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Relief or development? An analysis of the outcome of NGO community development interventions in Marange communal area of Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

Development is a critical aspect of individuals, groups, communities or nations. Community development is even more critical aspect of development as it purportedly leads to self reliance. Huge amounts of funds, time, and resources, just but to mention a few have been continuously channeled towards communities over time in a bid to facilitate community development. Unfortunately, results of such actions and interventions by NGOs, governments and a host of development agencies have so far largely proved elusive. Contrary to NGO expectations and popular opinion, target communities continuously demand, request and expect increased direct support from development agencies. Solving acute community problems and challenges, the focus of most NGO development interventions has been less successful. Target problems have largely graduated and turned to chronic levels. All this is unfortunately worsening against the background of increased donor and NGO support. Deteriorating and widening community challenges are also taking place against general claims by NGOs to the application of community development ideals in communities as a successful development alternative. Contrastingly, rather than being self reliant, communities have become more dependent on donors. In addition, NGO target communities continue to grapple with short-lived changes, limited participation by the majority, reversal of past successes and dwindling self representation and reliance. Inequalities have widened. This is to the detriment of ongoing NGO claims and efforts at promoting community development.

This study focused on understanding the various discrepancies and discords that are increasingly becoming evident about NGO work and the change taking place in target communities. Detailed understanding of the various nuances that possibly explain the ongoing mismatch between NGO actions and results have been drawn and outlined along the different sections of this study. An analysis of the practical outcomes of NGO efforts and interventions in as far as community development is concerned has also been made. Furthermore, the study intends has built a platform for understanding the various factors that underpin successful accomplishment of community development. In the process, the study has implicitly examined the extent to which community development ideals can be successfully shaped into practical realities. The study looks at how NGOs have fared in as far as the roll out of community development is concerned.

Key findings emerging from this study were that NGOs provided just but part of some of the components essential for accomplishment of community development. Issues of participation, decision making, inclusiveness, sustainability and the ability to promote lasting and irreversible change can only be guaranteed if there is an enabling macro environment. Second, the study noted the need for common appreciation of the concept of community development by development partners. Additionally, NGOs and other development players should be holistic in their approach, looking beyond certain exclusive development sectors for community development to succeed. NGOs in Community development should strive to openly influence the government to craft and enact policies and procedures that provide an enabling environment for community development to thrive and succeed.

Key Words: Community, development, improvement, facilitation, transformative, relief, community development

DECLARATION

I, Pemberai Zambezi, do hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is entirely a product of my own original work with the exception of such quotations or references which have been attributed to their sources and that all illustrative figures, maps and tables are made or drawn by me save where I have acknowledged the author or source. I further declare that this dissertation has not been previously submitted and will not be presented at any other university for a similar or any other degree award.

Signature: Pemberai Zambezi   **Date: 20/11/ 2010**

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DEDICATION

This work is an inspiration and dedication to all those motivated to see development aid produce life transforming and sustainable acts to recipient communities.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immuno-deficiency Syndrome
CD	Community Development
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DOMCAPP	Diocese of Manicaland Aids Prevention Project
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FACT	Family AIDS Caring Trust
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
NAP for OVC	National Action Plan for Orphans and Vulnerable Children
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PLWHIV	People Living With HIV
PSS	Psycho Social Support
SAT	Southern Africa AIDS Trust
SOIR	Swedish Organisation for Individual Relief
TTL	Tribal Trust Land
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZRCS	Zimbabwe Red Cross Society

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1. Introduction

This study investigated the outcomes of community development interventions by NGOs in Zimbabwe. The study is a product of the realisation of the existence of evident mismatch between the growing number of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the deplorable state of community development progress in most rural communities of Zimbabwe. The study notes that while the number of NGOs operating in the various spheres of Zimbabwe's rural environs and claiming to promote community development has been growing, there seems to be limited positive change in the manner in which such specific target communities have meaningfully responded to NGO community development efforts. Several scholars of development and more specifically of community development have, one after the other, acknowledged growing discrepancies between NGO and state interventions and the corresponding outcomes. (Cook, 1993; Theron, 2009:108; De Beer & Swanepoel, 1998:3)

Paradoxically, communities seemingly benefiting from growing NGO interventions reflect increased need for further support. Ideally, such communities should reflect greater levels of independence and self reliance commensurate with broader NGO claims of promoting community development. Unfortunately, increased self-reliance of communities seems not to be the case. This emerging contradictory scenario between increasing NGO operations and widening community dependency on the same NGOs raises questions as to what the real outcomes of NGO community development efforts

in Zimbabwe are. Broadly, such apparent discrepancies between interventions and outcomes raise questions on approaches, methodologies, actions and activities of NGOs in as far as the promotion of community development are concerned.

1.1 Historical and social context of the study

Post independence Zimbabwe has been characterised by two distinct periods of policy and ideological shift (Banana, 1987: 48). Distinctively, Zimbabwe underwent a short phase of trials with socialism. This was followed by a protracted phase when the country fully embraced capitalism. Such ideological shifts had a strong bearing on the social, economic and political performance of the nation and its related support institutions. Zimbabwe shifted from its rhetorical claim to socialism to fully fledged capitalism within a period of a decade after attaining political independence in 1980. From 1980 to about 1985, Zimbabwe, its leadership and its policies openly reflected strong socialist inclinations and related agendas (Banana, 1987:6-8). Official public statements by the country's leadership pointed towards governance guided by strong socialist principles (Banana, 1987:6). A significant number of cooperative projects, cooperative farms and systematic state ownership and control of the means of production characterised Zimbabwe's short stint with socialism. During this period, there was very little room for the development and survival of private capital ventures. Private capital was not only discouraged but was restricted to a limited number of organisations and companies. Social services were not spared either. Schools, hospitals and other forms of social services were centrally managed. The majority of such services were provided to the rural and urban masses for free. The major beneficiaries of such socialist dominated

policies were the rural folk and to a larger extent the urban poor. The urban middle and upper class equally benefited, nonetheless, they were expected to pay concessionary user fees.

Zimbabwe's honeymoon with socialism entered a steep decline in the first half decade after attainment of independence. The 1990 adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment (ESAP) finally confirmed the total abandonment of socialism (Kadenge, et al, 1992:168). Banana (1987: 50-54) concludes that a myriad of local and international forces finally brought socialism to an end. In his thesis on the challenges of socialism, Banana constantly made reference to the role played by the global economic and political tentacles in Zimbabwe's exit from socialism.

Like the world over, the proliferation of NGOs in Zimbabwe during the early 1990s is widely associated with and linked to the triumphal domination of capitalism following the demise of socialism. Broadly the world over, the phenomenal growth of NGOs is linked to the end of the cold war, symbolised by the collapse of the eastern bloc and the Soviet Union. (Sachikonye, 1997:28-29)

Zimbabwe was not spared either. Global developments of the late 1980s and early 1990s had a bearing on Zimbabwe too. Chief among them was the adoption of neo - liberal policies by Britain, America and a host of related allies linked to the Washington Consensus of 1989. Declaration and roll out of the Washington consensus had ripple effects on a significant number of African governments who adopted some of the

consensus's recommendations, the Zimbabwe government included. Neo-liberal policies driving the newly adopted capitalist order brought in a host of austerity measures that had negative consequences on social lives of Zimbabwe's masses (Kadenge et al, 1992: 186-190).

This thesis has explained the context of the proliferation of NGOs in Zimbabwe within the broader context of social deprivation that was to dominate the post 1990s and the period thereon. The study has concluded that NGOs became dominant during the period when Zimbabwe adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). This was from 1991 to 1995 and the period there after. Coincidentally, this was the period when the country experienced significant decline in both the economic and social spheres of human life (Moyo *et al*,2000: xiii). Traces of acute and in some cases chronic poverty among even the less vulnerable groups of people began to take root. The same post ESAP period witnessed a marked growth in the number of NGOs operating in the country. Moyo et al (2000: 3) confirm that Zimbabwe experienced a phenomenal growth in NGOs from 2000 to 2009. The number of NGOs rose to a record peak of around 800 from as low as 30 in the early 1980s. This was the period of defined economic, political and social decline.

 Zimbabwe's myriad of problems in health, finance, economy, education, food security, law and a host of other social services moved from acute to chronic. Invariably, the ensuing developments or lack thereof were met with increased establishment and subsequent activities of local and international NGOs. Marange Community, the object

of this study was not spared from NGO flooding either. In fact, Marange, hard hit by historical poverty, perennial drought and chronic deprivation endured the effects of the cruelest taste of the post ESAP period. It is during this period that like other areas of Zimbabwe, Marange enjoyed a phenomenal growth in NGOs.

However, it should be noted that Zimbabwe's experiences with NGOs dates back to the period before the country's political independence (Moyo, 2000: 47). Though still few in numbers, NGOs were a visible feature of the country's social landscape. During this period NGO operations were noted as limited in both geography and target. Largely, the few available NGOs such as Christian Care focused on urban communities (Moyo, Makumbe & Raftopoulos, 2000). After 1980, Zimbabwe experienced a surge in NGO operations. NGO focus widened to cover issues pertaining to the environment, women's rights, education, infrastructure development, agriculture and the specific development of rural communities. The new Zimbabwe government recognised and embraced NGOs as critical players in the development field. NGOs were welcomed and positioned to provide complimentary role to the ongoing government development efforts. Increased focus of NGO operations was directed towards assisting and developing the growing rural community. The government of Zimbabwe confidently welcomed NGOs as the new partners in the broader development agenda.

In summary, the thesis observed that the context under which the study was carried reflects the strong and varied influence of international, regional and local forces in as far as the proliferation of NGOs is concerned. At international level, the period under

review reflects the fact that NGOs were touted and universally promoted as the panacea to social, political and economic decline experienced by most developing countries. Added to this was the growing confidence in wider NGOs role in uplifting the Civil Society (CS) participation. For instance, NGOs were increasingly assigned and expected to lead in the general promotion of democracy, transparency and sustainable development (Sachikonye, 1997). At national level, NGOs were equally embraced as the solution to the decline that was affecting broader social and economic sectors of nation states. NGO interventions and activities were left to flourish and in some cases openly invited and promoted in response to the different challenges faced by respective governments. In the specific case of Zimbabwe, the contexts in which most NGOs seem to have been invited and hence flourished seem to have been largely negative. The country was experiencing both acute and chronic challenges in the broader social, political and economic sectors of her life. NGOs' ascendancy and dominance seem to have been directly linked to such decline more than the deliberate drive to roll out community development.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The thesis recognises that community development (CD) has been one of the major pre-occupations of NGOs in Zimbabwe and the world over. A quick study of most NGO visions and missions reflect consistent inclinations towards an end where communities are empowered, independent and self-reliant. Most NGOs envisage an end where target communities effectively and consistently respond to emerging challenges and opportunities presented and experienced by their respective inhabitants. They also

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envisage an end where a community can identify its needs, opportunities, rights and responsibilities. Additionally, CD practitioners in NGOs envisage an end where communities can plan, take action and evaluate the effect and impact of their actions or that of the agency. All this will be done in a manner which challenge oppression and tackle inequalities (Taylor and West, 2001).

The study noted that the reality on the ground presents a vividly different picture. The perceived utopia has in reality been hard to come by. Largely, individuals, households and the community at large have reflected increased dependency on NGOs and governments in most of the major spheres of their economic and social lives. In the majority of cases NGOs have emerged as sources for "fall back" for most communities. Some national governments have not been spared either from the same dependency. This is confirmed by numerous appeals raised by governments and directed to NGOs (The Herald, August 2008). The level of dependency on NGOs is in some cases so prevalent to the extent that within any given locality only a limited number of households are excluded from the NGO target beneficiary list. Field observations and NGO beneficiary register correlations reflect that only a minority of people and households are not part of NGOs food or other forms of support distribution registers. However the level of dependency varies by period and nature of support. Apparently, the number of new community beneficiaries seems to be growing with each new NGO that registers for operation. Much as such trends cannot be disqualified as totally disturbing and bad, community responses of such nature in a way reflect badly on ongoing NGO claims to facilitating community development. In analytic terms, rising demand and uptake of

NGO support is in some way evidence of decline of broader community self-reliance and initiative.

For an avid community development practitioner, a response of such a nature in a way questions both the approaches and possibly the results of previous and ongoing NGO interventions. This is in as far as progress towards community development is concerned. Such summary remarks are based on the understanding that successful community development efforts should result in increased self reliance and autonomy and not dependency as the current picture of NGO community relations seems to reflect.

The areas under which communities are receiving a wide array of NGO support include education, infrastructure development, medical support, food and other forms of social support (FACT; PLAN & SOIR Records, 2008). Increasingly, NGOs' presence and activities has become a permanent feature of the lives of most rural and of late, urban communities in Zimbabwe. This is clearly evident from the rising number of NGOs operating and interested in operating in Manicaland and Zimbabwe as a whole (Zimbabwe NGO Directory, 2004). It should be noted that some NGOs have been operating and channeling community development support in the same communities for more than two decades (FACT Reports, 2005-2007). In areas where pioneer NGOs have ceased or rolled back operations and interventions new NGOs have hurriedly taken over, coming up with completely new interventions or continuing with the same old interventions.

Other NGOs have redefined and widened their focus to include new and emerging issues such as governance and peace building. The latter has been in response to the changing political landscape and subsequent need to redefine political and economic influence by major donor agencies. Generally, most NGOs operating in Zimbabwe have rebranded both their approaches and efforts as a response to emerging community needs and government expectations.

NGOs have become a permanent landmark in most of Zimbabwe's urban and rural communities. Urban areas, once excluded from NGO support have started receiving their fair share of NGO interventions. Largely, the increasing presence of NGOs has been justified as one of the means and ways to ensure that communities will in the future be able to successfully fend for themselves. A significant number of NGOs, both new and old, who came in as part of a broader emergency response exercise have in reality become permanent features of respective communities. The semi permanency is against the background that their initial entry was premised on the need to respond to community emergencies leading to community development.

This ever growing number of people receiving direct NGO support and the attendant phenomenal growth in the number of NGOs motivated the need to investigate NGO role in facilitating community development. Indeed, most NGOs claim that their presence in the various communities is short-lived. Additionally, most NGOs further claim that their intentions are guided by the need to transform individuals and target communities

towards sustainable socio-economic independence leading to ultimate self reliance. Such assertions by the majority of NGOs operating in Zimbabwe should be understood and therefore investigated against the emerging realisation that in some regions, overall NGO operations have inadvertently fueled dependency.

Increased discrepancies and inconsistencies in NGO support has raised the need to develop an appreciation and at the same time critique NGO operations and approaches. The study has critiqued NGO claims to community development and community development challenges faced by communities NGOs wish to improve or transform. In a way, this study has investigated whether current and growing NGO operations are not an anathema to real community development.

Issues and questions raised in this section of the study have directly interrogated whether NGOs are practicing community development or not. Equally interrogated have been the different approaches to community development adopted by respective NGOs. Popular conclusion has it that NGOs in general and NGO interventions in particular facilitate community development and that NGOs are the best institutions to channel development interventions (Moyo, 2000:1-3). By and large the term "development organisations" in Zimbabwe and the world over has become synonymous with NGOs. In Zimbabwe for instance, NGOs have been branded as *"mabato ezve budiriro,"* a shona coinage with an English literal equivalent for "*development organisation or development arm.*"

This study was thus based on the need to understand and appreciate why community development seems to remain elusive despite all the concerted efforts by NGOs, communities, individuals and churches. This research has thus proffered responses to the need to understand and analyse the outcome of the so called NGO community development interventions.

The community development elusiveness and illusion has widely been noted by various authors. Ukpong (1990:75), like many other scholars concur with the observation that community development has remained largely illusionary to most of its hopeful implementers. Ukpong, like Cook (1994), concludes that even the two United Nations (UN) Development Decades which started in the 1950s have failed to bring meaningful improvement in the quality of life of people from the third world.

Questions on whether there is development coming up as a result of respective community development interventions carried out by different NGOs have been considered. The research has further questioned the capacities and abilities of NGOs to facilitate the different variations of community development ranging from the improvement to transformative variants as noted by MacPherson (1985:78).

The study tracks development aid and its outcome on the life of the Marange recipient communities. It quizzes whether community development interventions channeled into Marange communities is not ending up addressing immediate human welfare and social protection issues affecting recipient communities. It has questioned the extent to which

NGO support has changed communities into self reliant entities, a 360 degree turn from being mere recipients and beneficiaries of development support to self reliant entities.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to analyse the outcome of NGO development interventions in facilitating community development (CD). The study has built an appreciation of the role played by development aid interventions channeled through various NGOs in facilitating community development with specific focus of Marange Communal area of Zimbabwe. The process successfully delineated the outcome of NGO interventions in Marange communal area as either welfare dominant or self-reliant dominant. Broadly, the study succeeded in investigating whether the so-called NGO development interventions largely achieved the intended community development outcomes.

The other driving force behind this study was the need to understand why a significant proportion of rural and urban communities were increasingly perpetually relying on NGO support. Continuous support from NGOs has proved contradictory to NGO focus on facilitating self-reliance, one of the key features of successful community development. This study has been motivated by the understanding that most NGO operating in Zimbabwe have made constant reference to self-reliance which is normally a consequence of successful community development. Several NGOs have openly and consistently claimed that the purpose of their existence is to promote community development (FACT, PLAN, and SOIR Mission Statements).In the same vein, a

significant number of NGOs have preferred to strike a balance,   labeling ongoing interventions as humanitarian relief with some community development nuances. Available evidence point to the fact that most NGOs operating in Zimbabwe and even across the globe are making claims towards the fact that they apply different forms of community development approaches in the respective communities they operate. This study sought to corroborate this general claim. The process of confirmation was possible through a study of Marange community's experiences, perspectives, attitudes and behaviors emanating from periods of established contact with NGOs. The study followed an evaluative analysis of data and phenomenon through an inductive process. Nieuwenhuis (2007), notes that the use of inductive reasoning counters possibilities of unsubstantiated generalisations emerging from data. Indeed, a review of literature on NGOs and community development reflects somewhat unacceptably high levels of generalisations that have come to be associated with NGOs and development. This study has consciously adopted the use of qualitative inductive analysis of purposive samples   on NGO operations in Marange to counter the current generalisations dominating most NGO intervention outcome studies.

1.4 Significance of the study

 The study is of significance to the domain of community development. It has been observed that the community development domain is one of the most venerated development approaches (Mayo, 2008:15). However, there seem to be little and in some cases varied and divergent understanding and appreciation of the term by   those who claim to put community development into operation. NGOs have emerged the

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biggest culprits in as far as the loose application of the term is concerned. The same situation has been evident across the broader donor and government worlds.

In a sense, this study has produced new knowledge on the realities of community development in relation to NGOs. It is hoped that a significant number of stakeholders claiming, promoting or wishing to promote community development will do so with clear understanding of the possibilities and limits of the concept. This study has added more knowledge to the theory and practice of community development. Added has been attempt by the study to explain why the hugely venerated ideals of community development are difficult to realise.

Generalisations about NGOs and their contribution to community development have been awash in aid and development literature (Harvey &Jeremy, 2005:7-16). In view of the preceding, this study has in a way attempted to demystify the role of NGOs in championing community development. Using living examples from NGO community interactions in Marange, the study's findings will be used to inductively interpret and appreciate the respective community development roles played by NGOs. Hopefully, the outcome will be of use in appreciating the role of NGOs in community development. At the same time, the study is expected to provide a general picture of how specific community development applies, is transformed and possibly fits within a certain existing, unfolding or changing national or international development context. The project has successfully rationalised the general fallacies contained in broader development assistance earmarked for rural communities. Such rationalisation is

important since it will go a long way in supporting, questioning or refuting the general claims that NGOs are synonymous with community development practitioners. The study will also play a significant role in positioning the outcome of aid coming into Zimbabwe channeled through NGOs. Popular opinion has it that such development aid results in community development. Facts on the ground have proved otherwise. Either the aid has not been enough to sustain community development initiatives or the approaches used by various NGOs render the so called community development assistance ineffective and impossible.

NGOs, funders of development support, recipients of development assistance and the government will also benefit from this study. Funders and governments will gain increased clarity on the effectiveness and relevance of development aid in relation to community development. It is hoped that the study will in some way offer fair responses to emerging questions on community development. Questions such as what real community development is? Whether community development is achievable at all or whether it is practical and achievable under the current socio economic conditions in Zimbabwe will hopefully be answered by this study.

The study has highlighted some of the key challenges to community development. It has also pointed out the critical need to recognise such challenges when rolling out community development interventions. It is thus hoped that the study will go a long way in contributing towards understanding of implications of adopting community development as an alternative development approach. Embarking on such a study has

been driven by the realisation that, by and large, NGOs have assumed the local face of community development facilitators. People, communities, governments, international donors and multilateral agencies have embraced NGOs as the "magic bullet" to growing community development needs. Consequently, as for Zimbabwe, such a position has witnessed significant amounts of resources being channeled to various communities through NGOs more than it has been through government (The Herald, November, 2008). In general, across Africa, national governments have been negatively labeled as bureaucratic, dictatorial and inefficient hence, the general exclusion from funding for issues concerned with community development (Raftopoulos, 2000:210).

The study thus sought to validate the truth about certain assumptions held for NGOs in as far as community development is concerned. It questioned NGO capacities to facilitate community development in Marange communal area as well as beyond. The basis for this study has been a sad realisation that growth in NGO development support has not been paralleled with significant positive changes in people's lives (Tarugarira, PASS, 2003). Given this anomaly and mismatch, one wonders whether NGOs' respective development approaches are the right means through which community development can be achieved and sustained.

1.5 Limitations of the study

While results from this study may be used to reflect on the general outcome trends of NGO operations in Zimbabwe, the conclusions have been limited to the results drawn from a study of NGOs in the two wards of Marange community. The wards are

Nyachityu and Takarwa. Largely this is so because the study is qualitative and has relied on such methods as case studies and focus group discussions as data collections tools. Secondly, the area studied has been purposively selected and as such the outcome could possibly be a reflection of specific and unique features peculiar to the target communities. Overt generalisations should thus be avoided where such research methodologies have been used.

Additionally, the specific conclusions and generalisations of this study have been limited to the examination of community development projects that are five years and older. This consideration is born out of the fact that the community development process is rarely an overnight activity or a one off procedure. Rather, as noted by Eade and Williams (1995: 863), community development is considered a long and winding process that may take place over decades.

The study bordered on an attempt to isolate community development ideals from the reality obtaining on the ground. It was interested in examining the results or changes brought in through respective NGO operations in Marange communal area of Zimbabwe. It called for the need to identify and separate NGO relief interventions from practical community development efforts.

Due to financial constraints, time limit and mobility handicap, the study limited its focus to a single administrative district of Zimbabwe. However, despite these limits, the study

provides a useful starting point for investigating the outcome of NGO community development interventions across Zimbabwe.

Primarily, the focus of the study has been on NGOs involved in advancing various characteristics and forms of community development. Such characteristics include among the key issues:

- Promotion of public participation,

- Ownership,

- Decision making,

- Self help or self reliance

- Empowerment and

- Participatory democracy. (Cook,1994)

This study was limited to the examination of the results of NGOs efforts operating in Marange in rolling out community development. It solicited for information on the different factors that facilitate or inhibit community development. Through this study, an analysis has been made as to whether community development is a practical development alternative or a mere ideal that may never be achieved whether by NGOs or governments.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

Any study involving human beings is bound by strict ethical considerations of confidentiality and consent. Additionally, ethical issues of voluntary participation and anonymity should also be upheld. De Vos *et al.* (2005: 147) point to the fact that all

studies involving human beings carry with them significant ethical considerations that cannot be ignored if the study is to be acceptable and authentic. Babbie and Mouton, (1998) note that researchers have the right to collate data through interviewing people. However, they reiterate that this should not be done at the expense of interviewer privacy. Equally, the same applies to research with animals. Like humans, animals have rights too and thus should be subjected to humane and dignified treatment. This study is no exception. Like any other professional study, considerations and respect of general human rights have been factored in the process of gathering the required information. The study meticulously responded to ethical issues noted by seeking individual consent, emphasising on confidentiality and anonymity and ensuring that whosoever is identified for participation in the research process does so voluntarily.

The researcher emphasised openness and clarity to the subjects of research on researcher identity and the purpose of the research. This was made possible by providing potential literate respondents with a study introductory letter *(see appendix, addendum 1).* The letter contained information of the research topic, background to the study and the study objectives. In the process, the researcher in a way successfully managed to eliminate possibilities of undue expectations and hopes from the subjects. This was particularly important for a study of this nature that involves NGOs.

Historically, within Marange, most NGOs have been associated with the provision of goods and services. Consequently, research subjects who are ill informed about the

purpose the study were likely to provide responses that they feel will influence their future relationships with NGOs.

Broader consent was sought from the study sample population and community leadership at large. Further consent, authority and clearance to carry out the study was sought and obtained from Mutare Rural district police of the Zimbabwe Republic Police and Mutare Rural District Administrator's office *(see appendix B, addendum 2, 3&4).* General participants identified by the research were asked for either verbal or written consent to participate in the research after full explanation of study expectations and objectives. The majority of participants openly hesitated to sign interviewee consent forms for fear of possible political reprisal. It must be noted that this study was carried out in a politically polarised environment and during periods of high political distrust where cases of suspicion and uncertainty are evidently high. Respondent fear was particularly heightened when potential respondents were informed that the study was about NGOs.

To minimise expectations, formal and elaborate explanations were laid out before commencement of the study. This was necessary to rein in on usually high community expectations and fears that generally emerge from studies linked to NGOs frequently known for food handouts and on the other hand as fronts for European interests (The Herald, November 2009). The researcher also took cognisance of the fact that Nyachityu and Takarwa wards have been one of the most over researched areas in the

district. Consequently, there is a possibility that previous researchers could have raised people's expectations.

Secondly, the researcher fully explained the focus and nature of the research in order to eliminate possibility of social desirability bias associated with most research linked to NGO interventions. This was out of the realisation that Marange community has gained significant research experience. As such there was a strong likelihood that they could provide responses that would align themselves with their standing expectations.

As part of the broader ethical considerations, the study fully acknowledged the express need for the researcher to fully respect and take into consideration the rights, needs, desires and values of informants. This research openly advanced the interests of the researched to the extent that the latter were given the lee way to withdraw from the research at any time if there was a feeling that the questions asked undermined fundamental rights explained at the informant soliciting stage. Indeed, some respondents were allowed to excuse themselves from responding to questions they considered controversial and possibly politically sensitive. Creswell (1998) reiterates that every researcher is bound by broad ethical considerations such as the respect for rights, values, needs and desires of informants. This study was largely driven and guided by such broad ethical considerations.

The study also adhered to general research ethics of accountability. The researcher guaranteed that the research is non-secret or clandestine. Added to this has been the

fact that the researcher would fully abide by the obligation to freely and openly disseminate research results to interested members of the study population and the broader constituency of stakeholders interested in NGO work.

1.7 Organisation of the study

The study is presented and structured into 6 chapters. Chapter one contains the background to the study. In effect chapter one covers sub topics as problem statement, study objectives, significance of the study, the study limitations, ethical considerations and the study lay out.

Chapter 2 focuses on extended literature review of the subject of community development and NGO operations. Under the chapter, in depth focus has been made on how different authors represent and reflect on the concept of community development and the subsequent role of NGOs in initiating such a process. An attempt has been made on unraveling the conceptual and theoretical framework underlying the advent and use of community development approaches by NGOs. This section has explained and expanded on key concepts of community development. This has gone a long way in setting the context for the study.

Chapter 3 reflects on the context of the study. It examines and analyses the different NGO responses to challenges faced by communities in Zimbabwe. The chapter explores possible and probable explanations underlying such responses. In a way, this

chapter sets an informed basis for analysis of results, conclusions and the setting up of informed recommendations

Chapter 4 focuses on study methodology used to gather data for this study. The chapter identifies and explains some of the major determinants of the study methodology applied. The chapter has reflected on the factors such as size, distance, sources of information and resource limitations that have significantly shaped the methodology to be used for this study. It also provides a background to the study area. The background covers the location, climate, politics, governance and the economy of the area under study.

Chapter 5 focuses on results of the study. It outlines the body of the research where the collected data is presented, discussed and analysed. Chapter 6 carries the conclusion as to whether NGOs are successfully practicing community development or not. The chapter includes recommendations on what could possibly be done to promote successful execution of community development within the obtaining context of NGO operations.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has built a basis for this dissertation by providing a lengthy background to the study on NGO interventions and their outcomes in as far as the achievement of community development is concerned. The section has highlighted the historical and social context guiding the conceptualisation and conclusions about community development and how these have influenced the different approaches.

The study objectives raise some fundamental questions as to what levels of progress or failure can be attributed to NGOs' work in as far as the promotion of community development is concerned. Issues touching on the significance of the study are clearly outlined in the subsequent paragraphs of this study. It is clear that this study will go a long way in repositioning most NGO community development operations to take a more practical, achievable and realistic path. Equally, the study has attempted to provide a reasonable explanation to why most NGOs are failing to make a sustainable headway in as far as sustaining community self reliance.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISATION OF RELIEF, NGO AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2. Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth reflection of the various concepts embedded in the study of community development. It lays emphasis on uniform, divergent and in some cases competing conceptualisation of the different terms that shape this study. Strong emphasis is also given on the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the different uses and definitions of such recurring concepts such as NGO, development, relief and community development. The section further examines the different models that have been used to roll out community development. In the process, it is hoped that the study will, with improved clarity, reflect on the role of NGOs in promoting community development. All in all, this section strives to offer a theoretical framework underlying the actions of development agencies across the globe. It examines the weaknesses and strengths of such theoretical basis of initiating development.

2.1 Conceptual Issues

2.1.1 Relief

Relief is perceived as short-term provision of physical commodities to victims of an acute crisis or the impoverished (Buckland, 1998). He further notes that relief efforts are dominated by welfare and social protection programs meant to relieve pain and suffering to marginalised groups and communities. The provision of subsidised physical, human and social capital is largely done by an external agency.

Strachan and Peters (1997:88-89) define relief as support advanced to communities in need or under stress. Provision of relief is largely through non participatory means which is largely directed to passive recipients who are under threat of starvation or

critical shortage. Other scholars define relief as public help in the form of money, food, clothing, shelter or medicine provided to people who are temporarily unable to care for themselves (Eade and Williams, 1995:948). Treasure (2010: 1) adds, she identifies relief as an act of relieving the suffering of those in dire hardship, the essence of humanitarianism. All the definitions outlined above underlie the study's understanding of relief. The preceding position is drawn from the realisation that all scholars referenced in this section of the study presented the key tenets of relief in unison.

2.1.2 Non Governmental Organisation (NGO)

NGOs are private, not for profit, voluntary associations working to uplift human lives and to assist in emergency situations (Michael, 2004). The definition concurs well with that advanced by The World Bank. Shah (2002:24) quoting The World Bank, defines NGOs as private organisations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services or undertake community development.   Potter (1996) broadens the definition by referring to NGOs as a wide range of non state actors or organisations. The World Bank definition further attaches the term NGO to all non-profit organisations independent from government. The World Bank characterisation of an NGO fits that advanced by Michael (2004) and Potter (1996). Both authors agree that the term applies to not-for-profit organisations with some form of membership, elected leadership, several full time staff members, some sort of hierarchy, a budget and an office or offices. Added to the above characteristics are the guiding principles of altruism and voluntarism that are found to be generally driving most NGOs (Bornstein, 2005:228)

NGOs in Zimbabwe, and presumably across Africa, are either be rural or urban based or both. In the former case, the office may either be at a local school, community hall or leader's home. In the later case NGOs have established offices in the local town or business centre. Other than size and location, NGOs can be classified by function. There are NGOs involved in the provision of social services, drought relief, relief in HIV and AIDS or the environment. The other class of NGOs has advocacy and political lobbying as the main focus. According to Moyo, Makumbe and Raftopoulos (2000: ix), NGOs are now a ubiquitous feature of developmental interventions in Africa. They have been recognised as local faces of development funding. This statement reflects how important NGOs have come to be perceived as drivers of development. While this may be true of general development, the same cannot be said of community development. It still remains to be examined whether the same can be said of NGOs when it comes to the successful initiation of community development.

This study acknowledges that available literature uses the name NGO and other related names such as development organisations interchangeably. In some cases the term is used to loosely refer to a variety of not for profit operations. For instance, the terms Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Private Voluntary organisations (PVO), charities, non-profit charities or charitable organisations or the third sector can be used as the other synonyms for NGOs. On the other end, the term NGO emerges as an umbrella term that may encompass institutions as large as complex funded think tanks to minute community groups such as Community Based Organisations (CBOs) (Moyo,2000:52-56). In between this continuum are such groupings as pressure and activist

associations, development and research organisations, advocacy groups and emergency or humanitarian relief groups.

Lewis and Wallace (2000:230), confirm that the term NGO has been conceptualised differently by different people and different sectors. In the worst case, the two scholars run short of castigating the term NGO as a meaningless concept that can be used to denote to different and contesting concepts. For instance, the term NGO can be a synonym for the aid industry. In this vein, an NGO is fairly understood as a tool or a channel used by donors to provide funds and resources to the needy, the underprivileged and those experiencing emergencies. In some cases, vehement critics of NGOs operations associate the term with the privatisation of foreign assistance. They conceptualise NGOs as structures and organisations that are set to bypass and in some cases subvert government control of foreign assistance inflows, what has formally been coined as the *"third way"(* Prashad,2003). On the other hand, the more optimistic scholars conceptualise NGOs as organisations responsible and keen on promoting community organisation and grassroots action. Such action is understood to exist outside the domain of formal development world (Moyo & Makumbe,2000:2) Lastly, NGOs are alternatively viewed by some as service contractors who have a better capacity to provide more efficient and effective services in comparison to sitting governments, hence the existing donor choice of NGOs ahead of most formal governments (Lewis & Wallace, 2000). Additionally, NGOs were noted as closely in touch with the needs of the poor more than respective governments (Tvedt, 1998). The

outgoing view acknowledges that in a way NGOs suffer from limited legitimacy and the attendant challenges of successful policy influence and people representation.

The term NGO as used in this study will refer to a broad category of all not-for-profit organisations operating in Marange. Additionally, as Potter (1996) notes, considerations such as formal registration (legal entity), presence of an established office , membership, presence of full time staff, some hierarchy and operating budget will be adopted as a working description of NGOs for this study. This definition will thus encompass NGOs of varying functions and classifications working in Marange. More closely, the study will consider organisations or associations that are formerly registered have a budget, staff and an office. More so, characteristics such as strong association with grassroots action and community organising that exists outside the domain of formal development world should be reflected by particular NGO for it to fall under the criteria for this study.

The purpose of establishing the above boundaries   is to ensure that activities of such organisations as unions, churches , mass media, students movements and chambers of commerce and one-off charity organisations among others are not included as part of the study. Such boundaries will give a clear context to the study. It has also emerged that growing NGO scholarship has tended   to equate and to label most non-state led interventions as   NGO or civil society actions. In some instances the term civil society, broad as it is, has been used as an alternative name for NGOs (UN Global Compact, http://www.unglobalcompact.org/ParticipantsAndStakeholders/civil_society.html).   The

study recognises the confusion that may arise with the indiscriminate use of the term NGO hence the need to set clear parameters of operation.

2.1.3 Community

The term community is highly problematic. At face value the concept assumes homogeneity. In real sense, the term is vague, non specific, and can in general refer to elements of groupness and solidarity manifested by certain people. As Day (2006) correctly notes, the term can be used to capture elements of inclusion and exclusion and can be oversimplified to refer to spontaneous outgrowth of social and geographic relations. A clearer understanding of the term can best be appreciated if one views it from a particular contextual framework.

In some instances the term community can be used as a synonym for locality. Day, further notes that, community as a term can be used to capture elements of either inclusion or exclusion. In the worst case, the term can be oversimplified to refer to spontaneous outgrowth of social and geographic relations. On the other hand Vercseg (2001: 5-18) states that the term is commonly used to express the much desired human relations and that such relation should be deliberately promoted.

On one hand the Marxist philosopher, Agnes Heller (1970:333) is more cautious about identifying any form of groupness within a community. Heller prefers to refer to a community as a quality group. Accordingly, it is crucial to be clear on what type of

group one is referring to qualify a community. Preceding literature reflects the fact that not every group can safely be referred to as a community. Reference is made to the fact that people find themselves in a group by accident whereas joining a community is through conscious choice. Individuals and groups can only be called a community when there is a substantial and permanent correlation between their goals, aspirations and interests. Where such correlation is absent that community might as well be defined as a simple group falling within a common constituency boundary.

On the other hand western urban sociology describes a community as a locality, a geographic locality with defined boundaries. The stated locality can come in the form of a neighborhood, town, city, or district or any other body with defined boundaries. The smallest unit of a community is a neighborhood. Regardless of size, all communities reflect some level of   complexity in some sense. They reflect some degree of economic, intellectual, emotional and historic identity or lack thereof (Kennedy, 2009:6-9).

Aspects of homogeneity can also be used to identify a community. Nonetheless, while homogeneity can often be useful in defining a community, it however falls short of defining what a community is or should be. This study notes that there are many other communities of people with the same ethnicity, religion, family history, etc., that are deeply divided. The division could be temporary or permanent. Examples of such communities include warring villages and ethnic groups across Africa.   Conversely there are many heterogeneous communities made up of people of varying backgrounds

who have nevertheless been able to overcome differences in order to work toward common objectives. The key issue about a community is whether that specific community has been able to establish common goals and strategies for accomplishing the goals and then work together to follow the strategy that has been proposed. Such forms of cohesiveness are crucial in defining a community.

The socialist sociological views define a community differently from Marxists and Western sociology. According to socialist sociology, a community is rather a socially approved and democratically led group which is organised in consideration of constructive values. Additionally, a community can be considered a collective, a group of people united by common aims and subjected to social aims. A collective community defined along socialist lines will in the process of serving progressive purposes of the group tend to subjugate and sometimes negate individual member interests. The group takes precedence over individual member interests (Bartle, 2007).

Vercseg (2001: 2-3) defines the term community from a purely ideological view point. She concludes that the term can be understood differently if looked at from either a capitalist or socialist view point. In the former case, it refers largely to locality while in the latter case it reflects some grouping of people or any people falling within the official object of the state. She goes back to history by looking at the usage of the term in the Greek polis and modern times. In the former socialist case the term community reflects inclusion of the wider community sharing common values and in modern capitalist world to a small group of alienated individuals. The other dimension of defining "community"

is based on social psychological context where a community is viewed as   a value free group. Whatever ideological position one takes in trying to understand what a community is, the issues of groupness, locality and commonalities seem to be recurring in each of the preceding definitions of a community.

Warren (1957:8-11) looks at the notion of community from a functionalist sociological point of view. He identifies a community with geographic location, a geography that extends physical and psychological security to a people. Warren identifies socialisation, economic accomplishments, social participation, social control, and mutual support as the key functions of a community. Indeed this characterisation is evident and common in some areas in Zimbabwe and the world over.

On one hand, Plant (1974) defines a community as representing a factor of locality, common interests, common life and common associations which revolve around locality. On the other hand, Good (1982) makes reference to professions as communities that serve some functional purpose. Accordingly, professions deserve to be called communities because they fulfill the most important community criterion, that of common identity, shared values, common interests and even common language. Good's reference of a community seems to present more of an example than a definition of a community.

Emerging from the preceding definitions is the fact that a community embraces several aspects such as locality, common interests, common life, common associations and

common institutions. This is clearly articulated in Cary (2004:261) who describes a community as people who live in some spatial relationship sharing same interests and values. While this may not always be the case, Cary's definition points to the broader aspects of what a community is or should be.

It is evident from this discussion of the different variants and manifestations of community that it would be logical to conclude that the term community denotes to an arrangement which is defined by the consideration of social and spatial boundaries. Wates (2000) succinctly sums this up when he defines a community as a group of people sharing common interests and living within a geographically defined area.

Following the above definitions, it can be concluded that the term community exhibits two key elements. These are physical boundaries and social interests. The two elements should be present for the purposes of identifying something as a community. What is important to note is that the term "community" exhibits both social and spatial dimensions. From this definition, it is important to note that people within a community come together to accomplish common objectives, even if they have some certain covert differences.

This study recognises that a community can transcend political and geographic boundaries. Reference is made for instance, to the community of professionals who are rarely confined to ward or country boundaries. Both the geographic and the value

aspect of the term will be considered in the process of trying to understand the role of NGOs in community development.

Following the numerous and varied definitions of what a community is, this study will align itself to an understanding of community that blends both the functionalist and capitalist view points. The study recognises that Marange exhibits a combination of a community defined by characteristics of space and interest. Largely, this study is framed along the capitalist, western sociological biased definition of a community. The western sociological definition views a community as largely a geographic boundary.

Added to the above, this study will abide by the boundaries and characteristics set by Christenson and Robinson (1980) in their conceptualisation of a community as a social system. These are:

1. People involved in the system have a sense and recognition of the relationships and areas of common concerns with other members.
2. The system has longevity, continuity and is expected to persist.
3. Its operations depend considerably on voluntary cooperation, with minimal use of sanctions or coercion.
4. It is multifunctional. The system is expected to produce many things and to be attuned to many dimensions of interactions.
5. The system is complex, dynamic and sufficiently large that instrumental relationships dominate.

6. Usually there is a geographic element associated with its definition and basic boundaries.

The last characteristic reiterates the extent to which geographical boundaries should be cautiously considered if one is to successfully understand what a community is or should be. It underscores the challenges that can be encountered if physical boundaries are considered as basis for defining communities.

2.1.4 Development

Broadly, development is viewed as change, an improvement in the general social and economic position of citizens of a country. Development reflects a unique type of growth in which conditions of individuals are positively affected. These could be political, social or economic conditions (Weyers, 1997). Max- Neef (2005:8-9 &16-17) adds another component to the understanding of development. Max-Neef conceptualises development as relating to growth beyond mere numbers. Specific reference has been to such numeric measurements as the gross domestic product (GDP). In a nutshell, growth as measured using by GDP only reflects the income side of development. Unfortunately, measuring development from the income side has its own shortfalls. Such forms of measurement fail to adequately represent issues of equity, access and availability crucial for response to human need. He coins his concept of development as human centered development, a reflection of the humanist approaches which have come to engulf and represent modern day discussions on development. Issues of participation, capacity building, self reliance, distribution and economic growth are covered under this definition of development. Max-Neef, like many other emerging

scholars, views development as anything that results in positive change in human life. Economic growth is thus viewed as means and not an end of development. Development as envisaged by community development practitioners should be a means to an end and not an end in its self.

More critically, Treasure (2010:1) views development as lasting change. Treasure conceptualises development as a process of   creating a fully functioning society with opportunities for people within a framework of rights and freedom from oppression. Treasure's conceptualisation of development represents a populist view of development in which individuals and communities are regarded as capable of shaping their own development provided an enabling environment has been created for them. A similar line of thinking is equally advanced by Buckland (1998). According to Buckland, development is about enhanced capabilities of individuals which in itself are products of economic, social and political change. Added to this is Buckland's further view of development as the expansion of human, physical and social capital. Both authors resist the view of conceptualising development as the provision of basic services such as health, education, sanitation, food or anything that is meant to relieve human suffering. To them provision of such basic services rather befits the relief tag. According to Treasure, boreholes, basic health and education services do not and cannot represent *"development'* even in the most expanded interpretation of what development is. Buckland like Treasure, identify development as a process, a process that enables chronically marginalised individuals, households and communities to achieve greater

self-reliance in meeting human need. The perceived self-reli ance   will   be   possible through enhanced capability brought by economic, social and, or political change.

Following Treasure and Buckland's views, development practitioners should thus play a role more akin to facilitators whose key responsibility is to create an enabling environment where rights and entitlements are upheld. Implicit in this statement is the fact that direct and long term provision of goods and services by NGOs or their representatives will forestall real development. Development should thus result in increased self reliance on the part of target beneficiaries. Other than the promotion of self reliance, real development should culminate in permanent structural change of the underlying factors and forces that stifle opportunities for self reliance.

Development as understood from a community development perspective embodies all the above extensions. Precisely, the idea of development as expressed under the community development banner resonates around the understanding of the term as improvement.   Cook (1979) reemphasises the preceding by pointing out that development is synonymous with change in a positive direction. Basically, all development efforts are driven by a set of positive objectives. Such efforts may fail but the intentions that drive them remain overly positive. In the end, development   can be described as change, an improvement and any positive growth that is driven by conscious efforts to bring such change. Development as understood from a community development perspective is openly conscious of the need to improve on the quality and consequences of either governments or donors as they interact with the community.

This study will understand development from a community development perspective. Development will precisely be taken to refer to a particular type of conscious effort to stimulate improvement. Key tenets such as facilitation, empowerment, sustained structural change, creation of opportunities and the creation of an enabling environment will underlie the broader understanding of development. Overall, emphasis of this study will be on understanding development as increased and improved human capacity to meaningfully respond to and utilise opportunities and resources that are readily available from a specific community and beyond. Viewing development in this way reflects the fact that individuals, households or communities have acquired powerful and important capacities to make claims against leadership and responsible authorities. In a nutshell this study views development as empowerment and assisted structural transformation with specific intention to open and widen opportunities for the marginalised so that they can be part of the mainstream social, political and economic structure.

2.1.5 Community Development

The term community development reflects on the combined use of two important terms, that is, community and development. The integrated use of the two terms is an attempt to offer a structured and systematic response to the ever growing and changing human need. The term community development reflects   on the frustrations that some

development practitioners have gathered over the years on the abuse and vagueness that has characterised the blanket use of the term development. The conceptualisation of the term community development is thus well appreciated if one combines the separate definitions of community and development. In the process one should take cognizance of the unique characteristics that are implied and radiate from the integration of the two terms. Secondly, there is equal need to appreciate that the perceived community development is more than the mere addition of the definitions of the two words. Community development is entirely new and venerated in its intent and purpose.

Integrating the two identified concepts of community and development will thus play an important role in deepening and widening this thesis' clarification and understanding of what community development is. Weyers (1997) conceptualises community development as both a method and an approach aimed at changing lives of beneficiaries. Change is brought about by creating opportunities which can be exploited by people to access and utilise resources for their betterment. In taking this view further, Sanders (1998) notes that community development can be described as a process, a method, a program and a movement. Indeed, this definition blends well with the history of community development which dates back to the mid 1950s. Successful community development should therefore reflect similar progressive changes taking place at community level.

Monaheng (2000:29) and Groenewald (1989:262) describe community development approach as an attempt to empower communities and strengthen their capacities for self sustained development. He further notes that community development is an orderly process of improving the community through the united efforts of people carrying out their own plans and programs. Ferinho (1980) adds to Monaheng's contribution by identifying four principles guiding community development approach as human solidarity, social equity, continuing activism and respect for fellow human being for him/herself. Macpherson (1985) includes to the definition extra issues of unity of people and government efforts for the purposes of improving economic, social and cultural conditions of communities. He further notes that, while on one hand people are expected to participate in the process of self improvement using their own initiative. The state on the other hand, is expected to chip in through the provision of technical and other services to encourage initiative, self help and effectiveness. In a nutshell, the state is expected to provide an enabling environment where rights and entitlements can freely be promoted and exercised. The people are expected to make use of such opportunities.

Community development, like general development is regarded as a continuous, uneven , slow and sometimes painful process which is not time bound (Eade and Williams, 1995). Given this understanding of community development it may prove challenging to capture some of the developments facilitated by NGOs in the areas under study. Indeed, Cook (1994) hints on such a possibility of community development remaining as a dream. He points to the fact that community development will remain

elusive if certain underlying challenges are not addressed. Cook, points to the political nature of development initiatives and the likelihood of resistance to community development by those benefiting from the status quo. He identifies community development as calling for permanent structural changes. Such changes emanating from real community development upset the status quo. Consequently, the transformative nature of successful community development is likely to face resistance from established powers. In many cases the threat to status quo inherent in successful community development results in agencies of community development responding half heartedly to increasing calls for effective community development.

In theory, community development stands as a highly venerated approach. Mayo (2008) adds that CD carries with it warmly persuasive connotations, promising alternatives to self-centeredness and the alienation accompanying contemporary capitalism. Smith (2000) reiterates the same picture about CD. He concludes that CD promises islands of homely and cosy tranquility in a sea of turbulence and inhospitality generated by capitalism. By this virtue, people, organisations and governments find it too attractive to resist. Consequently, there has been a wholesome adoption and abuse of the title and term. It has emerged that even where there is a genuine claim and interest in practicing it those doing so run short of representing the minimal ideals of community development.

In the words of Buckland (1998) the concept of community development thus revolves around the need to empower a community to identify, participate and offer solutions

to the challenges facing itself. Outsiders will only come in to facilitate such a process through the provision of necessary resources to facilitate acquisition of technical, administrative and conflict resolution skills. Community development as conceptualised emphasises the strong need to allow active participation of people in all their endeavors.

Cook (1994) and Cary (2004) identify at least eight characteristics representing successful community development. First, development should take place in a unit called a community. Second, actions should be driven by the need either to bring irreversible change or to stop unwanted change from happening. Third, the process should reflect public participation. Fourth, the aim should be self help. Fifth, participatory democracy should be permitted to influence and contribute to decision making. Sixth, the process should be internally driven. Seventh, the approach should be holistic and, finally, the process should be driven by professionals. Cook (1994) and Cary (2004) differ on some characteristics of community development. While the former emphasises externally generated support, the latter, Cary, on the other hand has faith in the involvement of both the internal and the external world. The emerging difference in approach by the two is rather too narrow to warrant sustained examination.

The concept of community development thus revolves around the need to empower communities to identify, participate and proffer solutions to challenges they face. Outsiders will come in to facilitate such a process through provision of necessary resources to facilitate acquisition of technical, administrative and possibly conflict resolution skills. Community development as conceptualised emphasises the strong

need to allow active participation of people in all their endeavors. It calls for sustained use and adoption of bottom-up approaches.

In basic terms, community development calls for a change of mindset resulting in change in status quo. Community development practitioners concede that the elite and the ruling governments are rarely comfortable with such change. Change is viewed as threatening existing power relations overtly in favour of the powerful. This kind of fear and suspicion is felt and experienced at both micro and macro level (Theron, 2009:105).

Several other definitions of community development have been advanced by different scholars from as early as 1973 to the present. Bennett (1973) views community development as, "the deliberate attempt by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities, and the development of a corresponding set of techniques for assisting community people in such a process." Ravitz (1982) considers community development as, "the active involvement of people at the level of the local community in resisting or supporting some cause or issues that are of interest them."

Shaffer (1990) added a new dimension to community development. In the words of Shaffer, community development is associated with individual or organisational efforts to help community residents understand what is happening and recognise some of the choices they face in order to achieve the future community they desire. Community development is thus presented as deliberate effort to raise community or group conscience in what surrounds them.

In 1997, Maser added an angle of collectivism and connectedness to the general understanding of community development. According to Maser, community development is the capacity of people to work collectively in addressing their common interests. In general, the preceding definitions cumulatively point toward the actions, processes and results of community development. This study has duly considered all the given definitions as constituting what community development is or should be.

Critiques of community development point to the fact that the concept   should not be taken as a one of the many development alternatives. Instead, as Craig (2007: 15) notes, CD was and is still to be viewed as an exploitative alternative that was created to service imperial agendas. It was set to manage change in the interests of the powerful and was set to facilitate self help in order to legitimate reductions in social service provision by government and capital. Craig, further points out that CD has been identified as an attempt to shift responsibilities from public sector to voluntary NGOs and the broader community. A similar scathing attack on CD is raised by Fleras (2008:133) in his analysis of community development interventions set for the indigenous Maori population by the New Zealand government. In a way he concluded that community development as reflected was akin to cheap administration of the indigenous people under the guise of participation and self control. In other words, CD is viewed as a populist approach meant at pacifying the poor majority. While this thesis is not meant to question the genuineness of community development intentions, this

study acknowledges the importance of recognising the existence of such alternative views and criticism of community development.

For the purposes of this study community development will refer rather to progressive actions, descriptions, activities, interventions, purposes and practices as noted by Cook (1994), Buckland (1998), and Cary (2004). Community development will thus be looked at as a broader, deliberate attempt to facilitate solidarity and critical understanding and building progressive movements for social development and social justice (Mayo, 2008:13-14). This position recognises that much as NGOs would have loved to implement all the critical prerequisites for community development this would largely be possible if there is existence of a supportive operating environment. More importantly, this study will adopt eight key characteristics of community development suggested by Cook as the bench mark for this research's understanding of community development (Cook,1994).

These are:

- Focus on a unit called "community"

- Conscious attempt to induce non-reversible structural change

- Use of paid professionals/ workers

- Initiation by groups, agencies or institutions external to the community unit

- Emphasise public participation

- Participate for the purpose of self help

- Increase dependence on participatory democracy as the mode for community or public decision making

- Use of holistic approach

Added to this description are issues to do with external response to challenges and opportunities people in communities identify as important to them. The issues will be contrary to those identified by the outsider. The community at the centre of discussion should be actively involved in issues of their concern. Added to this list are issues of sustainability and ultimately the change in power structures that come with such a process. Also included in community development are issues to do with personal transformation which in itself is linked to acquisition of new skills, self confidence and self- esteem (Christenson & Robinson, 1989). This rich description of what community development should be will largely inform the study's understanding of community development.

All in all, community development recognises communities as systems. Successful community development thus should focus on change or improvement and on increase in the ability of community systems to create desirable change, to adapt to unavoidable change and to ward off undesirable change. Effective community development should thus be ready to facilitate structural change where improvement is guaranteed or to resist such a change.

2.2 The History of Community Development and its adoption by NGOs

A significant number of scholars on community development admit with limited reservation that the term community development has evolved in both meaning and usage over time. Nonetheless, a significant number of these scholars concede that, it was in the post World War two period that the term gained popularity. Examples of such

usage and popularity of community development is seen in the attempted definition by the United Nations (UN) in 1955. The year 1955 thus marked a documented attempt to formally adopt community development as both an academic and practical response to challenges faced by the world. New and changing definitions emerged adding to the past confusion and ambiguities about the term. Though marginal, such problems of ambiguities and multiple meanings of community development still persist.

Mayo (2008: 14) traces community development to time immemorial. They point to the fact that community development approaches have over time, changed both in form, shape and intent. Buckland (1998), supports this by pointing to the role played by dominant ideologies at any point and time in shaping the conceptualisation of community development. According to Buckland, community development can be conceptualised as either facilitation or assistance. The facilitation approach emanates from conceptualisation of   a community as a source of its own solutions. Facilitation approach conceptualises the community as hard working, intelligent and capable of proffering solutions to their current challenges. It notes that the only challenge is failure on the part of the affected community to realise that there are hidden social and political forces that constrain their efforts. The practice of community development following the facilitation conceptualisation becomes a process issue, largely internal in nature. NGOs, governments and other agencies of development will have their roles relegated to the periphery coming in only as facilitators of development.   Conversely, the assistance approach conceptualises the community as appreciating the social and political constraints confronting them. What are missing in the community are the resources to

tackle the constraints hence the need for external assistance. The assistance model of community development makes great emphasis on the role of external agency. The external agency is expected to provide resources, technologies and services that will be used by communities to kick-start development and achieve adequate living standards.

Mayo (2008:14) citing Biddle (1976) and Stacey (1969) reflect on how the term community development has been used to mean different things, imply different activities and apply different strategies over time. Of particular note has been the realization that the strategies and intended goal of community development were determined by political ideologies dominating the different times in which the term was applied.

During the colonial times, community development represented some form of paternalism in which colonial masters would provide guidance to the different forms of developments for the colonised. Such forms of community development which were guided by paternalistic ideologies based on blatantly negative assumptions about the rural people. Of particular note were the paternalistic assumptions that rural people were passive, fatalistic and uninterested in the improvement of their lives. Rural people were also assumed to be incapable of initiative in making improvements for their lives (Esman and Uphoff, 1983). This negative approach to community development, driven by the colonial superiority mentality has gone with the demise of colonialism. The term community development is now more linked to the provision of an enabling environment and less on the provision of direct services to people in need.

MacPherson and Campfens (1985;347), note that community development as a method was increasingly documented and adopted by the British colonial office as a means to administer and develop colonies in the 1950s. Accordingly, Ghana presents a classic case of one form of community development approaches and strategies guided and defined by the dominant political views of the time. In Ghana's case, community development carried some political and colonial undertones which are largely divergent and different from the present day community development. The current community development as practiced by NGOs and that tried by most African governments soon after the attainment of respective political independences is diametrically different from early forms of community development. The difference is in terms of goal, strategy, tactic and practice.

Marjorie Mayo (1975), like Macpherson and Campfens identifies community development with the colonial era. She notes that community development was one of those programs of colonial regimes aimed at engendering popular support for government activities. She concludes that the activities carried under the banner of community development during the period were designed to indoctrinate colonised people so that they would voluntarily participate in government schemes of economic expansion. Cook (1993), one of the avid proponents of modern day community development, disqualifies all colonial attempts of the application of the term as both a misplacement and mischaracterisation of the exploitative activities of colonial regimes. According to Cook, while such colonial activities engaged with some characteristics of

community development, the driving objective was not. In other words, while real community development was driven by a positive objective of ensuring genuine improvement, colonial era community development was driven by an objective to exploit the majority.

Cook (1993) accedes to the fact that people have been making careers to stimulate improvement   or to develop communities for generations. Though he agrees with other scholars on the long and winding historical origins of activities akin to community development, he attempts to "sanitise" the term by linking activities under community development to certain sections of the United Nations (UN) in the year 1955. Unlike the other aforementioned authors, Cook expresses the existence of indirect link between community development and colonial administration. Rather, he attempts to link the growing popularity of the term to the work of agencies, associations and scholars. In this way he avoids any overt link of community development with colonialism as scholars like MacPherson (1985) openly suggest. Campfens equally agrees with Cook. He identifies the coining of the term with its use by the UN backdating to the first development decade of 1950 to 1960. He further traces back the popularisation of the term to its use by British colonial administrators in some of their colonies.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the British Conservative government of Margret Thatcher and that of America under Ronald Reagan made some equal attempt to adopt community development (Campfens, 1985). This adoption was in line with neo-conservative ideology which aimed at working the poor out of poverty following a top-

down approach. The result was a pathetic failure. The targeted poor resisted the move. Most complained that they were not consulted, consequently most of the government interventions failed to respond to real needs of the community. As a response to the low uptake of community development during the period, emerging NGOs increasingly embraced a new form of   community development they considered more responsive to people's developmental needs.   The late 1970s thus marked full adoption and internationalisation of the term community development though in contested and varied forms and intentions. MacPherson, (1985) concludes that during this period, the term wherever it was used reflected general intentions to bring about development.

Available literature points to the fact that in the early 1980s, NGOs across the globe wholesomely adopted community development approaches as a means of empowering people out of poverty, discrimination and deprivation (Social Development Department, World Bank, 1987:49). NGOs operating in Zimbabwe were no exception to this wind of change.

 Indeed the adoption of the community development practice is widely evident in the mission and vision statements of most organisations working in Zimbabwe during this period. A snap shot view of respective missions and visions of most of these organisations point to undisputed focus towards part or fully fledged forms of community development *(See appendix E).*

In discussing the concept of community development within the colonial Zimbabwean context, Mutizwa- Mangiza (1986:23) highlight the influence of issues linked to the need to save resources rather than development per se. She, like De Beer and Swanepoel (1998), identify the term with colonialism and African responses to such challenges. The form of response backdates to the early 1960s. African response was characterised by communal solidarity, voluntary participation; cooperative efforts and togetherness were highlighted as major reflections of community development as it manifested itself in the post colonial African States. These were the same characteristics that were to dominate the Zimbabwean brand of community development soon after the attainment of independence in 1980. While Cook (1994) makes reference to community development as formally enunciated by the UN .Mutizwa-Mangiza identifies the formal coining of the term as far back as 1948 at a Cambridge Conference. In Asia, India was one of the countries that tried another unique brand of community development as early as 1952. This was the period soon after independence when the newly elected government made an attempt at improving the lives of rural inhabitants through community development. It must be noted that India like Ghana had also had a different experience of community development that was linked to colonialism. Post independence community development was intended to be different from the pre independence one. While colonial forms of community development were meant to be exploitative, post independence community development was expected to be developmental and progressive.

What is emerging from this literature is an understanding and a conclusion that community development as a term gained documented popularity in the mid 1950s. From the early 1950s, several attempts and meetings were commissioned to put community development into operation. Equally, clear is the fact that the application of community development approach was viewed as a possible solution to chronic or acute   challenges affecting deprived communities.

As noted earlier, one of the latest recorded attempts at redefining and contextualising community development was at the Budapest Conference of March 2004. Participants at this conference included community workers, researchers, donors, policy-makers, and representatives from government, civil society organisations and community groups from 33 countries across the European Union (EU) and beyond. The conference culminated in the Budapest Declaration of 2004(Graig et-al, 2004:2). Several rules and procedures for modern day community development were outlined. Below is a full outline of how the declaration described and contextualised community development:

> *Community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives in the development of social, economic and environmental policy. It seeks the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies (public, private and non-governmental) to work in dialogue with*

citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active democratic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities. It has a set of core values/social principles covering human rights, social inclusion, equality and respect for diversity; and a specific skills and knowledge base….. (Graig, Gorman &Versceg, 2004:2-5)

The above paragraph in some way reflects the modern day general understanding of what community development is or should entail. It seems that most NGOs in Africa and beyond are in a way influenced by both the previous and the 2004 Budapest declaration of what community development entails.

Community development as stated and defined at the Budapest Declaration of 2004 has come to inform, guide and influence most modern day NGO and government operations across the globe. The fact that this declaration was fully supported and influenced by the European Union (EU) speaks volumes as to why community development term has become the buzz word in NGO operations in Zimbabwe and beyond. It is important to note that the EU and its member institutions are the major direct funders of several development interventions in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole (Adelman, 2000). In Zimbabwe there could therefore be strong possibilities of some links between the 2004 Budapest declaration, EU funding conditions and the subsequent wholesome trials and adoption of community development approaches by NGOs in Zimbabwe. Indeed, the majority of NGOs operating in the area under study

have in some way accessed substantial funding from the EU or its back donors such as the EU governments. A snapshot study of visions and missions of various NGOs reflects, in some cases wholesome statements or variant characteristics of community development. A sample of visions and missions of the identified organisations are attached as appendices at the end of this study **(Appendix E).**

The ongoing understanding of community development represents deep shades of populism and a populist connotation that the term has assumed. For instance, community development is regarded as the new magic bullet to the failures of conventional development approaches. Esman and Uphoff (1983) consider this as one of the populist positions that community development has recently assumed. This is in direct contrast to the paternalism that dominated the colonial era. According to Esman and Uphoff, populist approaches to community development presume that rural people are vitally interested in change and can transform their communities if only politicians and bureaucrats can leave them alone. The emerging populist approach is characterised by conceptualising community development as facilitation rather than an act of assistance.

2.2.1 Changes in use and understanding of the term Community Development

In general, scholars agree to the fact that the term community development has assumed changing, ambiguous and variant forms from the time of its coinage in the 1950s to the present (Dunham, 1972, Cook 1994, De Beer and Swanepoel, 2000). Cook offers explanations to such changes and ambiguities as reflecting the fact that the practice of community development preceded theory. According to Christenson and Robinson (1989), the principal theory of community development seems to have its origins in the pre and ongoing experience of community development practitioners. The statement by Christenson implies the point that the current theory for community development has its origins in early community development practice. Though it is generally uncommon for practice to precede theory, it seems pioneer community development practitioners were not informed by specific theory (Eade and Williams, 1995: 949).

While most authors are upbeat about the theory of community development, there are some who seem to be skeptical about the possibility of its successful application. In the same vein, Vercseg (2004:3) makes a critical assessment of the term by examining the ideals and realities of the term. She concedes that community development is largely about ideals and that these ideals are a challenge to fulfill in the practical world. The study of community development thus reflects a perfect contestation of ideals and realities. The former seems to dominate.

Given this controversial, winding and somewhat rich history of community development, which persists even up to today, it would be interesting to carry out a detailed study of

the different interventions that shape the term. The wide and enthusiastic adoption of the use of the term by NGOs in the early 1980s heightens the need to develop an understanding on how it has impacted and will in future impact on the lives of target communities. It is important to note that in the 1950s, Cuba, India, Chile and the African governments of Ghana and Tanzania attempted community development in its various forms. The success rate was ranged from minimal to none (Campfens, 1987; Macpherson, 1985).

2.2.2 The Budapest Declaration and the coining of Community development

In 2004 the term community development assumed wider adaptation and use by European Union members. This was after a host of community workers, donors, policy makers and researchers set down at the conference in Budapest, Hungary, to look at ways that will promote the formation and establishment of a vibrant civil society across Europe and beyond. The 2004 Conference attendees came to the conclusion that a vibrant civil society could only be possible if governments, donors and social workers adopt, propagate and practice community development. In the end, the conference concluded that successful community development would be characterised by the capacity of governments and interested donor groups in prioritising the actions of communities and their perspectives in the development of social, economic and environmental policy (Graig, Gorman and Vercseg, 2004).

The Budapest declaration of March 2004 had a lasting influence in the manner in which the whole European Union (EU), its respective national, regional and local governments

commit and expect donor recipient countries to follow laid down principals of community development. Broadly, the newly agreed definition and characteristics of community development managed to come up with an explanation of community development that was commonly accepted and adopted by EU member countries. The 2004 definition of community development had ripple effects on the African continent which is one of the major recipients of EU aid.

2.3 Challenges faced by NGOs as initiators of Community Development

Emphasis on bottom up approaches in a predominantly top down environment has emerged as one of the greatest challenge that is likely to stalk community development for a long time. Local level operations have found themselves in conflict with central government priorities. For instance, priorities set by International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs), bilateral and multilateral institutions are largely governed by top down approaches to development. Due to funding dependency, NGOs cannot afford to ignore directives of deadlines and roll out plans from the funders no matter how offensive this might be to basic community development approaches. Centrally driven implementation plans emerge misaligned to locally driven ones.

Most NGO operations are done in sectors or clusters. For instance, common sector demarcations are water and sanitation, education, health and Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Community development looks at progress in a holistic manner. Sectoral approaches advanced by

NGOs result in communities receiving diverse messages to the extent that this stifles community development.

Community development includes tackling and mainstreaming advocacy, social mobilisation and capacity building at various levels. This makes the process long and time consuming. More often than not, donor funds rarely last to cover such long periods required for successful community development. On the part of the community, community development is less lucrative than direct handouts. Generally, it reflects a long and winding path to success. Additionally, community development requires huge investments in terms of time and resources. Further, target communities have to remain patient while the fruit of community development ultimately matures. All the processes and expectations of community development may take several years or in some cases may be never owing to referenced factors.

Emerging from the above identified characteristics of community development is the fact that the operationalisation of the term is both complex and demanding. It is a political, social and economic process that calls for changes in the manner in which the broader political world is run. In the worst case, community development can be a threat to established centrally organised political systems. Equally, it emerges from the discussion that the success of community development calls for the creation of an enabling environment that will allow it to function with minimal disturbances. Community development is a fragile and demanding concept that calls for structural changes at political and social levels before it can flourish.

Littrell and Littrell (1993:154), reflect on the demanding nature of true community development by first identifying it as a long term approach of building active and sustainable communities that are based on social justice and mutual respect. Secondly, the publication concedes that community development is a process that demands a change in existing power structures. Such structures have been identified as hindrances blocking people from participating in issues that affect their lives. The same power structures are accused of barring people from developing solutions to problems that are set internally. Thirdly, the same publication lays emphasis to the fact that community development workers should give independence to local people for them to identify and offer solutions to issues affecting them. Problems are thus conceptualised from the understanding that is locally generated. Solutions to such problems should thus be sought from within. Outside views play as second fiddle to local ones.

The preceding perspective emphasises the need for community development to address the relationship between groups and other community members, local groups, local organisations, public authorities and private sector organisations. It acknowledges that influencing and shaping such relationships is instrumental in guaranteeing   the much needed community development. In this sense, community development is therefore a demanding process which calls for possible long term activities. Such activities include, but not limited to, building community trust, raising self esteem and confidence and overcoming barriers to participation and conflict. Indeed, this is a long process which is likely to meet with resistance and fatigue from both the initiators and

the drivers. The process of community development is highly vulnerable to both internal and external challenges. Given the wholesome demands, it is generally questionable whether community development can be easily and successfully achieved in the manner that most NGOs claim (Theron, 2009:108).

The possibility of community development failure is further exacerbated when such a process is championed by NGOs.   This is because NGOs suffer from their own prejudices. Of particular note is NGO reliance on foreign funding which in most cases has been recorded as linked to strategic machinations of funding states (Davids, 2009:69-74). In general, these strategies have been described as divorced from the achievement of real community development. For instance, the transformative (facilitation) model of community development calls for limited and in some cases disengagement with the macro structures. On the contrary, most NGOs claiming to pursue community development want to promote closer linkages with funding or donor institutions. Though they claim that such relationship is in the best interest of the community and that it will be meticulously managed to stop dependency, it is clear that such a relationship in a way perpetuates some degree of donor community dependency. This seems to go against some principles of community development. Indeed, Sachikonye (1997:29) casts similar doubt on the general capacity of NGOs to self sustain without recourse to external donor support. If Sachikonye's fears on NGO independence are anything to go by, then NGOs are most likely to fail as champions of the community development process.

It has been explicitly clear in the above discussion that community development is a long term process. Eade and Williams (1995) have described community development as a long and winding, and sometimes painful process. If the preceding mammoth challenges are tabled against current NGO efforts and practices, some questions about NGOs as initiators of community development   will remain largely unanswered. First, a look at the length of the general funding period of most grants received by NGOs raises questions as to whether this is long enough to support full strength and mature community development. Generally, the longest funding period ever to be enjoyed by most NGOs in Zimbabwe has rarely exceeded three years (Moyo, 2000). Most of the funds are designed to support one to one and half year projects. Naturally, this period is too short to have a considerable influence on community development which as noted before has been described as long and winding.   Issues such as building trust and self esteem, which are some of the key components of community development, can rarely be achieved within a period of a year. It must be borne in mind that NGOs rarely operate in communities beyond the life of any grant that the respective NGOs would have secured (Brown & Korten, 1989).

Given the broader political complexity and the subsequent demands for successful community development, questions arise on the capacity of NGOs to influence and shape conditions necessary for such effective change (Merrington, 1992). The major question therefore is, are NGOs capacitated enough to ensure that such preconditions for community development are met. One of the most obvious preconditions is that of change in the structural nature of current governance. Clearly, this is likely to meet

resistance from the powerful who want to preserve the status quo (Botes and Rensburg, 2000:55). Surely, characteristics such as participatory democracy and public participation are highly contentious and threatening. Accordingly, such demands and elements of community development are likely to be subdued by certain governments who fear the activation of certain underlying political nuances implied in CD. The question is, are NGOs in the right position to influence and change the underlying structural limitations that stifle successful community development? The picture looks gloom. NGOs rely on external funding and are highly dependent on government approval for their registration and operations. Given these dynamics, doubt arises as to the capacity of NGOs as possible facilitators of community development.

Moreover, the need for a conducive working environment created by the state is critically important when it comes to successful community development. In essence, the success of community development may largely rely on the mercy of the state. The state can stifle or facilitate community development. NGOs like the communities have to rely on similar support from the state. MacPherson (1985) points to the need for people and the government to unite for the purposes of improving economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities. He further emphasises that, people are expected to participate in the process of self improvement using their own initiative. Further to this is the fact that the state on the other hand should avail communities with technical and other services to encourage and nature initiatives towards self help. In a nutshell, the state is expected to provide an enabling environment where rights and entitlements can be freely promoted and exercised.

Community development has its weaknesses and strengths. Eade and Williams (1995) partially conclude that community development does not come easy. They describe it as a continuous, uneven, slow and sometimes painful process which cannot be time bound. Some authors even talk of good community development intentions that produce bad results. Such is the community development process.

In terms of strength community development is regarded, at least in theory, as highly attractive to the extent that organisations and governments have every reason to be associated with it. For instance, Littrell and Littrell (1993), identify community development as more inclusive than any other approaches to development. They further note that the process of community development has the potential to create active citizens, can ensure more effective partnership and can overcome conflicts within and between communities leading to greater cohesion. Purely, the listed facets of successful community development outcomes are too attractive to resist. Consequently, community development has become the buzz word for most NGO and even government actions. Emerging community development outcomes are too attractive to resist yet they remain too idealistic to put into practice.

The majority of NGOs operating in Marange and the world over are aware of the merits of initiating the ideals of community development. Some have made significant attempts to institute community development approaches in their variant forms. However, for most of these NGOs and governments, the intended outcomes of CD have been hard to

come by. It therefore can be noted from such failures that unless due consideration is given to the underlying forces, successful implementation of community development will remain a dream. NGOs have to respond to a host of underlying structural challenges such as community culture, government interest and a host of changes that affect successful community development roll out.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 The Improvement approach to community development

The improvement approach views community development as an attempt to change the conditions and status quo of the people for the better through manipulation of existing socio economic systems. This entails use of extension staff to transmit ideas, techniques, resources and policies from above. Emphasis is on reinforcement of existing social networks and systems, cynically for the betterment of the community. Improvement approach views the so called community as a single unity with similar interests and challenges that have to be addressed in unison. The improvement approach is broadly paternalistic. It is driven by misplaced assumptions that rural communities work as social units detached from the so called national society and as such they need to be improved for their betterment. The Improvement approach rarely questions the existing power structures. Instead it tries by all means to make use of existing power structures as conduits to transmit and safeguard development initiatives. Rarely does the improvement approach attend to issues of raising mass consciousness and active participation (Macpherson, 1985).

Oakley (1992) examines the role played by the different degrees and nature of participation in shaping both the improvement and transformative models of community development. Under the improvement approach, also referred to as the assistance approach, participation by target communities or individuals is accorded limited importance. More succinctly, participation by locals is important in as far as it is a means to the achievement of enhanced livelihoods. What is crucially important is the achievement of results of socio-economic improvement for the community. Basically, the improvement or assistance model of community development is results oriented. The role of the community is to contribute to development projects through the provision of labor and in-kind resources to lower the implementation costs of NGO operations and that of the overall project (Oakley, 1992). Development agencies, in this case NGOs, play highly visible and multiple roles. Included among some of the roles is the provision of external resources, technologies, training, knowhow, finance and other essential services required by a specific community.

Underlying the adoption of the improvement approach to community development is the understanding that locals have little or very limited resources, technology and knowhow to solve general problems bedeviling their community. The improvement approach focuses on external forces as largely responsible for poor development. Consequently, resources have to be brought in to respond to such deficiencies. Being largely outward looking, the improvement approach fails to recognise that prevailing local conditions play an important part in community development. Long (1977) succinctly notes this,

"…. A basic feature of the improvement approach is that it does not affect any prevailing misdistribution of productive resources. There is no qualitative change in the socio-economic and power structure of rural areas"

Specific focus of the improvement approach is on uplifting conditions of the target population through importation of external resources. Grace, Ewert and Eberts (1995), indicate that such development is unlikely to last. Largely, peripheral community participation is highly likely to lead to transient development. Peripheral community participation leads to the design of projects that fail to meet the community's felt needs. The projects rolled out following the improvement approach are highly likely to be hijacked by local elite since the approach upholds the existing power structures. Further, projects designed following the improvement approach are largely expensive to run, are coercive and bureaucratic in nature. The bureaucracy is linked to the improvement approach's focus on maintaining the existing power structures, hence the need for going through the long and winding process of consultation. This is a sure ingredient for failure.

The Improvement or facilitation approach is characterised by provision of social services such as schools, health facilities, start up grants, income generating projects, micro finance and a host of other external services such as technical expertise and technology. Poverty is considered as both an internal and external constraint. Failure to develop is attributed to constraints emanating from outside.

Improvement of assistance models holds a positive view of the community in which it is applied. For instance, the approach views the poor as both hard working and intelligent. It also views the poor as fully aware of the socio-political constraints that affect them. The appreciation of the context of the poor dictates the need to assist, to bring that which is missing.

In the end, the improvement model to community development calls for increased access by the target population to external assistance. The extent of focus and reliance on external resources is the major point of departure between the improvement and the transformative models to community development.

2.4.2 Transformative approach to Community Development

Alternatively community development can be understood and achieved through the transformative or facilitation model. The approach is radically different from the preceding paradigm. It seeks to challenge the existing socio economic status quo (Hope & Timmel, 1999). Socio-economic transformation is at the core of the approach. The transformative approach calls upon the traditionally oppressed groups or communities to question challenge and get out of the current state of affairs. Transformative approaches call for the genuine and meaningful participation and mobilisation of mass consciousness leading to progressive attainment by people themselves of control over the conditions in which they leave(Macpherson, 1985) Community development should be part and not an appendage of a strategy of general development.

Indeed, the transformative approach is revolutionary to the extent that it threatens the power base of those who with cynicism, try to let it prosper. Its application reflects a solid bottom-up approach to issues of community development. However, in India and Tanzania, transformative approaches never lasted beyond the lives of its proponents (Campfens, 1987). Political pressure and economic realities of the time subjected the two forms of community development approach to immense stress. Accordingly, the successful adoption of the transformative approach should increase the internal capacity of people and communities to overcome various forces of oppression in order for them to achieve full realisation of rights and sustain equitable and dignified ways of life. This is expected to lead to personal growth, empowerment and enhanced capacity to fight poverty and oppression with limited assistance from the outside world. Where development has been successfully achieved, inhibitors will have been removed. Sen (1999) rightly referred to this as removal of "unfreedoms".

The transformative approach understands the marginalisation of households or communities is located within the mainstream society. Resources and technologies emanating from the outside are viewed as reinforcing and perpetuating some degree of dependency and dualism. The major weakness associated with communities and individuals is lack of awareness and understanding of why they are poor. More disheartening is the fact that communities are not united in as far as working together for solutions to problems affecting them is concerned(Buckland,1998). Therefore, the solution to development challenges experienced by communities lie in meaningful participation of affected communities in issues that affect them. Participation emerges

as an important end in itself. Ideally, full participation will increase awareness and action of social and political forces that constrain human hence community development. Consequently, progress is likely to emerge from strict pursuance of self-reliant strategies.

The transformative approach to community development in a sense presupposes that target communities are fully endowed with different resources. What is missing then are the skills, capacity and consciousness to rise, set claims and exploit such resources. Due to this gap, crucial resources for development that could have brought equal benefits to the poor remain the preserve of the powerful much to the detriment of the weak. Consequently, the solution lies in full participation of target communities. Under transformative approach, the role of external agents is largely relegated to the peripheral. Largely, the external agent is responsible for facilitating critical thought and collaborative action. Simply put, the agent is a *"facilitator"* hence the name facilitation model.

The key activities dominating the facilitation or transformative model include among other things awareness building, empowerment, social organising for claim making, conscious raising campaigns and capacity building (Hedayat and Ma'rof, 2010).

In view of the two broad and distinct paradigms of community development, this study has adopted the transformative approach in analysing the role of NGOs in community development. The transformative approach presents a radical departure from the

mainstream and established frames of community development thinking based on improvement approaches. The use of the transformative approach provides strong learning points that can be used to reform and restructure the way in which NGOs attempt to roll out and promote community development. Compared to the improvement model, the transformative approach is expressly more self-reliant dominant than its counterpart. The improvement model carries with it strong inclinations towards a welfare dominant approaches. Nonetheless, the improvement model exhibits certain distinct developmental characteristics that shield such an approach from being considered as a classical of relief driven approach.

Both the transformative and improvement models to community development present alternative and fascinating ideals on how development challenges can be tackled. An analysis of the community development approaches used by a couple of NGOs operating in Marange reflected some generous use of both the transformative and the improvement approaches. Other NGOs claim to be facilitating community development. Unfortunately, some of their intentions and approaches seem to be reflecting the contrary. The same trend is constantly being replayed across the country and the globe. Several factors, political, economic and social determine the different choices and NGO at community development. For instance, the popularity of improvement approach may possibly stem from NGO need to ensure political survival and acceptance in the communities where they carryout development interventions. Such communities, as Gran (1983), correctly notes, are characterised by a peculiar status quo. The improvement approach seem to thrive with limited struggle where there is massive

concentration of power within government bureaucracies, the non-inclusion of the majority of people in decisions about development and in an environment where there is total exclusion of poor masses from participation in political and economic life.

This study thus recognises that a significant number of NGOs operating in Zimbabwe apply both approaches in their quest to roll out community development. Consequently, the understanding and analysis of community development contained in this study reflects this duality in meaning. Conclusions drawn from the study reflect similar dual understanding of   how community development can be achieved.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined the concepts of development, relief, NGO, community, development and community development as they are understood within this study. The chapter further examined the two models at the heart of community development,   that is, the improvement and the transformative approaches. The emphasis of the chapter was on clarifying what the study understands by community development. The chapter examined how failures to promote development by popular development theories such as economic growth and modernisation led to the emergence and popularity of community development in its variant forms. In passing, the chapter examined how, when and why community development was embraced by NGOs as an alternative development option.

CHAPTER 3: NGOs, GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

3. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of community development interventions in Zimbabwe. It examines how, why and when NGOs and the Zimbabwean government have engaged themselves in community development initiatives. It reflects on the dominant interventions and activities carried out by NGOs across Zimbabwe and how NGOs have factored in community development as a viable alternative development the process. The chapter further examines the operational environment of NGOs and how this had a bearing on the roll out of community development. It further assesses and analyses the capacity of NGOs as promoters of community development. Focus will be on isolating community development ideals from realities. The chapter will limit its focus to the period after 1980.

3.1 History and phases of NGO growth in Zimbabwe

3.1.1 History of NGOs (Origins)

In theory, NGOs are considered as natural offshoots of a free democratic and capitalist society. According to this line of thinking, NGOs are viewed as institutions that naturally emerge based on the need to curtail the imbalances and injustices that are brought in by the full operation of market forces (Ellis, 2010:67). Reference is made to such negatives as human exploitation, environmental pollution and degradation that emerge with the successful advancement of market economy. According to this line of thinking, the emergence of NGOs in a way represents the modern day fulfillment of the "hidden hand" concept first promulgated by Adam Smith in his 1776 book, *Wealth of Nations*.

Alternative and more plausible explanations identify the origins of NGOs with the advent of neoliberal ideology that was to dominate political and economic thinking during the post cold war era. Following this line of thinking, NGOs are viewed as deliberate creations by the West world, her allies and institutions such as the World Trade organisations, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. (Manji & O'Coil, 2002:574). Specific reference is made to the role played by the Washington Consensus in the shaping up of NGOs. Robbins (2002) suggests, with high degree of certainty that NGOs have emerged as part of a broader neoliberal economic and political agenda that was to dominate the early and late 1980s. Indeed, the period under review coincided well with both an exponential growth in NGOs and related increased channeling of development aid through such institutions (Horton& Roche, 2010:1). Could this have been mere coincidence? Surely there seem to be some link between NGO growth and the advancement of neoliberal agenda. Neoliberals are known for advocating the rolling back of state frontiers in such areas as education and health. They have in the process created alternative recipients of such funds in the form of NGOs. Indeed, the significant growth of NGOs in Zimbabwe and the world over is directly linked to increase in funding of such institutions by governments and private funders. In the majority of cases this has been to the detriment and resistance by sitting governments (Mudingu, 2007).

Other less plausible explanations link the origins of NGOs to advances in communication which in a way has allowed for the smooth establishment of global communities. Falling in the same group of explanations are issues to do with the role of

media. Media has been noted to be instrumental in informing and joining people to act against emerging global problems hence the emergence of groups in the form of NGOs, pressure groups or civil society organisations to take action of some form (Kofman &Young, 2008).

3.1.2 Phases of NGO Growth in Zimbabwe

NGOs have evolved over time. The first generation NGOs were largely humanitarian. Their broad areas of focus included the provision of social welfare, social protection, relief and rehabilitation (Moyo and Makumbe, 2000). This was mainly to the less privileged, the poor and those struck by natural hazards or disasters. Over the years NGOs evolved to encompass a variety of groups ranging from corporate funded think tanks, community groups, grassroots activist groups, political pressure groups, development organisations, research organisations, advocacy groups, environmental pressure groups and emergency, relief or humanitarian focused entities. Important to note is the fact that very few of the current NGOs play exclusive roles in the respective geographies or communities. Some combine functions while others respond to needs as they arise (Horton & Roche, 2010).

NGOs have thus become an established phenomenon in Zimbabwe. Their presence dates back to the mid 1950s. Early NGOs were largely led by whites and focused on "civilising" and assisting blacks. After the attainment of independence in 1980 there was a significant growth in black or African led NGOs who took over from formally white dominated institutions. The focus was on responding to various challenges and opportunities affecting fellow blacks. Largely, the support for such NGOs whether black

or white was provided by northern countries and governments. It must be noted that most of these NGOs operating in Zimbabwe made reference to the fact that they were on a mission to promote various forms of community development.

3.1.3 NGO operations in Marange Communal Area

By the year 2000 Zimbabwe had at least 864 registered NGOs actively delivering the different variations of development support across Zimbabwe (Moyo, Makumbe, & Raftopoulos, 2000:105). Since then, there has been a phenomenal growth of NGOs. Manicaland province alone under which the study area falls has more than 43 NGOs registered to provide community development support. Zeroing down on Marange, the specific area of this study, there are more than eight NGOs actively providing development support in this area. One of the earliest NGO, the Zimbabwe Trust has been in operation since 1980. The second oldest is Plan- Zimbabwe and has been operating in Marange since 1986. Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT) ranks third having rolled out its first interventions in Marange as early as 1987. Presently, the same NGOs are still actively providing development support to the same communities and are in some cases the same wards and households they started with at the launch of their pioneer interventions.   A case in point is the operations of Zimbabwe Red Cross Society of Zimbabwe (ZRCS) and Plan- Zimbabwe. PLAN's operations date back to 1986. Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT) and Diocese of Manicaland Aids Prevention Project (DOMCAPP) followed the lead. The latter organisations established their presence in Marange community in the late 1980s.

Currently, four new organisations, namely International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Swedish Organisation for Individual Relief (SOIR), Sustainable Agriculture Trust (SAT) and Christian Care, are engaged in more or less similar operations in the same area. The number of NGOs operating in Marange and claiming to roll out various forms of development interventions is evidently on the rise. Churches from the same area and in some cases beyond are not spared either. They, like NGOs, are busy rolling out related community development initiatives or something they perceive as directed and inclined towards the achievement of community development. The government, through its policies and speeches continues to make constant and similar reference to the need to achieve community development. The government, though less systematic and consistent, it openly reflects interests towards community development. In a way, such talk compounds existing efforts by NGOs and churches. While new players are coming in, the established ones have shifted their areas of focus and target. Increased emphasis is being directed towards community transformation in line with the transformative approach to community development. What has remained consistent about the established and emerging organisations has been their homogenous aim and vision to facilitate community development or at least some aspects of it. Unfortunately, real community development seems to be a mirage.

3.2 NGO Funding

Much of NGO operations in Zimbabwe come from the North. Europe and the USA have emerged as the major funders of Zimbabwe's NGOs. Since 1980 the European Union (EU) and the European Development Fund (EDF) under their general budgets have

funded various development and relief projects across Zimbabwe (Bendell, 2006). In fact, the EU has become an indelible feature of Zimbabwe's development landscape. Its visibility is always on the rise. EU logos are evident on food handout packs, garden fences, community buildings, schools and schools feeding points, hospitals and even the imposing four wheel drive vehicles on Zimbabwe's roads. The same is with the USAID logo. Scandinavian countries, like mainstream European countries, have also been part of the funding teams for NGO activities.

Individual foundations such as the Open Society Initiative, Firelight and Oak foundations just to mention a few, have come in support of various aspects of Zimbabwe's life. Added to this has been similar support initiatives led by individual countries which have also come in to support various facets of Zimbabwe's social, political and economic life. The bulk of the support coming from these foundations, nations, commissions and unions has been forwarded directly to respective NGOs operating in Zimbabwe. The majority of NGOs, if not all, depend directly on donor funding for their operations. Some NGOs currently operating in Zimbabwe are present to fulfill and possibly confirm existing bilateral and multilateral relations. Some Dutch International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGO) are a case in point. These receive funding from their mother governments and local philanthropists to pursue largely humanitarian and development work in countries considered to be in need (Moyo, Makumbe and Raftopoulos, 2000)

NGOs operating in Zimbabwe are largely into HIV and AIDs programming, gender, human rights, advocacy, agriculture development, community development, small

enterprise development, health support and promotion, drought mitigation and relief. Of late, a significant number of NGOs operating in the country have turned more focus towards into Human Immuno Virus (HIV) intervention support.

Since the late 1990s, much of International Non-Governmental (INGO) funding has been earmarked for HIV support. Equally, governance and advocacy issues have also attracted substantial amounts of funding. Focus on governance did not come as a shock. Most northern governments have come to the conclusion that Zimbabwe's mounting challenges beginning around 2000 were governance related (Chirambo & Cesear, 2003). The use of statements as pariah or failed state was used to describe and identify Zimbabwe. Most northern country donors looked towards the locals as the solution to the country's woes. Consequently, locals were identified for possible engagement and strengthening as one of the steps towards pressing and challenging the government to deliver. Accordingly, this would be possible through direct or grassroots funding. The alternative way, which in fact gained increased NGO and donor support, was that of pursuing micro-development against the once dominant macro development. Micro level development came to reflect increased and passionate donor support of community led development. It was generally agreed and believed that circumventing the perceived bureaucratic, weak, corrupt and inefficient government structures will bring immense and more direct benefits to the intended but deprived rural communities (Maphunye et al, 2009). The period post the mid 1990s witnessed increased popularisation, adoption and use of community development approaches by NGOs. Largely, this was evident across most NGOs receiving financial support from the

EU and the USAID. Meanwhile, HIV and attendant social problems continued to receive substantial financial support. However, the roll out of such HIV programmes was in a great way guided and influenced by reference to community development principles (Chirambo and Ceaser, 2003:47).

Continued NGO proliferation and subsequent increased financial support came to a zenith in the late 2000. For instance in 2008 alone, the EU funded Zimbabwe's humanitarian efforts to the tune of 25 million Euros (European Union website). This followed increased tension between the Zimbabwe government and the former funders consequent upon the 1998 land invasions and the subsequent land reform exercise that followed. By the mid 2000 most bilateral and multilateral relations with the north were severed or strained to the extent that much of the foreign direct funding was stopped. At this point NGOs became the alternative route through which development funding was channeled. This was a radical departure from the situation in the mid 1980s and the early 1990s.

3.3 NGO Strengths and Weaknesses

A previous discussion on NGOs origins has highlighted two divergent explanations. Both views are linked to social, political and economic developments of the 1980s. The first view considers NGOs as deliberate products of neoliberal policies and agenda of 1980s. In other ways, NGOs were created as formal institutions to support and counter effects of the emerging neoliberal policy agenda. The other view considers NGOs as natural outcomes of a free democratic capitalist society dominating the world in the late

1980s. Both views link NGO origins to socio, political and economic developments of the time. Differences lie on the how part. The discussion concluded that there existed thriving coincidence between the 1980s exponential NGO growth and the wholesome adoption and extension of neoliberal ideologies across the globe largely by USA and Britain. Such coincidence has persuaded the author to conclude that the majority of NGOs were a deliberate offshoot of the emerging socio economic developments. NGO origins have in a way shaped their strengths and weakness. Indeed, the majority of NGOs operating in Zimbabwe rely heavily on foreign funding making them somewhat susceptible to foreign influence and subsequent financial stability. No matter how independent most NGOs wish to be, there are in some way exposed to direct or indirect political influence of funding sources. In a majority of cases NGOs have to perform to the whims and dictates of funding countries. In a significant number of cases, this may result in NGOs abandoning relevant, tested and acceptable development plans emanating from the constituency in which they claim to serve. Financial independence and the subsequent challenges that come with it emerge as part of the greatest weaknesses experienced by most NGOs. Indeed, such and other weaknesses that are noted in this discussion have a strong bearing on NGO capacity to embark on sustainable, relevant and acceptable community development interventions (Lewis and Wallace, 2000).

Other than the questionable influence attached to funding, NGOs suffer from limited legitimacy. Unquestioned legitimacy is indispensible if one is to challenge certain negative policies affecting communities or if one needs to stand up and represent

people or communities. Post colonial Zimbabwe political developments present a living testimony to this and other challenges linked to NGO legitimacy. Increasingly, issues of legitimacy become real problems if one recognises that successful community development in a way calls for some degree of policy influence and change. The question is, can NGOs become successful policy actors if they are not recognised as legitimate by the respective states and the peoples they claim to represent.

NGOs, particularly INGOs, invariably suffer from misconceptions about family and community structures in the respective societies. For instance, most NGO operations are defined by administrative geographic boundaries. More often than not, these boundaries rarely represent and respond to community dynamics affecting a specific region. NGO interventions structures along such boundaries tend to either exclude or in some cases include people or groups that have limited commonalities and understanding. Consequently, development projects will be appreciated differently. This weakness is linked to the complexities that come with the internationalisation and globalisation of development interventions. Examples include the imposition of structural adjustment programs across most developing countries and the dominant view that development should be measured in economic terms. Consequently, what has worked in one different part of the world may fail to work in the other. Unfortunately, most INGOs interventions are not spared from this one size fit all pathology. Lastly, NGOs and subsequent NGO interventions suffer from direct influence of the funding country policies. These could be domestic or foreign. While this may not always be true, popular conclusion has it that most NGOs in a way act as foreign policy tools and

weaponry for funding governments. Examples exist where for instance Britain, the USA and several EU countries have either declined or offered support on the basis of recipient country agreeing to certain policies or line of thinking. Malawi presents one of the latest cases of donor country influence in a country's domestic policy. Donors and NGOs threatened to pull out of Malawi unless the two men imprisoned for gay marriage were released from prison (The Nation, November, 2010). Though this was not a specific development issues, the story reflects on the potential to which foreign influence can influence local issues. In a nutshell, the growing number of weaknesses exhibited by NGOs and their respective interventions create dents on NGO potential to facilitate real community development, and possibly the general development of nation states.

3.4 NGO Interventions and activities in Zimbabwe

NGOs are involved in a host of activities and interventions. In Zimbabwe almost all the NGOs are involved, in varying degrees, in attempts to transform or improve the different constituencies where they operate. Under socio-political transformation, NGOs engage in activities such as awareness building, empowerment, social organising for claim making and cooperative projects. The end focus is envisaged to be a self-reliant community that can successfully and meaningfully make claims on rights and entitlements to improve their living conditions (Nhliziyo & Chikandi, 2002:2-4).

NGOs can also intervene through the socio-economic improvement of their clients. The most dominant activities falling under this banner are income generation schemes,

provision of social services such as schools, clinics and water and sanitation services. Added to this is community or client training aimed at conscientisation and social organisation.

The two major forms of intervention carried out by NGOs reflect different degrees of participation for the intended intervention beneficiaries. On one hand, activities designed to result in socio-political transformation promote participation of the beneficiaries as an end in itself. On the other hand, participation is viewed as a means in activities earmarked for socio-economic improvement.

Noted from the two broad interventions is the fact that there are no hard and fast distinctions between the two approaches. Some of the activities tend to overlap. For instance in both approaches it is possible to carry out social organising approaches and to promote awareness campaigns. The major difference is on the extent to which each activity is emphasised. Equally noted from experience in NGO programming is the fact that most NGOs always try to pursue both forms of interventions depending on resources, time and the obtaining socio-economic and political conditions. Indeed, most Zimbabwean NGO responses and approaches reflect greater sway and adaptation to the socio-economic improvement ideology more than they do with socio political transformation. Largely, this has been influenced by the polarised political environment which seems not to give space to activities meant to raise community consciousness.

3.5 Government, NGOs and Community development practice in Zimbabwe

3.5.1 NGOs and Community development In Zimbabwe

The emergence and actions of NGOs in Zimbabwe is closely aligned to social, economic, political and social dynamics affecting the country in the post independence era. It is also a reflection of the fair share of the role of international external influence in the day to day development in the country. Prior to independence NGOs were dominated by whites and white interests. Blacks came in as recipients of the support coming from NGOs. The leadership was predominantly white and the focus was on issues that were set to improve and in some cases change the manner in which blacks lived. After independence, blacks assumed the leadership of such institutions. The change in leadership had a bearing on NGO focus areas. The black leadership that took over refocused their attention towards skills building. Nonetheless, the major focus was predominantly welfare.

The ensuing social, economic and political changes linked to the 1990s adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP) and the subsequent drought of 1992 brought indelible shifts in NGO focus (Moyo, Makumbe and Raftopoulos, 2000). The period was marked by increased emergence of lobby and advocacy NGOs, as well as the phenomenal growth in welfare and relief NGOs. Most of these were responding to the negative effects of ESAP, growing threats from HIV and AIDS and the 1992 drought. It is crucial to note that most of the NGOs that emerged in the post independence era made claims towards instituting and promoting community development within the broader context of their actions of relief, lobbying and advocacy. Mainstreaming of

community development approaches was borne out of the realisation that welfare, relief and other forms of interventions were not proving to be sustainable. The mid 1990s thus witnessed a shift towards integrating all forms of NGO interventions within a community development context. Evidence to such action is reflected in the widening focus on beneficiary participation, ownership and empowerment. Focus was also shifted towards an increased use of a wide spectrum of bottom up approaches in day to day NGO programming.

Subsequent NGO programming thus assumed a new shade and dimension that focused on the adoption of community development principles. It must be noted that community development principles came in handy for most NGOs and donors who felt frustrated by the rising poverty and alienation levels that seemed to affect Zimbabwe's growing population. NGOs and donor organisations were thus attracted to the promising ideals contained in community development approaches. Stein (2008), in his writing about community development confirms in a way that the ideals contained in community development had the potential to transform any community if they are followed to their logical conclusion.

Ideally, community development empowers, liberates, provides and protects (Green& Mercer, 2001). If followed to logical conclusion, community development thus provides the missing solution to emerging human needs. The adoption of community development approaches by a significant number of Zimbabwe's NGOs has thus been hugely influenced by the perceived levels of positive outcomes overtly inherent in the

use of community development approaches (Osodo & Matswas, 1998:56-57). Equally, adoption of community development approaches can also be linked to the influence of major international funders who have been instrumental in the provision of funds for NGO operations. There is a direct relationship between origins of funds and the adoption of community development approaches by most NGOs operating in Zimbabwe and the world over (Brown & Korten, 1989).   Maphunye further confirms the role played by International NGOs in using funding to influence approaches taken by most local NGOs. Therefore, the adoption and application of community development approaches by NGOs is linked to sources of funding and the attractiveness and populism that community development ideals have gained over time.

More specifically, the adoption of community development approaches by Zimbabwe's NGOs is linked to growing donor skepticism of government capacity to deliver donor support directly to   the grassroots levels. Community development thus represents an alternative micro level development option that was meant to counter perceived challenges emanating from dominant macro level development approaches used by governments. Maphunye makes reference to such evident failure of government led macro level development projects.

Additionally, the adoption of community development represented an alternative to the dominant welfare and social protection approaches that had dominated pre and post independence Zimbabwe NGOs. Equally, the adoption and use of community development by NGOs points towards a response to increased donor fatigue with the

use of conventional development approaches (Swanepoel & De Beer, 2006). Conventional approaches were criticized as top-down, costly and out of touch with existing human needs (Maphunye, 2006).

In a nutshell, the adoption of community development approaches by NGOs reflects some shift in political, economic and social understanding and response to human need. It also reflects a specific reaction to the existing status quo that was fairly blamed for the challenges experienced by the majority of Zimbabweans. More so, focus on the use of community development approach as a development by NGOs is based on the perceived advantages and positives offered by community development as an alternative development option. For both funders and implementing NGOs, community development presented an opportunity for increased accountability, community ownership, appropriate response and community participation (Maphunye, 2009). Theron (2008), concludes by saying that community development came to rescue the general development concept that had suffered so much abuse and so much failure.

3.5.2 Government and Community Development

Government reference to community development is not a recent phenomenon to Zimbabwe. Available evidence points to the fact that soon after independence, the government of Zimbabwe carried out a vigorous pursuit of promoting community development as an alternative development option (Agere, 1982). This was clearly promulgated when the then prime minister of Zimbabwe set up a fully fledged government arm to advance community development interests in the form of a   Ministry

of Women Affairs and Community Development. It is not clear whether those who were appointed to lead the ministry fully conceptualised what community development was. What is clear from literature is the fact that the ministry performed dismally and it never lasted. Agere notes that the ministry reflected several challenges in as far as conceptualisation of its mandate on community development was concerned. For instance, the ministry had largely relegated community development actions to a narrow focus on cooperative activities, women's groups and the setting up of income generating activities and small industries. Industries, small and big were set even in areas where it was economically unviable to do so. Consequently, most attempts at the so called community development efforts fell by the way side. The ministry was abolished seven years down the line. The reasons were not clear but it was evident that the ministry had lost ground in the growing wave of economic reforms driven by western approved and funded approaches to development. Mention is made to the adoption of modernization theories and other austerity measures linked to such theories. This culminated in the adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment (ESAP) in the early 1990s (Mwanza, 1992).

In Zimbabwe direct Government reference to community development efforts were abandoned with the renaming of the ministries that followed. The late 1980s thus marked the official abandonment of community development efforts by the government. Meanwhile, the growing number of NGOs that were to characterise the ESAP period slowly and reluctantly embraced some aspects of community development. Moyo and Makumbe (2001) confirm that the mid 1990s was characterised by a phenomenal

growth of NGOs. These were intent on responding to social ills and deprivation generated by ESAP. It is during this period that there was revived reference to community development as a development option. It was perceived that community development would in some way respond to emerging and growing human needs. This time it was not the government but civil society organisations that were making reference to such forms of interventions. Meanwhile, the major hallmarks of government set and led community development efforts such as cooperatives, women's groups, community gardens and small manufacturing entities established in the rural areas had begun to be abandoned (Banana, 1987:36).

Emerging clear from this short history of government led community development is the fact that the post independence government had limited skill, conceptualisation and possibly appreciation of what community development entailed. It seems that what was considered as community development was rather some diluted version of socialism emphasizing on cooperative and group production driven through top-down approaches. Indeed, the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence was characterised by lukewarm adoption of socialism with its characteristic top-down centralised and command economy approaches. Banana (1987) has succinctly referred to this period of Zimbabwe's history as the lost decade of socialism.

3.6 Government - NGO relations and the bearing on Community Development practice in Zimbabwe

In general government has the capacity to limit or advance NGO activities, their growth and their interests (Davids, 2009:72). In the same manner NGOs have the capacity to

influence and in some cases institute change if their activities are not checked or disturbed by government. It is in this regard that one has to understand NGO government relations. Zimbabwe NGOs have experienced a significant transformation in as far as their relations with the government are concerned.

Prior to 2000 NGOs received immense support from the government. There was mushrooming of NGOs, CBOs and INGOs. The majority of these NGOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) constantly made reference to the fact that they were assisting in the development of the various communities. By 2000, more than 890 NGOs had been registered as operating in Zimbabwe (Moyo and Makumbe, 2000). The number of new NGOs and CBOs has continued to rise. However, NGO growth has been followed by increased government attempt to come up with stringent monitoring mechanisms. Indeed in 2003 an NGO bill meant at closely and effectively monitoring NGO activities and funding was proposed. Increasingly, NGOs were put under direct government spotlight. Some were accused of fomenting political instability while others were accused of using aid and development support to incite and bait communities to vote for the opposition (The Herald, January 2008). Other NGOs were threatened with deregistration while those in operation were put under strict surveillance. June 2008 marked the lowest point in NGO Government relations. All NGO activities were put on indefinite suspension (The Herald June 2008). The period thus marked a redefinition of Government NGO relations, a move from a past characterised by government ambivalence to one guided by the need to assert direct control. The government became increasingly paternalistic in its daily dealings with NGOs.

The obtaining situation had a negative bearing on overall NGO efforts, practices and approaches in rolling out community development interventions. Indeed as Stein (2009) confirms, community development was likely to ruffle government feathers as it emphasized on empowerment. Empowerment as conceptualised under community development implies equitable sharing of power between the powerful and the less powerful. It also entails a process by which weaker groups acquire higher levels of political awareness and strengths (Stein, 2009). Successful community development thus in a sense was an open threat to existing power structures when the government was becoming increasingly   paternalistic and rigid. The likelihood of resistance to NGO efforts towards community development was thus likely to be high.

The preceding background of government NGO relations presents significant hurdles in the manner in which the broader NGO community could successfully roll out community development. For community development to be successful, NGOs could not go it alone. An acrimonious relation between the two development players further worsens the situation. This has a bearing on the NGO attempts to roll out community development in the respective constituencies

3.7 NGOs as initiators of community development: Strengths and Weaknesses

NGOs like governments possess unique characteristics that present both strengths and weaknesses in the initiation of community development interventions. Broadly, community development represents a unique aspect of micro-level development (Moyo & Makumbe, 2000:1-2). Consequently, organisations or entities that have the capacity

to operate at micro-level stand better chances to initiate community development at this particular level.

Ideally, NGOs are said to possess significant comparative advantages over government and other quasi government structures in as far as delivery of micro- level development is concerned (Theron,2009:104-106). Reference is made to the characteristics such as NGO possessing better relations with beneficiaries and NGOs having better freedom in organising the same communities more than government. Additionally, NGOs are well known for using bottom-up, needs based and participatory approaches. Other than the preceding, NGO are said to work well with local institutions, they use innovative, flexible and experimental technology and run low cost interventions as compared to government (Merrington, 1992)

The strengths noted above make NGOs ideal institutions for the roll out of community development interventions. However, overall success is equally conditional upon the existence of an enabling macro-level environment which in this case should be provided by the government. In a nutshell, NGOs offer the best possible options as promoters of community development more than the government. Nonetheless, factors such as prevailing macro level economic, political and social conditions have a bearing on the success of such interventions.

NGOs have their own weaknesses in as far as promotion of community development is concerned. For instance it has emerged that the success of NGO community

development efforts and other general development efforts is curtailed by the sectoral nature of NGO operations and weak linkages with government to promote complementarities (Davids, 2009:70) Additionally NGO activities and interventions can easily be hijacked by the local elites. Local elites are well known for representing and perpetuating macro level interests hence that of the higher level elite (Nhliziyo &Chikandi, 2002: 3; Maphunye, 2009).

Christenson and Robinson (1989) present a rather gloomy picture of NGO capacity to initiate and promote community development. This is particularly so when their community development description is put against the nature of NGO operations and funding in Zimbabwe. Largely, the greater percentages of the funds available for NGO support are a response to acute and chronic problems bedeviling the country. They make reference to two distinct characteristics of community development which probably may not fit the Zimbabwean context of NGO operations. First, community development is considered a long term approach. Secondly, real community development starts with issues which people in communities identify as being important to them. Zimbabwean and probably most developing world NGOs may not be able to meet these two basic descriptions of community development. Firstly, NGO funding is rarely continuous. In most cases, funding rarely lasts for more than three consecutive years. Secondly, much as most NGOs claim to be responding to people's needs, evidence on the ground points to the contrary. It is a common secret that most available funding is dictated by needs funders consider being of national or global importance. It is well documented that not all global issues are necessarily local community issues.

Important local community issues are therefore likely to be sacrificed at the altar of international issues.

Currently, available funding is largely linked to the achievement of the millennium development goals. More so, the funding is largely based on meeting short term humanitarian needs. In the end, what is considered as community development by NGOs is more akin to welfare. Much as NGOs are interested in promoting community development, the extent to which this is possible is largely shaped by the origin and purpose of the funds at their disposal. Implicit in this statement is the crude fact that most Zimbabwe's NGOs cannot successfully support a community development agenda if their respective funder does not subscribe to it. Nonetheless, some will try but with significant chances of limited success.

Community development involves working with communities to build trust, raise self esteem and confidence as well as overcoming barriers to participation and conflict (Burghart, 1982). Certainly, changes of such nature are rarely possible within the short life span of the so called community development projects being rolled out by NGOs in Zimbabwe. Most NGO activities reflect strong wishes and hopes towards advancing community development. Unfortunately, the majority of such projects are devoid of the technical and human resource capacity to achieve what is their intended.

Botes and Van Rensburg (2000:42) have identified about nine weaknesses, both technical and human and internal and external that present ordinary NGOs as lesser

candidates for community development. They make reference to the paternalistic role of development professionals, inhibiting and prescriptive role of the state, over reporting of development success, selective participation, hard issue bias, conflicting interest groups within end beneficiaries, gate keeping by local elites, pressure for immediate results, and lack of public interest of becoming involved. All these factors take a toll on NGO community development intentions. The identified weaknesses and hindrances have a bearing on NGO capacity to initiate community development. Unless such impediments are strategically responded to, NGOs will for long claim to be accomplishing what they are yet to achieve.

The preceding paragraphs represent some of the challenges and weaknesses likely to be encountered by NGOs as initiators of community development. A desk study of NGO operations across Zimbabwe reflects a replay of similar hurdles in current and past NGO attempt to initiate community development. Community development interventions are thus affected by both micro and macro level conditions existing in target communities.

However, in spite of the numerous cases illustrating the problematic nature of community development and NGO operations, most development funders and implementers remain optimistic about the role community development can play in changing communities. There is general optimism and support for community development as an alternative development approach.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has offered a contextual background on NGO, Government and Community development. It has also reflected on the opportunities and challenges NGOs possess as initiators of community development. Emerging from this chapter has been the realisation that NGOs in a broad sense need the support of government for their community development initiatives to succeed. There is need for systematic cooperation and complementarities in the conceptualisation and roll out of community development by NGOs. Ideally, NGOs can successfully bring about community development but they can only do so if the environment permits. This conclusion will in a way influence the observations on NGOs and Community development that will be generated by this study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology that has been used to arrive at a conclusion on the outcome of NGO community development interventions in Marange Communal area of Zimbabwe. It is an outline of research design employed for the study process. Hofstee (2006:114), Babbie & Mouton (2001:647) have simplified the term research design as referring to a plan or more simply a structured framework that will be followed to draw and arrive at a certain conclusion. For this study, a research design refers to the specific plan that has been followed to arrive at a specific conclusion. In this case the, the study provided an understanding of the extent to which NGOs have successfully promoted community development. The conclusion was based on the empirical analysis of the outcome of NGO interventions in as far as the achievement of community development is concerned. Consequently, the study adopted an evaluative research design with specific focus on NGO CD intervention outcomes.

Following the identification of the relevant and applicable research design, this chapter has added as its sub-contents sections on methodology, the limitations encountered and relevant ethical considerations for an outcome study of this nature.

The research instruments used, the data and data analysis are covered under the methodology subsection. The focus of research instruments subsection has been on description of the various instruments used and the varied justification on how and why such instruments answer to key issues of reliability, appropriateness, cost, ethical

considerations and applicability. Indeed as Mouton (2001:100-102) notes, all the preceding issues are of critical significance if one intends to carry out a reliable and valid research. Under the data subsection, the research dwelt on defining the population and the sampling process. Further focus has been on highlighting strengths and weaknesses associated with the sampling. Finally, the data analysis subsection falling under the methodology subheading dealt with the techniques used and the accompanying justification.

The greater part of the data for this study was collected through interviews. Largely, these were one on one interview with key informants and project beneficiaries. Data was also collected through focus group discussions with community members from the selected wards. Additional information was gathered from NGOs and community records. All in all, this chapter contains responses to semi-structured questions and their subsequent analysis and discussion.

Data for this study has been narrowed down and presented as 9 broad categories. The categories have been drawn from recurring codes and themes. In the end the final categories point towards varied and unanimous qualitative reflections, understanding, interpretations and comments about NGO work by Marange study research participants identified as respondents in the preceding section of this study.

4.1 Research design

Mouton and Marais (1990) define research design as arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with sound economic procedures. In short, research design is a plan for research that is aimed at aligning the pursuit of a research goal with practical considerations and limitations of the project. Accordingly, this study adopted an evaluative research design albeit at outcome level. The design type offered fair balance between economic demands of carrying out such a study and design relevance to such a study focusing on outcome of identified NGO interventions.

4.1.1 Evaluative Research design

This study will follow an evaluative and a case study research design. For the evaluative design focus will be on measuring the outcome of NGO interventions in relation to community development. Hofstee (2006:121) refers to an evaluate research design as an appraisal. Miller and Salkind (1978) have further described an evaluative research design as an assessment or a social accounting study. In general, all the various descriptions of evaluative research design contained in this study point to the fact that such a design focuses on an assessment of outcomes of an action or a prevailing practice. The descriptions reiterate the fact that evaluative research designs are akin to assessment or appraisals of certain intended outcomes.

Rossi and Freeman quoted in Babbie and Mouton (1998) define evaluation research as '….the systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualisation, design, implementation and utility of social intervention programs'.

This study will follow the Rossi and Freeman definition of evaluation research albeit with focus on intervention outcomes.

An evaluative research design takes into consideration limitations likely to be encountered by the researcher yet at the same time gives the researcher adequate capacity to investigate that which is meant to be investigated. Babbie and Mouton (1998) elaborate that evaluation research can be done across four areas. These are evaluation of need, of process, of outcome and of efficiency. This study has focused on evaluation of outcomes of community development efforts by NGOs. Outcome evaluation, when logically carried out will offer increased and broad clarity on the why, the how and the what, that is coming out of community development interventions carried out by NGOs in the respective communities under study. Indeed, adoption of an evaluative research design will go a long way in responding to the problem of understanding the role of NGOs in community development. Much as this study has focused largely on outcome evaluation, the research has in the process implicitly evaluated the need, the process and the efficiency of community development approaches as rolled out by NGOs in the respective target communities.

 The use of evaluative research design will ensure that the research goal will be accomplished using the limited resources at the disposal of the researcher. In the words of Yedigis and Weinbach (2006) an evaluative research design allows for accurate assessment, it is simple and can be used for studies where the researcher has no control of the whole population. Complementing the preceding is the recognition that

an evaluative research design does not emphasise on meeting the need for population representativeness before one can adopt its use. Indeed, the former advantage augurs well with purposive sampling adopted for this study. Other than the above referenced advantages, an evaluative research design is not much particular about the control of intervening variables. With all these advantages, evaluative research design proved largely relevant for this particular study, a study on community development outcomes of NGO interventions. The researcher did not have adequate financial or technical capacity to access the whole population under this study hence the need to adopt an evaluative research design. Given these and other merits that come with the use of an evaluative research design, an outcome evaluative design proved the most appropriate design for this study.

4.1.2 Case Study Research design

A case study research design has been used to test the outcome of application of different models of community development by NGOs. Through case studies, it was possible to test whether theories of community development work in the practical world (Shuttleworth, 2008). It was noted that the use of case study design will guarantee an in-depth study hence detailed understanding of the community development phenomena through the "eyes" of those who were deemed to have been exposed to NGO community development interventions (Hofstee, 2006). One weakness though encountered with the use of case study design was the fact that observations and trends noted during the study could not without suspicion be deductively extrapolated to the broader NGO interventions across Zimbabwe or the world. Largely, this is so

because case studies provide in-depth personal and specific responses that cannot with certainty be universally applied to every other seemingly similar scenario. In a nutshell case study observations cannot be generalised and replicated as those from pure experimental studies.

Chosen research designs, that is, evaluative and case study designs guaranteed reliability of observed trends. While obtaining accurate results has not been possible, the designs guaranteed high levels of reliability. In any case, it is the reliability of results more than the accuracy that is of crucial importance in any decision making process. Indeed, as Babbie &Mouton (1998) confirm that no research results are "perfectly perfect".

This realisation and agreement to the fact that no results are "perfectly perfect" led the researcher to consider the need to combine and use two research designs. Use of combination of research designs was taken as a deliberate approach   to minimise the level of imperfections normally associated with use of a single research design. A combination of a case study and evaluative research design went a long way   in reducing possible research loopholes.

4.2 Research Method

A qualitative research method was used for this study. Yedigis and Weinbach (2006:59) point out that the use of qualitative research methods presents several advantages. Qualitative methods seek to understand phenomena. They are subjective.   The

researcher plays a pivotal role as the instrument of research. Use of qualitative methods will augur well with the attempt to understand the subjective nature of community development. The nature of community development dictates that it is likely to be felt differently by different people exposed to it. In this case, qualitative research comes handy. Its use will reflect the subjective nature of community development outcomes as applied by different NGOs. This is all in line with the interpretive paradigm of knowledge acquisition (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Although results from the use of qualitative research techniques may not present themselves as valid and reliable as it is with the use of quantitative research design, qualitative research has the following advantages. First, qualitative research goes a long way in extracting and understanding human experiences from the perspective of those who experience them. The inductive nature of qualitative research makes it possible to treat and understand each situation as it is presented. Put more simply, a qualitative research design provides contextual or subjective accuracy against possible generalizations (Hosftee, 2006). The results from qualitative studies are rich in context and meaning (Ivankova et al, 2006:257). Qualitative studies avoid the general temptation common with quantitative studies of drawing general claims or inference from a study. The use of qualitative research design emerged helpful in understanding the community development phenomena driven by NGOs in Marange communal area of Zimbabwe.

Adoption of qualitative study was been driven by the clear recognition that development and more so community development are value laden concepts. Consequently, the operationalisation can be best understood through the use of qualitative approaches. Use of qualitative methods has facilitated the reflection of people's different experiences and how such changes have been interpreted and appreciated by those experiencing them.

4.3 Research Population

A research population refers to the complete set of units upon which generalisations about a certain attribute or social phenomenon are to be made (Laws, Harper and Marcus, 2003). Added to this is the fact that a research population consists of all people or items with the characteristics one wishes to understand. In the case of this study, the research population thus refers to people residing in ten wards of Marange area. These are the beneficiaries of NGO community development assistance. Given the size of the population of about 35 640 inhabitants, it will be impossible to include all of them in this limited study. Their sheer numbers and low probability of meeting all of them within the limited space of time makes access to them impossible. Consequently, the study will narrow down its focus to a purposive sample of the population of the Nyachityu and Takarwa wards. The wards have enjoyed immense NGO support in the general name of community development. In Zimbabwe, support tailored as community development interventions can be traced back to the early 1980s (Agere, 1982).

4.4 Sampling

A sample can be conceptualised as a portion of the total set of objects, events or persons that together comprise the subject of the study. A sample can further be viewed as a subset of measurement drawn from a population in which the study is located (Denscombe, 2007).The portion of the study population considered for a sample should paradoxically be small enough to guarantee a balance of representativeness without understating characteristics of the whole population under study.

For this study, a sample was defined as a subset of measurement drawn from a population in which the study is located (Mouton and Marais, 1990). Sampling is crucial in the understanding of phenomena affecting large populations. The process of sampling has been understood as involving the selection of unbiased subset of the population in order to carry out individual observations. The purpose of sampling is to yield knowledge about the population in order to make predictions. In this study, the population from which the sample will be drawn refers to all people and items with the characteristics that need to be understood. More specifically, the population for this study refers to people and items under the direct influence of NGOs interventions in Marange communal area of Zimbabwe.

Non probability sampling was used in this study. Babbie and Mouton (2001:166), note that non probability sampling can be used where one cannot have access to a complete list of study population. Neuman (2003:383) adds that a researcher uses non probability

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sampling technique when he or she is unsure about the nature of the population and is guided by specific time limitation. Following Neuman's recommendation, the researcher adopted non probability sampling as the most appropriate technique for this study. The researcher realised that non probability sampling fitted well with the planned research owing to the fact that the study has not been able to access all the information on all the households that have benefited from NGO community development interventions. Choice of non probability sampling has thus been influenced by available and accessible information about the study population. In this particular case, the researcher realised that it could be virtually impossible to access the entire population for the proposed study.

4.4.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling method was used for this study. This has been done in full recognition and consideration of the key strengths and weaknesses associated with the use of purposive sampling technique. Key among the strengths has been the feasibility of purposive sampling in producing intended results. It is noted that purposive sampling by its nature targets information-rich respondents, interventions or activities that are earmarked for any study (Davies, 2005). Patton (1990), states that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in its capacity to select information-rich cases for an in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the research questions, hence the term purposeful sampling. Additionally, Babbie and Mouton (2001:166), note that purposive or judgmental sampling can be used where the researcher has full knowledge of the

population, its elements, and the nature of research aims and purpose. Babbie and Mouton's assertion augur well with the researcher's experience of the Marange community identified for the study. Purposive sampling is usually used to select cases when the researcher has specific issues to understand. In this case, the researcher was driven by the need to understand the outcome of NGO interventions as generated by respective NGO interventions in a particular area. Purposive sampling gave the researcher the opportunity to identify and select unique and information rich cases about NGO interventions in Marange communal area. Compounded by this was the additional motivating factor that the researcher has for the past four years worked in the area of study interest. Consequently, the researcher is fully aware of the different NGO interventions that have been labeled community development projects.

Largely, the study dealt with a complex study population whose complete enumeration would have been virtually impossible. This is particularly so if one had considered limitations of time, resources and expertise available for this study. Marange communal area has more than ten wards with a total population of about 100 000. There are more than five NGOs operating in the area making it virtually impossible financially and resource wise to carry out a comprehensive study of the whole population. Secondly purposive sampling made it possible for the researcher to carry out an in-depth study of specific features of the community intended for the study. As noted by Neuman (2003:381) the two critical strengths, that is, eliciting deep and rich understanding and targeting the people with the information outweighed one common

weakness of purposive sampling. Neuman noted the weakness as being purposive sampling's centeredness on the judgment of the investigator.

To guard against researcher centered bias, purposive sampling was guided by setting out clear parameters on the wards that were to be included in the sample. Consequently, the study purposively identified two wards with villages and households that had enjoyed significant periods of NGO CD support. Subsequently two wards that went through more than five years of continuous NGO community development support were identified and incorporated into the study. The study realised that not all villages falling under this criterion had enjoyed direct NGO support hence the need for further purposive sampling. Consequently   similar purposive sampling was taken a level down to village level.

The study purposively identified two wards of the Marange rural area's ten wards. The wards have enjoyed community development support in the form of training and establishment of sustainable livelihoods projects, training in community empowerment, project management, project start up grants , entrepreneurial skills, and community sustainability, just but to name a few. Babbie and Mouton (2001:166), confirm that it is highly possible to collect data sufficient for a specific research purpose by a sample of the most visible study population. Consequently, this study used purposive sampling in the identification of wards, households, individuals and projects where NGO interventions are most visible. Important insights on NGO interventions and community

response were successfully extracted using purposive sampling which can also be referred to as judgmental sampling. .

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of key informants and other general informants for this study. Like before, purposive sampling remains absolutely essential for such a study design. It engages the researcher with respondents with the correct depth of information, hands on experience, familiarity and association with NGO community development interventions. Their responses will thus be based on knowledge and practice rather than theory. Consequently, two senior NGOs representatives, three field officers from organisations operating in the three selected wards were interviewed. A councillor from one of the two wards and two traditional leaders constituted the panel of respondents from the community level. Again, in perpetuation of the use of purposive sampling techniques, all these were selected from the two participating wards. The same targeting was applied to the selection of government representatives from the education, social welfare and health sector. These were purposively selected from departments that had interest in the two wards selected for the study.

4.5 Data Collection

Data collection was through use of multi-pronged methods. Suchman (1967) highlights that data can be gathered using direct observations, interviews, questionnaires, tests or other forms of measurement. This study has made use of three methods, namely, document review, analysis interviews and questionnaires.   Largely, the adoption of the

three methods has been necessitated by the realisation of the appropriateness and relevance of the use of such methods in eliciting information for an evaluative study of this nature.

Other than the access to project documents such as proposals, evaluation reports and field observations, the study also successfully interviewed NGO community development implementers, local beneficiaries and district stakeholders. All in all, the 2 NGO employees, 2 district stakeholders, 1 community leader, 44 project beneficiaries and community members were interviewed through focus group discussions and one on one interview. This figure represents about 95% of the targeted interviewees. NGO workers, community leadership, and District representatives from Mutare rural community service Department and Mutare Rural District Local government offices provided key informants responses. *(See table on the appendix A)*

4.5.1 Interviews

Interviews were carried out with key informants. Interviews allow the object of study to speak for the self thus giving some level of first hand information in as far as individual view of community development interventions are concerned. It allows for probing thus eliminating ambiguities associated other forms of data gathering such as e-mailed or other forms of mailed questionnaires. However, one on one interview or any of their variants involving direct contact with respondents may suffer from such challenges as social desirability bias. The need to fulfill social desirability demands may drive interviewees to feel duty obliged to give good impressions of NGO operations in their

respective areas. This is particularly so if the interviewee wrongly concludes that being negative about NGOs has a bearing on future prospects for further support. Consequently, there is need to clearly outline the purpose of such a study as a means of eliminating bias. Included among the interviewees were one political leader and two traditional leaders from the two purposively sampled wards. Four Government departments' representatives from the ministries of Social Welfare, Agriculture, Health and Education were interviewed. Two representatives of NGO organisations intervening in the selected wards were also interviewed. Other interviews were carried out with 48 selected beneficiaries of NGO development assistance *(see appendix A, addendum 1).*

Adoption of purposive sampling was done with full recognition of its limitations. Chief among this was the understanding that purposive sampling suffered weaknesses related to representation, generalisations and related inferences. Largely, purposive sampling exhibits limitations related to representation, that is, the researcher never knows if the selected cases represent the population. The problem of perceived non representativeness has been minimised by the researcher's familiarity with broader NGO operations and specific NGO operations in the sampled and non sampled areas. The approaches, techniques and purpose advanced by respective NGOs are more or less the same. Consequently, information obtained from purposively sampled sets can be safely used to inform similar understanding of NGO operations in other areas of Marange district and possibly beyond. This conclusion was further buttressed by

information extracted from secondary literature of NGO operations, techniques and purpose.

4.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

Vong-ek (1993:129), remark that focus group discussions provide specific group attitude or opinion. The study intended to elicit group opinion about the outcome of NGO interventions in their respective area. Consequently, four focus group discussions were held with men and women from the two purposively sampled wards of Nyachityu and Takarwa. The use of focus group discussions proved extremely handy as it allowed communities to build consensus on what and how they conceived efforts rolled out by NGOs in their respective communities. Babbie and Mouton (2001:291) conclude that focus group discussions are good because they allow people to come together and create meaning among themselves rather than individually. Such an outcome works well for this study which in essence tries to elicit group or community understanding of NGO operations. Secondly focus groups allow for the opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction on a topic in a limited time. The focus group discussions worked well for this study given the limits imposed by time and finance. It saves time and money.

4.5.3 Case Studies

An in-depth study of one NGO supported "community development" project has been carried out. A snowballing technique has been used in the identification of such a

project. Community respondents participating in focus group discussions were requested to identify what they considered as an active example of a community based project success story. The case study provided information on the approach, the activities and the changes that have taken place in the respective community due to NGO community development interventions. Case studies complemented researcher effort at ensuring that multiple data sources are available and used for data provision. Nieuwenhuis (2007) considers the use of multiple data sets as improving on overall data verification and analysis. The use of case studies represented some form of post-test only design whereby participants provided information on changes they can attribute to NGO development programs.

4.5.4 Secondary Data Analysis

Community and organisational records for purposively selected community development projects were analysed. Specifically, projects baseline reports, projects progress reports and end of project evaluation reports were looked at. Secondary data analysis was carried out using content analysis approach. Nieuwenhuis defines content analysis as a summary of "*message content*". The purpose of this action will be to identify keys in text that will help one understand and interpret raw data. Consequently, the researcher further sourced development project documents from Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT) and Plan Zimbabwe, two of the five organisations currently involved in rolling out development interventions in Marange Communal area of Zimbabwe. Secondary data analysis through content analysis was used to both corroborate and in some cases disconfirm generalisations about NGOs and community development. It emerged from the analysis that some of the projects and the

subsequent approaches used for their roll out were guided less by community development intentions but by the need to relieve acute pain and suffering experienced by communities.

Content analysis of secondary data proved appropriate for the evaluative research design and the accompanying inductive analysis of available data on community development. Other than this, the use of multiple methods was also dictated by the need to improve data trustworthiness and the purposive sampling procedure followed.

The study however, took cognisance of loopholes inherent in the application of case study research design. Case studies are rated as a non representative. Nonetheless, the use of the case study design has proved handy for the purposes of data triangulation. Secondly, case studies eliminate biases linked to social desirability. The researcher recognises that some of the research participants may mould responses that are shaped by the need to present a positive or a negative picture of ongoing NGO efforts for certain political ends better known to them. Largely, this may emanate from the fact that some of the concerned NGOs have been involved in welfare dominant interventions and as such have created a pool of loyal communities and beneficiaries. In a bid to counter such possible negative effects on data, the researcher employed a triad of measures. First, the researcher clearly articulated the purpose of the study, emphatically reiterating to the participants that the study was purely academic. Second, the researcher took ample time to understand the social, political and economic conditions surrounding the study. He used the information to develop clear outline of the

purpose of the study. Finally, the researcher triangulated information gathered through focus group discussions. In all the three ways followed, the researcher noted that clear purpose clarification played a pivotal role in rationalising possibilities of bias and accompanying social desirability shortcomings. Purpose clarification was both verbal and written depending on the level of education of the respondents.

4.6 Data Analysis

Hofstee (2006:58) give emphasis to the fact that unanalysed data is neutral in all intents and purpose. Professional, and successful data analysis involves a great deal of meticulous sift through huge chunks of raw data. Consequently, data has to be either manually or electronically analysed for it to carry meaning and relevance. Electronic analysis involves the use of computer based software. This study manually analysed all data collected from the field.

Data analysis is driven by the need to draw significant findings from raw data. Such findings will be used to communicate a definitive pattern of events, sequences, relationships or outcomes. More specifically, qualitative data analysis aims at interpreting and making sense out of raw data. It provides explanations and understanding of the content in the available raw data. This in a way contrasts with quantitative analysis whose main focus is on measuring, hence the latter's focus on numeric outputs displayed in the form of descriptive statistics. Qualitative data analysis dominates this study.

In a way, the choice of qualitative analysis has been influenced by the application of interpretivist philosophy in understanding development. More importantly, application of qualitative analysis has been influenced by the researcher's broader understanding of qualitative analysis as a continuous process. Equally, Seidel's (1998) generic model of data analysis process played an influential role in the researcher's choice of qualitative method of data analysis. According to Seidel (1998), data analysis is a process that involves noticing; collection and thinking (*refer to model in the appendix D, addendum 1).* This model recognises that analysis is both ongoing and non-linear. Implied by the statement is the indication that qualitative data analysis allows for data collection, processing, analysis and reporting to take place in an intertwined and cyclical way. Essentially, data processing under qualitative analysis is a back and forth process. It allows the researcher to go back to the field to verify new nuances emerging from initial field data. Such and other strengths inherent with qualitative analysis resulted in the researcher settling for qualitative analysis. Data captured through qualitative analysis was inductively analysed. Inductive reasoning allowed the researcher to build participant generated understanding of NGO work in as far as community development is concerned. This is opposed to the possible generation of generalised understanding that comes with the use of deductive reasoning. After all, the adoption and use of purposive and snowballing sampling guiding this study would have militated against generalisations, a product of deductive reasoning.

4.6.1 Discourse and content data analysis

Mouton (2001:108-110) and Hofstee (2006:117) concur that data can be analysed statistically, textually or through a combination of both. The choice of analysis technique is largely determined by the design which in turn informs the techniques and the tools used. This study made use of a multiple pronged approach to data collection and analysis. Subsequently, the ensuing data analysis has reflected this combined approach. Nonetheless, greater emphasis was on the use of textual data analysis techniques, that is, discourse and content analysis. Analysis of text has provided the researcher with the opportunity to extract the role of the agency in the whole process of perceived community development. Added, has been the realisation that analysis of text, words, and messages plays a crucial role in outlining the subjective and contextual influence of NGO interventions in as far as community development is concerned. Broadly, this study was carried out within the broader interpretivist framework. Underlying the use of such approaches, techniques and framework is the need to have a clear understanding of the role of the agency and the context in analysing the role of NGOs in facilitating community development. The study is purely qualitative hence the express need to understand phenomena as they emerge.

Data analysis was done following an inductive approach. Data gathered through focus group discussions, structured interviews and analysis of project reports and proposal was manually compiled first into themes and categories represented in codes. Simply, a code is a label while categories are recurring themes. Coding involved marking segments in the raw data. The segments had symbols or descriptive words attached to

them. Identical descriptive words or codes were combined into themes which in turn formed categories for understanding and analysing raw data. The whole process of analysis was done manually. Finally, still following the manual process, emerging categories were used to gather evidence that was used to assess whether current NGO interventions are successfully adopting community development approaches.

Data gathered through focus group discussions was partly analysed through conversation and partly content analysis. Main themes emerging from such discussions were equally coded to grasp the general and dominant trends emerging from the discussions. The same was for raw data from structured interviews. Focus was on identifying emerging, frequent, dominant and significant themes. Ultimate intention was to utilise participant responses to understand and interpret the role of NGOs in community development.

The study has made deliberate attempt to limit the quantification of available qualitative data into numerical data. A deliberate approach has been taken minimising turning of such responses into descriptive statistics. In this study, where the responses are presented as majority, many or significant, the researcher will be referring to three quarters and above of the respondents. Where words such as low, insignificant or few are used, these denote less than a quarter of the respondents.

4.7 The Study Area

4.7.1 Geographic Location

The study is based on a purposive study of Marange District's two wards of Nyachityu and Takarwa. Marange district is located about 56 kilometers south west of Mutare town *(see appendix F, addendum 1 &2).* It has one business centre located almost at the center of the district. The district shares a north eastern border with Mutare town. Overall, Mutare serves as the provincial capital for Manicaland province. Marange business centre has a good number of grocery shops, a clinic, a post office, a school and some administrative offices for Mutare Rural district council. There is a skills training center that was established in the late 1990s to cater for school leavers and other community members in need of skills development. One NGO has established an office in the area. The office has been operational beginning the late 1980s. Various other NGOs have seconded their staff, mainly field officers, to be permanently resident at the several schools, church or Christian mission centers in the area. Several small non permanent offices for field officers representing respective NGOs have been established in the area.

4.7.2 The Environment

The Marange district lies within Zimbabwe's agro ecological region 4. The region is characterised by poor sandy soils and erratic rains. Rainfall rarely exceeds 400mm per annum. All year round farming is impossible except when using irrigation which commonly suffers from lack of sustained water support that can stretch to the next rainy

season. More often than not, the region experiences persistent poor harvests. Droughts are a common phenomenon. The vegetation is mainly composed of few scattered trees, isolated grasslands, and thorny trees. Mountains constitute part of the Marange landscape. Crop cultivation is therefore limited. Where it is practiced, the results are not guaranteed and yet the communities insist on the need to plant common crops like maize as a remedy to their livelihoods need. Of all the agricultural activities carried out in Marange, livestock rearing seems to be the most promising agricultural venture. Nonetheless, animal rearing cannot be done at commercial level. Largely, communities do keep animals for subsistence use.

4.7.3 Politics

Marange, like the other rural areas of Zimbabwe is led by a dual system of government that is the central and local government. The latter is mainly represented by traditional leadership while the former is represented by appointed district leadership who are civil servants paid by the central government.

Traditional leaders act as the custodians of traditional law. They allocate land and settle some of the community disputes. Traditional leaders are also responsible for receiving and introducing NGO operations to their respective constituencies. Largely, in as far as NGO operations are concerned, traditional leadership plays a rubber stamping role.

The community is defined as a ward, a village or a household. Wards are usually made up of between 20 to about 50 villages while a village comprises of about between 50 to 80 households. In general, households are made up of an average of 5 people.

Traditional leadership structures range from the village head, the headman, and the chief in the order of increasing authority, power, responsibility and jurisdiction.

It must be noted that the system of traditional leadership is paternalistic. This has been compounded by the growing central government power struggles. Consequently, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) even under the eye of the Government of National Unity (GNU) formed in 2009 has further patronised traditional leadership to the extent that they have become part of the central government structures.

4.7.4 Economy

In general, Marange has been classified as an economically fragile community, a classical case of a community in constant need of different forms of aid. Its vulnerability is based on agro-ecological rating which defines it as a low rainfall area prone to drought. A relatively high population density is one of the hallmarks of Marange community. This can be linked to colonial history where Marange was set aside as a reserve area for the black population. This dates back to the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the subsequent legislation that resulted in the majority of blacks being designated to occupy marginal lands. Marange communal area was set aside as a tribal trust land (TTL), a native reserve where blacks disposed of their productive land were resettled. Over the years, the area has witnessed a rising human population growth with no corresponding increase in available land. Land has been continuously subdivided to accommodate the new families. As such, the area is now one of the

heavily populated regions in the country. The population growth has resulted in excessive pressure on the soil leading to heavy soil exhaustion.

The majority of these households used to supplement agricultural production with salaries from urban employment. Unfortunately, this came to an end with the introduction of ESAP in 1990. Income sources were further narrowed when Zimbabwe underwent a period of economic meltdown in early 2000. Most workers were retrenched or had their incomes reduced to the effect that agricultural production emerged as the major source of income and livelihood for most families. This was despite the fact that agriculture was, like the general economy, faring badly too. Indeed, the combination of 1992 drought and the retrenchments linked to ESAP posed a great challenge for the Marange community in the same manner that it affected the rest of Zimbabwe. This challenge can even be witnessed some fifteen years down the line. Households are still suffering from sustained asset depletion.

4.7.5 Agriculture Potential

The dry environment and poor soils guarantee limited dependency on agriculture as a source of livelihood. Paradoxically, agricultural production has been one of the major sources of livelihood for the community. The majority of people from Marange rely on subsistence farming as a means of livelihood. Farming, though erratic, presents the most reliable source of food and income to the respective communities. Other than this, food aid and community improvement projects from donors have come to represent additional sources of income and livelihood for the local inhabitants. Very few people are formally employed. There is no industry in Marange except for the local grocery

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shops and of late the newly established diamond mine which is some forty kilometers south east of the study area. Other means of livelihood include craft working and trading mainly for men. Craft wares produced by the respective groups are usually sold outside the country. Donors and NGOs supporting various community initiatives have proved to be handy in supporting Marange communities during the lean times.

4.7.6 Social, political and economic factors shaping events in Marange communal area

Like any other area in Zimbabwe, Marange rural community's socio economic life has been guided and shaped by the broader national policies adopted by the Zimbabwean government since independence. Adoption of Marxist Leninist philosophy characteristics of the early 1980s resulted in the area setting up rural cooperatives. Communities were encouraged to form groups for the purposes of production. An assortment of cooperatives emerged to serve the various demands of the rural polity. Emphasis was on strategies and programs promoting self reliance and self sufficiency (Banana, 1987). Such self-reliance was considered within the context of the socialist ideology of collectives hence the emphasis on cooperatives. Bakeries, uniform sewing and soap making clubs, welding, carpentry, building and garden cooperatives, shops and an assortment of related activities aimed at guaranteeing limited reliance on the outside world were encouraged and supported by the government. Community production through cooperatives was considered the ideologically correct thing. Consequently, it received both ideological and financial support from the government. Indeed, the early years of Zimbabwe's independence were characterised by a

deliberate approach to promote some semblance of spatial self sufficiency. The approach was designed to do away with the so called paternalism of the colonial era.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has examined the methodology that was applied in the process of eliciting information from the study subjects. It has explained some of the common challenges and opportunities that are embedded in such a study and has in the process raised the means that were set aside to mitigate such challenges. At the same time, the chapter has offered motivation as to why the researcher opted for inductive qualitative data analysis. The chapter has outlined the extent to which the strengths of analysis, discussion and conclusion contained in chapter 5 have been strongly influenced and meticulously navigated in the methodology section of the study. In a nutshell, the chapter has outlined that it is possible to come up with substantial, verifiable, trustworthy and valid observations of NGO community development operations. Nonetheless, the study recognises the effects of limitations linked to time and resources. Overall, the chapter reflected that such challenges are in a substantial manner outweighed by benefits of observations and results accruing from such a study.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5. Introduction

This chapter presents qualitative data collected and documented during field study. It presents research participants' words and ideas pertaining to NGOs and community development. Discussions and analysis contained in this chapter represent detailed application of inductive analysis. Accordingly, the accompanying data analysis will reflect high degrees of interpretation driven by the express need to generate understanding of a phenomenon following research participants' perspectives. In line with standing rules for any inductive study from a purposively sampled population, accompanying data analysis and discussions have by all means tried to limit the extent to which resultant interpretations can be generalised to entire study population (Hofstee, 2006:118-119 & Nieuwenhuis, 2007:115). The researcher realised that an inductive analysis best suites most qualitative studies. In this case, ideas, words and accompanying nuances emanating from qualitative data have been inductively analysed to provide a picture of how NGOs operating in Marange community have succeeded in promoting community development.

Broadly, chapter 5 dwells on the identification of emerging and recurring data patterns, their coding and the ultimate categorisation into meaningful themes. Data was analysed

through pulling out themes or other classifications of data from my field notes. Notes from the interviews were coded and themes and sub-themes were created from each schedule.

5.2 Data presentation, discussion and analysis

5.2.1 Dominant NGO interventions and implied and explicit links to community development.

Clear understanding and appreciation of the dominant activities and interventions by NGOs is crucial for an informed evaluation of NGO community development outcomes. In pursuit of this endeavor, the study asked participants to list and identify the different activities and interventions defining NGO work in Marange.

Broadly, the majority of the respondents (69%) concurred that NGOs were involved in numerous activities and interventions meant for alleviating poverty and related challenges affecting the vulnerable members of their community. Key activities commonly identified by the majority of respondents were food distribution, schools supplementary feeding programmes, vulnerable group feeding, agriculture input support, water and sanitation projects, education support and training in agriculture, HIV, and livelihoods. About 4% of the respondents from the group added that some NGOs were involved in training in issues of rights and entitlements. One of the respondents added that a certain NGO operating in Marange was involved in training in peace and governance issues. Of particular mention were trainings linked to political rights, and the basic human rights. Also, emerging from and broadly accepted and

supported by 69% of the respondents was the fact that NGOs have of late actively responded to national health emergencies such as the 2008 to 2009 cholera outbreaks. Added to this was the identification of NGOs as involved in supporting health institutions mainly through the provision of essential drugs and associated equipment. Respondents were quick to clarify that such support was isolated and often unreliable. Also, mentioned was the fact that most of the drugs supplied were reserved for certain selected community members on NGO vulnerability registers. From the data, it emerged that NGOs are selective in both their approach and their target. The participants indicated that, current NGO interventions are overtly inclined towards providing responses and services to areas and individuals experiencing stress and suffering.

Community development as envisaged by Cook (1994), whether improvement or transformational, goes beyond the current depiction of NGO activities and interventions in Marange. In fact, successful community development is probably possible when ongoing development interventions reflect a broader focus of the community.

5.2.2 NGO beneficiary targeting and its bearing on community development

Community development is a broad based development approach demanding equally broad holistic interventions for its success (Cook, 1994). In this vein, informed understanding of NGO community development outcomes can safely be deciphered from data about dominant NGO targeting.

Responses from focus group discussion and one on one interviews reflected broader respondents' awareness of NGOs need based targeting strategies. Participants pointed out that ongoing NGOs' interventions openly targeted the least privileged people and communities. Common targets were listed as orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), the elderly, the sick and the HIV positive. Widows and the disabled were also part of the NGO target list but these came at the lower end of the NGO priority spectrum. The same approach applied to NGO community targeting. Respondents concurred that the poorest community entities were the first choice of NGO targeting. Given this approach, it is not surprising that Marange community has emerged a common destination for most NGOs. One on one interviews with all the key informants including NGO representatives confirmed that NGOs exhibited natural skew towards communities that are considered poor. All the groups of people interviewed concurred with the fact that NGO targeting criteria revolve around the selection of individuals and communities reflecting comparatively worse degrees of poverty and deprivation.

From the above discussion, it is evident that current NGO targeting approaches fail to meet the need to adopt a holistic approach to development programming. Cook (1994), Cary (2004: 105) Kennedy (2009) and a host of community development scholars, consider a holistic approach as one of the key characteristics of community development. Being holistic implies the broader inclusion of a significant number of community members in development programs. It also entails the need for NGOs to consider other surrounding factors affecting and impacting on an individual or community. These could be social, political or economic. In as far as the need for NGOs

to be holistic in their approaches is concerned, overall responses from research participants pointed to the fact that most NGOs operating in Marange have performed badly in this respect. Nonetheless, responses from key informants somewhat upset the general position taken by beneficiaries. On further probing of key informants on the extent to which NGO interventions can be considered holistic, half of the key informants responded positively. They pointed out that NGOs were holistic in both their approach and focus. However, the key informants pointed out that though the NGO targeting approach is holistic, it is limited. Key informants from the local government and the community services office highlighted that NGOs were holistic in so far as their specific sector of operation were concerned. For example, those intervening in education, agriculture or any other sector had their operations considered holistic in as far as that specific sector is concerned. Examples were drawn from the ongoing National Action Plan (NAP) for OVC where project beneficiaries were supported through a holistic package of school fees, food, psycho-social support (PSS), medication and livelihoods.

Though generally holistic in outlook, the examples provided by respondents run far short of specific holistic approach envisaged under ideal community development. According to Botes & Van Rensburg (2000:53), being holistic implies working beyond small isolated vulnerable groups but with the greater community population. A holistic approach involves working with the broader community and attending to broader issues affecting a target community. Botes and Van Rensburg thus present a definition of 'holistic', most NGO interventions rolled out in Marange under the banner of community development are yet to accomplish.

5.2.3 Exclusive selection and participation in NGO interventions and attendant implications to the attainment of community development.

As a follow-up to the preceding category, the interviewer checked on the level of inclusiveness or exclusiveness of NGO development interventions. Inclusiveness refers to working collectively towards a common goal or concern. It entails forming networks and connections that will help communities collaborate and come together for a common purpose (Cook, 2004). Exclusiveness, in this case, refers to NGO approach to work with and support a specific group of people. Successful community development calls for the need for its agencies to pursue deliberate policies towards greater community inclusion. Inclusiveness guarantees shared vision and greater community uptake of community development projects

In as far as the aspects of inclusiveness were concerned, the majority of respondents pointed out that, NGOs and NGO activities were openly exclusive. More than 80% respondents from focus group discussions and one on one beneficiary interviewees concurred that NGOs targeted specific groups of people. The respondents were quick to point out that NGOs largely supported the weak, the poor, the impoverished and those in crisis. They emphasised the fact that the majority of people who benefited from NGO interventions were those in dire need of social support such as education, health, food and other critical social needs such as child support.

The majority of respondents raised more questions than answers as to why NGOs became more specific and more individually focused at the input support stage of their development interventions. This question originated from the fact that most respondents had noted that most NGOs only included the larger part of the community at project launch stage. Unfortunately, as respondents observed, such broader community inclusion and involvement was not repeated at the input support phases of most interventions. Respondents indicated that at this stage, NGOs preferred dealing with only a selected few from a specific community. Such sentiments were shared by more than 80% of the respondents. In the words of one respondent, NGOs were described as:

> "NGOs were for the poor, the whole process of beneficiary selection excluded the hard workers and development oriented members of the community, the exclusive beneficiary selection system is promoting laziness"

He was not alone in this scathing critique of NGOs operating in Marange. Growing concurrence came from more than half of the men in the focus group. Like the responses from men's focus group discussions, women shared equal sentiments. They pointed out that NGOs operating in Marange focused much on the poor than on overall development. Women's group, like that of men identified the sick, orphans and vulnerable children and widows as the major focus for NGO interventions. Adding to this voice were ward councilors and traditional leadership responses. Like the other groups of men and women, community leadership reiterated that a significant proportion of NGO support went directly towards the less privileged members of their respective

communities compared to the overall development needs of the larger community. The overall development needs were identified as schools upgrading, setting up of sustainable agriculture support, training in self reliant skills, especially for the young and providing post training input support. Community leadership respondents insisted that such support should be universally available regardless of one's social or economic standing. In other words, the respondents came to the conclusion that even those who are regarded as relatively rich in local terms deserved to be supported just like the poor and the weak. Rather than being exclusive, NGOs were called to be more proactive and inclusive.

NGO respondents tried to offer a somewhat positive picture of the inclusive nature of their development programming. Justification for inclusiveness was on the basis of the consultative processes that most NGOs follow in the identification of project beneficiaries. However, when NGO staff was asked on the extent of inclusiveness in the whole process of development programming, most admitted that the process was fraught with limitations. For instance, one NGO respondent indicated that broader community inclusiveness in NGO development projects went as far as the mere selection of beneficiaries. This revelation confirmed positions initially taken by the majority of community respondents about NGO exclusiveness. Her sharp critique of limited NGO inclusiveness earned her significant backing and concurrence from the majority of other respondents participating in focus group discussions.

One on one interviews with other project beneficiaries further confirmed similar thinking about the compromised nature of overall community inclusiveness and participation in NGO community development programs. All in all the majority of respondents indicated that NGO interventions were highly exclusive. These respondents noted that NGO selection criteria targeted the poor and excluded all those perceived by the community as 'rich' and affording. In a sense, the exclusiveness of most NGO projects defeated one of the key pillars of community development, that is, collective working and networking.

A relatively high degree in NGO weakness and capacity to promote community development is revealed when one juxtaposes respondent revelations against corresponding NGO exclusiveness. According to Fleras (2008:130), successful community development can only be guaranteed where communities work collectively, share skills, benefit from strengths and respond to needs of their fellow community members. Current NGO emphasis on exclusiveness will therefore hinder such networks, hence successful community development.

Theron (2003:105-109), quoting Chambers (1997), Korten (1990) and Kumar (2002) emphatically highlight the importance of broader community participation and inclusion in the promotion of self-reliance, an inalienable component of successful community development. Indications from research participants on emerging categories of inclusion and participation reflect very low to minimal levels of broader NGO community level engagement. This is despite NGO respondent claims to inclusive and participatory

programming. Kumar generated an insightful spectrum of public participation that helps to offer a possible participation classification of how low some NGOs might be interacting with communities they are intervening in. Kumar (2002:25), represents participation as passive, participation as an informant, participation by consultation, participation for incentives, functional participation, interactive participation and self mobilisation (***See appendix D- the seven typologies of public participation).*** Following this typology and aligning it to participants' responses to issues of community participation, current NGOs' community interaction is likely to be rated as low as the first three levels of passive participation, participation for information gathering and participation through mere consultation

Following Kumar's typologies, it seems most communities where NGOs intervene limit their interaction to information giving and consultation levels. The rest will be decided and set by respective NGOs. These levels are still too low to bring about successful community development known for self-reliance and autonomy.

Literature on community development emphasises the importance of beneficiary participation and insider-control as some of the key determinants of successful community development. As noted earlier, research respondents reflected a rather low picture of participation and control in the majority of ongoing NGO community development initiatives. Implicit in this revelation is the high possibility of challenges that are likely to be faced by NGOs in initiating community development.

In terms of consultation which is highly linked to participation, respondents revealed that NGOs came with prepackaged programmes. Consequently, communities were afforded narrow room for them to contribute towards the goal, objectives and means in the different development initiatives brought in by NGOs. For instance, respondents pointed out that most of the NGOs operating in their area came in with a specific focus. Examples such as health, education and agriculture dominated respondents' utterances. The majority of respondents, even those from the NGO sector, confirmed that they sometimes bring in projects which do not necessarily reflect the expectations and the dominant development needs of target communities. Asked on whether communities have ever turned down such not so in line NGO development gestures, most admitted they never did. The major reason was that communities could not let go "free" resources even in cases where these were not part of their broader community plans. The absence of meaningful participation and consultation proved a strong threat to NGO efforts to promote community development.

Other than limited beneficiary participation, research respondents pointed out that most NGO initiated projects suffered from high outsider control. The majority of respondents from focus group discussions and one on one interviews pointed out that NGOs were heavily involved in the day to day running of respective projects. Local community leaders were blunter in this regard. They pointed out that NGOs literarily crowded out the target beneficiaries of their various development projects. Reference was made to continuous active presence of NGOs from the launch to the closure of most development projects. Literature on community development points to the fact that

where local participation and involvement are compromised, successful community development will remain a challenge (Gilchrist & Rauf, 2001). Indeed, the dominant presence of NGOs makes it increasingly difficult for local people to extend influence over decisions which affect their lives, a key aspect of successful community development.

In line with the above point, one key respondent representing local leadership criticised NGOs for their lack of trust in local resource management. He pointed out that the majority of NGOs operating in Marange were always following on the projects they had initiated to the extent that there was no room for local initiative. In the end most projects had come to be known by the names of initiating NGOs rather than being identified with the locals. For instance, garden, heifer or volunteer projects initiated by Plan, FACT or Red Cross, came to be named Plan, FACT or Red Cross gardens, heifer or volunteer projects respectively rather than simply community gardens or community volunteers. Asked if this was not for the convenience of identification, the respondent pointed out that this was a reflection of the source of support. The researcher took such response as a reflection of how most NGOs have failed to promote collective community work, a key pillar of successful community development. In the process, communities have inadvertently been divided along donor or NGO tags. This is despite the fact that such communities are driven by common goals and aspirations contained in community development.

Despite drawbacks mentioned above, the researcher realised that current NGO efforts are in fact a reflection of a significant improvement and shift towards instituting some crucial characteristics of successful community development. Reference is made to current NGO attempt at pulling resources together to address a common cause. For instance, the researcher noted that most NGOs operating in Marange had established NGO networks that were meant to coordinate and monitor common efforts and concerns. NGOs have also taken deliberate action towards increasing public participation. This has been made possible through setting up and reviving local development committees responsible for identifying areas of need and concern and influencing NGOs to react accordingly. Cook (1994) confirms that community development cannot be achieved where public participation is weak and where decision making remains in the hands of a few.

Overall, current NGO efforts exhibit certain weaknesses that militate against successful community development. In summary, research respondents pointed out that ongoing NGO effort largely remained exclusive. They also highlighted that community participation in the choice, design and execution of planned interventions was still curtailed. Respondents also noted that instead of promoting broader community networks essential for community development, some NGOs were, unfortunately, still exhibiting some elements of territoriality. The missing characteristics identified by research respondents in a way negate the successful accomplishment of community development.

5.2.4 Extent to which NGO community development interventions have transformed existing power relations

One of the key changes that come with successful community development has been identified as the change in power relations. More specifically, successful community development should see to it that there is devolution of existing power relations, inequalities are minimised and that ordinary people enjoy rights and responsibilities in the same manner as their powerful counterparts (Fleras, 2008:129). In as far as power relations are concerned; NGOs like governments find it challenging to upset the status quo, yet decision making, empowerment and ownership are at the centre of successful community development. Any intervention not attending to above issues risk failing in any of its attempt at promoting community development.

The majority of men from the focus groups openly protested wider NGO involvement in the devolution of power along gender lines. They pointed out that such changes were not necessary as this upsets established tradition and culture. Men concurred that change should come from within and not from outsiders. Responses from women's focus group were somewhat ambivalent to the issue of power devolution. Some women welcomed the change while others did not. Those who were for changes were driven by the appreciation that development could not succeed if a single group of men continuously monopolised power and resources. Overall, both women and men pointed out that much as NGOs had trained them about gender, related power dynamics and the need for subsequent devolution of power, only modest achievements had been

made. Male respondents admitted that changing power relations was no easy feat. They considered such change as tantamount to the upset of existing cultures. As such more time and energy beyond just gender trainings was required. Indeed, the views of respondents are buttressed by literature from secondary sources. Tichagwa (1998:32), like the research respondents, concede that changing household or community power dynamics as envisaged in transformative approach to community development is no easy feat. Such change calls for time, effort, patience, sacrifice and overhaul of the status quo. NGOs can only initiate and facilitate such a process but cannot enforce such changes.

The picture presented by the majority of respondents reflected limited NGO involvement and in some cases deliberate avoidance by some NGOs to initiate such a process. Reference was made to issues of gender, culture and traditional leadership. A significant number of respondents identified how such issues stifled general development. However, they were quick and precise to openly point out that NGOs were too weak and in some cases had no mandate to deal or intervene in such issues. Some cultural and religious structures and institutions for instance were identified detrimental to community development. NGO respondents confirmed that in some cases their influence was limited to the extent that they ended up perpetuating even the detrimental cultures and practices militating against community development. Partly, the explanation on such behavior lay in the need by some NGOs to be accepted by community gatekeepers such as church, traditional leaders and even political leadership. In particular references were made about general NGO silence to

challenge gender and power dynamics dominating in the Johane Marange apostolic church. The apostolic church is one of the dominant churches in the area and is well known for girl child marriages, child pledging and documented refusal to access modern health services. Apparently, very few NGOs have attempted to venture into the Johane Marange territory. This is despite the fact that more than a quarter of the community under study belongs to this church.

As for local power dynamics, most NGOs working in human rights and politics suffer from the challenge of unconsciously venturing into the wilderness of challenging entrenched gender and political views. In most cases, as NGO respondents admitted, such views have proved more powerful than NGOs capacities. In the end most attempts to deal with critical elements of community development such as public participation and participatory democracy have been challenged by the established powers.

There is strong evidence to the effect that despite heavy NGO presence in Marange area, issues of control and ownership of natural resources have remained as contentious as ever. This has a strong bearing on the successful roll out and accomplishment of community development. The discovery of diamonds in 2006 further exposed NGO weaknesses in promoting some of the hallmarks of community development such as community organising skills, collective working, political awareness and meaningful participation (Skinner, 1997). Currently, communities are even questioning the role of NGOs in promoting community access and exploitation of the newly discovered diamond gems found within their locality.

5.2.5 Capacity of NGO interventions to achieve community self-reliance, independence and autonomy

Self-reliance refers to the capacity of individual, households or communities to be independent, autonomous and produce for selves and set up networks and structures that facilitate such autonomy. For this study self-reliance implied the capacity of individuals and communities to be able to produce for selves. It also implies the development of skills and confidence to engage government and other development agencies to support the different needs of a community. Successful community development should thus result in broader community autonomy in all the different respects of the word.

This question of NGO induced self-reliance was met with mixed reactions. Almost half of the respondents expressed doubt as to the capacity of current NGOs interventions in leading to self reliance. Respondents overwhelmingly argued that NGO efforts were too thin and too wide spread to result in self-reliance. One respondent from the key informants group reiterated "*the too little and too wide*" weakness displayed by NGOs interventions in their daily dealings with the community through a personal testimony. According to her testimony,

> "*One NGO delivered a 50kg of maize seed to be shared among 25 households. The same NGO is said to have driven some 100km from Mutare to deliver 20 packs of different varieties of garden seeds to about 30 households… This was*

a typical drop in the ocean. Very little would be expected at harvest time from such limited support. …"

She was not alone in her dismissal of NGO support. Other respondents concluded that most of the support coming from NGOs was far below the expected levels for sustainable production. Common reference was noted in agriculture input support and the attendant skills required for guaranteeing sustainable production hence self reliance.

Other than the above, respondents also reconfirmed that NGO target beneficiaries were mostly the weak. Respondents viewed the weak as largely incapable of successfully reproducing for guaranteed self reliance. In the end the respondents concluded that much of the support earmarked for the weak was lost by the way side as most of the NGO targets were too small to guarantee sustainable change. Chambers (1992), in his study of livelihoods, made reference to common challenges faced by the poor in as far as asset accumulation and retention is concerned. He noted, with certainty that during lean times the poor or the weak are likely to lose their assets earlier than the haves. In the same vein, most NGO targets are not an exception to this rule. Broader self-reliance will remain a pipe dream as long as NGOs continue to target specific groups, in this case the weak. Emerging from the discussion is the fact that achievement of self-reliance is somewhat guided by a combination of target and the level and type of support offered.

Furthermore, respondents identified garden projects, goat pass on project in which selected beneficiaries would pass on the offspring to the next beneficiary and such as honey production, candle and peanut butter making and a host of micro finance schemes as amenable to failure. Both the focus groups agreed that NGO projects failed because of their limited nature and scope. Other than this, communities also noted that the scale at which NGOs invested in community projects was not commensurate with the harsh economic and social realities of the times. In other words, respondents noted the piecemeal nature of previous and ongoing NGO interventions and how these failed to stand the harsh realities of the early and mid 2000s. Respondents openly cited commercial chicken rearing, bread making, honey production and micro finance projects all initiated in their area as self-reliant projects but failed to last beyond one year after direct NGO support.

It is noteworthy realising that not all of the respondents were critical about NGO support. About 20% of respondents were upbeat about NGO efforts. They attributed current stalling of NGO initiated self help projects to the broader macro level social, political and economic conditions that affected the country. Indeed, micro level projects are rarely immune from macro level failures .Nonetheless, the point still stands that NGOs need to increase their different forms of support if self-reliance is to be achieved.

5.2.6 Are results of NGO community development interventions irreversible for beneficiaries and target communities? (Transformative approach to community development)

Successful community development is reflected in the ability of a community or its beneficiaries to undergo irreversible change. It is also evident in the increased ability of both communities and individuals to widen opportunities for growth and to utilise such opportunities for their overall betterment (Weyer, 1994). From the interviews, both focus group respondents partly conceded that a significant number of communities and their respective members who benefited from NGO material support were much better off now than before. They gave examples of households whose capacity to access food, medical support and attend school and had improved as a result of different NGO interventions. Although the groups agreed that this was to a limited scale, there was general consensus that life had changed for the better. While most respondents agreed that life had somewhat improved all those who had come into contact with direct NGO support, they equally pointed out that such honeymoon was short-lived.

Most respondents noted with dismay that most households and communities rapidly relapsed into their old status quo soon after NGOs pulled out their different forms of support. Children dropped out of school, the sick failed to afford treatment and projects such as micro credit schemes, candle making and honey production initiated by NGOs came to a standstill. Apparently, such revelations by research respondents reflected badly on the capacity of NGO interventions to result in irreversible community change.

One would envisage a situation where there was continuity, growth and wider access to services even after the departure of the initiating NGO. Although other external factors and contexts such as the harsh economic conditions partly explain failed sustainability, and a reversal of previous achievements. Overall, NGO interventions in Marange can still be dismissed as part failures in as far as their attempt to promote community development is concerned. Barring other factors, initial successful NGO interventions in Marange proved reversible in direct contrast to the irreversibility demanded by successful community development initiatives. Indeed according to the majority of research respondents, most of the successes recorded by most NGOs operating in Marange have proved to be short-lived. Nonetheless, respondents pointed out that all was not doom. They pointed to some ongoing individual projects that have weathered the test of time and the harsh economic realities of the mid 2000s. Largely such isolated projects are found in the agriculture and livelihoods interventions of a certain NGO which supported limited number households with indigenous chickens, attendant skills and other essential inputs. Success stories of such nature in a way point to the fact that NGOs can in some way initiate irreversible community development projects.

These and other isolated stories of change and success among beneficiary households and communities shed credence to the fact that NGOs can and possibly will facilitate successful community development if certain underlying factors permit. Of particular note is the ability of NGOs to recognise, understand and manipulate social and economic contexts surrounding various community development interventions. Also implied from study is the need for NGOs to tailor-make interventions that recognise the

different economic and political forces underlying project success and sustainability. NGOs need to realise that community development is not the only answer to every community ill.

Success stories existing in a pool of community development failures thus give hope to the fact that community development is a viable development alternative. Unfortunately, it is not a solution to all community challenges. Equally, community development does not offer a one size fits all solution to all development challenges faced by communities.

5.2.7 De facto permanent community presence of NGOs and the paradox on community development

Successful community development in a very broad sense should result in sustained self reliance (Cook, 1994). In addition, one of the measurable outcomes of successful community development is the capacity of CD initiators to build and produce an autonomous, independent and self reliant community. Implicit in this statement is the fact that all initiators of community development should set deliberate times and targets of when they should ceremoniously abandon a target community. Perpetual presence of community development initiators coupled with the existence of an unclear exit strategy reflects badly on NGOs who claim to initiate community development. The question is why NGOs would establish themselves as permanent features of any community if their interventions successfully lead to self-reliance and attendant autonomy.

Given this background, the researcher asked questions on duration of respective NGO presence, their areas of work and the extent of their coverage. Responses ranged from a high of 28 years to as low as one year. On average, the researcher noted that four of the oldest NGOs that is, FACT, Plan, Red Cross and DOMCAPP had been operational in the same area for more than 20 years. Most of their interventions had remained the same, their targets and focus had largely remained the same too. For instance respondents noted that NGOs focus has for long been on the vulnerable, the orphaned, the sick and the disadvantaged. The study however, noted that the dynamics affecting such NGO targets had changed and shifted overtime. Nonetheless, the researcher considered NGOs with more than a ten year presence in a specific community as permanent.

Despite the evident permanency of the majority of NGOs, more than 70% of the respondents expressed sentiments that NGOs were still a critical component of their daily lives. They made reference to the role of NGOs as providers of the much needed support for OVC, for HIV positive people and for food and agriculture inputs support. Dissenting voices who happened to be the minority pointed to the contrary. Those who advocated for continuous reliance on and permanency of NGOs reflected that they lacked adequate capacity and resources to provide for their short and long term needs. Implicitly, such a majority of respondents inadvertently presented a picture of NGOs as welfare rather than development organisations. Indeed, while community development literature is not prescriptive on the duration to which a development player can operate in an area before being labeled welfare, target recipients are likely to develop such

conclusions for overstaying organisations. Responses of this nature reflect poorly on NGO attempt at building a self reliant and empowered community.

In the same interviews, about a quarter of participants concluded that NGOs were a hindrance to broader community development. Reasons for such a perception emanated from participant conclusion that handouts in general and NGO support in whatever form had the overall effect of undermining individual initiative. Though somewhat anecdotal, such conclusions were supported by what research respondents considered as living examples of induced dependency. This study could not prove the truthfulness of such examples and conclusions. Nonetheless, this was one way in which certain respondents viewed the support coming from NGOs. Secondly, the small group of respondents comprising mainly the leadership further condemned NGOs for carrying out half hearted attempts whose interventions cannot stand the test of time. They called on NGOs to provide support in the form of infrastructure development. Despite the long periods of existence, ongoing and past NGO efforts were considered as lukewarm, inadequate and sometimes slow to respond to immediate needs of communities. In fact one community largely roundly accused NGOs of complacency and of doing too little too late in all their efforts to facilitate community development.

Despite the evident permanency of NGOs, some being as old as 20 years operating in the same area, the majority of beneficiary communities still complained about certain shortfalls in NGO programming. Most beneficiaries looked towards NGOs as sources for their daily needs and not as development players.

A total of 6 NGOs were identified as good as "permanently" operating in the two wards of Nyachityu and Takarwa. Nonetheless, most respondents indicated that despite the permanence and the somewhat perpetual establishment of some NGOs available services were inadequate and in most cases targeted the most vulnerable leaving behind a significant number of equally deserving and needy community members.

Buckland (1998) concedes that relief interventions are not uncommon in general development work. However, problems arise in situations where NGOs become a permanent feature of community life. Sadly, NGO permanency has become a normal feature of Marange community. Respondents confirmed that some NGOs currently working in their area have been around since 1986. NGO respondents defended this permanency by explaining that this does not mean or imply failure or lack of strategy. Instead, this is a response to shifts in community needs and challenges. Plausible as the reasoning from NGO representative sounds, the researcher, basing his understanding on known characteristics of successful community development remained unconvinced as to the reason why NGOs are setting up permanent bases in communities of intervention. Simply, as Batten, Mayo (2008:17) and Craig (2007:3) conclude community development should result in a more skilled, better organized and more confident community that can tackle challenges and exploit opportunities available to them. In the same vein, successful community development should witness ultimate withdrawal of NGOs from as specific community which presumably, would have been

capacitated due to NGO efforts. Unfortunately, NGOs, old and new, seem to have developed some lasting love for Marange community.

5.2.8 Collective working versus NGO targeted programming and implications of Community development

Successful community development entails collective working of target. Specific communities, be they geographic or communities of interest should work together towards common goals. NGOs should work alongside such groups building relationships with key people and organisations. The aim is to facilitate identification of common concerns and help build autonomous groups. As Batten (2008:61-63) notes, the stated common concerns go beyond those of a specific group. They represent those of the collective community. In the end collective working should allow for more skilled and organised planning for a common good.

Following this background, the study noted discrepancies between NGO claims and community development ideals. Responses from the majority of interviewees noted that much of NGO work targeted not collectives but specific groups of people with specific needs. Several examples were cited by respondents in support of this assertion. Specific groups such as the OVC, the weak, the elderly, women and the HIV positive were cited as the major focus of NGO community development work. The majority of respondents (more than 80%) concluded that much of the support was in the form of provision of specific immediate needs such as medication, school fees, food and psycho-social support. In the continued process of interviewing research participants, the researcher concluded that the current NGOs interventions were neither directed

towards achieving collective working for common goals nor building skills and capacities for future autonomy.

Similar responses were noted from key informants. Most of the key informants admitted that most NGO operations responded to immediate needs of certain impoverished groups. Even NGO respondents admitted that more often than not, their work sometimes represented a high degree of welfare support to isolated groups of needy people within a specific community. Throughout the interview, NGO respondents disclosed that more often their genuine attempt to promote skills building through collective working was overshadowed by emergencies. Examples such as drought and recurring diseases outbreaks were given to the effect. Implicit in such admissions is the fact that NGOs were failing to integrate community development needs within the broader context of emergencies constantly recurring in Marange community.

Basing on research responses, the study concluded that in the majority of cases NGOs operating in Marange had specific fixations with particular sectors of the community such as OVC, People Living with HIV (PLWHIV) and a host of other needs. Sector fixation was to the detriment of collective community development issues. Broader collective community needs were roundly identified as infrastructural development. Reference was made for NGOs to establish dams and irrigation facilities. Respondents were convinced that responses of such nature will result in sustainable and reliable agriculture production. In this way, communities will enjoy greater self-reliance. Respondents reiterated that NGO support should work towards the provision of

appropriate and enabling structures and facilities to engage locals in meaningful production. Indeed, Maphunye (2009) confirm that increased local participation which in this case has been taken to imply collective working, is one of the hallmarks of successful community development.

5.2.9 Existing community opportunities and challenges and their implications on broader NGO community development initiatives

This broad categorisation of existing challenges and opportunities was based on the need to understand factors that would possibly promote or militate against NGO attempt at community development. Responses from research participants identified several challenges bedeviling the local community and their bearing on overall success of community development actions. More than 80% of respondents from focus group discussions acknowledged that Marange was a poorly endowed community. They made reference to the fact that the rains were both poor and unreliable. The same sentiments were said about the soils and the corresponding agriculture potential. However, interviewees pointed out that of late, the tables have turned in their citing the 2006 discovery and subsequent exploitation of diamonds. Despite this new "Eldorado", almost all the respondents indicated that they were still grappling to influence and convince policy makers and government to support community goals using proceeds from the local diamond fields.

Implicit in this community revelation is the fact that despite claims to community development, NGOs had not done much in terms of the other aspects of community

development. For instance successful community development could have inculcated such virtues as collective working, negotiation and organising skills and networks. Such community development driven skills and capacities could have been used to the benefit of overall community goals. Batten (2008), Gilchrist (2001), Hickney and Mohun (2004) have identified successful community development as entailing the ability of a community to emerge active, skillful, confident and influential in taking action in support of needs, rights and responsibilities. In line with the preceding, several years of NGO community development work were presumably expected to position target communities for such eventualities. Real successful community development could possibly have promoted empowerment, ownership, public participation and decision making. In turn, this could have resulted in Marange communities jointly positioning themselves to benefit from local diamond resources. One key informant respondent openly bemoaned the lack of community organisation that bedeviled his community;

> *"…..Outsiders were better organized and are benefiting from the diamonds to the detriment of us locals simply because we are not organised and we are not empowered to present our case to national leadership..."*

Failure by local communities to participate in formal diamond mining or trading reflects somewhat badly on current and past NGO community empowerment initiatives.

The issue of policy advocacy was not explicitly identified from the discussion. Nonetheless, the researcher could discern from the discussion that communities

anticipated NGOs to lobby government to commit a certain percentage of diamond proceeds from Chiadzwa diamond fields for local development. Most respondents openly urged NGOs to use their perceived capacities, influences and networks to lobby government and the current investors to include locals not just as workers but as shareholders in local diamond mining. While the Chiadzwa diamond issue is an emerging development issue, it in a way reflects badly on previous NGO efforts in the provision of essential skills for bargaining and influencing local development issues.

5.3 Summary

Chapter five captured, discussed and analysed research respondents' knowledge, perceptions and views about NGO interventions in Marange. The major views raised included the general agreement that NGOs were critical in the daily lives of communities, that NGOs played an important aspect in people's lives and that in general NGOs were a critical component of most households and communities of Marange. Running alongside this general appreciation of NGO presence were pockets of skepticism, anger and scorn. To the extreme were few people who expressed total dissatisfaction of NGO work. However, such harsh sentiments were largely overwhelmed by the general recognition and acceptance that NGOs provided critical support to changing and growing needs. In so far as community development was concerned, the study noted that NGOs exhibited shortfalls such as resources, training, methodology, time and capacity. Equally, the study concluded that NGOs could successfully roll out community development if they take firm control or successfully

influence the external context. Reference is made to such context as culture, economy, politics, and policies and institutions.

CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 Introduction

In line with positions and conclusions taken by community development scholars such as Batten (2008), Buckland (1998), Cary (1996), Monaheng (2000), Maphunye (2009) and MacPherson (1985), the researcher, through this study confirmed that the practice of community development was a challenging, demanding and complex development process. Nonetheless, the study equally noted that community development was and still remains a venerated alternative development model. Respective governments and a host of development agencies across the globe still passionately consider community development as an alternative passionate development option. The basis for such affirmation has been influenced by ubiquitous evidence provided by research respondents and literature on community development practice. Research respondents' narratives, their explanations, their fears, hopes and comments alongside those of NGOs and community leadership went a long way in confirming much of what has been written, observed and said about community development.

Overall, the study concluded that in the majority of cases, NGO interventions addressed relief issues more than community development needs. This is despite documented and verbal claims by most NGOs that they are involved in community development. While NGO intentions to guide communities towards community development are explicitly clear, results on the ground have proven otherwise. A detailed study of the results of many NGO interventions operating in Marange has in a long way proved this broad assertion.

The study noted that the successful outcomes of NGOs community development efforts are hinged upon multiple factors. Key factors among others include prevailing socio-political developments, government policies, funding, and implementer technical knowhow. The study concluded that rarely do NGOs or other non state development actors and initiators possess adequate control over the referenced factors. Consequently, while ongoing NGO efforts at community development are well intentioned, most NGOs lag behind in the control of the basic prerequisites of successful community development. For instance, the sector centered nature of most NGOs operating in Marange makes it impossible to meet the holistic response required for guaranteeing successful community development. The study concluded that most NGOs operating in Marange were bifurcated along key thematic areas such as agriculture, orphans and HIV support. Naturally, such sector driven approach is not amenable to the basic requirements for the achievement of minimum community development gains. Secondly, most NGOs are not adequately networked to influence or shape government policy in favour of an environment that is amenable to community development. Information gathered from respondents reflected that most NGOs operating in Marange rarely carried out joint meetings to shape common focus and goals. This is despite the fact that all of these NGOs claim in a big way that they are working towards the advancement of community development.

One of the key tags distinguishing community development from general relief efforts is the unique capacity of the former to build individual and community members' skills and

confidence so that they can actively influence events that affect their lives. Within the same context community development's uniqueness from relief is in CD's ability to mould people to identify their strengths, needs, rights and responsibilities and act accordingly for their benefit and growth. These two broad distinctions differentiate CD from ordinary relief efforts. A comparison of these distinct CD concepts with NGO interventions in Marange reflects the fact that most NGOs efforts run short of meeting such community development benchmarks. For instance, the distribution of food handouts, education support, and provision of medication and agriculture inputs ordinarily dominating Marange NGOs activities fall short of meeting basic CD ideals. Simply, there is no skill transfer in food handouts neither is there an opportunity for communities to actively influence events and action pertaining to their lives. Interventions of such nature have turned communities into mere recipients of food and services. Active community engagement, one of the key tenets of community development has been relegated to the periphery due to the provider-recipient nature of ongoing NGOs community relationship.

The study also noted that NGO operations in Marange are characterised by small, disjointed and in some cases organisation-focused community development roll out strategies. On the contrary, community development demands collective working. Collectivity should be visible in terms of targets, focus and goals. Such collectiveness should be advanced and maintained within a specific geographic area notwithstanding the difference between or within organisations. An examination of NGOs operating in Marange reflected high degrees of organisational autonomy which unfortunately has

been cascaded to the target communities of the more than five NGOs operating in Marange. Inevitably, the small budgets, narrow geographic and beneficiary focus and limited time allocation of some NGOs interventions will undoubtedly work as hitches in the ongoing quest for community development.

Additionally, the research has noted that the so called community development efforts by NGOs are disjointed in both strategy and content. Individual organisational goals seem to dominate overall stated strategic goals of community development. The study noted a rise in the number of NGOs operating in Marange. It confirmed that most of these organisations laid claims to the promotion of alternative forms of community development. Interviewed NGOs failed to reflect on how their ostensibly similar community development intentions were linked to each other to achieve their commonly desired purpose of community development. Also, observed were discrepancies in NGO approaches to community development. Discrepancies were well defined by sector, target and organisation.

The study also concluded that respective NGO claims to community development dismally failed to meet some of the basic conditions of the concept. NGO interventions were more akin to relief and welfare than they were to community development. Wider evidence for such a conclusion is noted in the nature of respective NGO targets, NGO coverage and NGO emphasis. For instance, the perceived poor, the sick, the vulnerable, the widowed and the orphans dominate most NGO focus. By and large, these groups are perfect candidates for relief support. Equally, these are perfect

candidates for development. Unfortunately, dominant NGO dealings with such groups are limited to provision of immediate needs allowed by life cycles of most NGO funding. In fact very little community development progress can be achieved when intervening in such groups if one does not take further and longer recourse to addressing long term development needs.

Other than the preceding, the study noted that NGOs by nature are structured in ways that make them less amenable to full implementation of an ideal community development package. NGO funding, which in most cases is generally allocated for specific humanitarian response, is not adequately amenable to accomplish broader issues demand for fully fledged community development. For example, it was noted that NGO community development efforts lacked a deliberate focus to work, improve or transform the entire community. Largely, the focus was on the poor and the underprivileged. Basic principles of community development dictate that any successful community development effort should be holistic and encompassing.

The study notes that the practice of successful community development demands that its advocates, proponents and adherents attend to multiple and combined issues some of which are national in outlook and policy related. For example, there is need to influence national policies and plans to recognise CD as an alternative development strategy. Consequently, the success of micro level community development interventions can be severely compromised by, underlying macro level conditions.

Available evidence points to the fact that the success of community development is hinged upon the prevailing local and national conditions. To elaborate, where a community experiences acute or chronic challenges, NGOs are known to shift into the relief or welfare modes. Most relief and welfare efforts have been known for their notorious contradictions to community development ideals. Reference is made to relief efforts' top- down, centralised, blatantly paternalistic, externally driven, and bureaucratic and welfare oriented approaches (Fleras, 2008).

Furthermore, community development demands attention to issues of rights, entitlements, direct support, policy change and status quo shift among other things. Very few NGOs have the financial muscle, the time and even the technical knowhow to work on such a long and demanding list of community development. In the end, NGOs suffering from limited capacity find themselves giving attention to one or some of the few demands of community development. The result is a half baked progress towards community development. Given the period-bound nature of most NGO interventions, more often than not, initial claims to community development successes rarely last. Usually, the success tempo is lost when NGOs change activities or interventions in line with shifting donor expectations and demands. Besides, some NGOs that claim to implement community development suffer from the poor conceptualisation of the process and its anticipated outcomes. Implied in this statement is the fact that some NGOs claiming to implement community development have no concrete knowledge and skills to make this a possibility. It seems that most NGOs employees lack training. A

perusal through some of the in-house trainings provided by NGOs to their employees reflected very little on community development. Only two organisations were exceptions in this regard. Senior level employees had gone through some course entitled "Training for Transformation". This course contained some aspects of community development. In some sense then, it was a combination of lack of interest and training.

This study has further revealed, though implicitly, that the quest for community development cannot succeed without government support and appreciation. Communities are under the control of national governments. Marange community is no exception. Marange has not been spared from challenges to community development that can be traced to the national level. For instance, a study of early literature on community development in Zimbabwe revealed that what was termed community development was mere availing of income generation projects by government. The political side of ownership, control, participatory democracy and overall promotion of public participation were deliberately ignored for political expediency.

One of the other conclusions findings by this study has been the realisation that there is disengagement between national government and NGO approach towards working with communities. The Central government approach was evidently centralised, bureaucratic and top-down. NGOs on the other were laying emphasis on the application of bottom-up, decentralised approaches. Such evident parallels and disengagement between key community development players impacted negatively on NGO capacity to roll out community development.

Nonetheless, the study acknowledges the role played by NGOs in popularising and in some cases rolling out some of the ideals of community development. In particular, the study has come to note that NGOs in Marange have made, though with limited success, some noticeable inroads towards achieving community development. Specific reference is made to genuine NGO attempt at promoting public participation, community decision making and self help through the various interventions. Specific mention is made to ongoing NGO efforts to promote livelihoods. The level of success of such efforts has varied depending on the different underlying factors such as response by local and national leadership, prevailing political and economic situation and more importantly emerging critical community needs such as food shortages, drought, disease outbreaks and a plethora of other emergencies. NGOs had to deal with constantly recurring challenges such as food shortages, disease outbreaks and above all the decline of social political and economic environment to the detriment of community development. Care needs to be taken to dispel possible conclusions that community development cannot take place in emergencies. On the contrary, community development can take place even under emergencies albeit with compromised progress. Indeed as Buckland (1998) confirms, all development efforts carry with them some elements of relief.

With due consideration of several intervening factors, both promotional and destructive, the study came to the conclusion that NGOs activities in Marange scantly succeeded in promoting community development. Much as a significant number of NGOs claimed and

implied that they were promoting community development, results on the ground prove otherwise. NGOs cannot go it alone. There is need for concerted integration, harmonisation and sharing of similar efforts with the government. This will countervail some underlying external contentious forces that militate against some characteristics of community development such as participatory democracy and the promotion of public participation. It is well documented that governments, corporate players, donors and even some recipient NGOs are notorious for use of top-down approaches to development. Combined NGO-Government partnership may work towards established status quo that militates against community development.

Literature on the subject of community development had intimated that community development is challenging, painful and long a process. Results from Marange NGO and community development study widely confirmed this. Indeed very few NGOs have fully rolled community development to the satisfaction of stated ideals. More fairly, none has ever. Similar stories are constantly being repeated by NGOs operating across Zimbabwe. Apparently, most NGOs that used refer to their various interventions as community development work have somewhat rebranded. New focus has now been put on organisational role. For instance most NGOs have taken-off the waves of sustainable development, rights-based development and livelihoods just to name a few. Most of these changes are related to the demands, political, economic and social, that were associated with community development. Examples include the uncertainty of results, the delay in maturity of results, the huge costs linked to community development skilling and the loss of time associated with community development programming. In the end

most NGOs claiming to promote community development display certain ambivalence to the use of the term and the implementation of the ideals.

6.2 Recommendations

A couple of recommendations accompany this study. The recommendations are meant to respond to gaps identified during the study and to promote continued and informed application of community development approaches in development programming. Accompanying recommendations serve as reflections to the researcher's appreciation of some of the challenges encountered in attempts to roll out community development ideals. The recommendations are meant for NGOs, government and any other agencies that may be interested in pursuing community development as a development alternative.

6.2.1 Recommendation 1: Extensive sensitisation, training and capacity building of development practitioners and agencies in the community development concept.

Where possible, every worker of every development agency, be it government, church, NGO or private sector, should be capacity built to understand, appreciate and reflect a common understanding of CD. This could be possible through the setting up of a specialised department that will lead the process of community development. Currently, it seems some NGO attempts to promote CD are strongly affected and compromised by divergent and sometimes competing actions and values of other development agencies operating in the same area. Extensive sensitisation and capacity development will

possibly ensure that the various development agencies build a common and collective appreciation of development in general and community development in particular.

6.2.2 Recommendation 2: The need for interdisciplinary approach to by NGO development agencies

Successful community development calls for development agencies to work across and beyond single disciplines such as education and health agriculture just to mention a few. Current focuses of NGOs are sector and discipline specific. Naturally, such approaches are generally devoid of collectiveness, participation and inclusiveness, which are the hallmarks of successful community development.

6.2.3 Recommendation 3: Strengthening lobbying and advocacy for development agencies

The study has intimated, though not explicitly, that community development is more about power devolution, participation, control and management of community resources and capacities. To some extent, community development is about justice, fairness and equality (Batten, 2008).   Much of these can be achieved through lobbying and advocacy, hence the need to strengthen similar skills across all levels of community.

6.2.4 Recommendation 4: Integrate and infuse community development efforts within ongoing and future relief interventions

NGOs and other development agencies should take advantage of relief interventions to infuse and train communities on community development. Principally it is possible to

introduce community development ideals such as networking, negotiation, planning, and organising and overall confidence building skills within relief interventions.

6.2.5 Recommendation 5: Harmonise NGO interventions and strategies

NGOs operating in the same community need to share and harmonise their related community development interventions strategies. The study recommends some degree of harmonisation and common understanding of the key principles of community development between the various NGOs. The harmonisation call is premised on the fact that the referenced NGOs are intervening in the same community. Consequently, they should at least pursue common development practices to minimise possibilities of confusing and dividing the community. There is equal need to harmonise the parallel approaches to community engagement. Failure to act towards harmonisation will guarantee everlasting nightmares for any agency interested in the institutionalisation of bottom-up approaches to development practice of which community development is one. Batten (2008) in his article, "The major issues and future direction of Community Development" equally confirms this recommendation. He notes with certainty that community development will rarely succeed if what people want does not fit with the requirements of national and regional development programmes. Indeed such forms of disengagement and difference between national and NGO community development focus seem to have dominated the greater part of the latter's operations. Consequently, community development has not lived up to its intended promise.

6.2.6 Recommendation 6: Government and NGOs should share common community development goals

There is need to forge clear working partnerships between NGOs and the government. Evidence from the study points to the direction that NGOs interested in pursuing community development in its fullest can only do so with full government policy support. Failure to do so will result in Government-NGO collision. The collision results from the fact that governments commonly follow the top-down approaches while NGOs pursuing community development usually follow bottom-up approaches yet they both target the same community.

6.3 Conclusion

This study has highlighted the success and challenges faced by NGOs and communities in the process of rolling out programs aimed at facilitating community development. Key to the challenges has been NGO incapacity to roll out what most of the NGOs claim to be promoting. The issue of common conceptualisation of the term and the process of community development was also noted as one of the greatest challenges facing those who would have loved to witness the implementation of successful community development practice. NGOs were found to be ill positioned to promote and provide structural responses required for successful community development. Issues of limited time span and coverage of NGO projects were also identified as some of the key forces militating against institutionalisation of community development. Most NGO projects aimed at facilitating community development were found to be to short in terms of life span, too exclusive and too narrow to touch on the

key issues critical for achievement of community development. Issues of competition among NGOs and varied conceptualisation of the term and process of community development were also noted as some of the factors that were militating against successful achievement of community development plans by NGOs. It was noted from the study that NGOs need to work with the government while at the same time promoting systematic cooperation among all NGOs for community development to take root. In a nutshell, community development demands systematic levels of holistic and inclusive approaches which a coupled with structural changes in the broader social system.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Respondents Table and Chart

Addendum 1: Distribution of Respondents

Respondents	Total	%
NGO Respondents	2	4
District Level Respondents District Administrator & Head -Community Services Department	2	4
Direct project beneficiaries (one on one Interviews)	10	19
Focus group Discussions (Male and female)	36	69
Community leadership (village Head & Ward Councilor)	2	4
Total Respondents	**52**	100

Addendum 2: Chart of Respondents
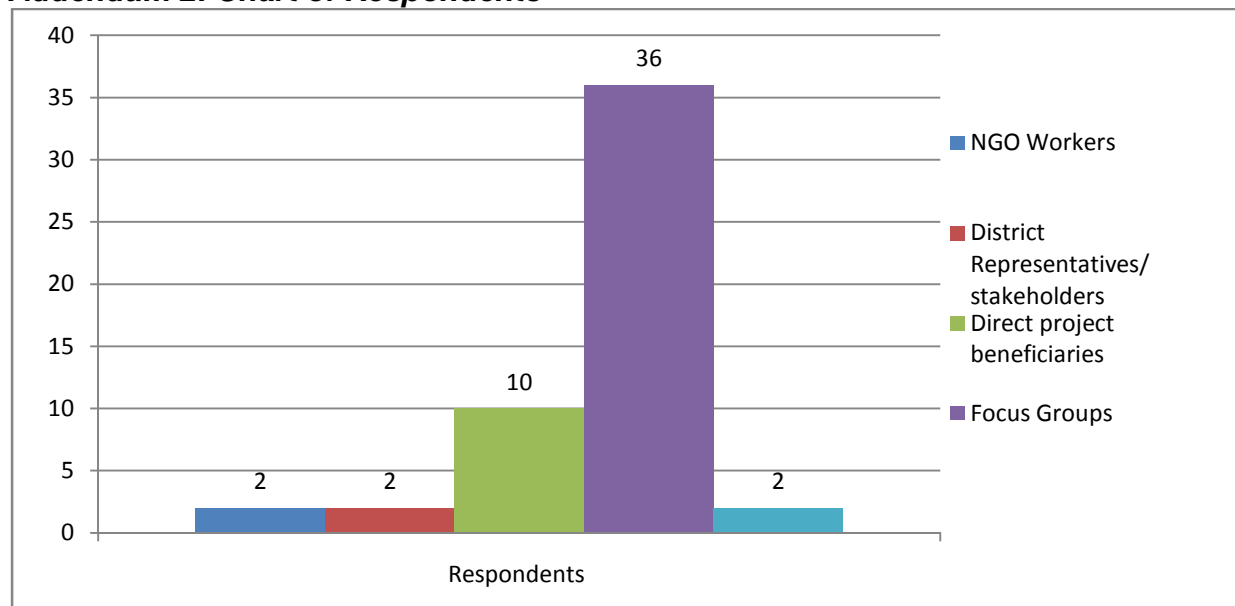
Appendix B: Research Introduction, Approval and Consent Letters
Addendum 1: Research Introduction letter for Pemberai Zambezi

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Dear Sir/ Madam

My name is Pemberai Zambezi from the University of Fort Hare's Department of Development Studies pursuing a Master of Social Science In Development Studies.

I am conducting an investigation into the role played by NGOs in community development and the outcomes of such initiatives and intentions in as far as sustaining community development are concerned.

The **objective**s of the study are:

1. Analyse the outcome of NGO development interventions in facilitating community development.

2. Develop an appreciation of the role played by development aid interventions channeled through various NGOs in facilitating community development in Marange Communal areas of Zimbabwe.

3. Delineate growing NGO interventions are largely welfare dominant or self reliant focused.

4. Investigate whether the so called NGO development interventions have largely achieved the intended community developmental outcomes.

5. Understand why a significant proportion of rural communities have increasingly and perpetually relied on NGO support contrary to NGO focus on facilitating self reliance through the use of various forms of community development approaches

In line with general ethics guiding any research and specific guidelines and undertakings set by Fort Hare University with regards to this and other research studies I hereby guarantee that your responses will be utilised exclusively for academic purposes and that the responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality.
Your invaluable responses to this endeavor will undoubtedly contribute towards the success of this study.

Thank you.

Addendum 2: Respondent Consent Letter

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Topic: Relief or development? An analysis of the outcome of NGO community development interventions in Marange Communal area of Zimbabwe

- **Researcher:** Pemberai Zambezi , *zambezipem@yahoo.co.uk, phone: 0772317549*
- **Research Assistants:** Janet Chiruka and Maxwell Mabutu
- **Supervisor:** Mrs. P.B. Monyai, *pmonyai@ufh.ac.za, phone* 00274060022100

I or (We) the undersigned do hereby confirm that:

1) I or we have read the attached participation information sheet and fully understand the nature and purpose of the study and hence agree to take part in the study.
2) I understand that there will be no financial or material benefits to be gained from taking part in this study.
3) I understand that while information from this research may be published, I will not be identified, unless I consent to true identification; besides that my identity should remain confidential.
4) I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.
5) I understand that notes will be taken from my responses and will also make part of the research report.
6) I understand that I have the right to access the feedback of the findings of the study.

Name   **Signature**   **Area /Ward**

Addendum 3: District Administrator Clearance Letter

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Private Bag X1314, Alice, 5700
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Email pmonyai@ufh.ac.za

22 September 2010

The community leader/Project manager
Mutare District
Zimbabwe

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO DO RESEARCH

This is to certify that Mr Pemberai Zambezi is a registered student in the Department of Development Studies doing his Masters degree studies. He is doing field work as part of the requirements of the qualification and his area of interest is on issues of the work of NGOs and community development. His research work is under the title "Relief or development?: An analysis of the outcomes of NGOs interventions in community development in the Marange communal area of Zimbabwe".

As part of the method for data collection Mr Zambezi needs to have discussions with relevant people in the district office, the ward leaders and members of the community of Marange that can assist with information regarding the issues of his research. He also would need access to your libraries and archives for documentation pertaining to the history and activities around the efforts of NGOs in community development in the area. The research is purely for academic purposes and when the study has been completed a copy of the thesis can be made available to your office/organisation on request. Should you need any further clarification please do not hesitate to contact me on the details given above.

We are looking forward to your kind assistance.

RESPECTFULY

PB MONYAI (HOD)
& SUPERVISOR

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR
MIN. OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AND NATIONAL HOUSING

14 OCT 2010

P.O. BOX 940, MUTARE
ZIMBABWE

To whom it may concern

The bearer Mr. Pemberai Zambezi is carrying out a research as part of his Masters degree requirement. Could you please assist him in any way possible.

S. Si Gauke
for: DA - Mutare

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Addendum 4: Police Clearance

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

127, 1st Street
Mutare

5th October, 2010

The Member in Charge
Mutare Rural District
Mutare

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: Application for clearance to hold community focus group discussions for an academic study

As provided by the laws of the Government of Zimbabwe, under the Public Order and Security Act, I hereby present my application to hold academic focus group discussions with some community members of Takarwa, Mudzimundiringe and Nyachityu wards in Marange communal area.

It is proposed that the meeting places will be Chikwariro, Zedza and Chipfastura primary schools. The groups will consist of a maximum of 15 people. The proposed discussions are tentatively set for the week-ending 16th & 17th of October 2010.

The discussions will revolve around the role played by NGOs in community development and the outcomes of NGO initiatives in as faras NGO community development intentions are concerned.

This is purely academic discussion whose outcomes are intended for use in the drawing conclusions and recommendations for my Masters' degree thesis (Master of Social Science in Development Studies). Successful research should culminate in the award of a post graduate qualification by the University of Fort Hare in South Africa.
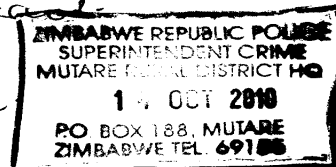
Thank you.

Regards,

Zambezi Pemberai
I.D Number: 08 666431 H83

Approved provided applicant remains confined to the defined areas and for the stated peroid.

ZIMBABWE REPUBLIC POLICE
SUPERINTENDENT CRIME
MUTARE RURAL DISTRICT HQ
1 OCT 2010
P.O. BOX 188, MUTARE
ZIMBABWE TEL. 69186

Appendix C: Research Tools
Addendum 1: Focus Group Discussion questions

A) NGO Activities
  1. What are the major activities / interventions carried out by NGOs in Marange Community
B) Targeting and implications on genuine community development
  2. Who/ what has been the prime target of NGO interventions in the area?
  3. Are NGO interventions inclusive or exclusive?
C) Rating Transformation Outcomes
  4. To what extent have NGOs interventions successfully devolved power to the traditionally subjugated groups of women under children in the respective communities they work
  5. What specific interventions have made this possible
  6. Do you think the approaches being used by NGOs will lead to self reliance , self sufficiency , community initiative (community development) probe for all the dominant characteristics of successful community development
  7. Do you consider yourself better off now than before the advent of various respective NGO interventions
  8. If yes, in what ways have your lives and that of the greater community been changed   or affected by ongoing NGO development interventions?
  9. Which aspects of your lives have been transformed /changed most
  10. Do you think these transformations/changes will last
  11. Are NGOs an indispensable component of your daily lives? explain?
  12. What are your major needs as communities
D) Role of the broader community in NGO programming
  13. Other than the NGO targets , what role does the larger community play in NGO interventions
  14. Are NGOs adequately responding to broader community needs?
E) Diagnosis of Marange problem by Community (NGO problem or community problem?)
  15. What could possibly   explain the challenges and opportunities you are facing as a community (probe role of resources, policies, individuals etc)

Addendum 2: Individual /Key informant Interview Questions

Demography
1. **Age**

   Age 1-15   16-20   21- 25   25-30   31-45   46-50   51+
2. Gender   M   F
3. Ministry / Department / Organisation/ other
4. Position
5. Period working/residing in Mutare Rural district

   >1 yr   1-3 yrs   4- 5 yrs   6+ yrs

NGO History
6. How many NGOs operate in Marange   (approximately)

7. List them
8. Identify three longest serving NGOs that have supported the target community?
9. What are the two dominant interventions /activities for the identified NGOs   in this area
10. What is the dominant criteria used for the selection of communities for intervention by NGOs
11. What are the dominant factors   used for selection of   targets/ beneficiaries by NGOs in this area
12. Who are the major /predominant targets or focus of NGO interventions in terms of socio economic standing?
13. What is the predominant coverage of NGO interventions (specific or special groups, or the broader/ general community)
14. Are NGO interventions in Marange predominantly relief or developmental
15. What have been the negatives exhibited by NGOs in as far as development of Marange is concerned
16. To what extent have NGO interventions reduced levels of dependency on the agency?

Community Development
17. What do you consider as the three major development challenges facing Marange community (explain)
18. Do you think NGOs can offer appropriate responses to challenges faced by their targets
19. What are the two major opportunities open to people of Marange
20. Is the greater Marange community exploiting benefits from such opportunities? (explain)

    Why /how

21. To what extent have NGOs activities / interventions directly engaged communities to exploit and benefit from opportunities identified above?

Outcomes of NGO development interventions
   22. Have NGO interventions significantly changed/transformed communities over the past five years(explain)

   23. List NGO interventions/activities that you consider successful

   24. In what ways have NGO interventions changed the lives of target groups
   25. Are the changes permanent /lasting (explain)
   26. Comment on NGO capacity to promote community development

   27. To what extent have NGO interventions promoted self help(self reliance) for the larger community

Appendix D: Frameworks

Addendum 1: Seidel's model of data analysis process (1998)

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        │    Notice things    │
        │                     │
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         ↙                   ↘

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│ Reflect (think   │ ←──→ │  Collect things  │
│ about things)    │      │                  │
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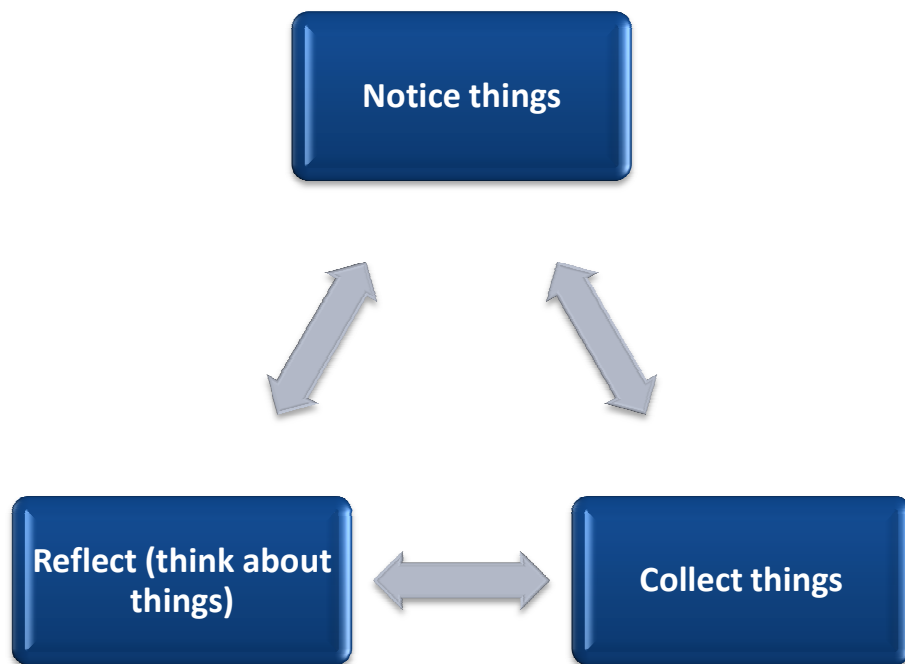
Addendum 2: S. Kumar's Seven Typologies of Participation

| **Increase in outsider or agency control** | | | | **Increase in local people's control** | | |

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Passive participation	Participation in information gathering	Participation by consultation	Participation for material incentives	Functional Participation	Interactive participation	Self mobilisation
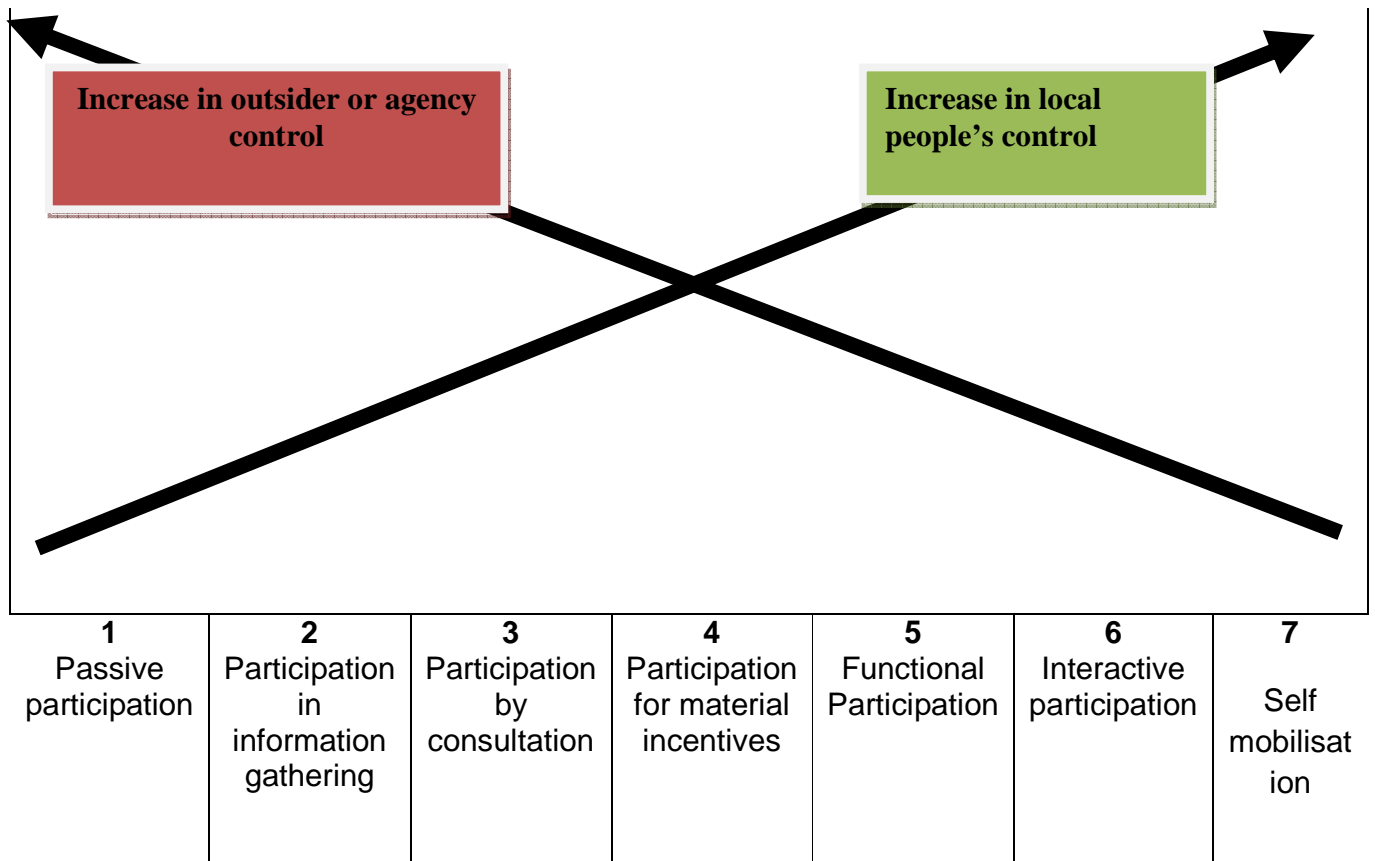
Appendix E: Extract of NGO Missions, Visions, Goals and Identity Statements

Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT)
Vision FACT's vision is to be a renowned quality organisation facilitating sustainable programmes on mitigation and elimination of the impact of HIV and AIDS, FACT works on strengthening the capacity of communities through sustainable development initiatives.   FACT aims to develop strategic partnerships with locals and international community oriented organisations and provide facilitation, consultancy and advocacy services.   *Source: Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT) website (www.fact.org.zw)*
PLAN Zimbabwe
Our identity: Plan is an international humanitarian child centered community development organisation, without religious, political or government affiliation. Child sponsorship is a basic foundation of the organisation.   *Source: Plan website www.plan-zimbabwe.org 2010.*
Vision: Plan's vision is a world in which all children realise their full potential in societies that respect people's rights and dignity
Southern African AIDS Trust (SAT)
Goal: overall goal is to build competence of communities to develop and manage effective appropriate and sustainable responses to HIV and AIDS   *SAT Brochure, 2010*

Appendix F: Map of Zimbabwe with Provincial Boundaries

Addendum 1: Zimbabwe's Provincial Boundaries

Manicaland Province

Addendum 2: Manicaland Province's respective administrative districts

- **Makoni District**
- **Buhera District**

Nyanga district.
Mutasa District.

- **Mutare District (Marange Area)**
- **Chimanimani**

Chipinge