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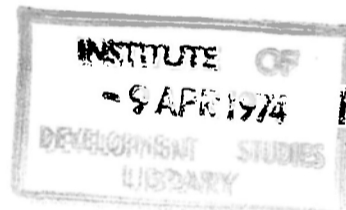
b) Rural Development Research Project.

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PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATING RURAL DEVELOPMENT AT  
THE FIELD LEVEL: A CASE STUDY IN UGANDA.



Note: This paper was prepared for the International Conference on "The Integrated Approach to Rural Development" held in Moshi, Tanzania last October (1969) organised by ECA. At the last moment I was unable to attend the Conference and the paper was simply circulated amongst the delegates and participants. This year, in August, the paper was used to introduce discussion and debate at the opening session of the first of a series of Seminars being organised by the I.P.A., on the problem of "Integrated Rural Development". Those present were field officers from different ministries. The basis of the discussion centered round the case studies to be found at the end of the paper. It is now being presented in its original form to you with no alterations or revisions. Comments made by the Leader of the Seminar will be commented upon at the presentation on November 3rd, 1970.

DEFINITIONS:

Anxious not to get too deeply involved in the minutiae of definitions - there are likely to be as many definitions of 'integration' and 'rural development' as there are papers at this Conference - I have chosen those most functional to my area of concern, viz: the problem at grass-root levels. Accordingly:

Integration is taken to refer to the effective coordination (whether by one individual and/or a machinery of coordinating committees) of all those agencies contributing to rural development (such as Agriculture, Community (rural) Development, Health, Administration, Public Works, etc.) and the people themselves.

Rural Development is taken to mean the overall directed growth of rural communities aiming at development in all sectors without predominance in any one sector, e.g. agriculture, and involving as our starting point the effective use of the human resources.

ORIGINS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT UNDER DISCUSSION:

The Department, of which I am head, was anxious to develop a good training project in rural development in which University students would be exposed to the realities of a rural situation typical of many in East Africa i.e. lacking structure, expert manpower, institutions geared to development, little development work (if any) and no effective machinery of coordination from grass-root level up. A sub-county (Gombolola) of approximately 15sq.m., some 10-16 miles outside Kampala was selected.

Our objective were to two kinds:

- a) those relevant to training professional social workers in the field of rural development (variously called community or rural development workers, animateurs rurales);
- b) those relevant to CD/RD itself i.e. (taking the now universally accepted UN definition) Placing emphasis on the use of people's initiative in partnership with governmental resources (human and material).

I do not intend to list these in detail - for those interested, these objectives are outlined in detail in the attached Appendix A. Suffice it here to say that we are involved in giving our students a methodology (related to a theory) pertinent to the development process itself.

PROJECT PHASES:

The project started in July 1966 and was a joint undertaking of my Department and the CD Division of the Uganda Ministry of Culture and Community Development. One of the most interesting features of the phases I am about to outline is the fact that

these emanate from the development process itself, i.e. they were not planned ahead but each year's evaluation in retrospect, gave rise to issues which determined the following year's basic concern. Perhaps even more revealing is that these self-emanating phases in fact reflect the normally accepted (bar one - which I shall have reason to emphasize later) phases of development viz: initial assessment (research, data collection etc.), giving rise to needs, discussion of these with the people and selecting of priorities, planning of action oriented programmes (projects), planned and evaluation leading to consolidation (that aspect of development most sadly neglected, if ever considered in either literature or reality).

Phase Ia (July - October, 1966): Initial survey and analysis of results i.e. needs which emerged. 25 per cent of the estimated 5,000 Population (1957 census) seen. Summaries of findings revealed the following:

- a) average size of household 6,
- b) 50 per cent of population of school going age.
- c) Slight preponderance of females.
- d) 40 per cent of working age male population employed in either local enterprises (trading, agriculture) or in Kampala. Of latter preponderance young men (Dormitory area?).
- e) About 10 per cent of the household members lived away of which half were children at boarding school.
- f) Only 15 per cent of the population was illiterate (low, taking general E.A standards) and of these the majority were women. 50 per cent of households had radios.

Needs drawn from field observations and discussions with villagers as seen by the students:

- a) Improved agricultural production - little extension work and of poor quality (one A/A covering 2 sub-counties).
- b) Health - environmental hygiene and nutrition.
- c) Coordination of the many clubs/groups in area (Parents Association, School and Church groups and committees, Women's CD and YWCA clubs, Mothers' Unions, Youth Group and few - very ineffective - coops).

Phase Ib (October - November 1966): report back to community leaders, discussion of needs and decision regarding action to be taken.

Needs as seen by the leaders:

1. A local dispensary (nearest one some 9 - 14 m. away at District Hqs.)
2. More schools, especially secondary level.

The difference between those seen by the students and the leaders at sub-county level are evident but there was a meeting point under 'Health', though objectives were different. Persuasion, discussion of survey findings were necessary to make for a realistic

programme. The figures on schooling persuaded the leaders that this was NOT a priority. (It so happens that this area is the best serviced in Uganda - it has two of the top secondary schools, one for boys and the other for girls, and some 14 primary schools). We took up their request for a Dispensary and discussed it with the Health Ministry who made it quite clear that the Five Year Development Plan had made NO allocation for any such development, not even servicing a clinic in the locality. This was brought back to meetings of leaders and the people at muluka (sub-county) level and discussion centered on "what is health?, are there means other than a dispensary of achieving health? is there not such a thing as prevention of ill-health how can this be achieved?" (We were moving them into discussing priority b. above). Enthusiasm for agricultural involvements were at a minimum and a salient reason is the fact that this population is Kampala urban oriented, a dormitory area which sees its earning power in the city only some 10-15 m. away. Out of all this 'dialogue' the following priorities were decided upon:

- 1) One protected spring by March 1967 in each muluka of which there are 5.
- 2) Vegetable gardens with women's clubs.

Phase IIa (November 1966 - June 1967);

Initiating the spring protection campaign at muluka level. To start this campaign off the Health Department was approached and a spring protection project was started in one Muluka - the first to get the local villagers in one village organised for clearing the site after the go ahead had been obtained from the Health Inspector - at which representatives from villagers in the other muluka were invited and 'taught' on the job. By June 1967 12 spring projects had been completed in the 5 muluka, a number of which had actually been technically done by a local 'fundi' trained on the original project. Eight other were under construction. Of all such projects, spring protection is the easiest to organise, manpower ways, and the quickest in reward (clean water coming out the pipe!).

Phase IIb (July, 1967 - June 1968) Spread:

The spring protection campaign continued and pressures by the villagers on these projects grew out of all proportion to the ability of both students and Health personnel (extremely active and cooperative) to help. But 12 more springs were completed this year. In addition new groups with new needs were being formed all over the muluka and projects covering the following were initiated and started:

- home improvement (7)
  - vegetable gardens (8 communal)
  - road construction - bulungi bwansi (7)
  - levelling of school football ground(1)
  - reactivating of women's clubs (12)
  - literacy groups (2)
- Making a total of 68 projects in all.

Coordinating was needed and students embarked on establishing Project committees leading to Village Development Committees of which 2 had been established by the end of the year. The process

of 'spread' in community development was self-evident but where were we heading? Stock-taking was necessary: was this true development, i.e. were the people developing responsibility and effective self-reliance? How much did they still depend on Government and others to help? Indications were that springs protected a year earlier were in states of disrepair, vegetable gardens struggling for lack of expertise follow-through.

Phase IIIa (July 1968 - June 1969) Consolidation:

Assessing the past two years in terms of sheer project growth, the Project had been an undoubted success and doubtless statistics (which we did not undertake to compile) would have revealed considerable 'labour savings' to government in sheer money from! But we were not satisfied with this glib analysis and sought answer to the above questions. One factor clearly emerged, maintenance of projects once these were completed as e.g. in the spring protection field, or consistent ongoing of projects started in projects which are either long-term (road construction) or continuous and never ending (e.g. home improvement and vegetable gardening) were not evident. This seemed to us the crux of the matter - were the people developing responsibility for what we had helped them achieve? The answer was clearly no and we were posed with the most fundamental problem of development, how to break this barrier. We embarked on what we called the 'Consolidation phase' briefly put to mean on new projects until we had ensured completed and ongoing projects were satisfactorily under control. Our motto became "people as Vs project orientation". This involved the hardest aspect of our Project to date: developing in the villagers themselves a sense of responsibility capable of letting them run their own affairs. To do this students concentrated for the entire year on building up effective project groups and VDC's which meant imparting skills of organising themselves, essentially using group work techniques. These included setting up committees not only with executive officers (trained for the job required) but allocating specific tasks to each member of the group. Relating these to Village groups and getting these to coordinate the activities in their village. Despite this thrust and emphasis we were unable to completely withstand the pressures for further growth (IF measured purely in terms of NEW projects) and by the end of the year we had 85 projects.

PROBLEMS:

Forgive me for this long detailed and descriptive account, but it is most germane to the gist of the arguments which we shall now turn to. At grass root levels it is not the generalised principles of planning theories which are pertinent, but the detailed minutiae of how human beings work together whether they be the development agents themselves or the villagers. What then were our most basic problems? I shall list these as briefly as possible.

1. Relating coordination principles to the realities of the local situation. Coordination is totally unrealistic and a mere slogan as long as there is no felt need for it amongst the development agents at field level, and this may be related to the level of the worker i.e. field, sub-county, county or

division (or any other system of hierarchical structuring). In this regard e.g. the low-level Health Assistant proved one of the most cooperative of all field agents, higher up the echelon there was a breach once again healed right at the top! In Agriculture the low-level Agricultural Assistant was more of a ghost than a body present in the situation and though at higher levels verbal commitments to cooperation and the need for it were made, these never materialised. This problem is compounded by two other major inter-dependent factors which may be categorised as follows:

- i) loyalty of agents to their departments (and consequently field of discipline) against overall loyalty to the development process itself and its overall (non-sectoral) objectives;
- ii) the bureaucratic handling of field officers which, at grass root level is total inadequate and ineffective. Writing 'official' letters to underlings might work from higher echelons to middle-level echelons in the administrative structure, but it does not achieve the required results at the field level where person-to-person contact is still (within the cultural context in which we all work and given the low educational level of most field level workers) the most worthwhile and effective.

(For details of case studies see Appendix B.)

In effect there is wide divergency between the avowed principles of coordination, cooperation and team spirit harked upon by all public figures from politicians down to area political heads and its actual implementation at field level.

2. The lower level administrative (as against functional agency) staff/leaders (in Uganda Saza, Gombolola, Muluka chiefs and batongole) are not development oriented and are over concerned with the minutiae of administrative tasks, on the whole punitive, such as tax collection, the very nature of which detract from the positive dimension essential to development. This authoritarian aspect of their work tends to be carried over to other work they may be called upon to perform in the course of their duty, generally appearing under the rubric of 'nation building'. We have noted e.g. that in many projects in which they have become involved force, compulsion with threats of 'action to be taken' such as the imposition of fines, are not infrequently used on 'uncooperative' villagers. They do not understand that involvement in development projects is process oriented (task leading to other tasks) and not task oriented i.e. that task is a means to development and not an end in itself. This partly stems from the colonial period which did not encourage 'chiefs' to do more than administer and it is a situation that has not been righted under present training programmes generally. In this connection it should be noted that in Tanzania a considerable amount of time and energy has been devoted to orientating such people in development goals through training courses.

Another aspect related to this is the fact that the development process itself throws up new leadership e.g. project leaders, VDC chairmen who are looked upon by these established figures of authority as direct rivals, challenging their position.

Lacking development orientation they are unable to appreciate the fact that these new leaders far from challenging their position enhances it within the total context of their community and that the new leaders' roles are in fact complementary to their own. Incidentally a fact which many better educated agents are themselves unable to appreciate.

Lastly these 'menials' of administration, more especially those at the lowest level are under constant pressures from a hundred and other authority figures to "do", to "perform", not least of which are the pressures of politics and more particularly politicians.

3. There was (certainly in this area, and I would judge in many rural areas in East Africa) no grass-root 'theory of operation' i.e. organisationally defining roles for those involved in or on any given project so the too frequently heard complaint by e.g. Agricultural workers that the CD workers are encroaching upon their preserve of doing what they consider to be their job, is a burning reality.

4. The deterioration of projects: reference has already been made to this problem under Phase IIIa of the Project.

#### ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS:

We have attempted to find solutions in four major ways:

- a) improving the communication system;
- b) setting up development groups (committees) from the project level UP and not sub-county DOWN;
- c) develop an operation theory to guide us on every single type of project undertaken, and
- d) consolidation.

a) Improving communications: this involves relating all the different rural development components involving individuals and groups at all levels and between levels in meetings, courses and training programmes NOT on a regularised basis but as and when the need for it presents itself. Meetings are called (sometimes with success at other times not), minutes taken and circulated as widely as possible, and action is taken to ensure that decisions flowing from such meetings are implemented. An added, not calculated consequence has been the contribution of these meetings to the ongoing evaluation of the Project. The very process of trying to pin-point and define problems clarifies the issues and makes for a stocktaking. We have had meetings with project groups, project leaders at village level (often resulting in the formal institutionalising of a VDC), leaders and departmental agents and finally meetings with executive officers at the District level. Leadership courses have been organised in which the aim is to impart given skills to local village leaders and not generalised courses on nation building and/or civics. These are essentially action oriented and intended to impart to the local leader skills related to organisation of the village into effective working groups and skills related to specific type projects e.g. home improvement (e.g. how to raise a stove).

Finally running courses for 'chiefs' whose prime objective is to make them aware of what development is all about and what their role in this can be e.g. not necessarily as leaders but, more importantly, as ordinary citizens, members of the community.

The overall aim of this 'communication' exercise is to define roles emphasising the complementary nature of these rather than their differences and divisions (see Appendix C).

b) Setting up a hierarchical structure of development (action oriented) committees: reference has been made to these in passing. We are still at the beginning of this process for we try to avoid moving too quickly to an ever widening of the area of coordination covered by these committees. First we want to ensure that a group is an effective, working and action oriented group, before proceeding to the next stage. This is not achieved overnight, nor in months but in years.

c) Operational theory: in brief the guidelines are that in order to be effective, the roles of the parts involved in any projects (whether individuals or groups) must be clearly defined in advance of action. For every type of project we have worked out a sequence of steps not based solely on the logistics of the operation itself but including a reward principle wherever possible i.e. holding out a carrot to snare certain steps are taken before the next is undertaken (for a listing of these sequences see Appendix D). A good example is spring protection where it is normally the practice to leave the digging of the catchment drain until after the water has been tapped and is flowing through the pipe. We discovered that under such sequencing, the catchment drain was never built! The people once seeing the water flow cleanly out of the pipe, assume the project finished. We introduced the building of the catchment drain at an early stage in the sequence phasing, but are still having difficulty in having the top of the protected area fenced and grassed. For these, rewards come in the form of intra or inter-muluka competitions and the issuing of awards, but unfortunately these cannot be built into the logistics of the operation itself.

d) Consolidation: this has been sufficiently referred to under the discussion of Phase IIIa of the Project. Suffice it to state that in the implementation of this policy 'spread' is controlled i.e. whilst villages may be requesting more and more new projects these are held back until such time as the workers are satisfied that previous projects are in a good state of maintenance. In our Project those project level groups that worked on the initiating and completion of a project are turned into Maintenance groups with very specific (individualised) responsibilities. Take spring protection: one of the members of the groups is made responsible for keeping the catchment drain clear, another for ensuring safety to steps, another for the grassing etc....

Though we have not done this, we hope in the near future to have a debit and credit side of self-help project reporting: i.e. not only labour will be assessed financially and put on the positive side of the budget but against it will be debited projects 'out of use' in 'state of disrepair' reflecting a much truer assessment of development growth than are the monthly reports sent in by C.D.A.'s to their senior officers all over E.A. today.



CONCLUSION:

We do not claim to have the answers to integration at the grass roots but it is my hope that this contribution will have given some indicators to realistic approaches to our mutual problems whether we be engaged in mobilising our human resources at grass root level or from behind the desk of a planning ministry. I am confident that many of these problems do not stem solely from the uniqueness of peculiarities of the grass-root situation but are a reflection of a greater malaise running throughout development agencies from top planning ministries, through government functional agencies to field level. We have not solved the problem of cooperation, coordination and integration.

To conclude I shall simply like to list the needs these grass-root problems highlight and to suggest what might be done to meet these needs.

1. There is an obvious need for all those working in rural development, whatever their role and function in any given agency, to recognise the relevance of the contribution of others to the rural development process. There is single answer to it and all the answers are complementary to each other. This suggests a need to revamp all training programmes for all officers from the top level down, to include this vital reorientation of attitudes.

2. There is a need to look more closely at the communication between different levels of any given agency and between agencies. This suggests a stocktaking of our bureaucratic machinery which stems from a colonial type administration ill suited to achieving development goals and relating it more pertinently to the realities of rural development.

3. Finally, there is a need to give more thought to the time factor involved and to the whole area consolidation. Directives from the top setting unrealistic targets compound rather than help solve problems. Pressure to 'achieve' to 'do' to move forward without due regard to maintaining and consolidating what has been done and achieved begs the whole question of rural development i.e. real growth.

APPENDIX A

TRAINING OBJECTIVES:

All of the objectives listed below are subject to our overall objectives which is to integrate the theory learnt in the class room situation to field realities.

Note: It is in the regular supervising of the student which is held on a weekly basis, that this integration is made possible. In all social work training this forms the crux of a trainee's growth in professional methods and standards.

The Project has two types of objectives:

- a) those set at the beginning of the Project in 1966;
- b) those that have emerged out of changing situations and circumstances.

A. Original:

1. to provide students with a field training experience as near related to conditions generally prevailing in E.A. rural areas;
2. to ensure the effective partnership (integration) of people's initiative and government resources (personnel and material);
3. to impart to the students specific skills of collecting relevant information involving the people themselves;
4. to impart to the students skills in planning (involving discussion of needs, realistic and feasible within given resources), taking action and implementing decisions ensuring the full participation of the people;
5. to teach skills to students enabling them to make use of expertise relevant to the problems selected for action programmes;
6. to develop skills in developing organisational structures from grass-roots up that are action oriented;
7. to ensure ongoing assessment and evaluation.

B. Subsequent:

1. to obtain experience in supervising and organising the work of auxiliary staff.

Note: this was made possible in April-June 1969 for the first time when the Nsamizi Training Centre came into the Project and decided to use the area for the field training of CDAs in their six months' induction course. University students participated in some of the lecturing at Nsamizi and subsequently were made responsible for organising and supervising the CDAs' field work practice.

2. to develop abilities in imparting skills (group work) pertinent to the development of responsibility (self-reliance) to the people themselves through a policy of consolidation.

APPENDIX B

CASE STUDIES:

Coordination of health aspect of rural development:

Until this year the cooperation received from the District Health Inspector (actively involved in the initial Phase I) and the Health Assistant was the best inter-agency involvement on the Project. Of a present total of 85 projects in the area, 48 are in the field of health to only 12 in agriculture, figures which speak for themselves.

In July this year the H/A received the following letter from his superior officer, the H/I:

Re: General Duties

It has been found and confirmed that you are very much taken up by Community Development duties, other than Health Activities.

You have in the past verbally been warned that you are an employee of this Department (MEDICAL) Public Health, and not Community Development! repeat NOT Community Development or..... University.

You are therefore hereby instructed from now on to embark yourself on Public Health duties and any member of another Department who requires your help will eventually get permission from me, and not you to devote his duties without my knowledge.

It is important that I must know what you are doing and not the C.D. or (University). If this practice is continued I will have no option except recommending an external transfer or else arrange an internal transfer in order to stop further inconveniences.

sgd Senior Health Inspector  
..... County

The H/A brought this letter to the Coordinator of the Project at the University and the following action was immediately taken:

Senior Health Inspector,  
..... County

Dear .....

Re: General Duties - H/A, Project Area

H/A has just brought me a letter of 22nd July expressing concern at H/A's involvement in the University and Ministry of

Culture and C.D. Student Training Project in.....Gombolola.

I do not know whether you have been into the area to see the work which H/A has undertaken in his capacity as H/Orderly. His whole involvement has been strictly confined to Health Projects, notably Latrines, Home Improvement Projects and Spring Protection. It might be of interest to you that his contribution in this field has been so remarkable that repeated comments have been made at meetings regarding the remarkable cooperation of the Health Personnel in that area - a cooperation we have not yet been able to obtain from Field Officers in other agencies.

His contribution in the Health field has been of such magnitude that I have been asked to write to the M.O. i/c of (the area) to recommend him for recognition and possible promotion. To illustrate what he has achieved with the help of our students who initiate villagers' interests in Health projects, I list the following achievements. Out of a total of 85 projects started since 1966: 44 springs, 4 home improvement and 4 latrine projects. Thus over half are in the field of health. The H/A does all the technical work, instruction of villagers on maintenance of these and keeps an up-to-date record of progress on every single project. Our students are primarily responsible for getting villagers to prepare for the technical side of the project e.g. on a spring protection: committee formation, cleaning sit, collecting stones and sand, digging catchment drain, fencing and grassing and maintenance. The H/A does the tapping of water, construction of wall, setting pipe etc.

I enclose a copy of our "work sheets" on each project to indicate how this is worked out - indicating the real cooperation required between all agencies.

I am writing to the M.O. i/c enclosing a copy of this letter to ensure that the H/A's work in the area is not misunderstood. His commitments have been entirely in the Health field and not in CD work unless the projects listed above are regarded by your Ministry as solely the responsibility of CD workers.

Yours sincerely

c.c. M.O. i/c.....

The H/A personally went with this correspondence to the M.O. i/c and was assured the matter would be looked into and he would remain in the area. At the end of August and September he went to his Senior Officer at District HQs to collect his Dependents Allowance and on both occasions was refused the amount owing him, and verbally reminded he would be transferred. The Coordinator of the Project with students met with the Chief Executive Officers of the District to request that the pending action of transfer of the H/A and the matter of his Dependents' Allowance be investigated with a strong recommendation he be retained in the area.

Matter pending.

Coordination of agricultural aspects of rural development:

Recognising that the involvement of interested village groups (mainly women's clubs) in agricultural projects was lagging far behind other types of development projects, various and repeated attempts have been made to discuss the matter at both District and Regional level with the pertinent agricultural personnel. The failure of any of these meetings, even when called by the Executive Head of the District, to result in effective joint enterprises at field level are too numerous to recount. Suffice it to take up one issue discussed, viz: the selection of an area in the Project Area for a 'saturation project'.

An initial meeting was held in January 1969 to discuss the matter involving the university component, CD and the following agricultural officers: 2 extension specialists (expat. consultants), R.A.O., D.A.O., A.A.O., D.A.O. (saturation) and a land planning officer. At this meeting the idea was well received and a further meeting called for to discuss details.

At this second meeting it became evident early on in the discussion that certain decisions had already been taken by the Agricultural staff in consultation with the Gombolola chiefs which could not be altered, viz: that a certain village be selected (and not a muluka as had been the impression gained from the first meeting). It was known to the students from their own experience and from past students' field reports that this particular village posed a major problem - 2 rival women's groups working on vegetable gardening reflecting a much deeper social division within that village. An alternative village was suggested where a very progressive farmer had involved the community in a communal undertaking. The alternative was rejected on the grounds that the first village was the home of the A.A., was near markets, was accessible at all times, the people were cooperative and this was likely to be a success (taken from the minutes of the meeting). The saturation project was accordingly initiated on the understanding that the A.A. would spend 50% of his time there and the balance of his time in the rest of the Project area.

Six months later student field notes revealed the following: there was not visible sign of increased agricultural activity in the selected village, the feud between the women's groups continued unabated, the A.A. had not been to visit groups in other villages and muluka. More importantly the following fact was stumbled across one day: the progressive farmer in the nearby village recommended for 'saturation' by the students had been approached for inclusion in the saturation project by the Agricultural officers but this without any prior consultation with the Project coordinator or any of the students.

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Bureaucracy

Typical of the type of action taken by District Officers following a meeting to discuss lack of or the need for more cooperation, is the following letter:

To the A.A.

U.P.S.: Assistant Agricultural Officer.

.....Project  
MINE No. 342/408/2 dated 17/12/66 refers

Instructions were sent to you through the A.A.O... in my letter above to the effect that you should concentrate on the .....Project with the university students.

2. .... of the University is very much disappointed with the work you have done at....., she complained that you were asked to attend meetings but you never came and farmers have started vegetable plots but have no advice.

3. You are instructed to contact the C.D.A. at ..... to work out a programme that will fit in with the rest of your field work.

4. The, C.D. has arranged a one week course at....18th - 22nd March, 1968, you are requested to attend, a programme is hereby attached.

D.A.O.

APPENDIX C

Minutes of meeting held in the Project Area Community Centre with 33 chiefs (the majority Batongole) and university staff and students and CD personnel.

The Chairman (Coordinator of the Project) opened the meeting by stating that the purpose of this gathering was to discuss with the chiefs their particular role in the development projects initiated by the people with the help of students. She outlined the growth of the projects now amounting to 82: the fact that many projects, notably springs, had been allowed to regress to states of total disrepair for lack of maintenance and that the students were now working on consolidation which meant the establishment of project committees on each project with a view to developing WDCs, Muluka and ultimately a Gombolola Development Committee. Many problems were being encountered in this work, notably relating to their roles in this work.

Chiefs' roles:

All the chiefs were introduced to the meeting by name and muluka. They then - especially the batongole - were asked to state what they thought their jobs entailed; seven batongole spoke and mentioned - leaders of the people, advisor, work on projects, collecting taxes (which was regarded as their most important responsibility), registering births and deaths and deaths, acting as policemen,

agricultural officer, veterinary officer, the mother of the village. As one put it, "we are the base on which Government rests and relies but for all this we receive no award".

There was discussion on the issue of reward and it was pointed out that the students had no power to help in obtaining material rewards for the chiefs, but they could help in getting them other rewards, i.e. making them more efficient, helping develop leadership at project levels to help the chiefs, etc. so that they would considerably enhance their position of respect, trust and love among their people. It was recognised that their task was enormous and thankless and that for that very reason the students went about lightening their loads by e.g. establishing committees.

Some chiefs expressed appreciation of the job done by students in establishing these committees and felt that this would indeed be of great help in their work.

Problems: three problems were said to have emerged:

1. Chiefs tended to use their authority to hustle up people to work on projects when they knew visitors were coming, making them work hurriedly before the visit and on the day of the visit itself.  
  
This was not how we should go about development-homes are not cleaned only on the days visitors come but every day in expectation of visitors at any time. This is how people should work on projects.
2. Materials given projects had been known to 'disappear' if not fully used on the project e.g. 3 bags of cement might be given a spring project, but only 2 used - somehow the third bag just disappeared.
3. Chiefs tended to monopolise situations when VIPs visited villages and projects denying the ordinary villagers access to the visitor. Again this was not right. Villagers, ordinary people, should be given the opportunity to meet with and discuss their problems with visitors and should be encouraged to do so.

The chiefs who commented were grateful these points were raised and, as one put it, there is an old proverb which says: "I am wise when I am told". Another, who had been a mutongole for 30 years, welcomed such discussions saying that such exchange of view strengthened them. Another welcomed the formation of committees but thought it would be difficult to get people to work on them. A discussion ensued on the exact nature of the different types of committees, how they were formed, how they functioned and how they would eventually link up with the Gonbolola Committee.

How Chiefs can help:

It was suggested and agreed that each chief would join a project committee in his own village as an ordinary member, contributing to the work of that group; at the same time each chief would encourage the formation of effective committees at each project in his own village to stimulate the development of village committees. Chiefs all said they knew where the projects in their villages were.

Two muluka chiefs supported warmly the idea of forming committees and pointed out that where these worked they were contributing enormously to development work. One chief stated that in committee a mutongole had withdrawn after he had not been elected chairman. Now that was not the way to look at things. He urged batongole to participate in committee work even if they were not voted chairmen. At that point chiefs who belonged to project committees were asked to stand and were applauded for their action.

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APPENDIX D

PHASING OF PROJECT STEPS:

Step 1: (for all projects) ENSURE that the villagers WANT IT - that it is not an idea that has been imposed by either yourself or any other person with vested interests.

Home improvement:

Steps taken may vary in sequence, but should include the following:

- 2) air vents
- 3) doors/windows
- 4) plastering walls and floors
- 5) roofing
- 6) latrine (see separate project steps)
- 7) raised oven and racks for storing goods
- 8) crockery drying rack
- 9) refusal disposal pits - one for compost, the other for the disposal of dry goods as cans, tins, bottles etc.
- 10) IF chickens around - decent hen coop
- 11) clean yard.

Note: In some instances material requirements such as air vents, latrine stances, etc., will be needed. Ensure that these are available before encouraging villagers to use them.

Latrines:

2. Survey of needs:
  - a. selection of area (homes) that are to fall under the project
  - b. i. assess the state of existing latrines what needs to be done to improve standard
  - ii. note homes without latrines
  - iii. keep records of i. and ii. as a check list on progress.
3. Action phase:
  - a. election of committee and task allocation (on basis of what is to be done assessed from 2 above)
  - b. call in N/A for expert advice



- c. repair of existing latrines - make list of requirements
- d. starting new latrines:
  - i. digging 15 ft. deep pit (how is this to be done? by individuals concerned, assistance of others? who?)
  - ii material requirements for super-structure e.g. stance, wooden poles, roofing, door etc.

Note: The H/A should be drawn into all stages of the work.  
Advise CD of material requirements well in advance

Vegetable gardens:

- 2. elect a committee and discuss whether to start communally or on an individual basis. Discuss aims - cash crops or for home consumption?
- 3. call in A/A for advise on e.g. what to grow, how to prepare soil, manuring (compost, coffee beans), insecticides (and IF required, where available) etc.
- 4. keep a watching brief and ensure the A/A is there to advise when problems arise.

Note: keeping the A/A interested is one of your major responsibilities.

Spring protection:

- 2. inspection of site by H/I for OK - suitability and feasibility, and assessment of cement requirements
- 3. elect committee and task allocation according to steps that follow:
- 4. order required number of cement bags from CD
- 5. clearing site, collecting stones and sand and getting to site
- 6. digging catchment drain (do NOT leave this until last item - it then tends to be forgotten and is never done)
- 7. call in H/A to do the actual tapping of water, build the wall, set the pipe etc.  
When the water starts flowing out of the pipe villagers tend to think this is the end - it is NOT.
- 8. fill in the trench, grass and fence
- 9. ensure access paths are safe. If e.g. a steep gradient, steps will have to be built
- 10. build small bridges across catchment drain to safeguard against weathering
- 11. elect Maintenance Committee and task allocate, e.g. looking after fence, grass, wall, etc.

Road Construction/repair:

When embarking on road work of any kind with your committee ensure both ends of the road are represented (it may link up two villages) and take the following precautions:

2. obtain exper advice on feasibility and requirements from the P/D
3. make sure your objectives are clear: is this a NEW road, repair work of an old one, widening an existing footpath? is it intended for cyclists, cars, pedestrians? are the two villages (if two involved) agreed on the objectives?
4. order in advance the materials required - culverts, murrum, See if the latter can be obtained from a member of the locality and be transported to the site by someone's lorry
5. assess the human resources and make a work group plan.

Note: DO NOT START OR EMBARK ON THE PROJECT BEFORE YOU HAVE SATISFIELD YOURSELF ON ALL THE ABOVE COUNTS - road construction is one of the most arduous, long-term type of self-help projects.

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