.
- In Chapter 3 the researcher provides a historical background of the area of study, i.e. the Zikhova and Ngqinisa communities, as well as that of the woodlot project itself. This provides the feasibility study of the project.
- Chapter 4 entails the analysis of the data collected from both interpretation and analysis of the questionnaires, interviews, documentary study and personal observation. Various factors that inhibited people-centered development at Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project are identified and analysed.
- Chapter 5 contains conclusions based on the findings.

## Chapter 2

### A Theoretical Analysis of What is Entailed in the Concept of People-Centred Development

#### Arrangement of Sections:

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Critical Analysis of the concept of People-centred Development
- 2.3 Traditional Approaches to People-centred Development in Apartheid South Africa
- 2.4 Factors Influencing the Participatory Approach
- 2.5 People-centred Development as a Transformative Development Strategy in South Africa
  - 2.5.1 Legitimacy and Relevance in the South African Context
  - 2.5.2 New Perceptions about Development
    - 2.5.2.1 Interrelations between Democracy and Development
  - 2.5.3 People-centred Development as part of the Decentralisation Process
    - 2.5.3.1 The Concept of Decentralisation
    - 2.5.3.2 Various Forms of Decentralisation
    - 2.5.3.3 The Strengths and Shortcomings of the Process of Decentralisation
- 2.6 Social Variables that Inhibit Participation
- 2.7 The Contribution of Civil Society to People-centred Development
- 2.8 Conclusion

## **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the concept of people-centred development. A brief review of the various measures applied to cater for participation and the related shortcomings are dealt with. Motives underlying people-centred development in South Africa specifically are covered. This chapter also provides discussion on people-centred development as a transformative development strategy in South Africa. Discussions on its legitimacy and relevance in the South African context and its relations to the process of democratisation will be dealt with. People-centred development will also be viewed as part of the process of decentralisation in South Africa. Social variables that inhibit participation in a rural context are also highlighted and the role of civil society in promoting sustainable development is briefly analysed.

## **2.2 CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

People-centred development, which is also referred to as participatory development, entails the active involvement and participation of the local people in development projects. It is one of the development processes of democratisation that is applied for the purposes of sustainable development. It is intended to be applied at local level to counteract the effect of the history of political deprivation in South Africa. Roodt (1996:317) also acknowledges the participation of the majority of people as part of the process of development, which in turn is part of a worldwide movement away from "centralised state control" to regional, local democratisation and the development of civil society. According to Muller-Glodde, "participation is the involvement and active participation of people in development programmes in which they are given opportunities to explore their input in planning, decision-making and project implementation" (1991:4). This agrees with what Coetzee (1986:7) says about development: that it should focus on change that will bring "economic growth, political autonomy and social reconstruction". Therefore participation can be viewed as a means of economic and political empowerment of the rural poor, endowing people with direct or indirect involvement in development programmes. This gives rural

people “access to and control of resources necessary to protect livelihoods” (Roodt, 1996:318). Muller-Glodde even contends that, “it is important that the beneficiary groups do not simply become recipients of programme services dominating material, technical and financial natures. They must no longer be considered simply as objects of or as persons affected by a development strategy, prescribed from outside or from above. They must be regarded as responsible individuals or active agents involved in the development” (1991:4). This implies that people connected to a particular development programme should be involved in the decision-making process. They should not only be informed about the proceedings but should also be given the opportunity to express their ideas and interests.

### **2.3 TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**

In the policies of the previous South African government and the former Bantustans, the focus was on “product-centred development” rather than “people-centred development”. This implies that people had to produce more products for the benefit of others, especially capitalists, but they were excluded from decision-making and development initiatives. As a result, their projects were not sustainable. Bergdall (1993:3) argues that the political structure of the African governments, which were very centralised, also discouraged national unity. In South Africa specifically, developmental activities had to be initiated and led by the Chiefs and headmen who were recognised by the apartheid government through the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (cited in Beinart and Bundy, 1980:305). It is indicated by Laurence (1976:27) that Verwoerd when he became the Minister of Native Affairs, passed the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. This marked the strengthening of Dr Malan’s policy of apartheid, for instance, Dr Verwoerd indicated that “there could be no question of black and white developing together within the same area or society” (cited in Laurence, 1976:27). The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 provided for a change in the local administration of the reserves. It provided for a bureaucratic hierarchy of tribal districts in which tribal chiefs were to be the highest local authorities of the reserve’s people (Beinart & Bundy, 1980:305-307). Amongst the responsibilities given to the

chiefs, were that they could levy taxes and pass laws in their spheres with the approval of the white government. This implies that they were used as agents to implement apartheid policies (Laurence, 1976:28).

The previous South African government which had a fragmented local government structure, in which each racial group had its own form of local government, inhibited people's participation which involves unity and democracy and gives the democratically elected leaders authority to lead (Steytler & Mastenbroek, 1998:293-294).

People were not given the opportunity to plan projects; instead they merely became employees. This was evident in the former Ciskei, with the government's irrigation schemes in Peddie, Whittlesea and Keiskammahoek, in which the local communities were not involved in the decision-making processes. They worked as wage labourers in the schemes, and when the new South African government could not maintain them, they collapsed because the workers had experienced no sense of ownership of the schemes. Bergdall (1993:3) contends that the previous South African regime indoctrinated people into passivity and submissiveness and consequently rural communities have a tendency to wait for the authorities or donors to provide development initiatives. This does not imply that every black South African was passive; there were those who resisted oppression and sacrificed their lives for the benefit of all South Africans in order to obtain democracy and freedom of expression. Roodt (1996:320) says, "participation has been hindered by the undemocratic colonial tradition which encompassed economic inequality, absence of an indigenous capitalist class, recurring economic dependency, weak state and inept leaders". Bergdall (1993:4) provides three examples of traditional participatory approaches to rural development, namely agricultural co-operatives, community development activities and local partnership in development projects.

Co-operatives are provided as one of the traditional participatory approaches outlined by Bergdall (1993:5). They are voluntary associations that symbolise the collective effort of the rural people. In the 1960s, the growth of co-operatives within the rural

areas of the developing countries was tremendous. In the course of time there was a decline that can be attributed to the fact that the co-operatives were based more on a top-down strategy by the state, than on collective action. Better-off farmers benefited more than those with less stock. Maladministration was evident. It was attributed to limited managerial skills that resulted in inefficiency and inadequate planning. The problem resulted in the failure of the co-operatives, paving the way for the new trend, which emphasises the need for development from below rather than that imposed from above (Bergdall, 1993:5).

Community development is one of the important traditional participatory approaches in rural development. It has been a base for promoting government projects such as the parastatal bodies in the former homelands. The projects initiated by the local people were not supported financially to enable them to create big businesses. They were not granted loans or subsidised for development projects (Bergdall, 1993:6-7).

De Clercq (1994:384) provides the example of the Winterveld Development Programme, which developed after Winterveld was incorporated into the former Bophuthatswana National State. The development programme was handled by an inter-governmental working group (IGWG), which consisted of representatives from various departments of the South African and Bophuthatswana governments and the Winterveld community. In 1985, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) was asked by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs to manage and administer the Winterveld Development Programme. The DBSA experienced problems in implementing the programme that were attributed to their failure to include the community in the implementation and monitoring stage of the programme. The community was only part of the institutional structure of the research and planning stages.

De Clercq (1994:385) also contends that representatives of the community must be involved at all stages of the decision-making. The community can be granted access to information and taught skills to enable them to play an active role in all stages of the development process. De Clercq (1994:390) further argues that community

development initiatives cannot be self-sustaining if there is a lack of constructive partnerships between all stakeholders, usually the government local structures, development agencies and the beneficiaries of community development.

Participatory partnerships in development projects focus on involving people in the planning and implementation of major development projects that are often initiated, funded and controlled by external authorities. This approach facilitates participatory partnerships between development authorities and the rural population. Participation in this approach is attained in a variety of ways, for instance, opinions of the local people are explored prior to project planning, or alternatively, the authorities submit the already formulated plans to the local people for discussion and acknowledgement. At the bottom line, external bureaucrats, either from the government or non-governmental organisations remain the core of the project, planning and implementation.

The above discussions about traditional approaches reflect product orientation, and totally ignore the concept of people's participation (Bergdall, 1993:7-8).

#### **2.4 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PARTICIPATORY APPROACH**

Popular participation is taking on a new momentum in the current development arena. This was evident at the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa held at Arusha in Tanzania on the 12<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> February 1990. It is indicated by Bergdall (1993:1) that the Arusha Conference was attended by more than five hundred delegates. It was organised by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The main objective of the conference was to examine various aspects of participation in African development. The delegates viewed participation as a viable instrument for the new political theme of multi-party democracy in Africa. As a result of the political debates and discussions about participation, a document referred to as 'The Arusha Declaration' or 'The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation' (1990) was adopted by the representatives of the African Peoples Organisation, African

governments, NGOs and the United Nations Agencies on the 16<sup>th</sup> February 1990. The Arusha Declaration, as cited by Ginther (1998:22), declares that: "We believe strongly that popular participation is in essence the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programmes that serve the interests of all as well as to effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits." The declaration also requires that women's participation must be given a higher priority by society at large and especially by African governments. It is evident that the main objective of the Arusha Declaration was to draw the attention of the international community, officials of donor states, national policy-makers and international development institutions to the democratisation of development in Africa by supporting popular participation in the promotion of sustainable development (Ginther, 1998:22-23).

The delegates also acknowledged the need for the implementation of the Charter and suggested that monitoring forums, as a follow-up mechanism to the conference, be formed at the national and regional level. Those monitoring forums must include representatives of the governments, trade unions, youth and local people. In South Africa, the researcher has no knowledge of such a forum, but developmental measures have been introduced to improve the socio-economic conditions of the local municipal government and carry out RDP activities, land reform programmes, and some projects in rural areas that encourage people-centred development, such as piggeries and leatherwork.

The adoption of the Charter coincided with the end of the Cold War in Europe and also with the release of the former South African president, Nelson Mandela, from Robben Island prison. These historical events mark the beginning of the period in which transformation and development in Africa, and especially in South Africa, may proceed with the full participation of its people (*African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation*, 1990:1, 2 & 11).

Bergdall (1993:10) contends that through participation, greater productivity can be attained at low cost. The population is also freed from dependency on the bureaucrats.

Roodt (1996:314) indicated how the top-down strategy was applied especially in the Bantustans, through consultation with the traditional leaders. People had to participate in projects that had not been developed by themselves.

Participation has attracted various agencies. Politicians use it to give the impression that they cater for the people's needs because through participation the wishes of the local people and their knowledge and expertise are explored. It also lays the foundation for the peaceful attainment of the people's "... moral, humanitarian, social, cultural and economic objectives" (Rahnema, 1992:118&121).

According to Rahnema (1992:119), financial institutions such as the World Bank view participation as economically appealing in the sense that if people are active and involved in the project, there are better chances for the long term sustainability of the project. Participation can be an instrument for effectiveness and a new source of investment because people know their priorities and are acquainted with the field of development, unlike foreign technicians and government bureaucrats (Rahnema, 1992:119).

## **2.5 PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT AS A TRANSFORMATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **2.5.1 LEGITIMACY AND RELEVANCE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

The South African government consists of the national, provincial and local spheres of government. The national government has a right to intervene in the provincial sphere whenever it is necessary to maintain national security, economic stability or resolve any crisis situation in the province that may be detrimental to the nation, for example, health hazards, restitution claims, and others. The provinces are also represented in parliament to promote their interests through the National Council of Provinces. The local sphere is often referred to as 'grass-roots' due to its closeness to the communities it serves. The national and provincial tiers of government also have the authority to

see to the effective service delivery of the municipalities (Van Niekerk, D. Van der Waldt, G. and Jonker, A., 2001:70 & 77).

It is indicated by Roodt (1996:321) that South Africa has transformed its local government structures, involving the formation of new structures at district level. Local government is currently empowered with development duties and amongst these it has "...to give priority to the basic needs of the community and promote sound economic development of the community". The Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) (cited in Steytler & Mastebroek, 1998) requires an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) according to which the municipalities are required to budget. This means that development objectives are drawn up by the people (Steytler & Mastebroek, 1998:294-295).

In 1998, the Amatola District Council ran several workshops with consultative forums in Alice, Butterworth and King William's Town. A total of 557 people assisted with the preparation of a development perspective of the sub-regions, listing opportunities, constraints, needs and key development issues. The draft Integrated Development Plan was available for inspection at local TRC offices and at certain public libraries. Thereafter, sub-regional meetings were held with the Central sub-region in King William's Town at the War Memorial Hall on the 10<sup>th</sup> March 1999, Eastern sub-region at Butterworth Town Hall on the 30<sup>th</sup> March 1999, and the Western sub-region in Alice Town Hall on the 31<sup>st</sup> March 1999.

In the King William's Town region, the Buffalo City Mayor, Sindisile Maclean, together with the District Council officials, held a meeting towards the end of November 2001 at the King William's Town City Hall to listen to the needs and ideas of the people in the region from both rural and urban areas. Even though practically none of those needs have been met, the opportunity for people to express their objectives provides hope for an improved socio-economic condition. This implies that South African local government is not expected to provide only material goods such as housing and water, but also the empowerment of the people (Roodt, 1996:321). Empowerment is a broad concept frequently used by the politicians. It implies political

and socio-economic reconstruction involving the grassroots in decision-making processes on development programmes and also providing opportunities for self-actualisation.

The fact that South Africa had a strong civil society, especially in the early 1990s, provides a base for people-centred development. Civil society, as indicated by Pearce, (1997:58-59) is born out of suppressive and authoritarian rule in response to which resistance movements emerged and mobilised forces against the authoritarian regime. This is evident in South Africa with the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, as a powerful resistance organisation that encompassed other network organisations such as churches, youth and civics. The South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) was also formed in 1992. Township resistance movements of the 1980s were joined together into one national civic structure that also spread to rural areas (Deegan, 1999:67). Seekings (1997:1) acknowledges the vital role played by SANCO in the early 1990s in conducting debates on matters concerning urban development and the role of the banks and other financial institutions in development. It is arguable that even though these resistance movements fought for a democratic state, they did not just focus on periodic elections and universal suffrage, but also catered for the empowerment of the people and the civil society. Roodt (1996:322) contends that the organs of civil society can establish a working relationship with formal government structures and play a "watch-dog" and a developmental role by genuinely representing people's needs.

## **2.5.2 NEW PERCEPTIONS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT**

Development refers to progress, improvement or reform. It is the term used whenever there is a political transition, especially one that puts a democratic government in power. People expect social reconstruction and transformation, for example, an unemployed person would hope that the new government would provide employment (Van Beek, 1995:399). In South Africa, development is frequently used to redress the imbalances created by the previous government such as political deprivation, the non-development of black entrepreneurship and lack of skilled technical manpower.

Development in this post-political transition period, as defined by Kulipossa (1998:311-312), entails a dynamic process that should bring about changes in society, national institutions, economic prosperity, a reduction of poverty and equity promotion. It is also stated by Foot (1997:149) "...that true development is something more than economic prosperity, it has to embody processes that give humans a sense of empowerment. Without democratic freedoms, one of the core features of development - the development of the potential of the human person - remains unfulfilled". Aupricht (1998:68) cites that development is a "comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process which aims at a constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population of all individuals on the basis of their active and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom" (1998:68). Leroke (1996:22) also indicates that development is a human right that entails human intentions and aims. The above analysis of development is contrary to the ethos of the previous regime's conception of development in which the top-down strategy that was implemented, failed to bring about socio-economic and political reconstruction. Levin (1994:35) states that "...they start with economics, not people, with the macro, not the micro, with the view from the office, not the view from the field..."

People-centred development has developed as a new strategy for achieving sustainable development, through the political empowerment of the people to apply democratic governance to the local people (Ginther, 1998:18). The legacy of apartheid has proved that the suppression of human ideas in the process of development leads to economic and socio-political instability. In the former apartheid national states, specifically in the former Ciskei, agricultural irrigation schemes flourished, but with the decline of apartheid, those schemes collapsed because they were based on "product centred and also top-down strategy", contrary to the basic ethos of democracy and development. It was for this reason that the Congress of South African Trade Unions supported the drafting of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to act as a base or centre for people's involvement in development initiatives. Unfortunately, the RDP office was closed in April 1996, when its resources were channelled through the various government departments such as Housing, Education, Health, Water Affairs,

Public Works and so on, and it became no longer important (Deegan, 1999:123). Even though the RDP was short lived, its aims of poverty alleviation and economic growth are still a challenge to all the development sectors, including NGOs, business community associations, the private sector and the government. Through government activities, some of the basic needs identified by the RDP are still being implemented, for instance, land reform programmes, housing, clean water supply, electrification and reconstruction of roads (Lodge, 1999:27-29). People's participation gives birth to community-based organisations and non-government organisations that form a development-oriented civil society (Munro, 1996:8). As early as 1973, the World Bank, one of the development agencies, realised that development projects were not a success if the people were not involved (Rahnema, 1992:117).

### **2.5.2.1 Interrelations between Democracy and Development**

The link between democracy and development depends on how one interprets these concepts. One cannot provide a final definition of linkage; it depends on the political condition of a particular country. Mamdani (1996:287-288) argues that, for a country which was a bifurcated power like South Africa for instance, deracialisation and detribalisation are the basis for the process of democratisation. He further contends that in order to achieve democracy, detribalisation of the Native Authorities could be the starting point. Mamdani maintains that there can be no development without democracy because in the "... absence of democratisation, development became a top-down agenda enforced on the peasantry" (1996:288). The detribalisation of the local authorities advocated by Mamdani implies the dismantling of the bureaucratic power of the Chiefs and former headmen and opens the way for local government, which is elected and accountable to the people. Since 1995 South Africa has undergone that difficult process of transformation with the municipal elections that brought about the municipal local authorities. Even though the new South African constitution still recognises the power of the chiefs as ex-officio members in the new local authorities, these chiefs, especially in the former Ciskei region, do not interfere with the work of the new elected councillors. This implies that their recognition is merely a formality

and that this is the reason that those in the former Transkei region fight with the ANC government for more recognition.

Kulipossa (1998:306) concurs with Mamdani that these concepts are linked, and his arguments are based on the fact that democracy is the basis for human rights and its practice is a springboard for development. If democracy is applied, a successful model of political and socio-economic development can be achieved. Pillay (1996:324-325) also highlights the fact that democracy is related to reconstruction and development as it extends rights to the people as a means of socio-political empowerment of the population, for example, franchise rights which were extended to black South Africans in 1994 made them realise their political power as the government was not imposed on them.

In the case of South Africa, people-centred development originated from a bitter experience of colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies and consequently the new government offers democracy as a process of enabling everyone to contribute to reconstruction and development (ANC, 1994:2 & 7). If development is perceived as a means of bringing human liberty and equity, not merely economic growth, then there is a link between the two.

Kulipossa (1998:318) also argues that legitimacy and equity are the springboards for a successful and consolidated democracy and development. Legitimacy guarantees the rightfulness of a government whereby the citizens concerned acknowledge the legitimacy of their government and that leads to the success of political and economic objectives. Equity requires the fair distribution of economic resources to the people. In order for democracy to survive, people also need economic power that can be achieved through the creation of jobs and development projects that inculcate skills for self-actualisation. Democratic governments have a duty to satisfy the basic needs of their citizens. If the government proves inadequate to the task, the citizens may lose confidence.

## **2.5.3 PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT AS PART OF THE DECENTRALISATION PROCESS**

### **2.5.3.1 The Concept of Decentralisation**

The new South African constitution provides for the devolution of power from the national to the provincial and local tiers of government and that devolution of power is currently understood as decentralisation. This devolution of power from the centre occurs in practice as decentralisation in various forms will be discussed in this section, for example, the DLA office is in Pretoria but not all claimants necessarily go to the National headquarters to submit claims since there are DLA branch offices which are closer to the people.

Decentralisation has a variety of meanings, but basically it refers to "...the transfer of power or authority to perform some service to the public from an individual or agency which is usually at the higher level to the agency, which is closer to the public to be served" (Turner and Hulme, 1997:152). Mukandala (1998:1) cites that "...it is the transfer of legal, administrative and political authority for decision-making, managing public functions from central government to subordinate units of government". It is evident from these definitions that decentralisation focuses on reducing the power of the central government. This implies that power is distributed between the central and local authorities, thus allowing for the democratic participation of all stakeholders. Turner and Hulme (1997:153-154) contend that this transfer of authority from the central government should go hand in glove with responsibility, whereby the decentralised agency has to perform particular duties and be accountable to the local people as well as to the authority. Even though the central government can delegate responsibility and devolve power, it retains the core functions of government, meaning that the economic, administrative and political functions still remain under the central government. This implies that the central government remains the umbrella body or overseer. For instance, the central government drafts a budget in which all the provinces are provided with a share, and in turn each province draws up its own budget for its local government structures. This shows the interdependency and



interrelations between these three tiers of government (Turner and Hulme, 1997:153-154).

### **2.5.3.2 Various forms of Decentralisation**

#### **(a) Devolution**

Nuwagaba (1998:162) maintains that devolution involves the allocation of the financial and decision-making power to the local elected representatives. Bergdall (1993:4) has also attributed the failure of locally initiated development to limited organisation and managerial skills. In devolution, the local units have their own constitution separated from that of the central government and are responsible for the range of local services. There is considerable autonomy in that the local units have their own budget and treasurer and, if possible, can generate their own revenue and resources. They can choose their own staff but the central government provides guidance and supervision until capacity has been built up, when they become advisors only. In South Africa, devolution is evident in DWAF's policy of transferring agricultural and forestry assets to the communities. Currently, small community woodlot are being transferred to the local communities (Cooper, 1998:6). This form of decentralisation promotes participatory democracy as it has already been mentioned in this study that the aim of decentralisation is to involve all stakeholders in policy administration. This reflects what Roodt (1996:317) refers to as a "...shift from a centralised state to the development of a civil society". In a country like South Africa, which has just come out of political deprivation and has encountered the challenges involved in deracialisation and detribalisation of local authorities, development will take its course as long as there are policy guidelines and frameworks for the way forward.

#### **(b) Deconcentration**

Makumbe (1998:6) contends that "...deconcentration is the transfer of authority to the staff of the same Ministry situated outside the national headquarters". This simply means that those officials are appointed by and are accountable to the centre, rather

than a representative who is accountable to the local community. Deconcentration entails the minimal transfer of power, resulting in officials having to go to Pretoria occasionally. These officials have to maintain political stability and make sure that the decisions at sub-national level are not contrary to those at the national level. In South Africa, so far, the Departments of Land Affairs and Water Affairs and Forestry have offices at the provincial level representing the national administrators. They perform duties for the central government (Turner and Hulme, 1997:160).

**(c) Delegation**

According to Rondinelli and Cheema (1983:20-22), delegation involves the redistribution of specific functions by the centre to semi-autonomous or parastatal organisations such as public corporations, project implementation units, NGOs and so on. Those organisations can perform duties such as the construction of dams, railroads, hydro-electrical facilities and others. Delegation differs from deconcentration in the sense that the former entails the creation of a broad authority to plan and implement decisions concerning specific activities without the limitation set up by the centre. There is a higher level of autonomy in delegation than in deconcentration. The lending institutions, such as the World Bank, also favour this form of decentralisation because project funds are not mixed up with state funds and projects can be managed better by the semi-independent organisation. In South Africa, delegation is also practiced, for instance in 1997 the Department of Water Affairs delegated an NGO, the Mvula Trust, to investigate the efficacy of three sources of water supply which the department established at Winterveldt, Shemula and Kgobokwane (Lodge, 1999:32).

**d) Privatisation**

Privatisation entails the transfer of economic authority from the state to the people, and it involves the selling of state assets to the private company. Even though privatisation has been on political agendas in South Africa since 1996, it can be traced

back to 1989 with the privatisation of the iron and steel company ISCOR, which proved to be a success in boosting state revenue (Leach and Vorhies, 1990:23 and 26).

What is the reason for privatisation? Zarenda draws a picture of poor performance and inefficiency in labour and capital in the public service as compared with the private sector. There is a waste of resources in the public sector because the managers are not accountable and cannot be driven out of business, even if they provide inefficient service. They also engage in activities that serve their own interests at the expense of the clients (Zarenda, 1990:44-48). This does not imply that all private sector organisations are better managed but we cannot dispute the fact that there is a degree of efficiency in most of them in comparison to the public sector.

Privatisation has its own advantages and disadvantages. Highlighting positive facts about privatisation, Zarenda (1990:44-45) indicates that it can boost economic growth and development in the sense that resources are often used efficiently to make a profit and to meet consumer demands, unlike the public service. State revenue is also boosted because state subsidies are reduced and the private firm is also taxed. Privatisation allows the managers to exercise their own discretion, unlike the public sector in which the manager is authorised by the state and cannot make his own decisions. The state politicises the public sector, for instance, the manager of the South African Broadcasting Corporation has to meet the demands of the state. In a democratic state like South Africa, those demands imply satisfying the viewers' interests. The governor of the Reserve Bank has to stabilise the currency to satisfy the demands of the state. Leach and Vorhies (1990:23-25) also highlight the fact that privatisation is beneficial to the people because services are improved to meet consumer demands. Roodt, the Chief economist of PLJ Financial Services (<http://www.news24.com/News24/Finance/Economy/0,4186,2-8-25-1072499,00.html,02-05-17>) highlights that privatisation encourages competition. The more competition there is, the more competitive the prices are, and this benefits the consumers.

If privatisation is advantageous why do the trade unions resist it? Deegan (1999:135) indicates that when the African National Congress announced its plans for privatisation

of sectors such as Telkom, Transkei Airlines and South African Airlines in 1995, the South African Trade Unions (COSATU) protested against privatisation because they feared the reduction of employment.

A statement by Jurgensen, a COSATU communication officer (<http://www.labournet.org.uk/1998/sept/cosatuh.htm>, 02-05-18), indicates that the opposition by COSATU to privatisation was motivated by problems in the international water industry. The French Audit Court issued a critical financial statement on private water reflecting widespread irregularities. The dramatic increase in prices is another disadvantage of privatisation. It is indicated that in France, the price of water increased by a national average of 47,4% from 1990 to 1994. In Argentina the connection fee was so expensive to the extent that a community was allowed a five-year period for payment of the connection fee (<http://www.labournet.org.uk/1998/sept/cosatuh.htm>, 02-05-18). Zarenda (1990:53) contends that not all state-owned sectors can be privatised, for instance, COSATU believes that essential services such as water delivery must not be privatised (<http://www.news24.com/News24/Finance/Economy/0,4186,2-8-25-1072499,00.html>, 02-05-17).

Roodt (<http://www.news24.com/News24/Finance/Economy/0,4186,2-8-25-1072499,00.html>, 02-05-17) also reveals the fact that COSATU's anti-privatisation campaign was motivated by the fact that privatisation undermines the power of the unions. He urges that "...private companies will not tolerate what the government does in terms of unions" (<http://www.news24.com/News24/Finance/Economy/0,4186,2-8-25-1072499,00.html>, 02-05-17).

Craven, COSATU spokesperson (<http://www.news24.com/News24/Finance/Economy/0,4186,2-8-25-1072499,00.html>, 02-05-17), believes that privatisation will increase inequality in South Africa because the poor cannot afford the benefits provided by the private companies.

Despite the disadvantages, South Africa has benefited from privatisation, for instance, Deegan (1999:136) mentions the electricity connections by Eskom which have created about 1 268 new businesses and also resulted in 5 000 jobs being created.

### **2.5.3.3 The Strengths and Shortcomings of the Process of Decentralisation**

#### **(a) The Strengths of Decentralisation with regard to Participation**

Decentralisation facilitates democratisation in Africa because it lays the foundation for the empowerment of the grassroots. It opens the way for the local citizens to elect their leaders and work for the realisation of their goals through active participation (Nuwagaba, 1998:163). This is congruent with the ethos of the new South African constitutional guidelines which state that "Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole, provision shall be made for the delegation of power from central authority to sub-unit government structure for the purpose of more efficient administration and democratic participation" (SA Constitution, 1996).

Turner and Hulme (1997:157) argue that decentralisation is a viable tool in facilitating decision-making because it provides political education and debate at the local level. The citizens are engaged in political debate on the selection of representatives, drafting of policies, plans and budgets. This gives the local people the opportunity to solve problems facing their area through a political process. Bennett (1990:34) also contends that "...political education is the prerequisite for the effective functioning of democracy". Decentralisation provides for the training of political leadership. It serves as a "...recruitment pool and training centre, for the advancement to higher level and national political office" (Bennett, 1990:34). It also promotes political equality since the political power is distributed to lower tiers of government, thus meeting the needs of the poor and disadvantaged (Turner and Hulme, 1997:157). It provides a sense of responsibility, because local representatives should be held responsible for their policies and outcomes by the local citizenry. If the people disapprove of the policies, they can vote the representatives out of office. The democratically elected local representatives are more accountable to the people than

the traditional leaders. If the people are dissatisfied with the representative leader, they can have him replaced, which was not the case with the former leadership (Butler, 1998:75).

Mukandala (1998:3) indicates that decentralisation is "... a panacea to an overloaded, over-centralised, hierarchical, monopolistic organisation", thus relieving the centre of workload and enabling it to concentrate on other important matters.

Decentralisation lays the foundation for diversity in public policies. This encourages experimentation and innovation by sub-national governments rather than concentrating on one uniform, centrally imposed policy (Bennet, 1990:157).

#### **(b) The Shortcomings of Decentralisation**

There have been problems with the implementation, effectiveness and efficiency of the process of decentralisation. Mukandala (1998:4) states that easier popular access to decision-making may result in "... endless debates, soul-searching, issue re-examination and ultimately administrative paralysis, thus lowering operational effectiveness and efficiency". The reduction of supervision by the central government can also have negative results, for instance, service delivery can be affected.

Mukandala (1998:4) further states that, "Devoid of supervision, local officials may become 'pseudo-gods' and do whatever they want, how and when they want, irrespective of formal rules and procedures". Decentralisation may create balkanisation and promote fragmentation which could lead to political instability, thus reducing effectiveness. Decentralised units may result in a loss of central political authority and may weaken the capacity of the State to defend itself. Those semi-autonomous units may also result in increased costs which may be economically and politically unacceptable.

Turner and Hulme (1997:158) indicate that local plans and provisions may be inconsistent with resources and national policies and these differences might generate

regional inequalities which will lead to decentralised units being staffed by incompetent individuals. This was experienced with the Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs) and Transitional Rural Representatives (TrepCs) in South Africa. Research has indicated that the TrepCs had no capacity or real resources to provide services in rural areas (Hendricks and Ntsebeza, 1999:113-114).

Makumbe (1998:9) argues that decentralisation reinforces sectional interests and is therefore “anti-egalitarian.” He also states that certain classes benefit from it at the expense of the general population.

## **2.6 SOCIAL VARIABLES THAT INHIBIT PARTICIPATION IN A RURAL CONTEXT**

### **(a) Discrimination along gender lines**

Discrimination against women is rooted in the world-wide cultural values of patriarchy in which, through the sexual division of labour, men were perceived as leaders of the households and social institutions such as schools, churches and government institutions, for example, parliament, cabinet, the ministry and also in the African traditions of chieftaincy. Women suffered oppression through state laws which denied them constitutional rights. In South Africa, during the colonial and apartheid eras, the migrant labour system and pass laws deprived women of family life because these laws separated them from their husbands for long periods. As a result they became insecure heads of the household because they depended on money that came from their husbands. African women also suffered economically because they worked as domestic servants and could not join trade unions. African women suffered inequality with their African male counterparts. These conditions contributed to constraining the power of women in development (Sachs, 1990:54-55).

These restraints on women are contrary to the ethos of the new South African Constitution (1996:7), which guarantees “...equality before the law of all citizens and forbids any discrimination and prejudice along gender, age, race, class and disability.”

It also provides for affirmative action in favour of groups marginalised by gender, age and disability. In Uganda, Mwesigye (1998:214) outlines the objectives of gender policy as - "...to redress imbalances which arise from existing gender inequalities and to ensure the participation of men and women at all levels and state policies". He further argues that the principles of democracy and participation grant equal rights and opportunities in all spheres of life for men and women. Mwaramba (1998:222-223) acknowledges gender equity as one of the strategies for promoting economic growth. It is in the ethos of the Rural People's Charter (Rural Development Initiative Convention (RDIC), 1999:4) that the priority of rural development should be the economic empowerment of rural women by providing access to credit, markets and financial services, creating job opportunities for rural areas and also providing information and skills training for economic empowerment. In reality, there is still only minimal participation of women in decision-making at all levels and limited access to power, education and control of resources (Mwesigye, 1998:214).

The Rural People's Charter is a document which was adopted by 500 rural representatives at the Bloemfontein Conference. It began as a workshop but ended up as a big rural conference that was held on the 23<sup>rd</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> April 1999. It was attended also by the representatives of the National Land Committee, Rural Development Services Network, SA NGO Coalition, Initiative for Participatory Democracy, Trust for Christian Outreach and Education and the Environmental Monitoring Group. The Charter contains a list of rural demands. The aim of the conference was to put rural problems on the election agenda, to convince the government that it needs to facilitate development in rural areas and to develop an integrated rural development strategy and to see that it is implemented on the ground. That conference had an impact on the government's development strategies because certain transformations which cater for the participation of the rural communities were drawn, for instance, the restructuring of the local government, but much work needs to be done before the government policies can be implemented.

The strength of women in socio-economic reconstruction has been evident. Women play a major role in community-based organisations and voluntary associations.

Hardiman (1998:74-75) acknowledges women's potential in economic growth. He sees women as good food producers and suppliers. Jeppe (1985:39) also outlines the role of women in development projects, for example in adult education, in promoting better community facilities such as in handicrafts, child and family care and the establishment of educare centres.

#### **(b) Education**

White (1998:5) contends that democratic participation is determined by educational levels that improve the quality of debate in meetings. The question of education has been outlined as one of the reasons for not electing women onto local councils (Mwaramba, 1998:220). An education crisis has resulted from the colonial and apartheid constitutions and the current South African Constitution guarantees basic education to everyone. It is indicated in the Rural People's Charter (RDIC, 1999:4) that education is the basis for development and education on policies and programmes, laws and rights is vital for the rural communities. In South Africa, there is a growing number of Adult Basic Education Training Institutions (ABET) to fight against illiteracy, even though the majority of the students enrolling through ABET become drop-outs and only a few complete their studies (Songca, 2001: interview).

#### **(c) Class**

People's participation is also hindered by the socio-economic differentiation based on wealth and property. In some rural communities, Ngxwalane and Rayi for example, a man with no livestock, land or property, is denied participation in community meetings and gatherings. This means that the ideas of the poor are suppressed, and they are deprived of socio-political autonomy. This deprivation of expression of the poor is in conflict with the ethos of the South African Constitution (1996) that grants freedom of expression to all people irrespective of class. The rich still benefit because they have political influence and the ability to influence the local administration of projects. Class differentiation is a controversial issue worldwide because those who are in power wish to be distinguished from the others by material wealth (Levin, 1994:40). Mwaramba

(1998:220) also indicates that the lack of a strong financial base among women was one of the reasons for not electing them to local councils.

The middle class is the cornerstone of civil society. It comprises those who are capable of leading associations because of their intellectual integrity and, conversely, it acquires economic wealth independently and becomes more politically organised and aware than the workers and the peasants (Bratton, 1994:58). This reflects the power of class and education as important variables in social reconstruction. It is implied that the question of class in development planning will always dominate and thus hinder participation by the poor.

#### **(d) Age**

In Africa, youth has been denied cultural freedom of expression by the family at home and politically, because of the previous apartheid laws. The new South African democracy paves the way for a kind of development in which the youth is liberated from all spheres of social and political domination. Hall (1998:95-96) argues that the success of participation relies only on coherent organisation within the locality in which development is delayed by social divisions along class, gender, and age.

The youth has been more active in national liberation movements than the older people, which reflects its contribution in the new democracy (Levin, 1994:49-50). In a study conducted at Mzimhlope, it was evident that young people could not co-operate with the civic leadership, claiming that the ideas and interests of the youth are not considered (White, 1998:15). In the light of these conditions, the concerns of the youth are outlined in the Rural People's Charter as follows: "Rural youth is marginalised from development planning and activities and from meaningful interaction with government, and also unemployment and lack of facilities have negative effects on the youth. It is therefore the demand of the youth that NGOs and CBOs should open their doors and share resources and establish information centres for the rural youth" (RDIC Rural People's Charter, 1999:39). This clearly reflects that through

participation and democracy, youth can be motivated in development activities which would promote self-reliance (Jeppe, 1985:39).

## **2.7 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY TO PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

People-centred development involves interaction between the state, i.e. government departments and the local government structures in the communities, such as civic organisations such as the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), community-based organisations (CBOs), municipal authorities and society at large. This *link* or interaction of the above-named stakeholders aims at social and economic empowerment of the society, especially at the grassroots level. There could be no effective development if the state does not interact with other institutions, or structures, organisations within the society. These institutions are also integral parts of “civil society”.

Civil society can be interpreted in a variety of ways. The word “society” can be understood, but adding “civil” to it makes one search for characteristics that can be attributed to society. Azarya (1994:89) provides these as: independent institutions within the society, the interaction between the institution and the state and lastly civility, which refers to the collective responsibility for the common good, even though we cannot generalise that all these institutions stand for the common good. Civil society is theoretically perceived as a cornerstone for socio-political reconstruction since it has emerged as a vital force against dictatorial and authoritative regimes – that is, communism in Eastern Europe, colonialism in Africa and apartheid in South Africa. The socio-political turmoil resulting from the demand for liberation and an end to authoritarian rule created an anti-state tendency because people were disillusioned with the state bureaucrats but still in search of tolerable means of interacting with the state, which is the basis of civil society (Rothchild & Lawson, 1994:258-259).

What is the main purpose of civil society? It is arguable that even though these resistance movements fought for a democratic state, they did not only focus on

periodic elections and universal suffrage but also catered for the empowerment of the people and civil society. This definitely implies an urge for "...decentralisation, diffusion of power and the nurturing of non-state organisations". This involves reducing the power of the ruling elites (Steytler et al, 1998:124). Friedman & Reitzes (1996:57), indicate that, "Democracy for ordinary citizens must not end with formal rights and periodic elections - without undermining the authority and responsibilities of elected representative bodies. The democratic order we envisage must foster a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society and facilitate direct democracy". This reflects a need for the formation of people's forums to cater for participatory democracy (Friedman & Reitzes, 1996:56-57).

Atkinson (1996:288) reveals that the economy is one of the important aspects of civil society. The profit-making businesses facilitate development of other organisations by providing funding to those in need and this contributes to the economic empowerment of the civil society. This implies the creation of a sound economic condition for the sustainability of other projects or organisations.

To what extent are the organisations of civil society contributing towards a sustainable democracy and development? It has already been mentioned that civil society is constituted by both profit-making businesses and non-profit organisations, which encompass organisations such as community-based organisations, research organisations, religious and ethnic lobbies, developmental organisations, public interest and also the trade unions. It is arguable that people benefit from these organisations because they cater for their social interests and needs more than any government is able to do. They inculcate trust among the people and as a result people are empowered psychologically, economically and socially. Steytler et al (1998:123) contend that it is through these associations of civil society that "...citizens learn, practise and internalise democratic behaviour". One could also realise that the emergence of civil society facilitates the democratic process and this is reflected in the social issues that were considered to be the proceeds of civil society, for example, abolition of slavery, child labour laws, women's suffrage and the civil rights movement (Atkinson, 1996:289-291).

In reality, there are deviant organisations such as the criminal ones which constitute a negative side of civil society. This symbolises the dynamics and complexities in every new democratic state.

## **2.8 CONCLUSION**

This chapter reveals various perceptions about people-centred development in the new political transition in South Africa. People-centred development is currently applied as a means of ensuring the process of democratisation. It is a new development strategy which can promote and inculcate a sense of self-actualisation and socio-economic independence that is indicated frequently in this study as the “political and economic empowerment of the people, especially the rural poor”. People-centred development provides for the distribution of authority at the local level to explore the ideas and cater for the human intentions and needs of the people in order to achieve sustainable development.

## **Chapter 3**

### **A Case Study of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project**

#### **Arrangement of Sections:**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Historical background of the Two Communities, Zikhova and Ngqinisa
- 3.3 Historical background of the Woodlot Project
- 3.4 Community Profiles
- 3.5 Conclusion

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, the researcher provides a case study of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project.

### **3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES, ZIKHOVA AND NGQINISA**

The two communities concerned are situated in the Chalumna Region, approximately 60 km southwest of East London in the Eastern Cape. The area which is currently occupied by the Zikhova and Ngqinisa communities was previously occupied by a white farmer before the passage of the *Native Land and Trust Act No. 18 of 1936* (cited in the *Zikhova-Ngqinisa Business Plan, 2000:4*). The farmer, named Mr. Clement Edward Robbs, had a small area of gum trees of approximately 10 hectares and a small nursery during the 1930s (*Zikhova-Ngqinisa, Business Plan, 2000:4*).

The Zikhova and Ngqinisa communities arrived in the area between 1947 and 1953. They came from Mooiplaas, Nxarhuni and Kwelerha respectively. Their forefathers were some of the people who were evicted from farms during the farm resettlements of the late 1940s and early 1950s. According to Platzky and Walker (1985:118), these evictions resulted in a large number of Black South Africans being driven off from white farms without any alternative accommodation. The people who settled in Nxarhuni, Mooiplaas and Kwelerha rescued some of these landless ex-farm workers and their families. They accommodated them on their land since there were people there who had title deeds for their property.

The *Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936* (cited in De Wet, 1994:362) changed the social condition of the landless black South Africans. The Act provided for the expropriation of land occupied by the Africans in “white South Africa” and the removal of the occupants to the reserve area. The Act also provided for the purchase of land in “released areas” by the South African Native Trust and its provision for the use of Africans under the government-controlled system of land tenure (De Wet,

1994:362). It was after the passing of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 that the land was purchased by the Native Trust from the white farmers and the people who had settled at Nxarhuni, Mooiplaas and Kwelerha, as well as in other areas, who were relocated under the various categories of resettlement, were provided with residential allotments in the area currently known as Chalumna. This area consists of twenty-one villages. Zikhova and Ngqinisa are two of them.

It is indicated by Mr Bosman, Deputy-Chairperson of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Committee (interview:2001), that the early arrivals at Zikhova formed approximately 62 households and at Ngqinisa about 40. These were given certificates of occupation under the 1936 Act. Due to the population increase, the number of households has now increased, and it is indicated from the results of the South African census (1996) that the number of households at Zikhova is 138 with a total population of 634. At Ngqinisa there are 133 households with a population of 567 people. Bosman (interview:2001) indicates that these communities were provided with five sites, i.e. three sites for communal grazing camps, one for arable allotments and the last one, a residential allotment of 70 square metres for each household. The number of cattle was limited to ten per household. They were also given certificates to keep livestock by the Native Officer.

These two communities depend on wage labour and pension funds for income. Bosman (interview:2001) indicates that some of the unemployed young men do temporary work on projects such as electricity or water supply, and these normally last for one to two years. There are only 15 people at Ngqinisa and 12 at Zikhova who utilise their arable lands because of hazardous factors such as droughts, lack of tractors and also livestock. Those who cultivate plant maize only and do so for subsistence and not for commercial purposes because they cannot harvest the large quantities that would enable them to market the surplus produce. They do not have tractors, but they make use of their oxen for planting mealies and use weed-hoes for removing weeds. Each individual family works on its own in the field and there are no hired labourers. Instead, they receive voluntary assistance from relatives, especially during the

harvesting times. People in these villages also keep cattle and goats. They also rely on the taxi industry and the illegal supply of liquor for income.

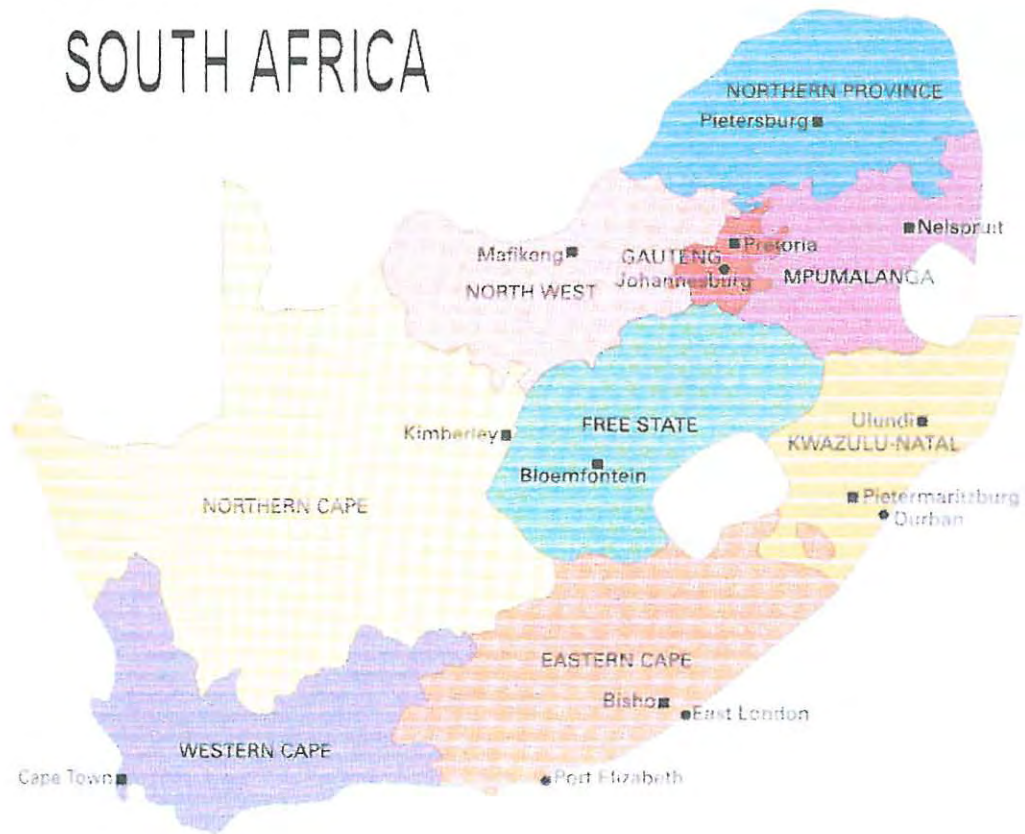
The Chalumna villages are grouped to form zones that enable a group of villages to share a school, clinic and recreation centre. A village that is easily accessible and is at the centre of a particular grouping or zone, is the one that will have a school, clinic and a recreation centre. The Zikhova community is also a centre where all the Chalumna villages purchase electricity cards. The surrounding six villages, including Ngqinisa, share the health centre, school and community hall with Zikhova.

### **3.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WOODLOT PROJECT**

It is stated in the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Business Plan (2000:4-5) that the Zikhova woodlot is about 60 hectares in extent. It is situated 60 km southwest of East London in the Eastern Cape and 8 km southeast of the R72, leading to Port Alfred and Port Elizabeth. The Zikhova woodlot was formerly known as farm R:A 33. Figure 3.1 shows the Eastern Cape in South Africa and Figure 3.2 shows East London in the Eastern Cape.

The Zikhova woodlot was established in 1951 with the advice of Mr Parma who was the white Native councillor of the Chalumna Region. Before the Zikhova woodlot was established, the community people purchased wood for building their dwellings and for fencing in East London. Mr Parma held a meeting with the older men in the community and advised them to establish a forest. Eventually, the forest was developed and was productive in the early 1960s (Bosman, interview:2001). Apparently, the climatic conditions and the type of soil in the area are suitable for gum plantations. People do not need to travel long distances in search of wood, and conversely the natural forest and species are also protected from being destroyed by the village people. The forest enables the inhabitants to obtain wood for building their houses, energy, and fencing. The inhabitants had to purchase the wood at 1<sup>s</sup>-6<sup>d</sup> from Mr Parma's office, which was also at Chalumna, and a load cost £1-10<sup>s</sup>. Currently the wood is sold at R55.00 per cubic metre.

FIGURE 3.1



# EASTERN CAPE

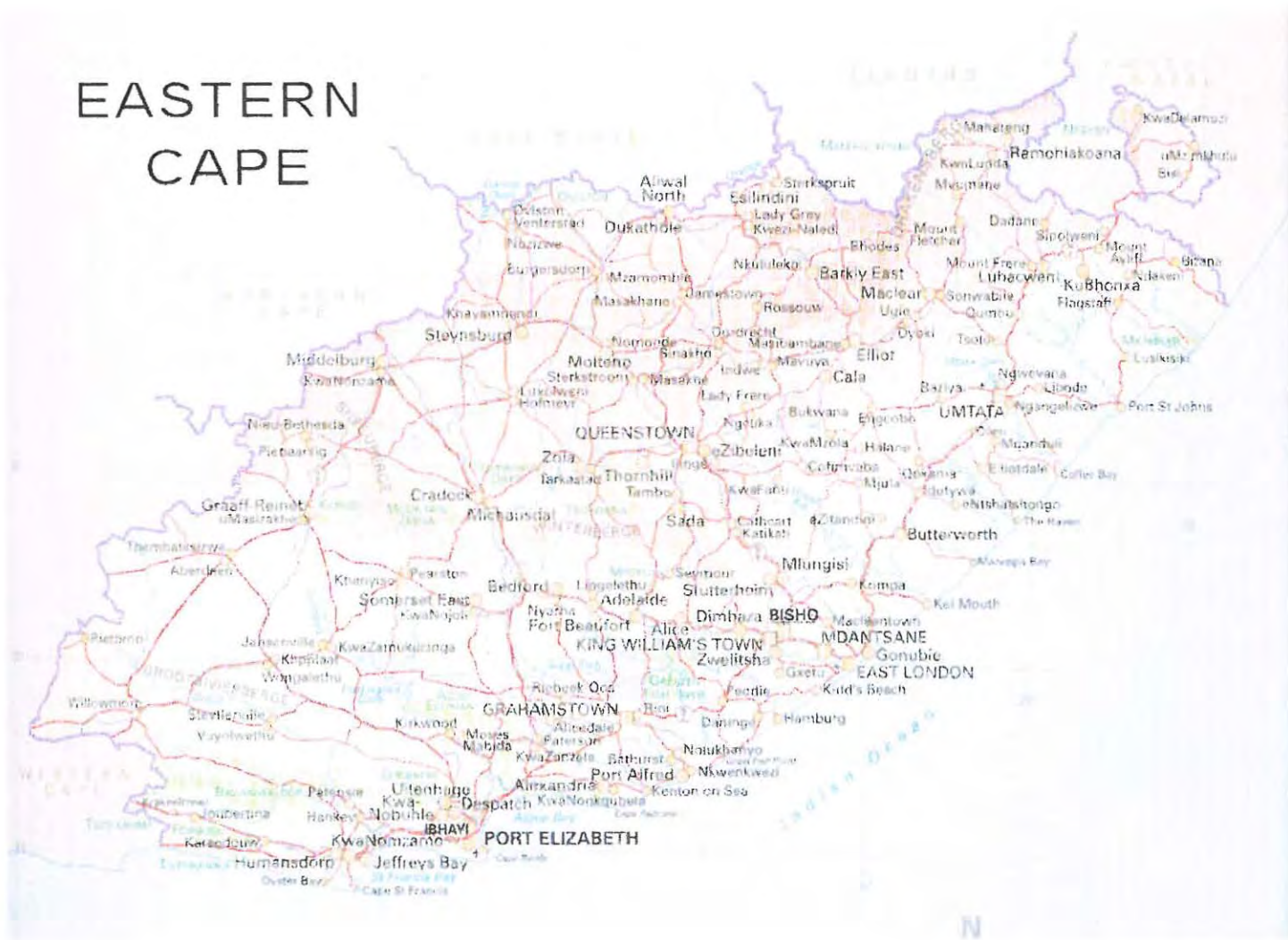


FIGURE 3.2

As early as 1981, the former Ciskei Department of Agriculture took over the management of the woodlot. This was accepted with the consent of the Zikhova community on condition that all forest workers required for the woodlot would be hired from their community. In 1985, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) took over management and control of the woodlot. Sixteen forest workers were employed on a full-time basis from within the community until they were all retrenched in 1997 (Zikhova woodlot, Business Plan, 2000:4). Mhle (2002:interview) indicated that forestry workers who were employed at the woodlots in which DWAF planned to devolve were given two options; a retrenchment package or redeployment nationally. Those at Zikhova woodlot opted for a package because they felt that a national-wide redeployment would inconvenience them even though they wished to continue working.

In 1997 DWAF initiated the process of devolution of its assets which involved the handing over of small community woodlots to the communities. This devolution process is one of the forms of decentralisation of power from the central level to the lower one, as indicated in paragraph 2.5.3.2. DWAF had appointed a team of people comprised of DWAF employees and consultants who would assist with the process of devolution of woodlots to the communities. The community would handle financial expenditure and income. The DWAF forestry management would change its role from active management to that of providing support to the communities. The communities would also be responsible for employing people to do the work in the woodlot as the former workers were retrenched.

In January 1998, DWAF met with the executive of the Chalumna Residents' Association. The Chalumna Residents' Association (CHARA) is a local civic structure in which the 21 Chalumna villages are represented, to decide on issues that affect the whole Chalumna area. DWAF met with the CHARA Executive first to inform them and discuss the devolution process which involved the handing over of the Zikhova woodlot to the Zikhova community. The latter was also recognised by DWAF and the CHARA Executive as the primary beneficiary of the woodlot.

It is indicated by the Community Forester, Mr Mhle, that DWAF also discussed the issue of devolving the Zikhova woodlot with the former Rural Representative Councillors of the Chalumna region who were also members of the CHARA executive. The two TrepCs, Sombada and Khonzani, represented Chalumna in the Local Development Committee formed by the Amatola District Council. DWAF met these two local structures before informing the Zikhova community.

In February 1998, DWAF met with the Zikhova community to discuss and agree on the devolution process. The Zikhova woodlot committee was elected. In March 1998, the Zikhova woodlot committee was given training in forestry practices and the devolution process by the officials from DWAF, who were trained by consultants from the Irish government. The Irish government sponsored DWAF in running the process of devolution. The fact that the woodlot devolution involved the transfer of ownership to the local communities indicated clearly that the latter needed to be capacitated with skills. DWAF officials were not used to community work and they also needed training. A group of consultants led by Terry O'Brien from Ireland conducted a training course for seven foresters, who in turn trained the woodlot committee members in various woodlot projects. All the costs involved in training both the foresters and the woodlot committee members were sponsored by the Irish government. The business plan stated that further training was necessary for the workers regarding supervision to ensure that people were adequately empowered to perform their expected roles satisfactorily, as well as to ensure the sustainability of the project (Zikhova Business Plan, 2000:21).

In June 1998, the community drafted the constitution. By July the Zikhova woodlot Business Plan was drafted and accepted by the community. The Community Foresters assisted the committee with the drafting of the Business Plan and the production of maps.

In August 1998, the community arranged for the employment of workers prior to the handing over of the woodlot. The Woodlot Trust Committee (2002:interview) indicated that their arrangement with DWAF in connection with the employment of

workers was that the community would employ the unemployed people, especially those with no income at all, on a rotational basis. The Trustees would employ ten workers for a period of a month after the termination of the services, the other ten follow and so on, to enable everybody to benefit and not necessarily those workers who were retrenched. The workers would be paid by the government for a period of five years and thereafter by the Woodlot Trust Committee. Bosman (2002:interview) highlighted the fact that those arrangements were not fully met by DWAF because the local people do voluntary work in planting new trees. Presently there are temporary community workers who are paid by DWAF to do fencing of the woodlot.

It was in September 1998 that the DLA wanted to make sure that there was no other community who would at a later stage claim ownership of the woodlot. Ngqinisa was approached by DWAF on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1998. Ngqinisa, led by Mr Rululu, used that opportunity to also claim ownership. Messrs Bosman and Filikiti of Zikhova (2002:interview) indicated that Mr Rululu was the ex-foreman of the Forestry workers who were employed by DWAF. He felt that he was the only person who knew more about forestry work than the people at Zikhova. This was why he led the Ngqinisa community into claiming the woodlot ownership. The other reason for Ngqinisa claiming ownership was the question of greed and jealousy because the people at Ngqinisa felt that the Zikhova community would have more money than they had and their standard of living would be improved (Bosman & Filikiti, 2002:interview). In a meeting held by DWAF, CHARA, the Zikhova community and Ngqinisa in September 1998, it was agreed that because of the claim to woodlot ownership, the devolution of the woodlot would be temporarily postponed until the ownership dispute between the two communities had been resolved. It was decided that CHARA, the official leadership structure, should be involved with finding a sustainable resolution for the woodlot ownership dispute.

In the month of October 1998, ten scheduled meetings with CHARA were arranged by DWAF and confirmed by both parties, but the meetings could not be held due to no or poor attendance. In an interview with the Zikhova Woodlot Committee (2002), it was highlighted by Mr Filikiti that the Zikhova community specifically wanted to resolve

the matter themselves and did not want to include CHARA. They felt that the problem did not need interference by the external local structure which would be biased.

At the meeting in March 1998, DWAF met with CHARA and it was agreed that the latter should resolve the woodlot ownership dispute with a sustainable outcome. It was also agreed that they should involve DWAF whenever necessary.

In April 1999, CHARA was unable to resolve the dispute. The meeting agreed that DWAF and DLA should intervene and facilitate the process to resolve the dispute.

In a meeting that was held at the A.N.C. Constituency office in Dou Location on the 9<sup>th</sup> April 1999, the representatives from the Chalumna Executive were Messrs Gogi, Deki, Khonzani, Sombada and Ntenti. DWAF was represented by Messrs Mhle, Soyizwapi, Mvumvu and Hani. DLA was represented by Mr Khahlane and each village (Zikhova and Ngqinisa) was represented by 15 delegates. The agenda of that meeting was to find out from community representatives what their differences were. They had to decide and agree upon how the woodlot could be managed sustainably as well as discuss the urgency for devolution.

The Zikhova community pointed out that they were not prepared to share with the Ngqinisa community for the following reasons:

- The woodlot is situated on land that belongs to Zikhova.
- The map used by DWAF when the process began shows Zikhova as the beneficiaries.
- The 1930 map shows that the woodlot belonged to Zikhova.
- The establishment of the woodlot was suggested to them to meet their needs.

The Zikhova community also indicated that they could accommodate Ngqinisa in the project if Ngqinisa would first agree to the truth (that they claim nothing as far as the boundaries are concerned), and they also required Ngqinisa to ask them first for permission to be part of the project. Then they would share with Ngqinisa. Zikhova

was also prepared to resolve the matter in court and in the meantime DWAF could manage the woodlot as previously.

The Ngqinisa representatives pointed out clearly that they did not want to be seen as beggars: "We are not the beggars, we do have a claim to the woodlot as far as the boundaries are concerned" (Rululu, Zikhova-Ngqinisa 1999:Community minutes of meeting).

The Ngqinisa community also indicated that they were prepared to share with Zikhova because they also shared the clinic and high school, and in addition to that they were neighbours.

DWAF (Mhle, 1999:Zikhova-Ngqinisa Community meeting, minutes of meeting) expressed its concern that the woodlot should be devolved in May 1999. If the communities could not agree with regard to the ownership of the woodlot, devolution would not take place. DWAF also indicated that the decision or resolution would rest with them, i.e. Zikhova and Ngqinisa.

DLA also highlighted that if this issue was to be resolved in court, it was too late, because people were made aware that if anyone was evicted unlawfully, he/she would be given until the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1998 to forward his/her claim. It was also pointed out that land ownership rested with the Minister of Land Affairs unless proven otherwise and therefore for the communities to lodge a claim, they should be sure that they had evidence of a rightful claim.

The Chalumna Executive suggested that the two communities be given a chance to talk to one another privately and separately and report back after 10 minutes. The resolution after that break was that the Zikhova community was not prepared to share with Ngqinisa. The latter was prepared to share with Zikhova.

In that meeting, the conflict was not resolved, and the representatives were asked to report back to their respective communities at large about the progress of the meeting.

Another meeting was scheduled for the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1999 and the idea was to inform the communities of DWAF's withdrawal if the communities could not agree. If however, after the report the communities agreed, the process would continue as planned.

The meeting on the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1999 was held at Zikhova Primary School. The Zikhova community was represented by 15 representatives. DWAF was represented by the community foresters, Messrs Mvumvu, Soyizwapi, Mhle and Hani, and the DLA was represented by Mr Kahlane. The agenda for the meeting was as follows:

- To explain woodlot ownership.
- To understand what the Zikhova community means by accommodating the Ngqinisa community.
- To hear the viewpoint of the Zikhova community in order to determine what made them reluctant to share ownership with the Ngqinisa community.

As was indicated by the committee members (2002:Zikhova Woodlot Committee, interview), the conflict was a verbal confrontation, and there were strong arguments between the representatives of these villages. It did not involve physical or violent actions against either party. They said that after their conflicting ideas in a meeting, they still communicated socially and went to the traditional occasions together, but if one mentioned the question of the woodlot ownerships many heated arguments occurred. Their conflicting interests over the woodlot ownership did not affect their social relations. The conflict was prolonged because neither wanted to give up.

The report by the Zikhova community indicated that the community at large did not want to share with Ngqinisa. Instead they wanted them to first agree that they had no claim on the woodlot and that if they wanted to be part of this project, they should ask Zikhova. They pointed out that the Ngqinisa community would have their own project that would benefit them alone. There is a fishing project that is planned by the Chinese at the Kiwane Resort. The Zikhova community felt that, since Ngqinisa is at the sea coast, people who will be employed there will be from Ngqinisa, but this project has not materialised yet. In responding to the question of accommodating Ngqinisa,

Zikhova responded that they would accommodate Ngqinisa as employees in the project and that Ngqinisa would not form part of the ownership contract at all. The Zikhova representatives also highlighted the fact that, when the project was started by DWAF, sharing with Ngqinisa had been ruled out. Ngqinisa's exclusion was based on maps available, which showed that the woodlot falls at the Zikhova boundaries, and the Zikhova could not understand how this had changed. Zikhova also made it clear that they were aware that the land belonged to the Minister of Land Affairs, but they wanted the Court to explain why Ngqinisa would be allowed to claim a portion of the woodlot without evidence supporting their claim, for example, documents and maps (Bosman, Zikhova-Ngqinisa community meeting, 1999:minutes of meetings).

The interview with the Woodlot Trust Committee (2002) revealed that the Zikhova Community had also collected the sum of R50.00 from each household to pay the lawyers because they wanted the law to separate the truth from lies. The DLA (Kahlane, Zikhova-Ngqinisa Community meeting, 1999:minutes of meetings) explained that if the issue needed to be resolved in court, it would take a long time, because at the time 156 000 land restitution claims had already been submitted and was not sure how many of this number was for the Eastern Cape. The DLA also explained that they were quite prepared to allow the case to go to court if the two communities refused to agree on the matter.

DWAF representative, Mr Mvumvu (Zikhova-Ngqinisa Community meeting, 1999:minutes of meetings), advised the community representatives to consider and choose from the following options to resolve the issue:

- Going to court was disadvantageous as already explained, due to the time factor involved.
- They should also approach the conflict politically through their local government structures as there might be a third force involved in the whole situation because not everyone was happy about the government's delivery programme.
- Have the area surveyed with both communities involved and DWAF to be advised of the results and devolution could then follow.

The community representatives would hold meetings in their respective communities in which they would choose which option they would take to have the issued resolved within the month of April 1999.

The meeting that followed took place on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1999 at the ANC Constituency Office (Dou). The Chalumna Executive was represented by Messrs Magwaxaza, Sombada and Khonzani, DLA by Mr Khahlane, and DWAF by Messrs Mvumvu, Hani, Soyizwapi and Mhle. The Zikhova community had 14 representatives and Ngqinisa 7. The representatives from the communities were required to state the facts to support their claim to the woodlot. It was soon realised that their facts should be based on documentary proof which in this case was the maps. It was indicated that in the next meeting DWAF had to produce the documents regarding ownership of the woodlot.

The meeting, which was held on the 30<sup>th</sup> April 1999 at Dou, was the one that brought resolution to the conflict. CHARA was represented by Messrs Gogi, Magwaxaza, Khonzani and Sombada, DWAF by Messrs Hani, Soyizwapi and Mhle, DLA by Mr Khahlane and the MPs were Messrs Metele and Jongolo. The Zikhova and Ngqinisa communities were represented by 10 people each.

Two representatives from both communities were asked to accompany DWAF, DLA and the MPs to the woodlot, to point out their boundaries as they knew them and to also provide evidence.

At the woodlot, the Zikhova representatives had to indicate their boundaries. They indicated that their boundary was at the end of the woodlot, thus taking the woodlot as theirs. They showed a fence that was erected in 1955 ran through to the community below Zikhova. The communal grazing camp belonged to them, but presently Ngqinisa livestock were the ones grazing in that camp.

Ngqinisa representatives claimed that their boundary was at the start of the woodlot, leaving only a portion of woodlot belonging to Zikhova. They could not show where their boundary started and ended.

After the communities had been given a chance to show their boundaries, the delegation proceeded to the meeting place at Dou. At the meeting, the Chairperson, Mr Mhle from DWAF, showed the delegation maps. From the maps the boundaries as stated by Zikhova were clearly shown on the map. It was obvious that in reality Ngqinisa could not claim ownership of the woodlot. There was now a deadlock.

The DLA representative, Mr Kahlane delivered a speech in which he suggested that the communities should understand that the land still belonged to the Minister of Land Affairs and that neither of them owned the land on which the woodlot was situated. He further stated that the woodlots were established by the government and according to it, the communities in the area were the beneficiaries. In this case, it would be both the Zikhova and Ngqinisa. He urged the communities to accept the offer because no devolution would take place while there was disagreement.

The meeting at large was requested by the Chairperson, Mr Mhle, to respond to the speech given by Mr Kahlane. The Zikhova representative, Mr Bosman, did not respond to the speech but wanted to know what their findings were, starting from the woodlot and going on to the maps. He was declared out of order because Mr Mhle wanted a response to the speech only. The Ngqinisa representative, Mr Rululu, accepted the speech and stated that they were of the opinion that they should share with Zikhova (Zikhova-Ngqinisa Community meeting, 1999:minutes of meetings). This all signified that the Ngqinisa community was acknowledged by DWAF and DLA as the beneficiaries, irrespective of what the boundaries showed. The Zikhova representatives, Bosman and Filikiti (interview:2002), felt that the representatives of the African National Congress (ANC), Messrs Metele and Jongolo, also supported the idea of considering Ngqinisa as beneficiaries because it was drawing close to the general election of 1999 and they wished to gain the votes of the Ngqinisa community.

The Chairperson also concluded that the woodlot would not be devolved if the communities could not come to a compromise and agree to manage it jointly. They were also informed that if the woodlot were to be devolved to one of them, the other would be dissatisfied and this would jeopardise the sustainability of the woodlot.

The representatives had to inform their communities at large about the proposal to share the woodlot. They also had to inform them truthfully about the ownership of the woodlot, but for the purposes of sustainability of this project, Zikhova had to compromise and agree to share with Ngqinisa (Zikhova-Ngqinisa Community meeting, 1999:minutes of meetings).

In May 2000, both communities agreed to share. It was indicated by Bosman (interview:2002) that the reason for them to agree was the threat from DLA, DWAF and ANC that the woodlot would not be devolved if they could not share with Ngqinisa. The fifty rand notes, which had already been collected by the Zikhova local government structure for the purposes of paying lawyers, were returned to the people. The Zikhova community reconciled themselves by resolving that they would benefit from any project Ngqinisa was involved in.

The Zikhova-Ngqinisa communities had to select an appropriate management option from a range of management options such as trustees, sub-committees, joint ventures, outsourcing and leasing. The two communities decided on joint management, resulting in the establishment of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Communal Woodlot Trust. This involved joint control, shared risk and benefits. The shared control brought together an equal number of Trustees from the two communities, six from Zikhova and six from Ngqinisa (Zikhova Business Plan, 2000:12-13).

Since the woodlot was owned by DWAF, the communities had to enter into an agreement with DWAF to take over ownership, management and control of the woodlots. The Deed of Trust was signed on the 6<sup>th</sup> June 2000 by the Trustees, Mrs Sisikazi Tutu, Mrs Thenjiwe Mpindweni and Messrs Matshanda Sigonyela, Tutu Bosman, Mzingisi Filikiti and Mbulelo Hute from Zikhova, and from Ngqinisa, Messrs Mzwandile Rululu, Nkundla Dyeyi, and Mrs Ntombizonke Tshemese, Mrs Phumza Mzayifani, Mrs Nontozakhe Mabala and Mrs Posiwe Feni. The forenamed trustees were also the role players who had represented their communities in several meetings that had been held in order to resolve the conflict over the woodlot ownership. The Deed of Trust is a legal document that was registered in court in August 2000, and

gave the Woodlot Trust Committee legal rights to manage and control the woodlot on behalf of their respective communities. The trust was established because it provided for the legal entity in connection with the ownership of the woodlot only and not of the land (Zikhova Deed of Trust, 2000:9; Mhle, interviews:2000).

Mhle (interview:2001) indicated that initially DWAF planned to establish a Communal Property Association (CPA) and it was discussed and described to the Zikhova community. The idea of CPAs was opposed by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (CONTRALESA), because the chiefs regarded the land as theirs and they opposed the handing over of "their land" to the communities. This opposition to CPAs was part of CONTRALESA's action to fight for their rights and powers in the new South African government. The Chiefs realised that in the ANC government they might lose their powers, for instance, Chief Malekane (cited by Dladla, 2000:19) indicated that, "Unlike KwaZulu-Natal, the other provinces that are ruled by the ANC are weakening our position as Chiefs while the national government is cutting our powers and roles in development".

The CPA involves land allocation to communities and conversely one of the duties of the Chiefs, which is also applicable currently, is the allocation of arable grazing and residential land to the local people. The Eastern Cape MEC for Housing and Local Government, Gugile Nkwinti, assured the Chiefs that they would still enjoy the rightful ownership and control of their land even under the new process (Dladla, 2000:17). The question of land allocation by the Chiefs and the new Land Tenure Reform by DLA are still controversial issues that the ANC government is battling with currently. As a result the DLA postponed the formation of a CPA at the time, not only for Zikhova-Ngqinisa specifically but nationally. The DLA and DWAF decided to establish Trust Committees to manage the woodlot. The Trust Committee would be given a title deed but in the meantime the deed of trust gave the community legal right to the woodlot (Mhle, Bosman, interview:2002, Zikhova-Ngqinisa Community meeting, 1999).

The information that has been gathered in this research from all the stakeholders involved in the case study reveals that there was no positive contribution of any kind by the traditional leaders in the woodlot project or any other projects in the Chalumna region. The former office of the Chalumna Tribal Authority at Dou Location is now the ANC Constituency office. The Chiefs have never assisted the Woodlot Trust Committee in anything, and this implies that they do not have any impact on people-centred development. This statement is confined to the Chalumna region only since it falls in the scope of this research study.

The viability of the project was shown by the surveys conducted to check the marketability of the woodlot products. It was indicated in the Zikhova Business Plan (2000:17) that the results of these surveys reflected that there was a large current and future need for woodlot products. The current and future demands are higher than the supply. The woodlot products are needed for roofing, fencing, lathes and firewood. The current retail prices of gum trees are very high. The woodlot was for local community needs but the surplus timber that could not be utilised by the community was to be marketed. This is one of the reasons why the woodlot committee has to have administration skills.

The objectives therefore of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust, as outlined in the Zikhova Deed of Trust (2000:13), entail the improvement of the standard of living of its members and ownership of the woodlot. The Trustees aim to address the question of poverty and unemployment.

### 3.4 COMMUNITY PROFILES

The community profile below gives a broader view of the socio-economic conditions of the two communities.

Table 1

<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>Zikhova</b>	<b>Ngqinisa</b>
Roads	- Untarred, gravel	Gravel
Water	- Public tap - Borehole - Dam	- Tank - Dam - Borehole
Clinic	1 clinic	None
Schools	Primary & Secondary	Primary
Sanitation	Pit-latrine	Pit-latrine
Education Level	No schooling: 147 Grade 1 – Grade 11: 311 Matric only: 27 Matric & diploma: 3	No schooling: 215 Grade 1 – Grade 11: 251 Matric only: 4 Matric & diploma: 3
Employment	Remittances: 5,5 % Pensioners: 13,2 % Unemployed: 81,3 % of the total population	Remittances: 5,4 % Pensioners: 12,7 % Unemployed: 81,9%
Income	R2 400 – R132 000 per annum	R2 400 - R54 000 per annum

Statistics South Africa (1996)

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

The researcher has provided a broad picture of the socio-political and economic status of the Zikhova and Ngqinisa communities. The government's policy of transferring the

woodlot to the communities for their own benefit has also been dealt with. All the advantages of the transfer of ownership have been highlighted, for example, alleviation of poverty and unemployment. The following chapter will deal with the factors that hindered and inhibited people-centred development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project.

## **Chapter 4**

### **A Critical Analysis of the Factors That Constrained People-centred Development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project**

#### **Arrangement of Sections:**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Critical Analysis and the Interpretation of Results
  - 4.2.1 A Brief Summary of Research Techniques
  - 4.2.2 Analysis of the Factors That Constrained People-centred Development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project
  - 4.2.3 Interpretation and Analysis of other interrelated Aspects of People-centred Development
- 4.3 Conclusion

## **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter covered the background study of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project.

This chapter focuses on the identification and critical analysis of the factors that constrained people-centred development in the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project. Other interrelated aspects such as community involvement, sustainability and benefits are also analysed. The advantages of people-centred development are discussed briefly.

## **4.2 CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND THE INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS**

### **4.2.1 A BRIEF SUMMARY OF RESEARCH TECHNIQUES**

This section presents a critical analysis of data which was collected from the following research techniques:

- Questionnaires (Appendix B & C) which were handed out to 27 community representatives but only 17 were completed (refer to par. 1.4.2).
- Interviews with the Deputy Chairperson of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project, Mr Bosman, trustees of the Woodlot Trust Project Committee, Mr Mhle, the Community Forester, and Mr Filikiti, Chairperson of the Zikhova Local Government structure.
- Documentary study: minutes of meetings, annual and quarterly reports and business plans.
- Personal observation by the researcher.

#### **4.2.2 ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS THAT CONSTRAINED PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT AT THE ZIKHOVA-NGQINISA WOODLOT TRUST**

The main research question was what factors had constrained people-centred development at the Zikhova Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project specifically. These factors are identified and analysed below:

##### **- The socio-economic status of the communities:**

It is obvious that with insufficient funds a project cannot run successfully. It is important to note that all the respondents mentioned the insufficiency of funds as a constraining factor towards the implementation of people-centred development. This factor can be attributed to poor planning strategies on the part of both the department and the communities. The problem with funds can also be attributed to the education level of the local leaders. They could not find the means of raising money, write fund-raising proposals or approach other avenues that could be of help. The tendency to depend on government that had been inculcated by the previous apartheid regime, also contributed and the local communities and leaders waited for the government to provide funds. The researcher contends that government departments involved in this woodlot project, can assist the local communities in getting sponsors. It is difficult to generate income among poor communities, but with the support of the central and local municipal government, this could be resolved.

My view is that the local community projects are in need of a financial base regardless of who is the funder. With a financial base the project can develop and generate its own funds and sustain itself.

##### **- Conflicting local interests and its prolonged resolution process:**

It has been indicated by Mhle (interview, 2000) and also from the minutes of meetings, that the source of conflict between the two communities was the question of the woodlot ownership which must not be confused with land ownership. The conflict was in the form of verbal confrontation and many heated arguments between the

Ngqinisa representatives led by Mr Rululu (Chairperson of the woodlot committee), the Zikhova Community representatives led by Mr Filikiti (Chairperson of Zikhova) and Bosman. Ngqinisa representatives claimed that they were also the beneficiaries because the Zikhova plantation overlapped a small portion of their land. Zikhova disagreed with Ngqinisa on the grounds that no portion of their land was covered by the woodlot. For the sustainability of the project, DWAF could not proceed further with the devolution process without first resolving this disagreement.

The conflicting interest over the woodlot ownership was discussed at several meetings which included representatives from DWAF, DLA, the MPs and CHARA from the two communities. CHARA was given an opportunity to resolve the conflict between the two communities, but to no avail. The resolution process started in September 1998 and lasted through to 1999. It was only in April 1999 that each community was requested by Mr Ngesiman, who always chaired the meetings, to show their boundaries in the woodlot to Messrs Soyizwapi and Mvumvu. The boundaries were important in the sense that rightful beneficiaries were to be identified through their use. At the woodlot Zikhova could point clearly to their boundaries but the Ngqinisa had trouble showing theirs correctly. The maps which were brought by DWAF provided evidence that the primary beneficiaries were Zikhova, but since black South Africans have no secure land tenure, neither of them owned the land. This implied that both communities could claim that they were the beneficiaries. They were requested to work together if they wanted service delivery. It was also reflected that the Ngqinisa people were used to sharing facilities and amenities such as the clinic, secondary school and churches with Zikhova. They also wanted to share the woodlot project (refer Chapter 3, paragraph 3.3).

**- Lack of interaction between the participatory stakeholders**

Lack of interaction and co-ordination between the participatory stakeholders, i.e DWAF, DLA, the community leadership structures and the local municipal structure have been reflected as the core factor that hindered progress. Seemingly DWAF had its own programme of community participatory development through a process of devolving woodlots to the communities without a prior knowledge of the position of

DLA regarding land distribution. In this case, DWAF controlled the woodlot and the DLA owned the land. This implies that the two departments need a cohesive and coordinated development plan. DWAF could not proceed successfully with its goals because DLA is moving at a slow pace with its own delivery. DWAF's goal was to hand over the woodlot to the rightful owners, thus allowing people to develop their own project, but the woodlot was established on state land owned by DLA. This reveals the fact that development, either rural or urban, is intertwined with the new Land Reform Programme because in this case, the DLA had to decide what to do about the land on which the woodlot was established, taking into consideration the system of communal ownership which still exists in rural areas.

It is also reflected in the documentary study that DWAF consulted the Executive of the Chalumna Resident Association (CHARA) about the devolution process that would affect the Zikhova woodlot prior to informing the Zikhova local government structure. DWAF and CHARA also agreed that the beneficiaries to the woodlot were the Zikhova community. When Ngqinisa laid claim to the ownership of the Zikhova woodlot, CHARA failed to attend about 10 meetings in October 1998, which were scheduled for the resolution of the conflict. The task of resolving the conflict was assigned by DWAF and DLA to CHARA but it could not be resolved and instead DWAF and DLA had to intervene. CHARA did not want to appear to be supporting either Zikhova or Ngqinisa community.

The Amatola District Council has been reflected as playing no role, even though in the initial stages it was involved. It was indicated by the woodlot committee and Mr Mhle (interview: 2001) that the former TrepCs (representing the Amatola District Council), Messrs Sombada and Khonzani influenced the Ngqinisa community to claim ownership of the woodlot. The TrepCs were approached by DWAF about the woodlot project. All the details in connection with the beneficiaries of the woodlot were explained to them by DWAF officials indicating that the primary beneficiaries were the Zikhova community, but that the neighbouring villages were the secondary beneficiaries. The TrepCs presented this information to the Ngqinisa local government structure and the latter claimed ownership of the woodlot because they had been informed by the

TrepCs that they could also benefit from the woodlot project. When the debate was heated about the claim of woodlot ownership by Ngqinisa, the TrepCs could not resolve the conflict. The fact that the Trep Cs for the Chalumna Region failed to act as mediators and supportive agents between the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project Committee, DWAF and DLA cannot be attributed to the District Council only, but also to the local community at large. This reflects a lack of co-ordination between the Municipal government and its communities. Bosman (interview:2001) indicated that even in the new demarcation of municipal boundaries Zikhova and Ngqinisa are in Ward I, which is composed of all the villages of Chalumna under the Councillorship of Mr Xolile Ngcamama. He revealed that even with this new municipal structure there has been no progress. If there was no cohesive planning and sense of responsibility amongst the local representatives, service delivery could not materialise. Even with the new structure of the Municipality, the Committee could not just hope for assistance without presenting their concerns.

Within DWAF itself, it was indicated by the woodlot Project committee that the Provincial office did not communicate with the National office. The Provincial office always waits for the approval of processes from the National level, which takes time. Each sector shifted blame to the other. The respondents at grassroots level pointed to the National and Provincial governments and conversely the government blamed the communities for the delays. A joint effort was necessary between the government and the local communities.

**- Inconsistency and uncertainty of DWAF and DLA policies:**

The problem that was highlighted by the respondents was that DWAF failed to implement its policies as indicated in the Deed of Trust (see Appendix D). In the interviews with Mr Mhle, it was revealed that DWAF was now uncertain of which steps to follow. Even though the Deed of Trust was already registered, DWAF had not handed over the financial resources to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Trust Committee. The handover of the ownership was only on paper. DWAF was hesitating to sign an agreement which released the revenue of the woodlot to the community or the Trust. It was indicated by Mhle that DWAF was now aware of the insufficiency of

funds in the community to run the project, and was planning a new process, which involved forming a partnership with the communities. Submissions had already been made by the provincial government from 2000 but to date no response has been received from the MEC as to whether the department approved that or not.

Bosman, Deputy Chairperson of the Woodlot Project and the group of committee members (interview, 2001) also concurred with Mhle regarding the delays set up by DWAF at national level and the uncertainty of the DLA. On the question of the DLA, Bosman maintained that a certain Mr Botha from Pretoria had visited them and claimed that the DLA was not quite certain about the size of the forest whereas according to their information, measurements had been taken long ago. In their business plan, the size of the woodlot was indicated. Bosman contended that they did not even know whether Botha came from the DLA or DWAF and in what capacity. Bosman indicated that the problem or the inhibiting factor was the "office", that is DWAF and DLA, not the communities, as the problems that came from the communities were resolved. Bosman, and the committee, highlighted that the communities had been waiting for the official handover of the woodlot since 1998, but the Deed of Trust with DWAF was signed in 2000. They further stated that the "office" also delayed resolving the conflict which existed between the communities because it is expected to act as a mediator in times of crisis even though the final decision must come from the local people. The "office" had maps that were of vital importance to the resolution of the conflict.

The delaying tactics by DWAF and DLA were barriers to the preparedness of the two communities to manage the woodlot project for themselves. An interview with the Woodlot Trust Committee (2002) revealed that in the planning of the project with DWAF, they highlighted the question of capacity and they agreed that the Community Foresters from DWAF could be the second officials in providing effective guidance until the Trust Committee could run the project on their own. The researcher's opinion is that the Trust Committee had the potential of running the woodlot because the members were committed and responsible and amongst them there was an

experienced ex-foreman from the previous DWAF forestry workers. Proper training, advice, consultation and guidance needed to be provided to the committee by DWAF. The uncertainty of the DLA about its policies was also noticed by the researcher because in one of the meetings with the Trustees, the agenda was to inform the latter about the document from DLA which stated DLA's plan to lease the land to the Trustees. The meeting was in June 2000 but to date no land has been leased to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Committee as was proposed by the DLA.

**- Educational level of the woodlot committee:**

It was noticed by the researcher that those members of the woodlot committee with low educational levels become suspicious of those with better educational understanding. They, particularly the Chairman, always delayed the discussions, resulting in wasted time and the matter was never discussed properly. A high education level is not expected from the woodlot project committee members, but professional people in the communities could be elected to provide support and assistance. Local representative committees need more workshops to instil confidence in their leadership. The Woodlot Project Committee can also make use of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) because they are highly engaged in various activities, operate on a variety of scales involving mobilising communities, and advising, monitoring and implementing development projects on behalf of communities. The DLA could educate local communities about land issues before starting any project in order to avoid conflicts related to land issues.

**- Male chauvinism:**

In the four meetings that the researcher attended, excluding visits for interviews, she also observed that female representatives did not participate. The opportunity for them to participate and contribute was granted by the Chairperson, Mr Rululu, because everyone was aware that they were expected to express themselves. The researcher also noticed that in an informal conversation with them, they did not feel free to talk and communicate their ideas about the project. This reflects that in some rural communities, male chauvinism still prevails and this constrains people-centred development.

**- Dependency syndrome:**

The committee members had high hopes that DWAF would transform their state of poverty. This reflected that the local communities still had the dependency-syndrome that the government would provide and do everything for them, as was the case with the previous apartheid and homeland government in South Africa.

This was also reflected in the fact that in an interview with Mr Bosman and the woodlot committee members, they complained that the Amatola District Council did not play any role and was not aware of the situation. Mr Bosman and the committee at large were not aware that they had the right to approach the District Council rather than waiting for it to come to them or blaming their former rural representatives. Now that there is a new structure of local municipal bodies, they hope for contributions from the Amatola District Council. Even with the new structure of the local municipality, they cannot just hope for assistance without presenting their case.

#### **4.2.3 INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS OF OTHER INTERRELATED ASPECTS OF PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

It has already been indicated in this study that constraints on people-centred development in the Zikhova woodlot project cannot be studied in isolation from the other interrelated aspects such as community involvement, sustainability and benefits. The questionnaires and interviews required the woodlot committee and the sample of community members to respond to the above-named aspects. Their responses to these aspects are indicated below:

- **Community Involvement:** The respondents highlighted high community involvement especially in the initial stages of the project. Several meetings were held with them where they could express their ideas and interests. They also highlighted the role of DWAF in educating them politically and assisting them in matters relating to the constitution of the project and business plan. In the time of conflict between them, they were represented in every meeting, they were given a

chance to resolve the conflict by themselves and their respective communities were also given feedback.

- Sustainability: The respondents provided assurance of the sustainability of the woodlot on the basis that currently they are the ones who provide the security of the woodlot without being given any incentives for this. The woodlot might have been vandalised by now if they had not provided that security. The woodlot committee is the one which is the role player in securing the woodlot with support from the community.
- Benefits: The respondents differ on the aspect of benefits. About 50% of the respondents to the questionnaires felt that benefits are a long-term goal. Currently, they have not yet benefited, but they are optimistic that in the near future they will benefit because excess timber will be marketed. Benefits will not be in the form of cash, but the income generated will be used for development, for instance, they wish to build pre-schools for the children as well as improve their health care centre. They hope to share their resources equally since they are two communities. The remainder of the respondents foresee a conflict when the resources are made available.
- The advantages of people-centred development: These advantages were mentioned in both questionnaires and the respondents were also required to provide their own factors that they consider to be the advantages of people-centred development (see both Appendixes B & C).

**TABLE 2:** Responses from the total of seventeen respondents i.e. from the committee and the community.

<b>STRENGTHS OF PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT</b>	SA	A	U	D	SD	TOTAL
It empowers the grassroots	16	1				100%
It opens ground for local citizens to elect their leaders and work for the realisation of their goals through active participation	16	1				100%
Provides political education and debate at local level	17					100%
Gives local people the opportunity to decide problems facing the area	17					100%
Promotes responsiveness to local representatives	17					100%

Meanings :  
 SA - Strongly agree  
 A - Agree  
 U - Uncertain  
 D - Disagree  
 SD - Strongly disagree

The respondents also contended that people-centred development inculcates a culture of tolerance because of the two communities that have to work together. It promotes sound relations. This reflects the impetus for local unity that has been indicated by the researcher in paragraph 1.2. The respondents also claimed a sense of ownership was mentioned also in paragraph 1.2. This indicates that the respondents acknowledge the strengths of people-centred development as specified in paragraph 1.2 and 1.3.

### 4.3 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to identify and critically analyse some factors that inhibited people-centred development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project. From the interpretation and the analysis of data collected from the woodlot committee, a sample of members of the community, interviews and documents the researcher identified and analysed those factors that had hampered people-centred

development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Project. This implies that the main research question has been covered. Other interrelated research statements about the advantages of people-centred development and the role of the Amatola District Council have been highlighted.

In Chapter five, the researcher will give the conclusions based on the findings.

## **Chapter 5**

### Conclusion

This study aimed at identifying factors that retarded the development of people's participation at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Project. Those factors were identified in the preceding chapter.

Chapter two of this study covers a wide variety of aspects on people-centred development and its relevance in the South African context. The literature reflects that people-centred development involves active participation and involvement of people in development projects. Participation means that people become part of the decision-making processes. They should feel themselves to be the owners of the project. It is understandable that planning cannot be done by the masses, but they do need to be consulted and informed as well as having their interests considered. Community development committees need to be formed to act as mouthpieces and also liaise between the masses and the central authority, whether it is the local municipal authority or government department involved in that particular project. In the case of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa woodlot project, there is a woodlot committee which is the mouthpiece of the masses and also liaises between them and DWAF. DWAF needs to become the facilitator in the development of this woodlot project.

People-centred development is outlined as one of the processes of democratisation that is applied for the purposes of sustainable development. Democratisation involves the decentralisation of power from the higher authority to the lower tiers of government. This study concentrated on devolution as it is one of the forms of decentralisation that were outlined in Chapter 2. The relevance of devolution in this study is that it gives more autonomy to the local people, for instance, the power to manage the human, material and financial resources. Its relevance in this study is that DWAF devolved some of its woodlots to the communities including the Zikhova-Ngqinisa communities. The devolution by DWAF paved the way for participatory development.

The conflicting interests within the communities delayed DWAF's process of devolution and that set a barrier against people's participation. Local conflicts are commonly experienced whenever there is a development project, for instance, the same problem was experienced with the ownership of the Idutywa woodlot, with the three

neighbouring villages of Mputhi, Colosa and Mangathi. This shows that whenever there is planning for a development project, a survey or some research into the socio-political dynamics of the area needs to be carried out first. DWAF failed to make a thorough survey beforehand. The conflict could have been avoided if some research had been conducted prior to informing or consulting with the communities about the project. This also reflects that preplanning with the stakeholders involved in the project is very crucial so that conflicting interests can be known and eliminated from the outset. In the case of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Project, time has been wasted in resolving conflict over ownership which could have been sorted out at the preplanning stage of the project.

Even though this study aimed at finding the barriers to people-centred development with regard to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Project, various issues regarding development were reflected. It became clear that development involves co-operation between the government departments concerned and the local authorities, as well as within the local authorities themselves. The process of devolution which was planned by DWAF also affected the DLA because the latter controls the land on which the woodlot was established. This study also showed that DLA is the major role player in development projects since the issue of land is very crucial, for instance, the progress at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Project was delayed by the question of who the beneficiaries should be, and the same applies to the Idutywa Woodlot Project. The researcher's view is that the neighbouring village (Ngqinisa) could have been asked by DLA about its beneficiary rights before DWAF proceeded further with its plan of devolution with Zikhova. This suggests then that co-ordination and integrated planning is needed between the government departments. This factor concerning co-ordination has also been acknowledged by the current Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs, Mrs T. Didiza. In an unpublished policy statement, Didiza (2000:11-13) highlighted the necessity of closer co-ordination between government departments and the strong support of district and municipal level planning. Didiza realised the need for an integrated approach to rural development, the need for guidelines and co-ordination between the various stakeholder departments. It is also a futile exercise to theorise

about interdepartmental co-ordination without taking further steps towards implementing that policy.

Seemingly DLA had its own procedure for resolving the problem concerning beneficiary groups and that procedure should have been communicated to the people earlier to eliminate long resolution processes related to the beneficiaries. It was clear that if the neighbouring village also claimed ownership of the woodlot, it would also be regarded by DLA as a beneficiary, regardless of whether it had any rights to the land or not. This principle was applied for the purposes of the sustainability of the woodlot. This procedure was reflected in the manner in which DLA resolved the question of ownership of the Zikhova woodlot project. The Ngqinisa community had to be accommodated even though the historical records reflected that they could not claim ownership. In the Idutywa Woodlot project, the boundary map from 1910, which could be used to identify beneficiaries, was unobtainable and eventually it was decided that all the villages, that is Colosa, Mangali and Mputhi, should share the benefits.

This study also showed that a community's profile needs to be considered when starting a project. In the case of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa communities, the profile indicated that these are the poor communities in which there are a large number of people with no education. The chances of sustainability and people's participation might be hampered, but communities like these need to be developed. This implies that now more training can be done. Even though the Zikhova committee was given training by the community foresters, follow-up workshops need to be conducted in which the communities are provided with political education so that they can realise that they are also part of the government. In some instances, politically enlightened women can be invited to address local women about their role in development as it has been highlighted in this study that women still labour under the male chauvinism idea. The training of the rural communities can become an integral part of the government policy. It seems now that DWAF wanted to get rid of the woodlots in the name of delivering services to the communities. This is reflected by the fact that there were no follow-up mechanisms adopted by DWAF to ensure that the communities were well-equipped to manage the woodlot successfully for sustainable development.

We cannot dispute the fact that the rural communities are still used to the old system of the "top-down" planning. The question of people's participation is still new and is a process that requires teamwork between the government departments involved and the local authorities, in order to assist the rural poor.

This study also showed that DWAF's plans are more theoretical than practical and moreover confusing. This is reflected by the fact that although the ownership of the woodlot has been transferred to the Trustees on paper, in practice the revenue still belongs to DWAF. The committee is organising the physical work, that is removing old trees and planting new ones and also providing security but the financial aspect is still controlled by DWAF. It is in conditions like these that enlightened people in the communities need to take the lead in projects because in a case like this legal advice is needed by the woodlot committee.

One of the research questions was about the role of the Amatola District Council in contributing towards people-centred development. From the information gathered for this study between 1999 to 2002, the Amatola District Council (ADC) had no role at all. It is shown in this study that the TrepCs were well informed about the project through the former Local Development Forum of the ADC, but due to the fact that the former TrepCs could not work efficiently everywhere in the province because of their lack of capacity and facilities, this woodlot project was affected.

In considering the factors that constrained people-centred development at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Project as they are outlined in Chapter 4 of this study, it is evident that without an integrated rural development policy, coherent planning, co-ordination between stakeholders, political education, commitment and efficiency, people-centred development can be hampered. It is also reflected in this study that people-centred development depends on co-operation amongst all the participatory stakeholders. The incapability of one stakeholder hampers the delivery service. It is therefore the recommendation of this study that a new approach be taken to rural development, involving integrated planning and interdepartmental co-ordination. Capable and dedicated government officials who can co-operate with the local communities for the

purposes of attaining a desired goal, that of redressing poverty, can promote people-centred development.

## **APPENDIX**

1. Letter to the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Trust Committee.
2. Questionnaire to the Zikhova Woodlot Trust Committee.
3. Questionnaire to the sample of Zikhova-Ngqinisa Communities.
4. Zikhova Deed of Trust

**APPENDIX A**

P.O. Box 3182  
King William's Town  
5600

05 April 1999

The Chairperson  
Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Trust Committee  
Zikhova Location  
Chalumna

Sir,

**PERMISSION TO USE ZIKHOVA-NGQINISA SIDIBENE WOODLOT  
TRUST PROJECT FOR MY STUDIES**

I apply for permission to use Zikhova-Ngqinisa Woodlot Trust Project to secure information for my research studies towards my Masters Degree in Rural Development with Rhodes University.

The topic is:

**PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICE : THE CASE OF THE  
ZIKHOVA-NGQINISA SIDIBENE WOODLOT TRUST PROJECT**

I prefer to do my research at the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Project not only to qualify for my degree, but also to explore the success of people-centred development as it is the new transformative strategy in the new South Africa in the development arena.

I hope that permission will be granted to me to use the above setting as my study area.

Yours faithfully

Mrs F.Z. Pona (née Pango)

**APPENDIX B**

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE ZIKHOVA-NGQINISA SIDIBENE WOODLOT TRUST COMMITTEE**

**SECTION A**

- 1. Sex (male/female): .....
- 2. Age: .....
- 3. Educational Standard:    Self .....
- Spouse .....
- 4. Work Experience:  
    Type of Job: ..... Place: ..... Year: .....
- 5. Community: .....
- 6. Position held in community (e.g. Chairperson): .....

**SECTION B**

**COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT**

- 1. To what extent are you involved in decision-making and planning of the project?
  - a) Highly involved
  - b) Average
  - c) Low
- 2. Elaborate briefly on your involvement.  
.....  
.....

.....  
3. Does DWAF play a major role in this project?

a) Yes

b) Not sure

c) No

4. If yes, can you elaborate on the exact role that DWAF plays in this project?

.....  
.....  
.....

### SECTION C

#### SUSTAINABILITY

1. Can you provide any assurance about the sustainability of this project? If so, how?

a) Yes

b) Not sure

c) No

How? .....

.....

.....

2. Are there any other local institutions that contribute towards the sustainability of this project? If so, how?

a) Yes

b) Not sure

c) No

How? .....



Gives local people the opportunity to decide through political process problems facing their area.				
Promotes responsiveness to local representatives.				

6. The following are factors that are not mentioned in the list above:

.....

.....

.....

**SECTION D**

**BENEFITS**

1. Is the transfer of this Woodlot beneficial to you? If so, how?

- a) Yes
- b) Not sure
- c) No

How? .....

.....

.....

2. What is/was the underlying force towards developing this project?

- a) Socio-economic factors
- b) Natural resource management
- c) Both
- d) Other

If Other, specify .....

.....

.....

3. Do you think that this project will meet its basic goal? If so, how?

a) Yes

b) Not sure

c) No

How? .....

.....

.....

4. How do you think the community will benefit from the project?

.....

.....

.....

5. How do you plan to share your resources on equitable basis?

.....

.....

.....

6. What impresses you most about this project?

a) Financial Benefits

b) Empowerment

c) Sustainability of the project

a) Exploitation of the natural resources

e) Other

If Other, specify .....

.....

.....

**SECTION E**

**CONSTRAINTS ON PEOPLE-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT**

1. Do you experience any differences in objectives between the managing committee and the community?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Uncertain

If Yes, elaborate .....

.....

.....

2. How do you settle those differences?

- a) Good (participatory approach)
- b) Average
- c) Poorly (dictatorial approach)
- d) Other

If Other, specify .....

.....

.....

3. Are there any structures in the society which play a role in supporting the project (e.g. NGO's, donors, etc.)

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Not sure

If Yes, can you elaborate on their exact role? .....

.....

.....

If Yes, also indicate what would happen should they (external supporters) withdraw.

.....  
.....  
.....

4. Does the Amatola District Council contribute to ensure the success of the project? If so, how?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Not sure

How? .....

.....

.....

5. Are there any factors or aspects that inhibit the progress of this project?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Not sure

If Yes, can you elaborate? .....

.....

.....

***THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION***

**APPENDIX C**

**QUESTIONNAIRE TO COMMUNITY MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN  
SELECTED RANDOMLY FROM THE ZIKHOVA-NGQINISA COMMUNITIES.**

**Section A**

- 1. Sex: M/F/
- 2. Age:
- 3. Educational standard: Self.....  
Spouse.....

4. Work experience

Job description	Place	Year	Reason for leaving

5. Name of community

.....  
.....  
.....

6. Position held in the community (e.g. Treasurer)

.....  
.....  
.....

**Section B**

Community involvement, benefits, sustainability and constraints on participation.  
Indicate with a tick in the appropriate box and provide an explanation when necessary.

2.1 Do you support the handover of the woodlot to the communities?  
Give reasons for your answer

Yes	No
-----	----

.....

.....

.....

2.2 Do you think this devolution of the Zikhova Woodlot will be  
beneficial to you? Support your answer.

Yes	No
-----	----

.....

.....

.....

2.3 Do you think the trustees will be able to manage and control the  
woodlot as it was with the National government? Give reasons.

Yes	No
-----	----

.....

.....

.....

2.4 Can you comment briefly on how the community is involved in this project?

.....

.....

.....

2.5 Do you foresee a sustainable development in this project?  
Support your answer.

Yes	No
-----	----

.....

.....

.....

2.6 What do you notice also as the shortcoming of the involvement of the two communities?

.....  
.....  
.....

2.7 What is the attitude of the community towards the project?

- a) Positive
- b) Negative
- c) Not sure

Elaborate briefly: .....

.....  
.....

2.8 What do you think should be changed with the project, or do you support the status quo (the present situation)?

.....  
.....  
.....

2.9 Whenever there is a developmental meeting in connection with this project certain people dominate the meeting and as a result others cannot participate. How often does this happen?

- a) Regularly
- b) Occasionally
- c) Not sure

Give a brief explanation: .....

.....  
.....

2.10 Indicate with SA (strongly agree) A (agree) U (uncertain) D (disagree) for degree of agreement with each of the following possible strengths of people-centred development.

	SA	A	U	D
* It empowers the grassroots				
* Opens ground for local citizens to elect their leaders and work for the realisation of their goals through active participation.				
* Provides political education and debate at local level.				
* Gives local people the opportunity to decide through political process problems facing their area.				
* It promotes responsiveness to local representatives because they know exactly the needs of the local people.				

2.11 Are there any other strengths of people-centred development that you feel are not covered in this questionnaire?

.....

.....

.....

2.12 What can you contribute to the sustainability of this project?

- (a) Natural resources (land and water)
- (b) Manpower (skills, knowledge and labour)
- (c) Transport and shelter
- (d) None of the above
- (e) Other

.....

.....

.....

2.13 Can you elaborate briefly on the factors that constrain that development in this project, if any?

.....

.....

.....

2.14 Do you have other projects within the community?

- a) Yes
- b) Not sure
- c) No

2.15 Is your community determined to meet the objectives of this project? If so, how?

.....

.....

.....

2.16 Can you comment on the role of the DWAF in this project?

.....

.....

.....

2.17 Do you experience any discrimination along:

- a) Gender
- b) Age
- c) Class
- d) Education
- e) All of the above
- f) None

Thank you for your co-operation.

**1. DEED OF TRUST**  
**ZIKHOVA - NGQINISA SIDIBENE WOODLOT TRUST**

Whereas the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has resolved to devolve all rights to the benefits, management and control of certain Woodlots are situated in the Eastern Cape to the communities with traditional rights to the land on which such Woodlots are situated;

And whereas the said Department has agreed to devolve such benefits, management and control of one such Woodlot, known as the Zikhova and Ngqinisa communities;

And whereas the Zikhova and Ngqinisa Communities wish to form a Trust to hold such rights;

Now therefore the representatives of the said communities have agreed to form a Trust accordingly.

**2. CREATION**

The ZIKHOVA - NGQINISA SIDIBENE WOODLOT TRUST is hereby created and will be known by that name.

**3. DEFINITIONS**

8.2 In this Deed, unless the context indicates otherwise, words referring to the singular include the plural and words referring to one gender include the other two genders.

3.2 The following words shall have the meanings ascribed to them:

- 3.2.1 "The Act" shall mean the Trust Property Control Act 57 of 1988.
- 3.2.2 "The Beneficiaries" shall be the members of the Trust as provided for in this Deed of Trust.
- 3.2.3 "Member" shall be the households, persons and/or institutions admitted to membership of the Trust in terms of Clause 9 of this Deed of Trust<sup>1</sup>
- 3.2.4 "The Founder" shall mean Mr M.N. Rululu the chairperson-designate of the Community trust, and an adult of full legal capacity;
- 3.2.5 "The Woodlot" shall mean the Zikhova Woodlot, a state forest previously administered by the government of the former Ciskei;
- 3.2.6 "The Trust Fund" shall mean the entire assets or funds held and administered in terms of this Deed by the Trustees from time to time;
- 3.2.7 "The Trustees" shall mean not only the First Trustee, but also any person assumed by them or succeeding them as Trustees from time to time;

<sup>1</sup> These people are admitted in terms of Clause 9

- 3.2.8 “Date of Appointment” in relation to a Trustee, means the date of the issue, in respect of such Trustee, of a Letter of Authority by the Master of the High Court in terms of Section 6 of the Trust Property Control Act 57 of 1988
- 3.2.9 “Misconduct” shall without derogating from the generality thereof, be of any conduct by a member or any person acting for or on behalf of a member in terms of which that person obtains or attempts to obtain an advantage to himself or such member from the Trust to the prejudice of other members, and any attempt to obstruct the achievement of the aims and objectives of the Trust including but not restricted to corruption or nepotism. Improper conduct will be interpreted to mean the same as misconduct in this Trust Deed.
- 3.2.10 “Household” shall mean a family, interpreted in the narrow sense, constituted in accordance with the culture and social customs of the community ordinarily resident at Zikhova and Ngqinisa which occupy the same residence under circumstances which are continuous and permanent, and the members of which are related to the head of the family.

- 8.2 For the purposes of this Deed of Trust, a person is a member of a household, if he/she occupies the same residence as the head of that household; if the occupation of that residence is continuous or permanent; if there is a relationship of a kind between that person and the head of that household, provided that the idea of a household be interpreted in a narrow sense.

#### **4. CREATION AND NAME OF THE TRUST**

- 4.1 A Trust, to be known as the ZIKHOVA - NGQINISA SIDIBENE WOODLOT TRUST (Hereinafter referred to as “the Trust”) is hereby established.

#### **5. DONATION**

- 8.2 The founder hereby irrevocably donates to the Trustees R100.00 on the conditions and subject to the Trust set out herein.
- 8.2 The donation made in terms of Clause 5.1 hereof shall immediately vest in the Trustees, but always subject to the terms of this Deed.

#### **6. OBJECTIVES OF THE TRUST**

- 6.1 The main objective of the Trust shall be:
- 8.2.1 acquire and hold the beneficial right and/or the ownership in and to the Zikhova – Ngqinisa Woodlot, including the land, for and on behalf of the members of the Trust; and to
- 8.2.2 improve the quality of life of its members through the effective sustainable management of the Zikhova - Ngqinisa Woodlot.
- 6.2 The Trust will have the following secondary objectives:

- 6.2.1 To acquire and dispose of, in the name of the Trustees, for the benefit and on the behalf of its members, rights to property, whether movable or immovable;
- 8.2.1 To manage and administer the Zikhova - Ngqinisa Woodlot for profit and to utilise the profits so earned for the benefit of the members of the trust in accordance with the provisions of this Deed of Trust.
- 8.2.2 The provision of appropriate infrastructure, including schools, clinics, roads, housing and other social, recreational, economic, cultural, educational and religious facilities and amenities through appropriate Government and other agencies;
- 8.2.3 The development of agricultural and forestry projects and such other economically viable activities as may be decided upon by the members in General Meeting provided that wherever practically possible any opportunities for employment which are created will first be offered to members of the Trust;
- 8.2.4 To execute any action as may serve to address poverty, unemployment, socio-economic needs and historical disadvantage amongst its members.
- 8.3 No Trustee or the founder, in their capacities as such, or any of their immediate relatives in Clause 18, but they shall be entitled to all the benefits provided for in this Deed of Trust in their capacity as members of the Trust.
- 8.4 No person shall be entitled to demand any benefit from the Trust as of right, and the allocation of benefits shall be in the discretion of the Trustees, who must apply the provisions of this Deed of Trust at all times.
- 8.5 The Trust shall, in it's activities, be conscious of the need to protect and conserve the environment and all such activities, and shall be carried out in a manner which shall have due and proper regard for the environment.
- 8.6 Subject to the provisions of the Trust Property Control Act, No 57 of 1988 and the common law duties and obligations of Trustees, the Trust shall be accountable to the beneficiaries for all its activities, and shall report regularly to the beneficiaries thereon.
- 8.7 The Trust shall not involve itself in any national or international affairs of a party political nature.
- 8.8 The Trust shall not actively pr passively support any party political organisation nor shall it become a member of affiliate of any such organisation.

## **7. PRINCIPLE OF EQUITY**

- 8.2 The Trustees shall, in their administration of the Trust, apply the principle that there shall be no discrimination against any prospective or existing beneficiary, directly or indirectly. and, without derogating from the generality of this provision, on one or more of the following grounds, namely race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture or language.

## **8. ACCOUNTABILITY**

- 8.2 Each year during the months of December, January or February, the Trustees shall have an Annual General Meeting of the members of the Trust, which shall be held at Zikhova Woodlot Office.
- 8.2.1 At least 21 days notice of such a meeting shall be deemed to have sufficiently give notice of the meeting are displayed at the Woodlot Office, the Tribal Authority Hall, Local Schools, Churches, shops and clinics and any other place that the Trustees believe will bring the date, time and venue of the meeting to the notice of all the members.
- 8.2 The purpose of the meeting will be:

- 8.2.1 to hear a detailed report from the Trustees on the activities of the Trust since the last meeting and to discuss the report;
- 8.2.2 to enable the members present at the meeting to decide on policies, principles and guidelines do not conflict with the provisions of this Trust Deed
- 8.2.3 to elect Trustees under the provisions of Clause 12; and
- 8.2.4 to enroll special members in terms of Clause 9.8
- 8.3 If at least fifteen members are of the opinion that the notice which the Trustees gave the members in terms of Clause 8.1.1, 8.3.1 or 8.8 as the case may be, did not adequately bring to the notice of the members the place, time and/or venue of the meeting (herein called the original meeting), then they may, within 30 days of the original meeting, send a written petition, signed by them, to the Trustees demanding that another meeting be held.
  - 8.3.1 The Trustees and those members who signed the petition referred to in the clause 8.3 shall together call a new meeting for which at least 14 days notice must be given to all members.
  - 8.3.2 The purpose of the new meeting will be to decide if the notice given by the Trustees the members calling the original meeting was in fact adequate or not.
  - 8.3.3 If the new meeting decides that the notice was adequate then all the discussions and decisions of the original meeting shall stand unchanged;
  - 8.3.4 If the new meeting decides that the notice was not adequate, then the new meeting shall review all the discussions and decisions taken at the original meeting and confirm, review or otherwise deal with the issues raised according to the agenda of the original meeting.
- 8.4 Subject to the provisions of this Deed of Trust in general and of this clause 8 in particular, any such meeting may determine its own rules of procedure, but in the event of a decision not being possible, then the Trustees shall determine such procedures.
- 8.5 The chairperson, or in his absence, the Vice-Chairperson of the Trustees, or in the absence of both, any Trustee present and elected to such post, shall chair any meeting called in terms of this Clause.
- 8.6 A quorum for any meeting called in terms of this Clause shall be thirty members and at least five representatives from each area of the age of 18 years or older from both Zikhova and Ngqinisa, and in the event that no quorum is present within a period of minutes of the e time given in the notice of meeting for the commencement of such a meeting, then the meeting must be adjourned to a new date not more than 60 days later for which meeting a new notice of at least 21 days must be given to the members of the Trust.

## **INTERVIEWED PEOPLE**

Bosman, T. Deputy Chairperson of the Zikhova-Ngqinisa Sidibene Woodlot Trust Committee.

Filikiti, M. Chairperson of the Zikhova Local Government structure.

Group Interview of the Zikhova Woodlot Trust Committee:

Bosman, T.

Dyeyi, N.

Feni, P.

Filikiti, M.

Hute, M.

Mabala, N.

Matshanda, N.

Mzayifani, P.

Sigonyela, M.

Tshemese, N.

Tutu, S.

Rululu, M.

Mhle, G. Community Forester. Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Songca, F. Education Department Specialist.

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