

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND COMMERCE
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**TITLE: AN ASSESMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY ON POVERTY
ALLEVIATION IN ZIMBABWE**

NAME: CHADOKA RUMBIDZAI

SUPERVISOR: MRS P. B. MONYAI

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF MASTERS DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AT
UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE**

YEAR: 2006-2007

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE LIBRARY

ACC. NO.: Tool 018

BIB. NO.: 1803.5127

ITEM NO.: 23387233

ACCRONMY

AREX	Agricultural Extension Officers
AGRITEX	Agricultural Extension and Technical Service
CD	Community Development
CZI	Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries
CCZ	Consumer Council in Zimbabwe
DEAP	District Environmental Plan
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes
ETP	Employment Training Programme
FAO	Food Agricultural Organisation
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe
IRR	Institute for Rural Reconstruction
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoH	Ministry of Health
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PAAP	Poverty Alleviation Action Programme
SBA	Standby Arrangement
SDF	Social Development Fund
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SWP	Social Welfare Programme
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my utmost gratitude to Almighty God, my redeemer for opening the doors, calming the storms and opening all the doors for me. Without God I would have been non-existent, I thank Him for His sufficient grace and mercy.

Mrs P. B. Monyai who was my supervisor during my lonesome journey as she was there always to enlighten me. Mrs P. B. Monyai had an unenviable task of realigning my thoughts and arguments when I was losing focus. Thank you very much for your confidence in me. Your critical assessment of my work always forced me to reconsider all my untamed thoughts until I produced this study written in an academic style.

I would like to register my gratitude to all Development studies staff in the department and colleagues for all your support.

Finally, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my family, sisters, brothers, and mom to whom I am greatly indebted for their support, love and prayers. Mom thank you for being there for me, with all the support today I am doing what I am doing because you managed to stand and support the family.

To all friends, colleagues and relatives, my deepest gratitude for all your support for without you this journey would have been very lonely.

God Bless you all.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family, my mother (Mrs Chadoka), sisters (Mercy, Chipo, and Charity) and brothers (Tafadzwa and Simbarashe. Thank you for all your support. May the Lord richly bless you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. CHAPTER 1:BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction	1-2
1.2 Background	3-13
1.3 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	14-16
1.4 Objectives of the Study	16-17

2. CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2.1. Introduction	18
2.2 The History of Community Development	18-23
2.3 The Concept of Community Development	23-27
2.4The Concept of Poverty	28-29
2.5 Principles of Community Development	29
2.5.1Human Solidarity	29-31
2.5.2 Social Equity	31
2.5.3 Respect of human beings	32
2.5.4 Continuing Activism	32-33
2.6 Pillars (Key Themes) of Community Development	33
2.6.1Participation	33-34
2.6.2 Empowerment	34-35

2.6.3 Sustainability	36-38
2.7 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	
2.7.1 Approaches to Community Development	38-53
3. CHAPTER 3: DEVELOPMENT AND MACRO ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT IN ZIMBABWE	
3.1 Overview of adjustment Efforts	54-61
3.3 Macro Economic Policies Implications on Community Development Initiatives and Poverty Alleviation	61-65
3.4 THE CONSTITUENTS OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES	
3.4.1 Deregulation	65-66
3.4.2 Liberalisation	66-67
3.4.3 Privatisation	67-69
3.4.4 Devaluation	69-75
4. CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	
4.1 Introduction	76
4.2 The Research Paradigms	77
4.3 The Research Instrument Design and Distribution	77-78
4.4 Target Population and Sample	78
4.4.1 Population	78-79
4.4.2 Sample	79-80
4.5 Secondary Information	80

4.6 Field Work	80-82
4.7 Demographic characteristics	
4.7.1 Gender	82-83
4.7.2 Age for the strata representing Nyandoro irrigation scheme members.	83
4.8.3 Education	83-85
5. CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	
5.1 Introduction	86
5.2. THE IRRIGATION SCHEME	86-90
5.3 Employment Status and Income Levels	90-94
5.4 PROJECT INDICATORS	
5.4.1 Sustainable Employment	93-97
5.4.2 Standards of Living and Food security	97-99
5.4.3 Income Generation and the Market	99-103
5.4.4 Empowerment	103-108
5.4.5 Participation	108-110
5.5 PROBLEMS FACING THE IRRIGATION SCHEME	110-112
5.6 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS A STRATEGY FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	112-116

5.7 THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN AFRICA IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT UNDER ESAPs	117-119
6. CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	
6.1 Recommendations	120
6.1.1 Development Strategies	120-121
6.1.2 Sustainability of the project	121-122
6.1.3 Operational Strategies	122-123
6.1.4 Financial Plan/ Resources	123
6.1.5 Human Resource Development and Capacity Building	123-124
6.1.6 Approaches to inform development	124-125
6.2 Conclusion	126-128

APPENDICES

TABLE 3.1 Natural Climatic Regions	129
TABLE 3.2 Status of Irrigation development in Zimbabwe	130
TABLE 4.1 Respondants Bio data	130
TABLE 4.2 Educational Levels	131
Diagram 4.1 Education levels attained	132
BIBLIOGRAPHY	133-138

ABSTRACT

The major objective of this study was to assess the effectiveness of community development projects in addressing poverty in Zimbabwe. In order to make this assessment an evaluation of Nyandoro community project was undertaken to find out if they have managed to create employment, increase consumption and increase the incomes levels of the majority of the population within these communities as it was the intention of government. The second goal of the state for these projects was to bring equity among the citizens by empowering and promoting people's participation in decision making and to reverse the years of deprivation and neglect of the poor. Therefore this study also made an assessment of the extent to which these objectives of the government have been accomplished. The research investigates the factors hampering the upliftment of the livelihoods of the poor through community development projects.

For this study qualitative and quantitative methodology paradigms were employed. Qualitative research is one of the two major approaches to research methodology in social sciences. The qualitative perspective can give the researcher the inside view of the informants and can give the researcher a chance to probe for more information. Simply put, it investigates the why and how of decision making, as compared to what, where, and when. Whilst on the other hand quantitative is deductive and will comprise of structured questions to eliminate researchers influence (Creswell, 1994:174). These two perspectives complement each other and their convergence will increase confidence that what is being targeted is being accurately captured since any bias will be neutralised through the utilization of structured questions.

The analysis of this study leads to the following main conclusions about the experience of the poor. Firstly, poverty is multidimensional. Secondly the state has been largely ineffective in reaching the poor. Thirdly, households are crumbling under the stresses of poverty. Fourth, the social fabric for the poor people is unraveling. Lastly the macro economic policies have perpetuated underdevelopment despite the efforts of the people from below. Some members from the Nyandoro irrigation scheme feel that they are worse than they were before.

The study therefore recommends the review of approaches informing development. It is clear that in terms of holistic development, there is a need to shift from the neo liberal thinking which is merely meeting deficiencies and trying to focus on the current problem towards a more transformative participatory designed approach. Such a shift is necessary in order to steer the direction of the Nyandoro irrigation towards bringing sustainable change in the community as well as in the lives of the beneficiaries.

CHAPTER 1

1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis seeks to investigate the effectiveness of community development projects on poverty reduction in relation to the state in Zimbabwe. This is done in view of the background of the socialist pronouncements of the 1980s when the government sort to be development oriented pledging to put the needs of the people first such as education, sanitation, support for local initiatives and employment. This research seeks to look at the question of the position of community development strategies in a market system environment characterized by fiscal austerity and less government intervention in social development. Many third world countries have embraced community development initiatives in the post-independence era as an alternative strategy to development. Since Independence the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) has striven to address the racial and other inequities in the country. In the 1980s, the main thrust was to engage the Zimbabwean people in the process of managing and owning their natural resources. In the 1990s the Zimbabwean government shifted away from the socialist thinking and human oriented development to the neo-liberal position. This position was acquired through the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) in 1990. This was done with the intention of shifting the balance of forces in the economy from a significant degree of state intervention to a greater reliance on market forces.

Accordingly, the strategy sought to establish a more balanced macro-economic framework, to achieve more efficiency in relative prices and resource allocation, and to curtail declining terms of trade and inflationary pressures (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991). These ESAP reforms, however, did not manage to revive the economy as was expected, rather they led to massive retrenchments which resulted in the reduction of consumption expenditure; government expenditure on social services was also cut resulting in the increase in the inequality gap in terms of accessing these services. Only the rich could afford to pay the services being provided by private individuals and the vulnerability of the poor increased.

The study also seeks to understand the perceptions of the people within the communities where community development projects have been implemented. To get the participants perceptions this study investigated the Nyandoro irrigation scheme found in the rural areas of Mashonaland East province. This irrigation scheme lies in the southern part of Marondera urban. It is found in the semi-arid, extensive farming agro-ecological region 4. Out of this assessment, the study gives a critique of the market environment in which practitioners are implementing community development projects which is less favorable for sustainable development. A discussion, therefore, of factors impeding the success of community development in Zimbabwe is undertaken with particular focus on the SAPs

1.2 Background

The question of development in Sub Saharan Africa is even more crucial today than ever before. In Sub Saharan Africa in which former colonial rule served to "under-develop" the majority of Africa's population, the task for the new governments after independence was to "reconstruct and develop". Poverty is an issue of great concern for all of the African governments. A major characteristic of urban poverty is the emergence of sprawling informal settlements comprising illegal squatters. Rural poverty has also taken its toll since some of the policies found in most African countries are urban biased as a result of the adoption of policies from the colonial rule. Since colonisation development of the rural people has been lagging behind and has never changed for the better. Social and economic development is needed in Africa.

Many people live in communities with little or no infrastructure and in social conditions which perpetuate the problems of violence, poverty, ill-health, illiteracy and a plethora of related issues faced by Africans and the government. For example, over 40 percent of the population is still living below the poverty line: throughout the world, 800 million people, 200 million of them children, are suffering from chronic malnutrition. The school attendance ratio in the world's 48 least developed countries is only 36 percent (Saprin Organisation, 2004: 9-12, Durning 1990:43).The major communicable diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, are disproportionately rife among the poor peoples of the developing countries.

Globalisation, which involves in particular a steady rise in trade and private investment flows, offers some opportunities but also entails the risk of marginalisation. The debt burden often leaves developing countries no room for maneuver. The increasing inequality gap between the poor and the rich is proof that growth and certain forms of aid are not always enough in themselves to remedy the situation; even the strategies and policies being implemented have failed, instead they have entrenched the situation. For example, in most African countries poverty, dependency and social exclusion, are the root causes of conflict and are endangering the stability and security of too many countries and regions.

In Zimbabwe after more than two decades of a hard-won independence, the people continue to struggle against extreme social and economic challenges, and none more so than the three million who live in the Mashonaland district of the country. With frequent drought and depleted soil, the people of Mahusekwa are among the country's poorest. The isolated rural communities of this region suffer disproportionately from severe economic constraints and it is becoming increasingly difficult for the government to provide even basic services to citizens who need them.

In addition to all the challenges mentioned in the preceding paragraphs the rural majority are the most impoverished such that they can not make ends meet let

alone sending their children to school. Inadequate and unreliable rainfall and the recurrent threat of drought in the dry rural areas of Zimbabwe have restricted the potential for development of rain-fed agriculture, on which the livelihoods of most rural people depend. Attempts to break the chains of underdevelopment have been made by the Zimbabwean government to improve the lives of the rural people. In response to these complex circumstances, the hard-pressed but resilient communities of Mahusekwa are reviving simple, time tested indigenous traditions of collective action and self-help and applying them in novel ways to forge development solutions appropriate to their needs.

For such farmers who depend on agriculture for sustenance, irrigation has been seen as the single most promising intervention for minimising crop production risk, raising incomes, employment creation and increasing food security. The major intervention approach of government in these efforts has been through community development initiatives. Community development has been seen as a method that is very attractive because it promotes empowerment and holds the people to be the key factor in their development. The concept of community development requires contributions at each level of development projects. Community development as a capacity-building process is used to help communities become self-sustaining. It involves contributions from a variety of directions for instance from the Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), governments, civil society and business sector.

With the failure of the ESAP reforms in 1991 the government established a Social Development Fund (SDF) as part of the broader ESAP (Wilson et. al, 2001:201-216). According to Wilson the major thrust of the fund was to 'cushion vulnerable communities against the negative effects of the reform programme', through specifically targeted interventions. Under the SDF two programmes were developed, namely the Social Welfare Programme (SWP) and the Employment Training Programme (ETP).

In 1995, the government adopted the Poverty Alleviation Action Plan (PAAP) as the framework for poverty alleviation which was underwritten by the Social Development Fund (SDF) to finance structural adjustment related-poverty under the (1991-1995) Economic and Social Adjustment Programme (ESAP). The PAAP sought to build on to the programmes of the SDF as well as to provide a broader framework for poverty alleviation activities. The major aspects of PAAP strategy included:

- targeting of social expenditures
- decentralisation of programme implementation
- a participatory approach to poverty alleviation and
- a partnership approach to address the distortions in social provisions and poverty alleviation (GoZ, 1994:5).

Zimbabwe's National Strategy to Combat Poverty is outlined in a policy framework document, adopted in 1994, entitled the "Poverty Alleviation Action

Plan". The basic thrust of the PAAP was to invest in people as the country's key resource. The primary goal of this strategy was poverty alleviation and was supposed to have been achieved through targeted social expenditure, decentralized decision making so the poor can effectively participate, empowerment of beneficiaries through participatory methods and recognition of their expertise and knowledge, especially of their environment, move the poor from welfare to income earning productivity, and finally continue to monitor social policy and poverty indicators. Further, the programme aimed to alleviate poverty through the following strategies as outlined below:

- **Targeted Social Expenditure:** Zimbabwe believes that human development is the key to poverty eradication. Prior 1990, 20% of the country's budget was devoted every year to financing education and health. After the implementation of ESAP the government had to roll back some of its activities as minimum government intervention is one of the ESAPs requirements. There after less and less is channeled towards human development. This has led to the deterioration of the living standards of the people as they can not afford some of the social services. Recently in May 2007 when the Zimbabwean government tried to effect price controls many investors closed down as they were no longer making profits. This has led to high unemployment levels and a shortage commodities. According to MacPherson (1982:134) provision of social services through subsidies is now beyond the means of developing countries, this included Zimbabwe.

- **Community Development Programme:** This programme, which is under the PAAP, is meant to provide budgetary resources directly to communities, to finance their own community development initiatives. This process is expected to engender ownership and make communities accountable for the use of their resources.
- **Land Resettlement:** As poverty in rural areas was exacerbated by land pressures and overuse of resources, the government introduced a land resettlement programme in 1983. The government bought farms and resettled people from communal areas using specific models. Although this programme was discontinued in 1990, due to the lack of funds to purchase land, it is expected to be resumed. Though land reform was supposed to have continued under the willing buyer willing seller the government failed to resume this programme as the land owners charged exorbitant prices and at the same time the government autonomy had been eroded and they could not continue with the process of acquiring land for its people. This has been because of the prescriptions of ESAPs which it had accepted in the late 80s.
- **Rural Water for Irrigation:** To improve the agricultural productivity of the rural poor, particularly in arid and semi-arid areas, the government adopted a 'Give-a-Dam' project which ensures that each district has a dam. Irrigation projects are established to assist the rural poor to increase their income through higher productivity. The give a Dam project was also done in Nyandoro area but

because of privatisation of services the participants from surrounding irrigation schemes do not have free access to water. They have to pay to the Zimbabwe Water Authority (ZINWA) which is now managing the water services. In some instances the people of Nyandoro irrigation scheme have to go without water when they fail to pay for the services and this literally means that the higher productivity to alleviate poverty remains a dream. Community development entails utilizing the available resources within communities but the preceding example clearly illustrates that it is not always like that and is contrary to local development.

- **Rural Electrification:** The Government is mobilizing funds to electrify rural areas. A solar photovoltaic project, funded by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), is under construction to improve lighting in the rural areas. Since the reduction of government spending it has proved difficult to provide the service to its people. While reform programmes were designed to promote economic efficiency at the macro level the micro level has been neglected. As a result there has been strong emphasis on privatization of the state owned enterprises. Those that remain under the state were expected to make profit in order to reduce pressure on the government budget.
- The Government, through ESAP, intended to promote the **indigenization of the economy** as well as the development of small and medium size enterprises and the informal sector. This is said to be done through deliberate policies to

deregulate the economy, and giving financial and technical support to the informal sector. Examples include: deregulation of financial institutions to facilitate access to credit by the informal sector and SMEs; reviewing and amending laws which prevent SMEs and the informal sector from participating in the economy; and remove restrictions inhibiting environmentally sound small scale mining. However on the ground this has not been the case since Zimbabwe is now being described as a nation in dramatic economic decline. Though Zimbabwe relies heavily on the informal sector and on small and medium enterprises, the government on 25 May, Africa Day, began an operation called "Operation Murambatsvina". While government has translated this to mean "Operation Clean-up", the more literal translation of "murambatsvina" is "getting rid of the filth". The "filth" which was being referred to included the informal sector and all the small and medium enterprises. When this operation clean up was launched it was estimated that about 20% of the adult population was employed in the formal sector.

Approximately 80% of adults in Zimbabwe therefore eke out a living in the informal sector, either through subsistence farming or through informal employment in towns (Sokwanele, 18 June 2005). With earnings from this sector in Zimbabwe, they pay their rent, buy food for their children and send them to school. As many as 3-4 million Zimbabweans survive by informal employment, and their income is supporting another 4 million Zimbabweans at least (Sokwanele, 18 June 2005). It is the unofficial backbone of the economy, and in

a nation with no free health, housing or education services, to remove the informal sector is to reduce Zimbabwe's poorest to a state of abject poverty (Sokwanele, 18 June 2005. This given example illustrates that some of the policies being implemented are biased in favour of the rich.

- **Economic Reform Programmes:** Several economic programmes have been put in place to revitalize the economy with a view to eradicating poverty in the long-term. These include ESAP, Vision 2020, and the adopted Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST). The latter programme focuses on poverty alleviation and employment creation. At the time the programmes mentioned were formulated Zimbabwe was facing a rapid increase of unemployment with about one million people (about 25% of the workforce), out of work (ARB cited in Mwanza 1992: 177-178). Instead of creating employment ESAP trebled the unemployment rate and resulted in retrenchment of a great number of workers and closure of some industries including many in the informal sector. The closure of these industries created more poverty among the poor. The economic reform programmes were supposed to rehabilitate the economy but the expected results never materialized as these reforms were not addressing the core issues. Not only did these IMF programmes fail in Zimbabwe but also in Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia, because they lacked a detailed appreciation of the local environment (Mwanza, 1992:4).

- Zimbabwe also introduced **planning capacity building projects** which use participatory methods. These included District Environmental Action Plans (DEAPs), the National Plan to Combat Desertification (NAP), and the National Environmental Action Plan. As the planning process continued, identified projects could be implemented if funding is available. According to Mwanza though there has been a rigorous attempt to analyse production and market structures in recipient nations. Little attempt has been made to create the conditions necessary for internally-generated and self sustaining growth and development.

As a result, in a number of cases, the net effect of sponsored reforms has been the short term destruction of domestic industrial and agricultural activity in favour of foreign trade. The collapse of domestic economic activity when combined with deregulation and price liberalization exacerbated the inflationary spiral and contributed to growing economic instability.

It was envisaged that the central aspect of PAAP would be community development projects which financed small grants and technical assistance for investments in social and economic infrastructure, improved natural resources management as well as other small activities identified by the communities. This intervention according to the government was developed in order to strengthen the local structures, in the context of redefined responsibilities between the state and civil society that had taken place under the ESAP (GoZ, 1997:4). This process was expected to engender ownership and make communities

accountable for the use of their resources (United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development, 1992). However on the ground these objectives have not been realized because of antagonistic contradictions among different classes of people as their needs were not uniform as perceived at the inception of the programmes. The government was also not in a position to continue funding these communities.

In 1998, in addition to PAAP and SDF the government launched the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation(ZIMPREST) to cover the period 1996-2000 in response to the failure of the ESAP under which poverty increased to 61 percent in 1998 (GoZ, 1997:4).

In Zimbabwe both social and business cooperatives were initiated for community development. This decision was made in an effort to rally behind one the millennium development goals of poverty alleviation. Projects which were undertaken included water harvesting, grazing schemes, cattle fattening, irrigation farming schemes, bee keeping and poultry. Though several community projects were implemented they failed especially during the ESAP period where the budgets were scaled down in the interest of minimum government intervention. Community projects also failed to make serious inroads into the poverty problem because the interests of the people on the ground were found to be diverse, and that there was no harmony of interest as was assumed by most advocates of community development projects.

1.3 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The major question in relation to community development still remains to what extent government and development agencies have a dialogue with the intended beneficiaries to determine their needs and for the effectiveness of community development projects; are important decisions being made by the local people in the initial stages of projects or are they just being co-opted to endorse the decisions made elsewhere? Of interest also is the role being played by foreign and private investors in supporting these community initiatives given the general failure of many projects that have been started. Community development initiatives seek to address developmental problems within communities taking into cognisance the felt needs of the people. Accordingly, it is the people within the targeted communities who must define their needs and not the government or development agencies.

Another issue of interest which is of significance is the participation of people within these communities. However, what is of concern is that while there is this assumption of wide spread participation in the projects, the problem of hunger has exacerbated, unemployment and mortality rates as well as the inequality gap between the poor and the rich have not shown an improvement. Often this community projects have found themselves facing competition from the more established businesses in the market resulting in them operating at the periphery and remaining unviable. Therefore instead of mitigating against the afore-

mentioned problems, through community development initiatives, the situation of inequality and poverty has been entrenched because of the contradictions of the reforms of the globalised world and the strategies of development from below.

Attempts by African governments to address the development problems facing the communities have produced disappointing results. Many African leaders tend to focus on the symptoms of the problems rather than addressing the causes of the problems facing the communities. The fundamental problem is that of underdevelopment which is being exacerbated by the operations of the market system, which encompasses the process of capital accumulation and profit maximization. Most of these community development initiatives have to operate within the trajectory of the market system and hence the exacerbation of inequality. Therefore attempts to bring tangible results through community development initiatives have to look at the fundamental problems of underdevelopment, for to address these it will not take cosmetic community development initiatives and changes.

Foreign capital plays an important role in the formulation of key policies in Africa. The conditions attached to this type of assistance have made it an effective foreign policy tool that works primarily in the interest of the foreign donors (Khan & Sharma, 2001 and Devarajan, Dollar and Holmgren, 2001). This is particularly prevalent in most developing countries since they have become too dependant on foreign aid and loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Consequently, Africa loses control over the formulation and implementation of key policy decisions intended to address mounting problems and challenges facing the communities. For instance, the government of Zimbabwe has lost its autonomy to direct development activities even the power to protect the people has been eroded resulting in great levels of poverty. Due to the macro economic policies which include privatization, liberalization, deregulation and devaluation the results of the community development initiatives have not been impressive rather the projects have tended to become extensions of the market. Therefore this study seeks to assess the effectiveness of community development in mitigating poverty within the environment of macroeconomic reform in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The major objective of this study is to assess the effectiveness of community development projects in addressing poverty in Zimbabwe.

In order to carry out this assessment an evaluation of the Nyandoro community project will be undertaken to find out if they have managed to create employment, increase consumption and increase the income levels of the majority of the population within these communities as it was the intention of government. The second goal of the state with these community development projects was to bring equity among the citizens by empowering and promoting people's participation in decision making and to reverse the years of deprivation and neglect of the poor. Therefore this study seeks to assess the extent to which

these objectives of the government have been accomplished. The research seeks to investigate the factors hampering the upliftment of the livelihoods of the poor through community development projects.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the concept of community development as an intervention strategy for poverty alleviation in rural areas of developing countries. Community development can be described as a locally initiated project designed to harness and utilise locally available resources to create employment, empower the people, and ensure food security thus stimulating development from within (Sanders 1970:19-23).

2.2 The History of Community Development

While the notion of Community Development (CD) owes a great deal to the efforts of colonial administrators, much credit must also be given to African societies. These societies from time immemorial have been known to be involved in community development initiatives. For instance in Zimbabwe, in the Shona culture this was demonstrated through such practices such as “humwe” which means oneness at work, ‘Zunde ramambo.” In Ndebele it is referred to as “Isiphala senkosi” both meaning Chief’s Reserves Silo in English. These initiatives were designed to improve the well being of their members (Swanepeol, 2000:124-127). Nonetheless, the origin of community development as it is practiced and understood today is traceable to certain specific occurrences and periods. In the Third World, community development became popular in the

1950s and the early 1960s. As Holdcroft (1982: 207-210) points out, growth in the practice of community development in the Third World countries was influenced by a number of experiences and initiative, both inside and outside these countries.

In developed countries, certain experiences contributed to the formulation of community development strategies. For instance the Second World War left Britain a devastated country experiencing socio-economic and infrastructural destruction which resulted in increased poverty rates, high illiteracy rates and lower standards of living. This scenario prompted the British Colonial office cited in Jeppe 1985 to become more concerned with community development. The effect of this concern is that Britain shifted from being a liberal government to a welfarist state. The government became more concerned about community development projects. Mayo (1975: 130) states that the British administrators 'concocted' the term community development out of their attempts to develop 'basic education' and "social welfare" in the UK colonies. The 1944 report, on Mass Education placed emphasis on literacy training and advocated for the promotion of agriculture, health and other social services through local selfhelp in local colonies (Midgley et al 1986: 17). Similarly these concerns raised interest in rural development and educational 'extension' in North America in the first two decades of the century. Community Development is defined in one UK government publication as:

active participation, and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to achieve its active and enthusiastic response to the movement (Colonial office cited in Jeppe 1985: 2).

Writing about the sources of the concern towards community development Midgley (1986:19) states, that this arose, in part as response to the growth of nationalism, and, in part an outcome of a desire to increase the rate of industrial and economic development. Apparently, the notion began to feature strongly in United Nations documents during the 1950s - and these drew extensively on the British literature and experiences in Africa and India (Midgley et al 1986: 18).

Three important elements are identified in Midgley's work as;

- a concern with social and economic development,
- the fostering and capacity of local co-operation and self-help, and
- the use of expertise and methods drawn from outside the local community.

Within these frameworks appears to be a certain contradiction and distortions. While community development emphasizes participation, initiative and self help by local communities it is usually initiated and sponsored by national governments as part of a national plan for economic development. When initiated from the top community development fails to take cognisance of the individualities that characterise different localities in a country. While from one side it can be seen as the encouragement of local initiatives and decision-

making, on the other side it is a means of implementing and expediting nationally conceived policies at the local level and is a substitute for, or the beginning of, local government (Jones 1977: 19-27, 79).

There are some claims that community development originated in America. These are criticised by authors such as Holdcroft (1978: 37) and Ponsioen (1962:53). To them a more realistic starting point for the origins of community development is perhaps the attempts by the Institute for Rural Reconstruction (IRR), created in 1921 in India. The vision of this institute was to bring back life in all its completeness, making the villagers self reliant and self respecting, acquainted with the cultural tradition of their own country and competent to make an efficient use of modern resources for the fullest development of their physical, social, economic and intellectual conditions (Dasgupta, quoted in Brokensha et al (1969:40-42)

The Institute placed emphasis on the use of local resources and the need for an integrated approach towards community development. According to Brokensha et al (1969:41) the Gandhian Rural Reconstruction experiment which started in 1931 was similar to the IRR. However the former emphasised on self sufficiency and attitude change as prerequisites for Community Development. It can then be argued that both the Gandhian experiment and the Institute set the basis for community development for the British Colonial office cited in Jeppe 1985 since it adopted many lessons from the rural reconstruction programme and incorporated

them into subsequent colonial development approaches. It was however, not until 1944 that the colonial community development policy took shape. Community development constituted a significant part of the British Colonial office not only in India but also in the then African colonies (Dasgupta, quoted in Brokensha et al (1969:40-57).

By the end of the 1940s community development became a popular term worldwide and by then it was being used to denote government programmes aimed at the stimulation of local initiatives for community self development (Cornwell 1986:16). The popularity of community development appears to have reached its peak during the 1950s and 1960s. According to Holdcroft (1978:3) this period coincided with the time of the Cold War, a period during which the United States regarded CD as a tool or method through which democracy could be established and communism kept at bay.

In terms of Southern African experiences there are well documented initiatives of community development in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania through the Ujamaa program and Zambia where they had some successes in assisting with the delivery of education, health and other social services in the 1960 throughout rural areas. In the 1970s and 1980s, Community Development also became a part of "Integrated Rural Development", a strategy promoted by United Nations Agencies and the World Bank. Central to these policies of community development were:

- Adult Literacy Programs,
- Youth and Women's Groups Development of Community Business Ventures and particularly Cooperatives,
- Compensatory Education for those missing out in the formal education system,
- Open Education Dissemination of Alternative Technologies,
- Village Nutrition Programs and Permaculture Projects,
- Village Water Supply Program (The Whirled Bank Group, 2003).

Thus the history of community development can be traced in part from the Africans' way of life as well as from the colonialist rule. However it would appear like community development as practised today is more inclined toward integration into the world market system for the needs of the global economy. Most community development initiatives no longer focus on the needs of the people within the communities such as food production for sustenance. The emphasis is more on cash crop production and this has also led to the erosion of subsistence production.

2.3 The Concept of Community Development

According to Sander (1970, 19) community development is invariably seen either as a process or a method. According to the process view-point, community development represents incremental development, it moves by stages from one condition or state to the next. Sander argues that 'community development involves a progression of changes in terms of specified criteria'. However, the

ultimate goal in this case is stated in very broad and abstract terms. In this view, community development is neutral, precise scientific terms used and expressed in social relations denoting 'change from a state of minimum to one of maximum cooperation, and change from where a few participate' (Sander 1970, 19).

Sanders goes further to points out that in instances where community development is seen as a method, the objective is invariably concrete and specific. It is seen as a means to an end and as a way of working towards a goal (Sanders 1970, 21). As a method it is less of a belief and more of a technique which maybe used if appropriate to the project.

Community development has also meant many things to different people. To some it is regarded as an umbrella term for all kinds of development projects at the local level. To others, it has meant the representation of the local community on a project planning body and being sensitive to the beliefs and prejudices of the local people. For instance, in the cadre of professional planners and development officers various notions of community development have been present (Swanepoel 1983, 1). Very often with the professionals, community development has been regarded as something that the altruistic at heart could use to teach supposedly idle rural women to occupy their time more productively. Often it has been nothing more than a noble thought in the minds of professionals to keep the local population informed about what is being planned and done for them (Swanepoel 1983, 1-3).

Community development in De Regt's work is broadly defined as giving control of decisions and resources to community groups with a view to sustainable and wide-ranging impacts (De Regt 2003:23). Community development operations and regional strategies have increasingly embraced two important pillars of sustainability and scale, linking communities to the private sector and to local governments. According to De Regt Africa's vision of effective community development encompasses five pillars:

- empowerment of communities by providing them with tangible resources,
- empowerment of local government,
- re-alignment of central ministries and service delivery,
- accountability, and
- learning-by-doing

Regt's definition is more aligned to community development as a process which involves a transition from one stage to the other as discussed earlier in this paper.

However, Blakely (1979, 17-21) argues that community development has more to it as a method than what is explained in Swanepoel's (1983) definition. According to Blakely community development has some common traits which serve as underpinnings for ones understanding of the concept as follows:

- community development is anticipatory and is oriented towards socio economic goals. Therefore one of community development's goal is to develop and design socio economic institutions that will close the gap between human aspirations and available resources,

- it accepts that people can find ways to solve their problems through collective efforts, and it subscribes to the belief that people's productive potential can be enhanced through the creation of more institutions. Community development is optimistic and humanistic in nature,
- it aims at participation in its broadest sense. That is, it attempts to improve vehicles of participation and it adds methodologies to the participating process which enhances citizen input and decision making,
- community development is value centered and normative. The culture of a community is part of the process of human social growth and must be addressed in both research and in action.
- it views the community as a holistic and integrated network or system. It sees the community as a social system, and therefore any movement or change in one part of the system as having ramifications in all its components,
- it is concerned with the total human milieu. It intends to alter the total environment. All community conditions are taken into consideration in assessing the need and the strategy for change,
- it stresses the intervention through group and collective efforts. Concerted action of people in collective settings is the principal strategy in all community development efforts, and
- it accepts the fact that change will take place in a community regardless of who initiates it whether the experts from outside or not.

To Blakely the most important question, however, is whether the changes that are taking place are being controlled by the community or whether the community is being managed by the changes (Blakely 1979:19-23) Therefore, community development can be seen as an independent approach with its own characteristics taking into consideration the above mentioned traits which set it apart from all other approaches (Blakely 1979, 23).

The definitions outlined above share one basic element which is the self effort of local people to improve their living conditions. These and many other definitions of community development, have a tendency of under-estimating its value and normative content, that is to say, the principles underlying its purposive structure-building activities. The principles of community development include human solidarity, respect of human being for himself and continuing activism and will be discussed in depth in the in discussions which are to follow(Ferrinho 1980: 50). Such neglect sometimes leads to beautifully institutionalized facades concealing community apathy for programmes from which local people feel ideologically alienated. The requirements of governments for 'urgent 'practical' realizations have directed the experts' attention to immediate processes, methods, and techniques of action, while the necessity for integrating these into an ideology for them to become active factors of development is overlooked or is not really taken seriously.

2.4 The Concept of Poverty

Two broad forms of poverty can be distinguished; namely case poverty and community poverty. The first kind is found in more affluent societies where the individual or an individual family suffers poverty. Their material poverty is very visible compared to the living conditions of the individuals and families in the surrounding area. That is, they do not share in the general well being of the society (Swanepoel H et. al.2000: 21-23) Community poverty manifests itself in a society where almost everyone else is poor. In this instance the living conditions of the more affluent families are more visible compared to most of those living close to them. Community poverty is found mostly, but not exclusively, in the rural areas and in informal and squatter areas in the cities. Due to the fact that so many people are so visibly poor, this type of poverty is also referred to as "mass poverty", (Galbraith 1979: 1). It is this concept of poverty that this study uses to investigate the effectiveness of community development initiated projects in mitigating the problems the impoverished people are confronting. The study will adopt the community poverty since most of the people in the case study chosen for this research are poor with very few people in this Nyandoro society having well established income sources

According to the World Bank (1975:19) two levels of poverty are being experienced, namely, absolute and relative poverty. The World Bank (1975:20) describes absolute poverty as a situation where incomes are so low that even a minimum standard of nutrition, shelter and personal necessities cannot be

maintained. In other words, absolute poverty means that an individual is so poor that his or her next meal may mean the difference between life and death. According to Durning (1990:43) about 20 percent (1000 million or 1 billion) people in the world live in absolute poverty, of whom 85 percent live in rural areas, predominantly of the third world countries.

Relative poverty is an expression of the poverty of one entity in relation to another. It is not the kind of poverty which is different from absolute poverty (World Bank 1975:20-23). The concept of relative poverty refers to people whose basic needs are met, but who, in terms of their social environment, still experience some deprivations. In other words, while managing to survive, some people are materially deprived compared to others living in the same community (World Bank, 1975:20-23).

2.5 Principles of Community Development

The basic principles of community development are human solidarity, respect of human being for himself and continuing activism (Ferrinho 1980: 50).

2.5.1 Human Solidarity

Human Solidarity implies a shared feeling or spirit of unity, a common responsibility for the present and future of life of the community. Human solidarity is one of the aspects which initiators of community development take for guaranteed to be present in each and every society. This principle is supposed to

be there that is also if there are common needs among the people which is the opposite of what is happening because of the transition from one type of society to the other as the relations of production has changed and the people are competing among themselves. For example in this study it was revealed that some people delay going to the market because of low productivity but within that same community there are people who go to the market twice every two weeks.

According to Ferrinho (1980, 50-55) solidarity is not a moral responsibility manifested through intentions but is also a social responsibility which imposes, as a duty, the participation in the making and implementation of decisions about public affairs. Responsibility here refers to awareness of public interests and freedom to participate in the definition and solution of social problems. Indeed the correlation of responsibility is freedom. Ferrinho links freedom to a type of social order and the cognition which binds individuals together by conscious obligations. The same is viewed as cutting across the egoistic and self seeking considerations. Without such order and knowledge there is only anomie and arbitrariness, with no room for freedom and responsibility. Community development is thus committed to creating a continual process of social organization and education through which its members will feel increasingly free and more responsible (Ferrinho 1980:53-57).

Ferrinho further points out that such freedom and responsibility must be developed within a framework of promotive, not restrictive interdependence. By

implication, this view suggests that the relationship between components of the community should be such that attainment of one set of goals should assist and not restrict attainment of other goals. Therefore freedom and independence must exist in a symptotic social environment.

2.5.2 Social Equity

Social equity is not the same as social equality. Ferrinho (1980: 55) argues that equity is a concept of distributive justice holding that social organization should provide appropriate opportunities to all individuals to participate in the social life, to develop themselves, and to ascend in social rank according to their uniqueness and their personal merits and efforts. On the other hand equality transforms people into depersonalized units of a class to which the equality of treatment can be accorded without respect to individual uniqueness. Therefore community development as a social movement directed towards individual self realization of autonomy integrated in communities must be founded upon equity, not equality, and must strive, not against inequality/equality, but against inequity. Ferrinho argues that in order to prevent inequity of a social order in which the self actualization of individuals and groups in general is impeded by the interest of the elite in power, the institutionalized methodology of action in community development must be democratic, in spirit, and in organization, and operation of the projects (Ferrinho 1980:55-57). This means the opportunity for all to express ideas and concerns and to participate in decisions regarding collective issues.

2.5.3 Respect of human beings

The respect of a human being for oneself involves acceptance of all other human beings as fellows and refusal to be blinded to their common human condition by their race, nationality, social status or any other attributes. In consonance with this, human being in any community must be seen, by themselves as well as by others, as the ends and the means of community development (Ferrinho 1980:50-63). To consider any human being merely as a means of development is to alienate him/ her from the results of his/ her action and to transform him/ her into nothing but an instrument of the purposes of the other. Alienation is a feature of the market oriented approach so if it comes into existence it undermines cohesion within community development projects. The market oriented approach advocates for profit maximization through maximum division of labour and specialization thereby resulting in the marginalization or alienation of some of the people within the societies thereby adversely affecting the community cohesion initiative.

2.5.4 Continuing Activism

Continuing activism of people is essential for the viability of community projects as its ends and means. According to The Unesco Courier in Ferrinho (1980:52), if a man must clearly be the objective and beneficiary of development, he is in the first place its agent. Continuing activism does not only mean active participation in power sharing or decision making but rather it includes attitudes towards practical realization, or actualization, of philosophical principles. Though

continuing activism is essential for community development on the ground this has not been practiced because of the structure of the market system. Not everyone is involved in decision making, very few people are involved in the conceptualization process in the capitalist system the rest are there to execute the duties by providing labour. This is contrary to the process of community development which calls for continuing activism.

2.6 Pillars (Key Themes) of Community Development

2.6.1 Participation

Participation appears to be pivotal in all aspects of life that requires combined effort. In support of this view, Rahman (1993:150) defines participation 'as an active process in which the participant takes initiative and takes action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they can exert effective control'. Popular participation therefore goes beyond the mere provision of labour and other input for community development projects. (Ghai & Vivian 1992: 53-54). It should be viewed as a means of empowering people by developing their skills and abilities, thus enabling them to negotiate with the development delivery system and equipping them to make their own decisions in terms of their development needs and reality (Oakley 1991:9).

In spite of the emphasis that is placed on individual popular participation, the importance of external stimuli and change agents as catalysts for the implementation of the development process can not be denied. Chambers

(1983:214) supports this assumption by stating that change agents should be seen as 'enablers, enabling those who are variously poor, powerless and remote to control more of their lives, to have more choice, and to demand and have more services. The change agents can either be internally or externally sourced. Change can be resisted especially if it is not initiated by the community itself. For there to be successful community development there is need for the highest level of participation of all members so as to engender the sense of accountability and responsibility. Participation like continuing activism in community development of community members can assist with the formation of cooperative relationships and channel their knowledge, time, and economic resources through civil society organizations to achieve positive development outcomes. Without all members participating or taking part in the activities of the community development project there is bound to be a division among the members and no sense of ownership among the participants since they will view themselves as decision takers or endorsers.

Therefore the community can be subjected to Gramsci theory of change which stipulates that the community people need to be concerted to ensure the success of the envisaged change.

2.6.2 Empowerment

According to Burkey (1993:59) and Max Neef (1991:62), empowerment can be viewed as a process that makes power available so that it can be used for

manipulation of access and the use of resources to achieve certain development goals. Through the process of empowerment people must be able to express and assert what development means to them because without this process development from within utilising available resources and the fulfillment of basic needs can not take place. The strategy used to ensure that the results of the process of empowerment are fully exploited is Community Development.

Conyers and Hills (1990:18) argue that participatory development management is also necessary to ensure that the process itself remains on course. Community development in this aspect concerns a process in which decisions are made regarding how available resources are to be used in order to achieve development goals. Therefore for rural people to participate in projects there is need for the empowerment of the participants for community initiatives to be a success. The empowerment of a community refers to an increase in its strength, improvement in its capacity (*ability*) to accomplish its goals. For community initiatives to succeed the members need to be capacitated through skills development such that when they are left on their own to manage the project they will not face difficulties. It is also very important to note that for community development projects to be viable they should adhere to the principles of participation, empowerment and sustainability in order to be in agreement with the process of development. [o be for community initiatives to be a success.]

2.6.3 Sustainability

Repetto (1986:15) defines sustainable development as follows

'.....a developmental strategy that manages all assets, natural resources, and human resources, as well as financial and physical assets, for increasing long term wealth and well being .Sustainable development as a goal rejects policies that only focus on the current living standards by depleting the productive base.....'

The definition given by Repetto clearly show that when developmental issues are being discussed there is need to take into consideration the future generation and use the available resources in a conservative manner without depriving the generations to come. However if one analyse the situation on the ground in Zimbabwe and many other African countries there has been depletion of resources and were foreign investors are involved no action is taken against them because of so many agreements which most of the countries in Southern Africa have entered into at global level which include the SAPs and WTO. Such agreements have made it extremely difficult for people on the ground to take conservative measure to protect the resources available since these resource are supposed to be accessible to foreign investors if they want them. In some instance the community projects have also caused soil erosion and gully erosion mostly those involved in brick moulding.

Honadle & Van Sant (1985:52) in their argument point out that sustainable development deals with a continuous flow of benefits. The ongoing flow of benefits and resources is also a restricted process, especially in terms of degradation of developmental, ecological and environmental resources. Pierce et. al (1990:3) and Bryant et al (1982:17) underscore the above point when they state that the general requirement for sustainable development as a vector of community development is that it be 'non decreasing over time'. The basic idea is really a simple one: sustainable development is about continuity. At the local level, it is about residents looking ahead not just twenty years, or even fifty years, but a hundred years or more and finding their community still functioning, still thriving.

Despite its ubiquity in the community development literature, the concept of sustainability continues to be marginal in its impact on local public policies and programs. Few communities have incorporated sustainability in the management of their affairs. Such avoidance seems at least partly rooted in the perception among people and government officials that sustainability is not practical, that it is utopian by nature and, therefore, not really very meaningful. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth (Edward J. Jepson, 5 February 2007). Now more than ever, the future of the rural poor must be something that is deliberately created through public choice. It can no longer be left so much to the forces of the market. That's because the only signal that the market heeds is price. But

that signal isn't enough to protect the future. There are many other signals that must be heard and heeded.

From the discussion above, it is important to note that popular participation and empowerment constitute a central component of sustainable community development, in that sustainable development should be based on the beneficial attainment of access to and mobilisation of resources by the poor in order to address their basic needs.

2.7 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The following section discusses three major theoretical approaches to community development namely transformational approach, improvement approach, and alternative development theories.

2.7.1 Approaches to Community Development

According to the publication of the United Nations (1971b:2) entitled Popular participation in Development: emerging trends on community development, community development is a concept under contestation. It has come into usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities. The aim of their effort is to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and enable them to contribute fully to the

well being of their community. There is a partnership of governance, community-based organization and private enterprises so as to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. Therefore, community development can either be improvement or transformational in nature (Long 1977:8 & MacPherson 1982:171-172). Both the improvement and the transformation approaches are made up of two essential elements which are:

- the participation by the people in efforts to improve their levels of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiatives; and
- the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self help and mutual help and to make these more effective (Long 1977:8-9,148).

Though the improvement and the transformational approaches are said to consist of two similar elements they however operate in differently resulting in them having different impacts on human development through community development initiatives (Long 1977:148-149 & MacPherson 1982:171-175).

According to Long (1977:144-149), the improvement approach is essentially used in conventional community development and is dominated by an emphasis on extension, transmission of policies downwards, resource and technical advice and assistance with the purpose of increasing production within existing political and economic system. The improvement approach is inclined towards the neo-liberal thinking. This approach does not seek to disturb the status quo. Though,

there might be consultations with the indigenous inhabitants such consultations do not seek to alter this fundamental locus of power. In such instances, power ultimately remains in the hands of the elites.

The improvement approach subscribes more to the neo-liberal thinking which leads to the out crowding of the majority of citizens from active participation which is one of the core elements of community development. Participation under community development must not be viewed as an end in itself but rather it should be viewed as a means to an end. However, under the improvement approach informed community development projects participation is seen as an end in itself thereby choking any development insights (Macpherson 1982: 169-177). As alluded to earlier on participation is conceived to be a pillar of community development. It is defined as a means of empowering people through developing their skills and abilities in decision making (Conyers and Hills 1990: 18-19).

The improvement approach by virtue of being more aligned to the market has a tendency of underestimating the participation and the empowerment of the poor people as it tends to protect the rich. Thus it tends to maintain the status quo. It also undermines sustainable development as a vector for community development as it focuses more on the short term well being of the people without considering the future (Long 1977:149). The improvement approach does not address the causes of the hurdles being experienced it rather addresses the

consequences. Under the improvement approach, the technocratic redistribution strategy is the one which is preferred most. This strategy places emphasis on the trickling down of the benefits of an economic growth and therefore only the rich enjoy these benefits while the poor continue to suffer.

In other words the improvement approach works hand in hand catering for the needs of those who are well off thereby neglecting the needs of those at the periphery. This approach to development is a direct opposite of the objectives of sustainable community development. Thus it becomes imperative for this study to be carried out since it seeks to assess if such environment is conducive for community development initiatives. An example of a community project where the improvement approach was adopted is the Institute for Rural Reconstruction in India. This project had two broad aims, namely, improvement in conditions and the process of integrated culture change seeking to transform the social and economic life of the villages. According to Dube cited in Macpherson 1982: 173-177(1958:8), the intention of the planners was to engender in the people a 'burning desire for change', but this was to be done 'through progressive improvement of the existing socio economic system.

Dube cited in Macpherson (1982: 173-177) notes that the planners encountered a number of problems. Many people were hostile to this idea. Even the production related co-operatives were not accepted by the inhabitants of the targeted communities as they regarded these projects as official organisations

imposed from outside. Moreover, when these projects were set up, membership, the type of leadership as well as the leadership positions were monopolized by people of high social and economic status. The general population found the complex rules and administrative procedures tiresome and they became afraid to get involved in complicated legal issues. This resulted in the demotivation of most of the poor people. They ended up feeling that they were not part and parcel of the projects to be implemented as they did not have even the background knowledge of what was taking place. This proved that most project advocators were not people from within the impoverished communities but from outside the communities who did really not know the needs of the targeted population.

The improvement approach has two fundamental shortcomings; firstly it leads to the reinforcement or development of socio economic inequalities in the country side. Sometimes this has resulted in the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. Thus this approach tends to entrench existing economic differences leading to more marked patterns of stratification based on differential access to the new technology and facilities. Another weakness of this approach is that it does not address or affect the prevailing maldistribution of the productive forces. According to Long, (1977:156) agricultural extensions in some instances may result in substantial increases in productivity and production. This can be achieved without any qualitative change in the socio economic and power structure of rural areas.

The improvement approach is informed by the modernization theories which view the process of development as a series of successive stages of economic growth through which all countries must pass. The modernization theory was and is primarily an economic theory of development in which the right quantity and mixture of saving, investment and foreign aid were and are all that is necessary to enable the Third world nations to proceed along with economic growth that was historically experienced by the developed countries.

The improvement approach and the technocratic redistribution strategy are essentially reformist, liberal and humanistic in nature. They do not seriously question the applicability or the 'wisdom' of externally led or top down project management for communities. According to Pines (1979:45) the technocratic strategy can indeed be labeled as 'system maintaining", as an instrument for the powerful to protect established interests that maintaining the status quo.

The strategy stipulates that in order to improve the standard of living of the poor they need to be brought into the main stream of the market economy. To achieve this the technocratic strategy advocates that economic growth is necessary so that there will be trickle down effects through which income will be raised and opportunities created for the poor to be integrated through the workings of the market mechanisms (Monyai P. 1995:l-5).

The technocratic strategy is based on the following three assumptions:

- That the economic system is a perfect mechanism free of blockages and facilitates the spread of the benefits of growth.
- Those resources are swiftly and efficiently reallocated in response to changing market opportunities.
- That without any active intervention by the government the market mechanism will redistribute the fruits of the domestic growth and integrate the poor into the production process through trickle down effects (Monyai, 1995: 3)

Another redistribution approach aligned to the improvement approach is the Reformist strategy which advocates distribution at the margin. According to Monyai (1995:7), the distribution through this strategy is effected by taxing the rich in order to redistribute to the poor, or redistribute the extra income accruing to the rich as the economy grows, or through technological invention or through setting the right prices for capital, labour, foreign exchange and products and services of public enterprises.

The problems of the reformist strategy are that it has failed to make a breakthrough in terms of income redistribution. The reason being that it is marginal and that if it threatens to be non marginal it is resisted by the elite. The question of controlling the prices confronts serious problems where ownership of assets is concentrated in the owners of the means of production (Monyai 1995:8). This is so because such price controls challenge the existing status and is bound to be resisted. Also redistribution through prices does not help the poor

because such controlled prices will not be for the poor alone but for both the poor and the rich. Hence there is no material change on the part of the poor.

The arguments of the modernisation theorists, are not compatible with community development initiatives for sustainable development. The inclination towards foreign intervention through foreign aid has tended to ignore the negative effects of such assistance. For instance the deregulation aspect of the structural adjustment programmes of the IMF and WB has dismantled the state to such an extent that the host state plays a minimal role in all facets of development. Thus foreign aid and foreign direct investment tends to incapacitate the host states (Mwanza A, 1992:93-95).

It may be prudent to conclude that most problems being faced by host states such as the deteriorations of health services, hunger, unemployment, political instability may be beyond the capacity of the state in Africa. According to Mwanza (1992:81) reinforcement of the modernisation theory's ideas and neoliberal thinking through the structural adjustment conditionalities have undermined all efforts for sound and sustainable development to take place from below. This is because under the present trajectory foreign policies are being used to lessen the responsibility to deliver on the state thereby entrenching the position being occupied by the masses.

Another major criticism of the modernization theory is its inability to take the global situation into account, which influences the activities and decisions being made at local level. As such obstacles to change are seen as primarily internal, the external factors are not seen as having any negative consequences on local and community development and the advanced industrial societies as the champions of development (Swinepoxes H. et. al.2000:13-19). However, in reality most development oriented projects have found the market system environment a challenge in itself. Most community development projects have failed due to rules and regulations which restrict them from making a breakthrough. The rules and regulations which cripple community development projects from participating or getting into competitive segments within the market include the marketing standards required and the copy Wright systems introduced by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) which have perpetuated monopoly domination.

The market system also neglects blockages in the economic system. Such blockages are associated with socio economic and government policies that tend to produce inequality and inefficiency. The net result of these inequalities and inefficiencies is low productivity which further affects the poor. The state's social controls and institutions tend to favour a minority who are the powerful and the rich. This scenario results in the confinement of the poor in the periphery and perpetuating the unequal distribution of income among the population (Monyai, 1995:3).

The market based policies advocated by the technocratic strategy, through the improvement approach negate the effort of rural social development and community development by neglecting the needs of the marginalized. These policies further tend to ignore the need for institutional changes thus failing to uplift human livelihoods through community development. The strategies put priority and emphasis on development for the needs of the market rather than development for the needs of the people especially the rural poor (Monyai, 1995:3).

Korten (1990:4) is one of the main theorists of alternative development. Korten argues that the critical issue in development is not only growth but transformation. More so community development projects must be informed by the transformation approach. The transformation approach has to be high on the development agenda as the future depends on achieving the transformation of institutions, technology, values and behaviour consistent with ecological and social realities.

The transformation approach to community development is frequently contrasted with the improvement. The transformation approach is an off shoot of the alternative development thinking which is radical in nature and seeks to transform all the spheres of life within a society for sustainable development to take place (Long N, 1977:10). The most appropriate strategy of redistribution of

resources under the transformation approach is the radical redistribution strategy as it seeks to address the issues of inequality in a more radical manner.

Under the transformation approach, community development focuses on change and on the increase in the ability of community systems to create desirable change, to adapt to unavoidable change and to ward off undesirable change (MacPherson, 1982:171). It works from the historic proposition that community systems have not been well equipped to direct, to respond to, or to moderate change and its consequences. As the rates and range of change accelerate and expand, community capacity to deal with change has become even more critical. All the three pillars of community development, namely, active participation, empowerment and sustainability are realised in such an environment (MacPherson 1982:168-177).

The transformative approach has the greatest potential for enabling beneficiaries to confront and overcome adversities of humanitarian crises as it liberates participants from the mind set of dependency and oppression (Watkins 2003:101-103). The transformation approach destabilises the status quo through the implementation of the radical redistribution strategy which advocates for equal distribution of resources among the rich and the poor through the transformation of structures. Myrdal cited in Monyai (2005:7) calls for institutional changes that do not allow the reinforcement of social cleavages where the economic system is divided into rich and poor sectoral pockets.

Myrdral points out that there is need for breaking down the vicious circle of poverty in which most of the people are trapped. For this to materialize there is need for redirecting investment to the poor to provide them with the means to participate.

In Korten's (1990:4) opinion, transformation must address the following three basic needs of the global society:

- *Justice*. This requires that all people should have the means and the opportunities to produce a minimum decent livelihood for themselves and their families. The transformed society must give priority in the use of the earth's resources to afford all people the opportunity for a decent human existence.
- *Sustainability*. Sustainability requires that each generation should recognize its obligation towards stewardship of the earth's natural resources and ecosystem on behalf of future generations. The transformed society must use the earth's resources in ways that will assure sustainable benefits for their children.
- *Inclusiveness*. This requires that everyone who chooses to be productive, contributing community member should have the right and the opportunity to do so and to be recognised and respected for his or her contributions. The transformed society must afford everyone an opportunity to be a recognised and respected contributor to the family, community and society.

While Korten puts forward an excellent argument here, the issue is neither growth nor transformation - it is the complementarity of both. One needs both

growth and transformation. Furthermore, the issue of justice is stated as though it is easy to achieve. One only needs to refer to the dependency theorists' claim that people are born dominated even in rural societies and recognise the fact that it is not easy to operate in isolation. Poor societies or families do not have the time or strength to think about long-term goals. Their focus is on what they will eat today and how they will procure food. In that situation, it is difficult to focus on the future of their children. They are in a survival mode and the issues of environment are secondary. They see the resources around them as a resource to be used in order to survive. While Korten's challenge to transformation is admirable, operationalising it poses challenges.

Alternative development in the 1990s therefore can be characterised as militant, activist and radical because of these challenges (Stewart 1997:148). It militantly rejects the mainstream's growth paradigm and aims at creating and expanding a social movement to oppose and transcend this paradigm. This differs from the comfortable view of participation in most development projects and programmes and is further proof that one cannot operate in isolation from others, although this was the original idea in this theory.

Alternative development theories emphasise the importance of people-centered development with a strong focus on transformation and environmental issues. It aims at giving the masses power to act in a world dominated by the rich (Stewart 1997:148). It claims that the micro-level should be the primary focus and should

determine macro-level growth. It emphasises the importance of social movements that are critical at micro-level in order to empower people to face the issues of justice, inequality and sustainability. It opposes the current economic growth models believed to perpetuate poverty, unemployment and social alienation.

Alternative development is based on the empowerment of people to actively participate in a sustainable development process. Alternative development differs from sustainable development theories in that mainstream sustainable development attempts to work within existing economic growth models while alternative development theories argue for the changing of these economic growth models (Korten's, 1990:4).

The third theoretical approach to community development is the basic needs approach. The objective of a basic needs approach is to ensure that human beings have the opportunity to live full lives. To this end, the approach focuses on securing access to minimum levels of consumption of certain basic goods and services. The radical basic needs approach, attaches fundamental importance to poverty eradication as one of the main objectives of development through structural changes so as to pave way for the poor to be the major participants in development activities and initiatives through such strategies as community development. Though some neo classical advocates might reject the basic needs approach on the basis that increased consumption will take place at the expense

of investment. This study dispute this notion in favour of the radical basic needs approach working hand in hand with the alternative development thinking as well as the radical approach for redistribution of resources as a significant approach for community development initiatives. This study argues that the basic needs approach will not decrease investment but give it a broader, more rational base and the increased consumption for the very poor is a necessary base for economic and political development.

This study goes further to argue that there are also objective economic benefits to a radical basic needs strategy beyond poverty alleviation and potential for increased employment. The basic needs approach, along with investment in farmer and worker productivity, are investment in human capital. The debilitating effects of malnutrition and poor health decrease the work capacity and the productivity of the people. The relevance of the basic needs approach to community development is also evident since the basic needs is a clear point of intersection community participation and organizations which are focal points in community development initiatives.

Attention to basic needs, especially through participatory structures, tends to change the reality of the lives of the poor, and may change the distribution and access to the political system and to resources (Owens 1987: 17-19). Furthermore, if participation is to be encouraged, the efforts of a people to provide themselves with basic needs may be the most efficient way to address

poverty issues. A striking example is of those community development initiatives of water provision under the give a dam programme of the government which provided water to the rural communities including Nyandoro.

The alternative development thinking is informed of the radical basic approach. This approach favours a redistribution of income and wealth in the developing countries, so that an effective demand for basic goods and services can be created among the poor. Therefore it is the view of this study that debates of the radical thinking need to be brought back into development efforts. The study is arguing for the “rethinking” on community development within the context of the failure of the market to address poverty and to improve the lives of the poor. The radical approach engenders values that are needed for community development it is governed by the equitable access to public services for all as its principle. This is seen both as an end in itself, and a means for raising the productivity of the poor. Therefore this study argues that the radical approach is the most appropriate for sustainable community development. The development theories examined in this chapter lay a foundation upon which a specific view of community development can be understood.

CHAPTER 3

3. DEVELOPMENT AND MACRO ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT IN ZIMBABWE

3.1 Overview of adjustment Efforts

Zimbabwe like many other countries has embraced a number of projects in an effort to mitigate against the effects of poverty. These initiatives have not managed to bring about sustainable changes in the social and economic status of the poor. Their failure has also been due to the policy environment in which they were implemented, that is the free market system which gives undue emphasis on macro austerity at the expense of human development. The prevalence of this market system and its domination has made it difficult for the peripheral zone to develop through community development projects.

For instance, with the adoption of the ESAPs government-provided credit to smallholders was scaled down, as were marketing subsidies and grain-buying depots in communal areas in countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi (Atkins and Thirtle, 1995). In 1990, the government of Zimbabwe launched a programme of structural adjustment with the backing of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which deregulated the agricultural pricing policy and reduced public expenditures (Marquette, 1997). Implementation of this programme coincided with an unusually severe drought across southern Africa in 1991-1992, causing declines in agricultural production, employment and wages, as well as in

other indicators of social welfare that had improved dramatically in the 1980s. In spite of increased population pressure on smallholder lands, the total cropped area in Zimbabwe has decreased slightly since the mid 1980s (Jayne *et al.*, 1994), and fertilizer purchases by smallholders have stagnated since 1993 (Jayne and Jones, 1997).

In 1992 large price increases were experienced both for local and imported maize such that the government had to provide substantial maize subsidies on maize meal prices paid by the customer. In that year the emphasis on the maize pricing policy was dominated by the need to achieve rapid recovery from the drought. For instance the producer price for white maize increased from Z\$275 per tonne in 1991/92 to Z\$550 per tonne in 1992/93 and Z\$900 per tonne in 1993/94 (Takavarasha).

In 1993 maize trading was deregulated in all parts of the country with the exception of the actual premises of the large millers, which were designated as Zone A and were confined to sourcing their grain from the Grain Marketing Board. In Zone B, maize trade was left unrestricted. According to Takavarasha this resulted in an increase and rapid growth in small scale maize milling activities and increased cheaper roller meal for consumers. The rigid single channel marketing system which prevailed earlier on was replaced by more flexible multi-channel system.

However, while these gains might have been welcome the benefits of deregulation of the pricing policy were not being enjoyed by all farmers, but only the commercial farmers who had ventured into crop diversification and are capital intensive. Therefore the policy of deregulation perpetuates the unequal distribution of resources among the farmers (Balassa, 1987: 14). The smallholder farmers were left to suffer. Market and price reforms for the other previously controlled products followed a similar pattern. ESAPs in Zimbabwe have become detrimental to development oriented programmes, in particular, the domestic programmes such as the community development programmes. The curtailment of the viability of community development projects have been mainly due to lack of financial support and lack of state support.

According to Balassa (1987:17), the liberalisation of prices worsened the inflationary spiral and also resulted in a regressive shift in income distribution and a limitation of real public expenditure. ESAPs were meant to achieve economic stabilisation, however widespread research evidence indicates that trade liberalisation has failed to stabilise the developing economies but rather it has destabilised the basis for domestic accumulation and has crowded out upcoming activities thereby thwarting community development plans and self reliance initiatives (Fundanga 1991, cited in Mwanza 1999:4). Zimbabwe's 1991 ESAP liberalized the economy but failed to control the government's budget deficit, which has averaged nearly 10 percent of GDP annually since independence.

Economic liberalization without deficit reduction contributed to economic stagnation and limited job creation (Balassa 1987:17-23). Higher costs for food and social services, combined with declining formal sector wages and the lingering effects of severe drought in 1991–92, left many of the poor worse-off than before adjustment began. Although the government tried to protect spending for health and education, large budget deficits fueled inflation and led to growing interest payments, which contributed to declines in real health spending and real wages for health workers. These interest payments three-quarters of which are for domestic debt represent over three times the government spending on health. Program design failed to give priority to deficit reduction (for example, by cutting taxes), but the government regularly missed deficit targets by implementing unbudgeted programs (such as the payments to war veterans). Although health workers were protected from retrenchments, the downsizing of the Ministry of Health (MoH) administrative and maintenance staff reduced efficiency and added to morale problems without generating significant savings.

Furthermore, the tendency of the IMF conditionalities is to choke the indigenous sector and to enhance the dominance of international capital by advocating for minimum intervention of the state. The withdrawal of state support is contrary to community development initiatives since support is still needed from the state and the private sector for the viability of these projects. The adoption of ESAPs has also perpetuated the marginalisation of the poor through the entrenchment of their current position within the economy as they are made to compete with well

established enterprises for resources in whatever dimension of development without back up support.

State sovereignty has also been undermined by finance capital which daily transverses the globe on a massive scale in milli-seconds. The international finance capital is mainly dominated by the super powers and this has led to the exclusion of the majority of the rural citizens resulting in the failure of their community projects as they are not able to access financial assistance from the banks and private institutions and the government can not do otherwise as it is tied up with conditionalities.

Zimbabweans have been adversely affected by the recession and curtailment of consumption as well as measures undertaken under the stabilization and adjustment programmes. The prices of basic commodities especially food have more than quadrupled, government expenditure has decreased and school dropouts have also increased. Furthermore real wages and employment have been reduced severely especially in the low income households. However, the rural population is the hardest hit as they are also affected by price incentives for agriculture production, subsidy removal on agricultural inputs, agricultural product market liberalization and industry price de-control, among others. All these have resulted in the social exclusion of the rural poor. According to Mhone (1995:101-103) social exclusion refers to a process and condition of deprivation and exclusion from the benefits and rewards of society.

Continentially, the effects of these policies have been quiet consistent. According to Bond, (2003: 22) budget cuts have depressed effective demand of African economies, leading to declining growth. Bond further argues that often the alleged 'crowding out' of productive investment by government spending was not actually the reason for lack of investment, so the budget cuts were not compensated for by the private sector growth. Also the takeover by the private sector did not distinguish which state enterprises may have been more strategic in nature. The process was too often accompanied by corruption, and often suffered from the foreign takeover of domestic industry with scant regard for maintaining local employment or production levels. In addition to this the IMF and WB economists have never attempted to determine how state agencies could supply services that enhanced public goods and 'merit goods' (Bond, 2003:23)

ESAPs also disabled African economies from fundamentally changing their character as primary commodity producers, a situation which is the source of the crisis of Africa's economies. This is particularly important because many of the ESAPs policies are designed on the basis of a questionable 'comparative advantage' in that they aim to strengthen the ability of African economies to produce what they were already producing, primary commodities. The total trade liberalisation, high interest rates and the full removal of subsidies have threatened both agriculture and domestic industries. Agriculture, especially food production, has also been adversely affected by interest rates and the high prices

of inputs. There is consensus that low commodity prices have not brought the economic returns expected from the promotion of export agriculture.

Also, ESAPs have a negative impact on the environment. Export promotion has increased extractive activities, such as logging and mining, leading to deforestation and mining pollution and the reduction in and degradation of land which can be used for the livelihood of ordinary people.

In political terms, it has been demonstrated that ESAPs were predicated on authoritarian governments. The WB and the IMF comfortably negotiated ESAPs with many such governments for years and the good governance conditionalities instituted in the late 1980s did not amount to support for democracy.

The distributional effects of ESAPs have been criticised as undemocratic in that they support accumulation by the trading and propertied classes at the expense of poor peasants, workers and the urban poor, the majority of whom are women. The ownership of ESAPs has been another area of widespread concern. ESAPs are essentially seen as an imposition by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) on developing countries which have no part in their design. This perception is fuelled by the lack of information about ESAPs negotiations and decisions in adjusting countries. The SAPs debate has also been dominated by foreign academics with better access to research and publishing sources than African scholars.

The foreign and undemocratic control of SAPs is an important factor in the stringency of conditionalities and their lack of attention to the social effects and the long-term development aspirations of adjusting countries and their populations.

3.3 Macro Economic Policies Implications on Community Development Initiatives and Poverty Alleviation

Mainly as a result of restrictive government controls across most sectors, during the 1980s, the Zimbabwe economy grew by a moderate annual average of 3.5% (Mwanza et al 2001:5-11). Coupled with a high population growth rate of 3.2%, the net result was a marginal increase in the per capita income (Edward, 2007). This situation was clearly at variance with the government penultimate goal of poverty reduction and improvement of the position that the majority of the population had inherited from the colonial era. In effect, from independence the government had set itself the objective of significantly reducing, if not eliminating poverty by the turn of the century (Mwanza A.1992: 18-34).

Recognizing that urgent measures would be needed if this goal were still to be attained, in 1991, the government embarked on a comprehensive first phase Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) with the intention of establishing a market oriented policy environment and the basis for more rapid and sustainable growth (Saprin Organisation 2004:17-23). The programme was

supported by the IMF, the World Bank, the ADB Group and other multilateral and bilateral donors. Far-reaching reforms were implemented in the areas of trade policy, foreign exchange management, credit policy, deregulation (labour market, agricultural marketing and interest rates) and price liberalization. Reforms were also instituted in the fiscal and financial sector policy and management with the aims of reducing the large budget deficit and increasing financial sector competition (Mwanza A. 1982:11). The major areas of policy reforms addressed the following:

- deregulation; the budget- public finance, economic regulation
- trade liberalization and export promotion
- privatisation; Investment promotion and incentives
- devaluation; monetary policy and financial sector reform
- social aspects and adjustment (Chidzero cited in Rukuni & Eicher 1994).

For instance in countries like Zimbabwe, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya and many others, the initiatives of development from below have actually perpetuated internal colonization and exploitation of the poor. Instead of improving the livelihoods of the poor, they have actually reinforced their peripheral position as permanent. All these effects have been experienced because the so called community development projects are conceptualized from outside the targeted communities. The entrenchment of these peripheral zones have resulted in the increase to the vulnerability of the poverty stricken people through the lack of and

inaccessibility to social services which include health, housing, education and an increase in unemployment rates.

According to Cox in Monyai (2005; 4) the neo liberal market led model has two effects on development and these are, firstly it disembeds the economy from the society and social concerns so as to allow the market to function without political or social constraints thereby making the market a dominant and unrestricted power over society. Secondly it transforms the state from being the buffer between external economic forces and the domestic economy into being an agent for adapting economies to the exigencies of the world economy.

Monyai further states that the global economy is characterised by greater polarization of the rich and the poor, disintegration of social bonds and alienations. As a result community development strategies to a greater extent have become a paradox and at the same time have assisted with shifting the burden of socio economic development from the state to the poor. Due to those who relate with international capital, it has resulted also in the ineffectiveness of the community development strategies in many African countries. This is because of the erosion of state autonomy since they stand to oppose any developmental initiatives from within which seek to sympathise with the poor.

Community development is supposed to be by the people and for the people. However, on the ground, experience seems to suggest that the conceptualisation

level of community development initiatives is not done by the community but rather by funders on the general the assumption that all the people in a community or village have similar problems and interests. This is clearly indicated by a proliferation of common micro projects aimed at mitigating poverty.

The adoption of the macro economic policies stipulated by the international organisations has also led to the creation of many problems which are now curtailing the progress of community development initiative, among them, lack of access to credit. According to the American Assembly of 1997 cited in Murphy (2003: 240-245) lack of access to credit has become one of the greatest impediments to community development in distressed communities. This has been so because of the macro economic policies which are profit driven and have a tendency of sidelining the poor as these groups of people are seen as too risky or not profitable for lending.

Community development strategies were supposed to focus on addressing the conditions of underdevelopment but instead there has been a diversion of objectives due to the environment they are operating in. Their main focus is now on greater integration of rural communities into the economy which is instead perpetuating their disadvantaged position by locking them into small unviable projects, were they labour without any accumulation of wealth.

Therefore the sustainability of community development strategies has become questionable. This has been so due to the fact that most of African leaders

instead of following or seek self reliance from the most damaging international financial institutions and trade circuits, the leaders have been seeking yet further integration, and worse, to expand the role of international financial and trade institutions, and orthodox aid in Africa (Bond P, 2003:282). Thus, they are more concerned with the quantitative inflow and outflow of capital allowed under the Brettonwoods institutions though necessary, these are not sufficient for human development. According to Panitch in Bond (2003:282) 'the key to long term condition for an alternative to globalization is democratic investment control within each state- which is the opposite goal to that of today's multilateral international organizations'. This means going beyond the consideration of the quantitative inflows and outflows of capital.

3.4 THE CONSTITUENTS OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES

3.4.1 Deregulation is the process by which governments remove, reduce, or simplify restrictions on business and individuals in order to (in theory) encourage the efficient operation of markets. The stated rationale for deregulation is often that fewer and simpler regulations will lead to a raised level of competitiveness, therefore higher productivity, more efficiency and lower prices overall. Deregulation is different from liberalisation because a liberalized market, while often having less and simpler regulations, can also have regulations (sometimes quite far ranging and complex) in order to increase efficiency and protect consumer's rights, one example being anti-trust legislation. However, the terms

are often used interchangeably within deregulated or liberalised industries (Mwanza A, 1991 vol 4: 17-21).

According to UNICEF (1991) cited in Chipika T. et. al (2000:32-37), SAPs lack the human face as it has made the poor to suffer disproportionately from the adjustments and stabilisation measures. For instance in Zimbabwe deregulation has failed to protect goods and services consumed by the poor such as government provisions in health and education. The deregulation exercise has also resulted in changes in relative prices of consumption goods and services impacting negatively on the poor. Woodyard cited in Chipika points out that relative price effects can also be defined as expenditure effects. The main groups of goods in Zimbabwe whose prices increase in relative terms because of deregulation are: tradeable goods through devaluation; goods previously subject to price controls and subsidies and lastly goods produced by state owned enterprises whose prices are expected to increase as they try to reduce losses. The social consequences of the adjustments must not be understated as they created panic and outrage since the most affected were the poor.

3.4.2 Liberalisation or free trade is an idealized market model, often stated as a political objective, in which trade of goods and services between countries flows unhindered by government-imposed tariff and non tariff barriers. Economic analysis and nearly all economists support the proposition that free trade is a net gain to both trading partners and the gains from free trade outweigh the

losses (Rukuni & Eicher 1994:43). However, this view is opposed by anti-globalisation campaigners due to a variety of perceived problems which include increase in vulnerability of home grown industries in developing countries.

Liberalisation is the main component of SAPs which is of particular importance to the private sector which, through the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), appears to have received consultation in preparing the SAPs (Budget Statement 1990). This measure has had serious social and political implications given the marginal participation of workers organizations and the majority citizens. Trade liberalization was also adopted under the liberalization and has resulted in the promotion of cash crop production undermining the needs of the Zimbabwean population and at the same time exacerbating poverty. Poverty has increased since the adoption of liberalization as it has also resulted in higher levels of unemployment. The opening up of the Zimbabwe's economy has also resulted in the exposure of small home grown industries to foreign competition. The exposure of small industries has resulted in most cases in the closure of many industries as they can not compete against the monopolies.

3.4.3 Privatisation refers to a process of moving ownership from the public sector to the private sector. This term is often used to describe the process of floating shares in nationalised industries to return them to private ownership. In fact, privatisation often results in inferior services at higher rates (Whirled Bank Group,2003). The private companies are after profit maximization such that they

oftenly cut services to poor and rural areas (because they are "unprofitable"), or raise fees to prices that the poor can no longer afford. In addition, when state enterprises are sold to foreign multinationals, the money collected from the local population flows out of the country, and the government is deprived of a steady revenue source.

Taking the ideology of SAPs into consideration, nearly all SAPs are aimed at reducing state participation in the economy and thus allowing market forces to operate freely. The underlying assumption is that the private sector is more efficient and flexible than the public sector and should therefore lead the process of economic restructuring. In that respect, SAPs are essentially "privatisation programmes" (Mwanza, 1992:47-53). The belief in the efficiency of the private sector is so great that the privatisation and liberalisation of the economy is carried out even when and where the necessary conditions for the efficient operation of market forces do not exist (Mwanza, 1991:24).

In Zimbabwe privatisation programme resulted in high levels of unemployment as the new owners of the means of production are only interested in commodity production through the use of machinery therefore resulting in retrenchments of many workers. The retrenchment has also contributed to unemployment which has in turn exacerbated social unrest. At the same time the retrenchments were taking place the Zimbabwean government was reintroducing the school fees and hospital fees. Then in such a scenario one

would wonder how the government was expecting its people to make ends meet. On the other hand the farming sector also suffered tremendously, mostly the subsistence farmers since the subsidies from the government were eliminated and high interest rates being charged for any loan. In most cases these loans are never accessed as collateral security is required by most banks which the subsistence farmers do not have.

3.4.4 Devaluation is a reduction in the value of a currency with respect to other monetary units. In common modern usage, it specifically implies an official lowering of the value of a country's currency within a fixed exchange rate system, by which the monetary authority formally sets a new fixed rate with respect to a foreign reference currency(Mwanza 1992:32).

Devaluation makes the goods of devaluating countries cheaper for foreigners to buy and it makes foreign imports more expensive. In principle it should make the country wary of buying expensive foreign equipment. In practice, however, the IMF actually does the opposite by rewarding the country with a large foreign currency loan that encourages it to purchase imports (Mwanza, 1992:33). Balancing national budgets can be done by raising taxes, which the IMF frowns upon, or by cutting government spending, which it definitely recommends. As a result, SAPs often result in deep cuts in programmes like education, health and social care, and the removal of subsidies designed to

control the price of basics such as food and milk. So SAPs hurt the poor most, because they depend heavily on these services and subsidies.

SAPs encourage countries to focus on the production and export of primary commodities such as cocoa and coffee to earn foreign exchange. But these commodities have notoriously erratic prices subject to the whims of global markets which can depress prices just when countries have invested in these so-called 'cash crops.'

By devaluing the currency and simultaneously removing price controls, the immediate effect of ESAP is generally to hike prices up three or four times, increasing poverty to such an extent that riots are a frequent result. For instance in Venezuela about six hundred people were killed and more than one thousand wounded in rioting over economic measures, including sharp increases in fuel and public transport prices, imposed to satisfy the IMF and World Bank (Whirled Bank Group, 2003). President Perez, as one of his first acts in office, signed a letter of intent with the IMF putting into place a SAP in February 1992 in the same year a coup attempt by middle-level military officers, widely supported by the population, failed. The economic goal of the coup's protagonists was the end of Venezuela's SAP (The Whirled Bank Group, 2003).

Major goals of ESAPs were to raise agricultural output and to reduce the budget deficits associated with agricultural marketing parastatals. These goals created a lot of problems in Zimbabwe, the government was faced with a critical question of controlling food prices at tolerable levels for the poor consumers at a time when production incentives had to be increased and subsidies had to be eliminated. With the adoption of ESAP of 1991, the government began to decontrol agricultural price and marketing systems in order to align them to the marketing forces (Rukuni & Eicher, 1994:166).

According to Takavarasha quoted in Rukuni & Eicher (1994:157), Reforms were introduced in three phases over a three year period and varied according to commodity. Takavarasha points out that the variation of commodities was taken into consideration because of different policy issues, demand patterns and production responses facing each specific commodity. The initial steps for transforming the maize pricing and marketing system started in 1991 with the removal of statutory restrictions on the movement of maize between non contiguous Communal Lands. Free trade by both producers and traders in regions IV and V was permitted and the Grain Marketing Board was authorised to sell ex-depot at the prevailing wholesale price to any buyer, subject to sale a minimum of one bag. Zimbabwe natural regions feature are illustrated in appendices table in table 3.1.

In spite of these measures, the anticipated rapid economic growth failed to materialise due principally to factors such as the severe droughts experienced in 1992 and 1995; adverse terms of trade and falling commodity prices and a persistently high budget deficit that fuelled inflation and dampened private sector initiative (Rukuni & Eicher 1994:157). The government was also slow in implementing the envisaged civil service and public enterprise reforms. By the end of 1994 it had become clear that the government in addition to being unable to curtail expenditures, due to adverse economic conditions, could not maintain the envisaged pace of policy changes, and the Fund-supported programme went irretrievably off-track in 1995 (Government of Zimbabwe. 1994:37).

Despite the reform setback, in 1996, on the back of a good agricultural sector performance, the economy rebounded and GDP is estimated to have been a healthy 7.3% (Rukuni & Eicher, 1996:144). However, towards the end of 1997 the Zimbabwe economy was again subjected to severe external and internal pressures that highlighted the underlying structural weaknesses in the economy and resulted in an unprecedented foreign exchange crisis as reserves plummeted to the equivalent of only 0.8 months of import cover. The crisis was in part triggered by the fall in export prices for the country's major commodities and waning market confidence following the government pronouncements on war veterans' payments and land seizure (Mwanza A, 1991 Vol 4:18).

Further pressures were exerted on the balance of payments in 1998 following a depreciation of the currencies of neighbouring countries and the continuing deterioration in the terms of trade. The government responded to the crisis by tightening monetary and fiscal policy, allowing the exchange rate to depreciate, increasing interest rates and negotiating a 13-month stand-by arrangement with the IMF (SDR 130.7 million) in June 1998 (Mwanza, 1992:56). According to the civil society organisations the authorities also introduced a number of selective measures to curtail demand including tax hikes, expenditure cuts, tightening capital controls, raising import duties and banks' reserve requirements and closure of corporate foreign currency accounts (Edwards, 2007, Whirled Bank Group 2003).

Though the above measures resulted in an improvement in some key macroeconomic indicators between 1997 and 1998, most were only temporary and the government had recognized that there was need for the implementation of a comprehensive programme of reforms in order to achieve and sustain long-term economic growth. The government had accordingly sought assistance from the donor community to support the implementation of a Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) adopted in February 1998. According to Mwanza (1999:5) ZIMPREST was designed to resolve issues such as accumulation of previous policy failure including lack of savings mobilizations, low investment levels, erratic economic growth, rampant underemployment and

open unemployment, underdeveloped entrepreneurial skills, uninclusive economic empowerment and rising poverty levels.

The financial assistance for the programme was later obtained from the IMF through a 14-month Standby Arrangement (SBA) approved in August 1999, and further assistance was expected from the World Bank and the African Development Bank Group (Mwanza, 1999:12). In addition, a number of bilateral and multilateral donors were expected to provide support for the envisaged reforms. However, because of government's failure to retain expenditures within agreed limits, reluctance to curb subsidies and trim public spending, by September 1999 the SBA programme agreed to with the IMF had gone off track and certain donor support programmes had been suspended (Saprin (Organisation). 2004:14). Concern was also raised about the cost of military expenditures on the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Dialogue was underway with the IMF on the measures required to bring the programme back on track and in the following paragraph are some of the measures highlighted;

- Real GDP growth averaged around 1.8 % over the period 1991-96.
- Only one purchase was made however, under the arrangement, as the Government and the Fund failed to reach agreement on a number of reform areas. The arrangement has since elapsed.
- A significant reduction in the budget deficit, a fall in the growth in money supply and a narrowing of the current account deficit track by the end of the year and

determine the extent of military expenditures and its effect on the budget (Mwanza 1992, 169-173).

By the late 1980s, according to Mwanza the inherited structures from the colonial era were fettering growth of the Zimbabwe's economy. Collectively the basic structures led to complex set of intertwined problems such as low levels of investment, large budget deficits, escalating debt and inflation, high unemployment, infrastructural decay and so on.

Production and Growth: In 1996 Zimbabwe's economy grew by 7.3 % on the back of a good performance of the agricultural sector due to favourable weather (Mwanza, 1992:47). In 1997 continued strong growth had been expected following the 1996 upturn but was subsequently dampened by the socio-economic crises that hit the country during the second half of the year. GDP growth was officially estimated to have been 3.2% as opposed to the 4.5 - 5% that had been programmed (Mwanza, 1992:48). In 1998 it was estimated that GDP would grow by only 1.6% as compared to earlier estimates of 3.7% (Mwanza, 1992:47-49). Lower than expected performances from the sectors of manufacturing, agriculture and mining were the major factors behind this poor growth performance. Other causes were falling mineral and commodity prices on the world market, deteriorating terms of trade and the depreciation of the Zimbabwe dollar (Whirled Bank Group, 2007).

CHAPTER 4

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The primary objective of this research is to assess the effectiveness of Community Development as an intervention strategy for poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe. It is therefore the main focus of this chapter to stipulate the research design which the researcher employed in this study. The chapter will also give a detailed description of the population, sample as well as the data collection instruments that were utilized. The demographic and socio economic characteristics of the population under study will be included in the discussion in this chapter. Thus the participants or members of Nyandoro irrigation scheme, the VIDCOs and the lastly the local government representatives. The monitoring survey was administered to a stratified sample of thirty respondents drawn from the following groups or stratas, members of the Nyandoro irrigation scheme, village development committee members and local government representatives. The following are the size of the three stratas fifteen, eight and seven respectively. Lastly the chapter will give a detailed outline of the researchers experience during the period she was in the field collecting data.

4.2 The Research Paradigms

This research is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. Qualitative research is one of the two major approaches to research methodology in the social sciences. The qualitative perspective gave the researcher the inside view of the informants and created an opportunity to probe for more information. This research approach provides an in depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour. It relies on reasons behind various aspects of behaviour. Simply put, it investigates the why and how of decision making, as compared to what, where, and when. On the other hand quantitative is deductive and comprises of structured questions in order to eliminate the researchers influence (Creswell, 1994:174). These two perspectives complement each other and their convergence managed to increase confidence that what was being targeted was accurately captured through the utilisation of structured questions.

4.3 The Research Instrument Design and Distribution

For data collection in this study the questionnaire was utilised and it was constructed in English. The questionnaire was found to be more appropriate as it was also economical in terms of time and costs. The aspect of confidentiality was also taken into consideration and emphasis of this aspect was made during the interviews. The objective of the study was briefly explained in a cover letter. Both the structured and the unstructured surveys were employed. The research technique utilised was also descriptive in the sense that the participants were

required to give detailed descriptive answers in answering the open ended questions and it falls under the qualitative. Descriptive research gives a detailed description of the phenomena under study, (Cant et.al 2003:31). The researcher developed three sets of questionnaires which were administered to three groups of people who were selected through stratified random sampling. The three groups targeted for this study included the Village Development Committee members (VIDCOs), second group comprised of the people from the Local Government for Mashonaland East and lastly the participants of Nyandoro irrigation scheme. The informants from the Local Government were the representatives of the government officials. For all these three groups the researcher was not able to consider the whole population for informants, therefore a sample was selected from each strata or targeted group. The stratas under study will be discussed in detail below.

4.4 Target Population and Sample

4.4.1 The Population

Population refers to the total number of all the subjects the researcher wishes to make inferences from. In this study the target population on which inferences were made comprised of the local people within the Nyandoro community who are the participants or members of the Nyandoro irrigation scheme. The total membership of this irrigation scheme was thirty-seven (37). The target population

of this study also consisted of the local government people and the Village Development Committee (VIDCOs) members.

4.4.2 The Sample

In this study to ensure objectivity and reliability the researcher utilised one of the probability sampling procedures, the stratified random sampling. Reliability refers to the extent that one can assert confidently that similar findings would be obtained if the collection of evidence were repeated. Probability sampling is based on randomisation and it is the one in which each person or other sampling unit in the population has the same probability of being selected (Seaberg 1988:24). Stratification consists of the universe or population being divided into a number of strata that are mutually exclusive and the members of which are homogenous with regard to some characteristics. In this instance the characteristic is status. The three strata which were under study were cooperative members (participants), government official and Village Development Committee (VIDCOs). Thus the stratification was determined by the class or category in which one belonged. The researcher then picked representatives from each category randomly using the ratio 1:2. Thus the researcher administered (30) thirty questionnaires as follows 50 percent for the Nyandoro representatives, 25 percent for the VIDCOs and 25 percent for local government representatives. Thus fifteen questionnaires were administered to the members of the Nyandoro irrigation scheme which consists of (thirty-seven) 37 members.

The stratified random sampling was chosen so as to ensure that the different segments of the population acquire sufficient presentation in the sample. The desired number of 30 people was selected randomly with all people having equal probability of being selected. This selection of participants was carried out in such a manner so as to ensure that the whole population is being represented and the results can be generalised on a larger population.

4.5 Secondary Information

This research took a historical approach. According to Cates (1985), in undertaking historical research, a researcher seeks an understanding of the events and motivations, which produced current events and situations. The researcher utilised different sources to gather information and these sources included published books on community development in developing countries. Official documents, archival material, mass media (newspaper, magazines, newsletters and journals) were utilised especially those with primary focus on the upliftment of the impoverished through community development. Unpublished dissertations, internal records and internet were also other sources of secondary information which were employed to gather information.

4.6 Field Work

The Nyandoro irrigation scheme lies in the rural areas of Mahusekwa about 62 kilometers from Marondera urban. The scheme is situated about 14km from Mahusekwa shopping centre. The objective of this scheme is to combat poverty

through initiation of community development projects. It seeks to mitigate poverty through growing and selling their produce with their main providers of labour being the participants of this project. All these projects are now focusing on producing cash crops and are also located far away from the markets.

The first meeting was with the staff member from the Ministry of Agriculture (AREX) who was working with the most farmers in Mahusekwa area. The meeting was fruitful and we agreed for another meeting on a later date.

On the second meeting secondary information about the Nyandoro irrigation scheme was obtained from AREX Grasslands. The third meeting was with the representatives of Nyandoro irrigation scheme at the irrigation site. These participants were addressed by the officer and the researcher. On the fourth meeting the researcher administered the research instrument. The questionnaire was administered to the local government representatives on the fifth and sixth meetings.

From the groups which were targeted the researcher managed to get back 23 of the 30 questionnaires distributed which is 77 percent of the total number. The lowest response rate was from the government representatives, 53 percent of this category's questionnaires were never returned. From the VIDCOs 71 percent of the targeted population responded while 29 percent did not. However the researcher managed to get the largest response rate from the members of the

irrigation scheme where 94 percent was returned fully answered. At the initial stages of field work some of the respondents perceived the researcher to someone who had come to solve their problems and provide solutions to their grievances.

However this problem was managed since the researcher clarified the objectives and purpose of the research. The researcher also managed to emphasise the ethical aspect of confidentiality.

4.7 Demographic characteristics

4.7.1 Gender

The respondents that were targeted 15 were chosen from a group of members of the Nyandoro irrigation scheme. The sample was randomly selected from a population of thirty-six (36) members. The final sample selected for the irrigation members strata consisted of ten (10) women and five (5) men. All the females were farmers, The VIDCOs group consisted of eight members to constitute the representative sample for this study. The VIDCOs component comprised of six (6) males and two (2) females. The Local government officials were made up of seven (7) members who were all males. Overall the sample was made up of 50 percent from members of the irrigation scheme, 27 percent VIDCO members and 23 percent by the Local government representatives.

The table 4.2 in appendices shows that for the selected sample to represent the irrigation scheme members, 10 out of 15 participating members of the irrigation scheme were females while the remainder was males.

4.7.2 Age for the Nyandoro irrigation scheme members.

The frequency age distribution shown in table 4.1 in appendices, illustrates that no males or females fell below the age of 24 years amongst the participating members. The age group ranging from 25- 29 years comprised of one individual thus 7 percent of this strata of respondents. The 30-34 age group is made up of two members covering 13 percent and the 35-39 consists of 13 percent. The largest percentage of 67 percent was made up of ten members who are forty and above, 40+. Such an age distribution has negative consequences on production since able bodied men and those who are still active are supposed to be taking over from the old people. The community development projects were also initiated so as to reduce the unemployment rate among the youth but seemingly not many of them seem to show interest in what is being proposed for them.

4.7.3 Education

There are still some disparities as far as access to education is concerned. The males have the largest percentage reaching secondary level of education as illustrated in Table 4.2 in appendices.

Table 4.2 and diagram 4.1 in the appendices illustrate that 33 percent of the females who are members of the irrigation scheme managed to attain only primary education as compared to males whose highest percentage managed to attain secondary education. For instance about 20 percent of the males attained secondary education compared to 13 percent of the females who attained the same level of education. A female and male analysis also revealed that 13 percent of the illiterate group was only female with no male falling under this category. These proportions also appear to indicate that the rural population continues to be disadvantage as far as tertiary education is concerned. This information tends to reveal that the participating respondents are generally of very low educational attainment with the brunt being felt more by the women. The World Bank (1995:21-24) has complemented the preceding argument by indicating that some of the inequalities between males and females are due to policies being embraced, they note that the household decisions are linked to the market prices, and influenced by cultural, legal and state institutions.

Such factors as alluded to above tend to shape the trends of education disparities between the male and girl child. Poverty has been identified as one of the major factors that undermine girls' right to education. School fees and expenses relating to transport, clothing and books widen the gender gap: as families cannot afford to educate all their children, girls are the ones that stay at home, helping with household chores. With the increase of the spread of HIV &

AIDs the female child has also become a target whenever assistance is needed to look after the infected.

CHAPTER 5

5. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings and the analysis of the effectiveness of community development strategy as an intervention for poverty alleviation. The information on the project was based on income levels, sustainable employment created, level of participation, empowerment and the standards of living attained. A brief background of the Nyandoro irrigation shall be given followed by an outline of respondents' biodata then lastly the research findings will be tabulated and analysed.

5.2. THE IRRIGATION SCHEME

The irrigation scheme was started as an initiative of Agriculture Extension Services (AREX). AREX is a government department of Zimbabwe which is now called Agritex (Agriculture Technical Extension Services). The AREX department was there to offer technical support to the farmers. The Nyandoro irrigation scheme started in 1989 with 36 members and its objective was to alleviate poverty in Mahusekwa through the creation of employment and maximum productivity to ensure high food security levels. It was also established that the AREX officer who started the project was later transferred to another district

when the project had been in existence for two years only. The respondents hold the opinion that this officer, who was quite instrumental, left the area before the project was fully operational. By the time the officer left most of the ground work had been completed which included the laying of irrigation pipes and clearing the land. The only thing was that he was still sourcing some funds from different organizations and institutions.

In 1994, the Food Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in conjunction with the now Ministry of Water and Irrigation took over the project and started laying irrigation pipes and the installation of pumps in the already cleared 18 hectare plot. These two organizations took over the running of Nyandoro irrigation scheme activities because AREX could not fund the project under the austerity of IMF and World Bank but could only offer the technical support required. The 18 hectare piece of land was further divided into 0, 72 hectare mini plots for each of the 36 members. The FAO provided finances through the national government while the government provided technical assistance through the local AREX office. The initial crop rotation cycle was established by the department of AREX which included winter crops comprising onions, carrots, peas, potatoes, leaf vegetables (rape, spinach, covo e.t.c) and summer crops which comprise of tomatoes, green mealies, peanuts, round nuts, leaf vegetables, beans, sorghum, and rapoko. However some of the farmers are no longer growing some of the recommended crops which take long to ripen such as sorghum and rapoko.

The farmers now prefer to grow plants which take a short period and which are needed on the market so as to earn cash quickly. The farmers indicated that because of the ability of short term crops to grow quickly and to fetch more income from the market, their production is now dominated by crops such as paprika. Though one of the main objectives of this scheme was to address household food security through production, this objective was undermined by the shift from food production to cash crop production. This problem came as a result of the withdrawal of subsidies by the government under the Structural Adjustment Programmes and cash was no longer accessible to the people even on credit basis. The other factor which has also contributed to household food insecurity is land shortages and soil infertility. According to Mkandawire (1999: 32-34) chronic food shortages for instance in Malawi has been suffered by the small holder farmers with less than 1.0 hectare of land. The food insecurity brunt has been borne by the poor as well due to the removal of food subsidies and subsequent price increases (Sachikonye 1991).

By joining the irrigation scheme the farmers shifted from subsistence farming to cash crop production with expectations of getting increased income levels. However these expectations have not been fulfilled since the farmers have found themselves being marginalised or sidelined at the market. This has been the situation because these small farmers have to compete with commercial and medium farmers on the market and the small farmers constitute the informal sector which has no written policy, rules and regulations as far as protection is

concerned. The expectation was that if the Nyandoro irrigation scheme was fully established, the participants' welfare would improve as they would have more money to spend, more goods to choose from stable and relatively low prices. According to the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ) 1994), the prospects of getting the promised cake from the irrigation scheme has become bleak as these farmers continue to suffer from the so called temporary shocks of the ESAP programme which appear to be permanent. Real incomes of these farmers declined as a result of the runaway inflation. This has been mainly due to the devaluation of Zimbabwe's currency.

Other contributing factors to the failure to attain high incomes are insufficient inputs such as machinery, fertilizer, pesticides and seeds and the inaccessibility of credit facilities. These challenges were experienced as the farmers could not afford to buy these inputs on unsubsidized prices after the deregulation of the government. This meant that the Zimbabwean government had to cut down its expenditure. It is well known that the availability of financial resources play a major role in boosting production and if these are inaccessible it negatively impinges on the viability of the projects and it is a constraint to the growth of the project. The importance of credit facilities has also been acknowledged by Xaba when he argues that credit has been regarded by many as a central component of poverty alleviation and the promotion of small, micro and medium enterprises as well as other projects within an economy" (Xaba J. et al, 2002:28-29). Xaba also points out that lack of access to financial resources is a major impediment to

growth and development. The open market policy under liberalization also contributed to the failure of Nyandoro's irrigation schemes objectives as it exposed the scheme to exploitation by established middle men who would tag the prices for themselves.

However some of the local government officials pointed out that the failure to get income has been due to poor management by the participants of Nyandoro irrigation schemes. Their argument is that financial resources were misused. According to the local government officials the support which the participants received in the initial stages of the project's initiation was supposed to have empowered the members of Nyandoro irrigation scheme if only they had been proper management of the funds belonging to the scheme at that time.

5.3 Employment Status and Income Levels

The participants are not employed anywhere else except with their irrigation scheme and agriculture has remained their preserve as they do not have any other means to sustain their families. Some of the participants' spouses are also members of the same irrigation scheme. The largest percentage of couples who are members has been of the wives whose husbands were also members. Those who have just made their decision to become participants of the scheme their husbands were either sitting at home or employed elsewhere. For instance 25 percent of these husbands are employed as builders, carpenters and clerks in Mahusekwa area and some are in the surrounding urban areas. The main source

of the cash income for their survival is from the sale of the agricultural produce from the irrigation scheme. These farmers do participate in off-farm activities such as selling beer (beer brewing), fishing, pottery and many other piece jobs so as to supplement their dwindling incomes.

The income of the farmers has reached the stage of diminishing returns, their earnings are very minimal such that they can not even cover the overhead costs of the irrigation scheme. According to these participants they are living from hand to mouth and their major source of income is the irrigation scheme. Their gross income is between 1 million and 10 US dollars per year. This is just a drop in the ocean considering the needs of a standard family and the inflation rate in Zimbabwe. For example they need about 200 US dollars for inputs, 100 US dollars for overhead costs and they are left with 10 US dollars for their living allowances. This 10 US dollars is not sufficient for a standard size family to live on. For a standard size family to survive they need about 100 US dollars to cover such expenses as education, transport and health services not even to mention food. Though community development projects have a mandate to alleviate poverty they are not covered by the labour laws which should protect the participants from the harsh environment. The main reason for their vulnerability is because they belong to the informal sector and it is not regulated. For instance while the poor are struggling to catch up with the rich the inflation rate of Zimbabwe has become uncontrollable and the pinch of this is bound to be felt at the margins by those in the informal sector.

According to the participants the situation has been worsened by the privatisation and devaluation process which the government has undertaken resulting in a tremendous decrease in the value of their income. Privatisation refers to transfer of state assets to private hands which are more interested in maximising profits through capital intensive production resulting in high rates of retrenchments. Since the private investors are after profit maximization they tend to hike prices on their supplies including agricultural inputs making them unreachable to small farmers. Devaluation has resulted in the decrease of the value of income impacting adversely on the power to save or to reinvest. The participants have attributed the decrease in the value of their income to the macro economic policies and political instability which they believe has perpetuated the already bad situation. Most of the participants highlighted that it is only the position which has changed from being a consumer when going to the market to being a seller or producer. However their new position has no major economic benefits attached because of low prices of their commodities at the market.

They find themselves being exploited by established sellers who want to buy from them at a lower price. The people from the irrigation scheme are price takers they can not operate on a profit. The absence of price control measures have made the irrigation scheme participants to operate on a loss. This shows that though income generating activities have been implemented and embraced environment in which community development projects are operating is not taken

into consideration. Therefore one can conclude that the assumption which most project developers and donors have is that anyone can go to the market and sell his or her produce and have an improved income. Thus the operation of the market is oversimplified without taking into consideration the dynamics at play. The preceding argument agrees with Mwanza's that privatisation, devaluation and deregulation have contributed substantially to the deterioration of wages and income earned lowering the living standards in the last decade (Mwanza A, 1992: 92-93).

5.4 PROJECT INDICATORS

The following discussion is mainly focused on the three objectives through which the scheme set to alleviate poverty which include sustainable employment, food security and income generation. The project plan does not show how these three objectives would be achieved. The assumption seems to be that the achievement of those three would be a natural consequence of the operation of the project. However this has not been the case.

5.4.1 Sustainable Employment

According to Jadu sustainable development means 'ensuring a better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come' or, 'improving everybody's quality of life, without damaging the environment for the future'. Previously quality

of life has often been considered purely in terms of economic growth and output. While this remains important, in recent years we have begun to realise the impacts of this approach and the problems it can cause, such as pollution, social inequality, waste disposal problems etc. Sustainable development recognises that quality of life is not just related to economic growth, but is affected by a wide range of factors.

Sustainable development is a long term approach to quality of life issues and has three key dimensions:

- The environment & natural resources: - aim to effectively protect the environment and use natural resources prudently
- Social issues: - ensuring a Strong, Healthy and Just Society, where everyone gets to improve their quality of life
- A sustainable economy: - a sustainable economy that creates sufficient wealth and employment in a way that doesn't damage, or waste resources, or impact on people's rights.

Achieving sustainable development will not be easy, to achieve sustainable development a balance between the three key dimensions mentioned above is needed. To do this a country should not consider each key dimension in isolation but must seek to address them at the same time, as they are all so closely related (Jadu). Therefore if sustainable development in an economy there is bound to be sustainable employment created as the country's objective would

entail addressing the three dimension in preceding arguments as outlined by Jadu.

Sustainable development is the simple idea of ensuring a better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come. Another widely used definition is 'development that meets the needs of today without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.'

The Government believes that four objectives need to be met at the same time in order to achieve sustainable development:

- social progress which recognises the needs of everyone;
- effective protection of the environment;
- prudent use of natural resources; and
- maintenance of high and stable levels of economic growth and employment (Adam, 2007:1).

Following the adoption of ESAP the unemployment levels increased and community development became an alternative to address unemployment. Considering the definition given by Jadu and Adam above the scheme has failed to create sustainable employment for the people in Nyandoro.

The irrigation scheme has fallen short of creating the employment. It has only managed to create seasonal employment which does not have any form of

security. It has also been found out that up to 90 percent of these seasonal employers pay their salaries or make their payment for the work done in kind.

Sustainable employment creation never materialized as participants could not raise enough cash to plough back into the project, to cater for their families' needs and also to pay a salary. Therefore the Nyandoro irrigation scheme has not managed to create sustainable employment it is caught up in a web of underdevelopment and poverty which is a feature of the majority of community development projects in Zimbabwe and in Africa as a continent.

The view of the VIDCOs in terms of employment creation is that the scheme has only managed to absorb the relatives of the project members. According to this view the advantage that comes with recruiting relatives is that the overhead costs of the project are kept at minimum levels. This is due to the fact that the relatives are seen as supplementary labour in support of the family members in the project and therefore culturally, they do not expect remuneration except in sharing the earnings of the project members.

The VIDCOs do agree with the fact that that the project does not offer any security in terms of employment. They attribute the increase in unemployment in the area to the retrenchments taking place in towns which have increased the rate of relocation from town to the rural areas. Their greatest concern with this state of affairs is the potential for increased crime in the area.

The representatives from the local government share the same views with the VIDCOs.

Their argument is that the question of affordability stands in the way of the farmers to bring in more labour beyond the family members and to grow the project to become profitable and viable. They expressed dissatisfaction with the seasonal nature of the project pointing out that the piece jobs are poorly paid and that the situation does not augur well with sustainability and job security.

5.4.2 Standards of Living and Food security

According to the participants food security means that all household members had access at all times to enough food for an active healthy life. Most of the participants stated that their standards of living changed for the better in the initial stages of the irrigation scheme when they still had assistance from the government and from the FAO. Their living was better then since they only had to focus on their needs as the two stakeholders took care of the rest of the irrigation scheme. The FAO and the government were playing a major role in the provision of all inputs needed by these small farmers, they only had to worry about the execution of their tasks and the utilization of the inputs available. During that period the inputs were also still affordable. After these two institutions moved away, because of the austerity of the ESAP programme life started to change for the worse. Things have continued to deteriorate and the bright picture which was portrayed in the initial stages of the project has been continuously blurred.

The need to produce for the market has also diverted the farmers' focus from food production to cash crops. Failure to produce their own food meant that they were now relying more on purchasing basic commodities such as maize and maize meal whose prices have been increased to unaffordable levels. Therefore the end result has been that less food has been available. This community also pointed out that their failure to produce their own food has been due to the rising costs of commodities and the general cost cutting measures that were implemented across the economy. The rising costs of commodities affected these participants directly in that prices of inputs increased which include seeds, pesticides, fertilizer and machinery such that they were forced to drastically reduce their land for cultivation. Financial assistance also became inaccessible since the banks have a tendency of side lining these small farmers through measures such as collateral security which they do not have. Secondly the participants think they are also being marginalized from accessing loans by high interest rates which have resulted in their incapacitation.

The local government officials are of the view that the farmers are always running against the clock to meet the demands of the market thereby neglecting their own needs. They have neglected the plantation of basic crops for sustenance such as maize which is their staple food. In some instances they also have to purchase maize from the market and mealie meal from the shops. The increase in producer prices, have worsened the position of the food deficit in households and people have to rely on the market to cover the deficit using wages. Some of

the people in Mahusekwa area are only managing to provide for one meal a day. The food they are depending on is also from the market which is very expensive for them.

Food security means that all household members have access at all times to enough food for an active healthy life. It has been hope against hope that participation and development from below would lift the living standards of poverty ridden areas. This study however found that this improvement was only for a very short space of time after the initiative had been embraced by the community and when funders were still around with financial assistance. The impact on living standards was only positive for a short period of time which means that it was only improvement without any form of permanent transformation of the living standards permanently.

5.4.3 Income Generation and the Market

According to Midgley et. al (1982:107), it is of no use encouraging greater productivity if markets are not available or if farm prices are so low such that those who would have taken part in the production may end up operating on a loss. Therefore it is of great importance to first consider marketing accessibility, pricing and fiscal policies if they would permit the investor to achieve the intended objective(Midgley et.al (1982:107).

The assumption with many community development projects seems to be that everything is constant and these community people can easily make a break through into the market without any assistance. This has been shown not to be true in many instances. It can be argued that new opportunities could have arisen for the local communities to earn more from the marketing of their produce if such issues as marketing, distribution, pricing were addressed from the onset. However as it has been shown the markets are not structured to allow the poor to emerge and to flourish. Given the way the market operates the poor's benefit from participation on the market are limited as most of the local people belong to the informal sector and are not well established unlike their competitors such as commercial farmers who have all the resources as well as knowledge about the needs of the market.

Alongside opportunities for greater market access, better prices, better services, that are supposed to come with the commercialisation of common-pool resources (e.g. through the establishment of community development projects), there are risks as well, which poor communities can ill afford. Under the assumption that all things in the economic system are equal and constant, the variables and factors at play are left unmitigated and they leave grassroots people even more vulnerable than they otherwise would have been.

Marketing the produce has become difficult for some of the participants as they do not have their own transport. In order to sell their produce they have to travel

70 kilometers to the market place in the city centre. To get to the market they always hire a truck once a week. The unavailability of regular transport has resulted in losses of some of the produce since these are perishables.

When they get to the market these farmers also face a number of challenges which include lack of power to price their own produce since the law of supply and demand is the one which is prevailing at the market. The price of the commodities is determined automatically by the interaction of demand and supply of the produce on the market. With so many grassroots projects producing similar cash crops most of the time there is excess supply coupled with very low demand which leaves the market flooded with certain commodities. This high supply has an adverse effect on their incomes such that their earnings are not sufficient to cover overhead costs. They also find themselves at the mercy of the established middle men who always want to buy in bulk for very little.

The view of the VIDCOs is that the Nyandoro participants' incomes have not improved because of ever increasing inflation rates. They pointed out that in some instances it is only the numerical value where the increase is depicted while the purchasing power does not change. Even the prices of the inputs required by the farmers have been on the increase making it difficult for the farmers to stabilize their incomes. They attribute the decreasing purchasing power to and incomes to macro policies.

The local government representatives also pointed out that even though the farmers have been tilling and cultivating the land for years their income has not improved. Some of the participants' children have also dropped out of school since they can not afford the tuition fees. The school dropouts among the farmers' children also increased partly due to the withdrawal of the government from subsidising the costs after the adoption of economic structural adjustment programmes. These factors have also been hinted in the works of Schuurman (1993:17-29) and Mwanza's (1992:66-77) as major factors contributing to the impoverishment and underdevelopment of the poor in developing countries.

For all that has not been achieved by the scheme the blame is partly being placed on the participants. The local government officials argued that if the farmers had followed the crop rotation they were instructed to adopt they could have been better off. This study is of the view that such arguments do not hold water considering the environment they are operating in. The market system entails monopoly domination which does not leave room for community development initiatives to grow; rather the space is for the exploitation of the coming up entrepreneurs.

The local government officers explained that their office assist the participants in the implementation stage of community development projects, by providing technical advice of proper farming. They are also involved in the mobilization of the people through meetings and by carrying out the PH content tests of the soil.

Some of the challenges they have encountered when helping in the scheme include the knowledge gap between the member since some are semi illiterate, other illiterate and others literate. This has been emphasized as a stumbling block to the success of the community development project since some of the members are left behind and they end up feeling they are not being assisted. They have also been not forthcoming as far as the soil tests are concerned since for a long period now since the needed equipment for the tests is not available.

It was also pointed out that the moving out of the FAO as a donor towards Nyandoro irrigation scheme has resulted in the deterioration of machinery due to lack of maintenance. For instance very few of this irrigation scheme's water pumps and sprays have been working in the last few years and this has impacted negatively on productivity levels. The officers also commented that the lack of proper maintenance of the pumps available has been due to lack of consensus among the members themselves as they tend to prioritise different things. This augurs well with the argument which was raised in chapter two that the assumption that there is common interest in communities is flawed as shown in the statement above.

5.4.4 Empowerment

Empowerment constitutes of two elements thus the quantitative element which refers to control over economic resources. According to Rahman (1993:206) progress in this matter is by itself no indication of enhanced social power of the

under privileged to assert for their developmental aspirations and their freedom to take initiatives for their self development. The essential qualitative elements of empowerment are also outlined in Rahman's work which indicated that the need for local people to be empowered include organization, social awareness and self reliance.

When responding to the questions of participation and empowerment the VIDCO members said that if community projects were meant to motivate the people to participate there is a need for bridging the conceptualization of community projects and the implementation. The VIDCO members concurred that the people do not really feel that the way the project was developed was not really their idea. This is so because from their own observations community projects have demotivated them and disempowered the participant to a certain degree as they are not involved in the conceptualization of what the donor or the government thinks to be the solution to their community's problems. These solutions are just imposed on them without consultation.

Another degree of disempowerment is also experienced when trying to enter into the markets, the rural poor have found the conditions and rules there a stumbling block to their progress. Firstly the rules of the market, the supply and the demand have turned them into dependants as they have to make it a point that they produce what is needed by the market neglecting their own requirements which include producing food for sustenance. What the community development

strategy is to promote mass production of cash crops which have resulted in diminishing returns as the prices at the market are not found to be favourable to the rural poor. Therefore through the initiation of community development projects they have found themselves exposed and vulnerable to exploitation by the elite, those who own the means of production.

Under community development initiatives the participants have been coming together for seminars and meetings, ideas and resources were shared. Improving community capacity must focus on helping marginalised people to become self-reliant and capable of addressing the root problems affecting their lives. The goal of any assistance must be self-sustainability, whereby people are empowered to choose their own objectives, find their own solutions and organise their own programmes.

Investment in building self-reliant communities is vital to sustain improvements in health. The perceptions of the poor and marginalised people may be different from the educated and wealthy in situations where people are struggling for survival, health may not be a priority so much as food, water and shelter. These priorities, determined by communities, are often major indirect contributors to illness and conversely to improved health.

Programmes for nutrition, access to safe drinking water and clean environment become health programmes in themselves. Gradually as communities become more capable of ensuring reliable access to these basic requirements, they will become more open to specific health programmes such as immunisation or specific disease control. Equity and empowerment are key principles that are central to developing community capacity for health. In most cultures, and especially in developing countries, it is the women who are involved with establishing the foundations for good nutrition, safe drinking water, a clean environment, and a rational attitude towards illness. Women, and other marginalised groups in the community, need to be represented on all decision-making bodies.

Community capacity building is empowerment. It recognises that human beings, regardless of their education, position in society, or socioeconomic status, have inborn capacity for unbounded achievement. Through the processes of information transmission, training, and imparting medical, economic and social skills, individuals and communities gain in self-esteem and self-confidence and come to realise that they have the capacity within themselves to determine their own lives.

Sharing knowledge and skills and instilling self-confidence must be central at all points within the empowering process. People contribute to a much greater extent if they feel a sense of self-worth and value. Trust and delegation are key

principles in empowering communities. Diagnosis and treatment of diseases that are simple and repetitive can be taught to personnel with fewer academic qualifications than medical doctors.

These workers are often stimulated by the extra responsibilities and they strive to do the job well. Involving recipients of programmes in leadership deconstructs the traditional role of people as passive recipients and puts them in positions of authority and control. Education and consciousness-raising is liberating for people who may never previously have been given the opportunity to assert their opinion or needs, particularly in the mystified world of health. Health planners must identify the most effective channels for communicating.

The members gradually looked at social issues in the village beyond agriculture, for example rural indebtedness. Through cooperation the clubs realised they had the power to improve life in the village, both in terms of constructive work and social change. But they failed to become empowered to deal with professionals and bureaucracy that have been daunting for individual. Through involvement in village concerns they began to understand the problems of their community but could not assist since during decision making they are not involved.

5.4.5 Participation

The notion of participation varies widely, however for this research the researcher adopted an articulation of participation which was made by jointly with a number of other agencies in Rahman's work. The articulation is as follows, "what gives real meaning to a popular participation is the collective effort by those people concerned in an organised framework to pool their efforts and other resources they decide to pool together, to attain objectives they set themselves. In this regard participation is viewed as an active process in which the participants take initiatives and take action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they can exert control (Rahman, 1993:150).

Though it has been embraced as one of the pillar of community development and a useful approach to poverty alleviation many projects are idle and others on the verge of crumbling due to lack of participation in decision making. Although on paper participation it has been included as a major pillar to community development but when it comes to practice it is the opposite as the participants of a project are there just to endorse decisions made already without their knowledge such that accountability among members is lacking. This is in agreement with Stuart and Streeten argument cited earlier in this research that the top down approach which excludes the majority from decision making has serious consequences on the people's commitment on carrying out activities within the society therefore impacting negatively on the sustainability of the irrigation project.

The local government officials believe that there is a good deal of participation in the scheme by community members. However when they were asked how these members participate it was indicated that it was only for the provision of cheap labour and when it comes to decision making they are only asked to endorse the decisions. This is in agreement with what Mamoodan called participation without representation. Their duty is only to follow instructions so as to meet the needs of the market. Their exclusion can be attributed to lack of muscle in contesting decisions made elsewhere. To MaCpherson there is more to this lack of power to participate than what these officials outlined. MaCpherson (1985:189-191) argues that all these participation without representation is due to different structure within the society and its societal relations. For instance the framework within the market system does not permit participation of decision making as it is feared that this might be disruptive.

According to Jeppe (1985:40) CD could be further be used as a vehicle whereby local communities participate more broadly and meaningfully in local planning, This could be done by ordering their felt needs and by utilizing local people, groups or clubs in the planning and execution process and by illustrating to the participants the related responsibilities and costs of planning, staffing and execution. However, through this study it has also been found out that community development have been implemented without consultation and without regard to the wider context of development and underdevelopment have failed to meet the felt needs of the people which Jeppe was alluding to in the

preceding statement. Instead, projects have been imposed without participation, alien and irrelevant systems of provision which contributed to the extension and entrenchments of the patterns of inequality and privileges have been embraced. MaCpherson (1985:189) demonstrates that the generation of genuine participation in policy formulation achieves both a counter balance to the dangers of more effective planning, and is itself an expression of a fundamental principle of community development as discussed in earlier chapters.

5.5 PROBLEMS FACING THE IRRIGATION SCHEME

Transportation of the irrigation produce has proved to be a very big challenge to the Nyandoro irrigation scheme participants. Though they might need transport everyday to the market it has not been possible as they have to hire the transport as a group once a week. These farmers also indicated that sometimes the transport is not available and when it is available it is very expensive as the drivers know that they do not have any other way to transport the produce. There is no public transport which uses the roads closer to the irrigation scheme as they are all in a very bad state.

The people of Nyandoro irrigation scheme are faced with the problem of physical location. This rural community is cut off from the outside world by lack of adequate roads or transport facilities, particularly in the rainy season. When transporting their produce they have to withdraw their labour from daily activities

as they are the labourers and also have to go to the market to sell their produce. Therefore their absence from the farm site means that production will not take place. Due to poor infrastructure development in the area it has proved to be difficult to get to the markets such that as a last resort they end up selling their produce to middlemen. The scheme members also experience storage problems which is also an important aspect of marketing.

The participants have been incurring heavy losses through lack of pest proof methods of storage, a problem which has been overlooked by the former sponsors of this project and which the farmers are unable to address with their dwindling incomes. The participants and VIDCOs feel that their products are being officially under priced but there is nothing they can do. The government marketing systems have been put in place but their benefits to the cooperatives and the poor has been questioned. There is a tendency of the government exercising downward pressures on prices. In this instance the Zimbabwean government has been trying to control prices by using price ceilings but this has not been of much help to the poor as they could not purchase in bulk. The people who were involved in hoarding the products or inputs whose prices were being controlled are the rich who would sell them on the black market at a higher price. Supply of farm inputs to such remote areas has also become less reliable as private traders have not yet fully replaced the government in providing such services.

Lack of financial assistance is also a major hinderance to the progress of Nyandoro irrigation scheme. They do not have networks with funders in Zimbabwe. From the banks though the funds might be there these small farmers have failed to access the funds as they are expected to be having collateral security. Without the financial resources they can not purchase the inputs required and the little they have they can not reinvest it as they have families to look after.

5.6 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS A STRATEGY FOR POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Poverty has been one of the policy issues at the centre of economic growth and development in the less developed countries (LDC). Poverty according to Novak (1988:19) can be defined not simply as the consequence of capitalist production, but is an essential pre-condition for the existence of capitalism. Poverty creation is a necessary and indispensable ingredient of the market economy as the poor people are a result of the social stratification process. They are a source of labour needed for the function of the system.

Inorder to achieve a more equitable distribution of resources, through the development of basic needs, stress is now being put on development from below, the participation of the people in the decision making and the implementation of policy process. Hence the adoption of community development

strategies which connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economies, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (United Nations, 1971b:2). However the major problem with the basic approach and development from below strategies informed of the improvement approach is that they tend to address the symptoms and not the real causes of poverty. The addressing of symptoms helps to maintain the status quo and to continue the cycle of poverty.

On the other the transformation approach involves the transformation of the nation's structures to be more development oriented. The transformation approach will also seek to rehabilitate the state's role in development unlike under the improvement approach where the state's role is minimized. Under the transformation approach the redistribution strategies will also be changed to radical methods which entail equal distribution of resources among the citizen.

While this is the argument of the UN, McPherson on the other hand, warns that community development is generally a cynical device by which people could, by their efforts, be more incorporated into the new social and economic formations of externally-oriented economic growth, McPherson (1985:165). Community development, to McPherson, has managed to keep off the shoulders of the administrators the burden and needs of the marginalised, thereby disadvantaging the poor through the urban biased policies and the trickle down approach kind of

development. Secondly, the development from within initiatives according to Devarajan, Dollar and Holmgren, (2001) promote and encourage the production of cash crops, which result in the undermining of human needs and the needs of the people on the ground, including food.

The macro economic policies of adjustment in Zimbabwe have not complemented the community development initiatives. The collapse of the safety nets coupled with high rates of retrenchments after the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and difficulties in salary, wages and terminal benefits negotiations have led to wider inequalities in incomes between the rich and the poor and all this has happened through the outgrowth effect.

To redress the issue of poverty the Zimbabwean government started promoting development from below through the participatory approach. Though community development projects were supposed to address the inequalities within the Zimbabwean society evidence on the ground shows that the initiation of some of these projects has entrenched the marginal position of the poor in the society. It can be argued that the failure of the projects is due to the fact that they are trying to cure the symptom of the problem instead of the root causes. It is clear that in such conditions sustainable development will be hard to come by.

The adoption of the improvement projects has reinforced the poor farmers' position. There has also been exacerbation of food insecurity and dependency on the rich which disempowers the small farmer. This augurs well with Bryceson's argument that the rush of the African small rural farmers towards income generating projects is ironic and even as perverse in the face of international financial institutions (IFIs) stated policy intentions of liberalization (Bryceson 1999:173).

For instance SAP and economic liberalization policies were originally rationalized as a stimulus for smallholder production, but African producers have continually fallen far short of neo liberal targets, their export crop performance has remained lack-lustre. No longer able to be portrayed as a victim for rent-seeking governments, the blame is now being shifted to the inadequacies of the wider institutional environment of African economies and the participants of different projects as lazy and mismanaging funds.

In yet another attempt to mitigate against the effects of ESAP the Zimbabwean government decided on general price reduction on commodities by fifty percent from July 2007. But the major problem remains, thus the poor who do not have the money to hoard the commodities. The price reduction has created so many problems in Zimbabwe as it is not a sustainable strategy to development, rather

there is need for transforming the structures that exclude the poor as a way of addressing the problems at hand.

The theme of transformation through agriculture, central to development economics from its establishment in post World War II period until the early 1980s, has been long shoved aside (Bryceson, 1999:177). The transformation has been replaced with mono-economics of neoliberalism thereby contradicting with community development initiatives. In such an environment the main pillars of community development empowerment, participation and sustainable development are thwarted. Community, namely development projects have failed to empower the people as they are not being heard.

According to Du Sautoy, (1958: 1) community development deals with simple things and unsophisticated people in an environment which is harsh, suppressive and contradictory to the spirit of development from below. This also applies to the Nyandoro irrigation scheme in Zimbabwe as the people tried to escape the vicious circle of poverty they found themselves trapped again through a strategy which they had thought would free them from poverty and hunger.

5.7 THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN AFRICA IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT UNDER ESAPs

Chambers cited in Mackenzie et al (1992:253) argues that there are three functions of the state which are fundamental for the rural poor. These encompass maintaining peace and the democratic rule of law, providing basic infrastructure and services and managing the economy. The question now is "can the African state carry out even one of the functions outlined? Chambers also outlines an agenda for abstention and agenda for action. To Chambers decentralised process and choice are central to his paradigm of reversal and "in this mode the state is not a school cafeteria and development is decentralized, becoming not simple but more complex and not but more diverse (Chambers cited in Mackenzie et al (1992:253-257).

Developing states could have done much to tap community level energies, and resources for development, if they had managed to interact more synergistically with local communities. That could have been so if they still had national sovereignty because the broader spin-off is creating a developmental society and polity. This has been so because in the presence of neo-liberalism the roles and strength of the nation state have changed profoundly. Due to the drastic intervention of the globalization instruments thus the World Bank (W.B) and IMF programmes into the economic, financial and budgetary policies of debtor countries mean that these two instruments are appropriating central functions to

the state. Their policies constitute an attack on one of the cornerstones of national sovereign (Devarajan, S., Dollar, D. and Holmgren T, 2001:67-79). In some respects the state has been drastically weakened, delegating its traditional monopoly over certain functions, such as law and order which increasingly is performed by private security firms.

It has also been noted that the IMF's interventions are all the more serious because the SAPs are not attempting to bring a rational approach to poverty elimination and development. The state's first priority, as a major defender of the capitalist nations' interests is to ensure that the debtor countries are able to repay their debts. In the realms of culture and information, state sovereignty has become radically eroded since information can now be dispersed and received via cyberspace which, by its definition, transcends the notion of nation boundaries (Khan, M. S. and Sharma, S. 2001:43-47).

In some instances the states have circumscribed further by the rise of transnational production and liberalized trade systems, and find national and community prerogatives overridden by supra-national bodies like the IMF and World Bank (in the form of policy dictates attached to loans) or the UN (in the form of UN-mandated military interventions or peacekeeping operations) (Business Report, 1996: 7-13). The very integrity of the nation state is threatened by the centrifugal pull of ethnic and other minorities seeking "self determination". Where successful, just like in the Sub Saharan Africa the struggles have

produced entities to which the description nation state hardly applies “a score of empty labels’ as one prescient forecast put it, without an uncontested territory, nor government with authority, nor laws, nor tribunals, nor army, nor an ethically defined population (Business Report, 1996).

CHAPTER 6

6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Recommendations

6.1.1 Development Strategies

The policies of ESAP are thwarting the development efforts of the Nyandoro irrigation scheme and many others. The policies and strategies in place are not favourable for development, in particular rural development and do not leave a leeway for the poor to participate in decision making.

For instance, in terms of the Nyandoro irrigation scheme, there was far more involvement of the beneficiaries in the execution of the projects, particularly in the implementation stages. During the decision-making stages participation was less and the participants ended up endorsing the decisions made elsewhere.

It is clear that in terms of holistic development, there is a need to shift from merely meeting deficiencies and trying to focus on the current problem towards a more transformative participatory designed approach. Such a shift is necessary in order to steer the direction of the Nyandoro irrigation towards bringing sustainable change in the community as well as in the lives of the beneficiaries. Such a shift must encourage the participation of the community in decision making processes, in building the capacity of the community and in ensuring the

sense of ownership as this will lead to increased sustainability of projects and programmes.

It is therefore recommended that the government development strategies must be set out in an integrated development plan and must be aimed at meeting the development objectives of the poor, and must:

- integrate the various activities and resources of different rural communities for the realisation of their objectives.
- Must take into account options available to community development projects to meet their developmental objectives, including by way of service delivery agreements.

6.1.2 Sustainability of the project

The findings revealed that some of the participants were less motivated and uncertain about the sustainability of the community initiatives in the future. This could mean that they were not satisfied with the way the project is being managed which results in them being less committed and not wanting accountability of the scheme's programmes. This could impede the scheme's success. Therefore it is recommended that the initiators of community projects must inform and involve residents, communities and other stakeholders with regard to decision making and implementation of community development projects, including project specific beneficiaries in the case of specific projects.

Thus all participants must be involved in decision making so as to motivate them. For participants to have that feeling of belonging and to be motivated they need to be involved from the inception of the idea of the project contributing ideas this will reinforce the spirit of belonging and will become very certain of the future of the project.

6.1.3 Operational Strategies

In terms of partnership, the findings indicated that Nyandoro links with partnerships thus with funders. The scheme also lacks an established policy framework to guide them with collaboration procedures. On the other hand the government has also failed to give post support to most schemes. The lack of post support has curtailed the achievement of the scheme's objectives as they tend to delay and postpone some of the activities for the future.

The study therefore recommends that clear operational strategies or policy guidelines which address their needs should be put in place to:

- ensure that the community development projects, either alone, or through post support, have the project capacity to realise their development objectives. Since lack of post support has is contributing to the failure of the scheme to achieve its objectives. The post support which include financial support, seeds, pesticides, fertilizer and partnerships will boost the production of Nyandoro scheme

- ensure that the community development projects have the financial capacity for their development objectives and have the ability to sustain their development achievements

6.1.4 Financial Plan/ Resources

It has been indicated that lack of access to credit service or financial resources is also one of the challenges hindering Nyandoro irrigation scheme's progress and need to be addressed. Lack of access to financial resources such as credit, for example, is typically a constraint to the upward mobility of the poor.

Therefore it is recommended that the pioneers of community projects must first ascertain or set out a financial plan as to know

- how the capital and operational expenditure associated with its community development project is matched by its revenue raising strategy:
- the inter-relationship between capital and operating elements in the budget, projected investment ,borrowings and loan requirements.

6.1.5 Human Resource Development and Capacity Building

Generally most rural areas including Mahusekwa suffer from capacity constraints linked to a low skills base. Over an intermediate to long term, capacity

constraints also need to be addressed through educating and training the farmers. The farmers need training on time management, project management, resource mobilization so as to capacitate them. This can also assist them when making decisions about the marketing of their produce. Without capacity building, communities are merely collections of individuals acting without concern for the good, and are without the necessary ingredients required to develop a healthier community. Without appropriate skill development and provision of the necessary resources which enable the beneficiaries to be productive as well as without the establishment of effective and efficient institutional development and formation and community based organizations, it is extremely difficult to ensure sustainability and self reliance. Skills development involve training the participants in the area they are focusing on for instance the Nyandoro participants would require training on farming. Attaining these skills under skills development would result in empowerment and self reliance thus they will be able to do their work more effectively without waiting for professional advice.

- Deployment of more personnel from the Agricultural Ministry (AREX) to Mahusekwa area in support of irrigation system can also be of great assistance.

6.1.6 Approaches to inform development

Currently development policies are being informed by the market needs which tends to focus more on improvement of the people in need with no redistribution

included leaving unfair and exploitative relations intact. Therefore there is need for the Zimbabwean government and policy makers to adopt the transformative approach when addressing the development problem. The adoption of the transformative approach will mean addressing all the blockages to development. New redistribution strategies are bound to be developed and the unfair existing relations also to be reviewed. The transformative approach will lead to the deconstruction of the exploitative relations of production which maintain the trickle down approach to distribution thereby bringing forward new distribution measures such as the radical distribution approach which would result in equitable redistribution of resources.

6.2 Conclusion

In summation, over the years the beliefs and strategies of neoliberal thinking of the 1960s and 1970s have been challenged and efforts to change the ideological thinking of policy makers have been tremendous. This is so as alternative development paradigm is focused on participation, people centered development, accountability, ownership, integration, partnership, sustainability and self-reliance. This approach is participatory in nature and encourages the partnership of all stakeholders to play a role in community development. Therefore there is need to conscientise the development actors as well as the communities for them to be aware of the transformation informed approaches which could be an alternative to free them from vulnerability and the marginalization. This would help them articulate their knowledge and increase their self-reliance and capabilities. In this regard Chamber (2003) notes that the issue is whether development actors and professionals have the vision and guts to change the behaviors to embrace and act out reversals, and:

- as economists and bureaucrats to decentralize and support local diversity;
- as staff in NGOs to continue to evolve, apply, share and spread participatory approaches and methods;
- as staff in government organizations, not to talk down but to listen, learn and facilitate, and to provide choices and responsive services in order to enable the poor to become self reliant.

This study has come to the conclusion that the legacy of underdevelopment remains real in many rural areas in Zimbabwe and also among the participants of community development initiatives. Most of them are still struggling to make ends meet especially for those who have got families. The irrigation scheme has failed to meet the food requirements and some of the participants cannot send their families to school. The majority of the participants are still hovering on the margins of the market system. Despite earlier assistance given to the Nyandoro irrigation scheme at the initial stage to redress backlogs in their area, they still remain with inadequate infrastructure for achieving social and economic objectives of the project.

The development of community development projects is of vital importance in generating employment and in improving income distribution. These projects tend to use labour intensive techniques of production and can absorb people from different age groups. However the Zimbabwean policies as well as the macro economic policies toward these development projects have been characterised by benign neglect or active discrimination for the past decades which need to be addressed.

This study has also come to the conclusion that though the menu of services and investments under the existing environment is fairly broad, it does not extend to cover small scale income generating activities which the communities might

consider to be of much significance, in a comprehensive or a systematic manner. The people of Nyandoro irrigation scheme still need post farming support to provide for their needs which include farming inputs, machinery, provision of credit facilities, infrastructure development. Provision of such support will result in a positive impact on productivity levels.

APPENDICES

TABLE 3.1

Natural Regions of Zimbabwe (Source:Rukuni and Eicher, 1994:42)

Natural Region	Area Square km	%of Total	Rainfall Characteristic
I	7000	2	More than 1 050 mm rainfall per year with some rain in all months
II	58 600	15	700-1 050mm rainfall per year.
III	72 900	18	500-700 mm rainfall per year. Infrequent heavy rainfall. Subject to frequent seasonal droughts.
IV	147 800	38	450- 600rainfall per year. Subject to frequent seasonal droughts.
V	104 400	27	Normally less than 500mm rainfall per year, very erratic and unreliable. Northern Lowveld may have more rainfall but topography and soils are poorer.
Total	390 700	100	

TABLE 3.2

Status of Irrigation development in Zimbabwe (Source: AGRITEX estimates, 1999 cited in <http://www.fao.org/docrep/X5594E/X5594e03.htm>)

Sector	Area Under Irrigation (ha)	As % of total area under irrigation
Large scale	98 400	82
State Farms	8 400	7
Out-grower schemes	2 200	2
Small Holder	11 000	9

TABLE 4.1 Respondents Bio Data: Age/Sex Distribution

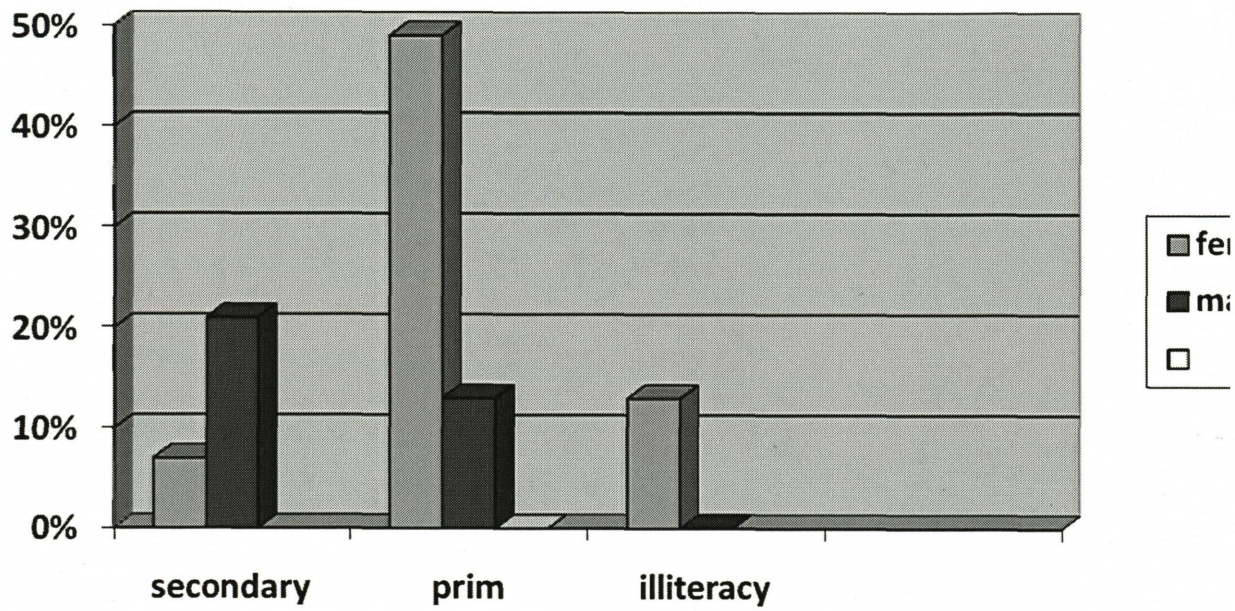
Age group	FEMALE	MALE	Total
24 and Below	N/A	N/A	0
25-29	0	1	1
30-34	0	2	2
35-39	2	0	2
40+	8	2	10
		TOTAL	15

TABLE 4.2 Levels of Education attained

AGE GROUP	GENDER	ILLITERATE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY	TOTAL
Below 24	Female	0	0	0	0	0
	Males	0	0	0	0	0
25- 29	Females	0	0	0	0	0
	Males	0	0	1	0	1
30- 34	Females	0	0	0	0	0
	Males	0	0	1	0	1
35-39	Females	1	1	1	0	3
	Males	0	0	0	0	0
40+	Females	1	6	1	0	8
	Males	0	2	0	0	2

The table above can further be illustrated in a diagram format as shown on the next page.

Diagram 4.1 Education levels attained



BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bailey, K. D. 1987, **Methods of Social Research**, 3rd ed, New York: The Free Press.
2. Bond P. 2003, **Against Global Apartheid: South Africa Meets the World Bank, IMF and International Finance**, South Africa: University Of Cape Town Press.
3. Bryant, L. G.et. al. 1982, **Managing Development in the Third World**, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press
4. Brokensha, D. and Hodge, P. 1969, **Community Development: An Interpretation**, San Francisco, Chandler
5. Burkey, S. 1993, **People First- A Guide of Self Reliant, Participatory Rural Development**, London: Zed Books
6. Chambers, R.1983, **Rural Development: Putting the Last First**, London: Longman.
7. Conyers, D & Hills P. 1990, **An Introduction to Development Planning in the Third World**, New York: John Willey & Sons.
8. Creswell, J. W. 1994, **Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches**, Thousand Oaks, Sage.
9. Devarajan, S., Dollar, D. and Holmgren, T. (eds.). 2001, **Aid and Reform in Africa: Lessons form Ten Case Studies**, Washington D.C., World Bank.
10. Edwards A. D & Jones D. G, 1976, **Community and Community Development**, Netherlands, Mouton & Co.

11. Ferinho H. 1980, **Towards a theory of Community Development**, Cape Town, Juta Company Ltd.
12. Galbraith, J. K. 1979, **The nature of Mass poverty**, Harvard Cambridge, University Press.
13. Gary S. 2003, **Pathways out of Poverty**, Boston, Kluwer Academic Publishers.
13. Ghai, D & Vivian, J.M. 1992, **Grassroots Environmental Action- People's Participation in Sustainable Development**, London, Routledge.
14. Holdcroft, L. A. 1978, **The Rise and Fall of Community Development in Developing Countries, 1950-1965. A Critical Analysis and an Annotated Bibliography**, East Lansing, Michigan State University
15. Khan, M. S. and Sharma, S. 2001. **"IMF Conditionality and Country Ownership of Programs."** IMF Working Paper No. 01/142, Washington, D.C.
16. Long N. 1977, **An Introduction to the Sociology of Rural Development**, London, The Chauser Press.
17. MacPherson, S. 1985, **Social policy in the Third world**, Sussex, Wheatsheaf.
18. Max-Neef, M. 1991, **Human Scale Development-Conception, Application and Further Reflections**, London, Apex Press.
19. Mayo, M, 1994, **Communities and Caring: The mixed economy of welfare**, London, Macmillan.

20. Midgley, J. with Hall, A, Hardiman, M. and Narine, D, 1986, **Community Participation, Social Development and the State**, London, Methuen.
21. Mackenzie et al, 1992, **Development from Within: Survival in Rural Africa**, New York, Routledge.
22. Murphy P. W. et al, 2003, **Organizing for Community Controlled Development** California, Sage Publications.
18. Mwanza A. 1992, **Structural Adjustment Programmes in SADC: Experiences and Lessons from Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe**, Harare, SAPEs Trust.
19. Mwanza et al 2001, 2001, **SADC Country Studies: Zimbabwe 2001**, Harare, SAPEs Trust.
20. Oakley, P. (ed). 1991, **Projects with People- The Practice of Participation in Rural Development**, Geneva, International Labour Office.
21. Pearce, D. Barbier, E & Markandya, A. 1990, **Sustainable Development Economics and Environment in the Third World**, Hants, England, Edward Elgar.
22. Rahman, M. D. A, 1993, **People's Self Development-Perspectives on Participatory Action Research**, London, Zed Books.
23. Repetto, R. 1986, **World Enough and Time**, New Haven Connecticut, Yale University
24. Sandbrook R. 1982, **Politics of basic needs: urban aspects of assaulting poverty in Africa**, London, Heinemann.

25. Saprin (Organisation). 2004, **Structural Adjustment: the SAPRI [sic] report: the policy roots of economic crisis, poverty, and inequality / by the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN)**, London, Zed Books.
26. Seaberg, J. R. 1988, **Utilising Sampling Procedures**, 3rd ed, Itasca, IL: Peacock.
27. Swanepoel H et. al. 2000, **Introduction to Development Studies**, South Africa, Oxford University Press.
28. Wilson F., Kanji N. & Bratheen E. c2001, **Poverty Reduction: What role for the state in Today's globalised economy?** Cape Town, NEAP.
29. World Bank. 1975, **The assault on world poverty: problems of rural development, education and health**, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins.

Journals and Articles

1. Balassa B. 'Structural Adjustment Policies in Developing Countries', World Bank Staff Working Paper, No. 464, 1987.
2. Edward J., 5 February 2007 <http://www.planetizen.com/node/22756>, Incorporating Sustainability Into Community Development (accessed 5 August 2007)
3. Government of Zimbabwe. 1994. Poverty Alleviation Action Plan
4. Government of Zimbabwe. 1997. Zimbabwe: Community Development Project.
5. Holdcroft, L. E. 1950-1965. The rise and the fall of community development in developing countries: a critical analysis and implications: In Jones, G.E. and Rolls, M.J. (eds.).
6. Jones, J. & Wiggle, I. 1987. The concept and politics of integrated community development. *Community Development Journal*, 22(2)
7. Jadu, <http://www.rugby.gov.uk/sustainabledevelopment> Rugby Borough Council Sustainable development- Town Hall, Evreux Way, Rugby, CV21 2RR accessed 28 November 2007
8. Lake, A. 2007 http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/sccwebsite/sccwspages.nsf/LookupWebPagesByTITLE_RTF/What+is+Sustainable+DevelopmentQ?opendocument What is Sustainable development. (Accessed 28 November 2007)
9. Monyai P.B 30-31 May 2005. Social Policy and Social Issues: Challenges for Development and Transformation in South Africa.

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
ALICE LIBRARY
PRIVATE BAG X1333
ALICE 5200

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
ALICE LIBRARY
PRIVATE BAG X1322
ALICE 5700

10. Mwanza A.' Theory and Practice of Structural Adjustment Programmes", in Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly, Vol 4, No. 7, February 1991.
11. Regional Office for Africa, Socio Economic Impact of Smallholder irrigation development in Zimbabwe, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/X5594E/X5594e03.htm>, (accessed 14 October 2007)
12. Sokwanele Special Report: 18 June 2005 "Operation Murambatsvina": An Overview and Summary http://www.sokwanele.com/articles/sokwanele/opmuramb_overview_18june2005.html (Date accessed 23 November 2007)
13. The Unesco Courier, March 1977. Man-The centre of Development
14. The Whirled Bank Group, 2003, <http://www.whirledbank.org/development/sap.html> (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Community_development) (Accessed, 14 September 2007)
15. United Nations Commission, 1992, Zimbabwe Country Profile Implementation of Agenda 21 (<http://www.un.org/esa/earthsummit/zimbab-c.htm#chap3>) (Accessed, 5 August 2007)