

**Reflective study of Chimanimani District Integrated Rural development Program Pilot site, Zimbabwe**

Written By  
**Rekopantswe Mate (Ms)**  
University of Zimbabwe  
Sociology Department

**July 2001**

## **Reflective study of Chimanimani District Integrated Rural development Program Pilot site, Zimbabwe**

### **Abstract**

*This paper is a research report produced according to the terms of reference produced by the Kellogg Foundation and synthesized by CASS. Its purpose is to describe the process, experiences and lessons learnt by all actors involved in the IIDD program in Chimanimani, Zimbabwe.*

*The paper gives background information about Chimanimani and the project itself outlining its conceptual framework expected activities and outputs. It goes on to give details of individual institutions' roles, activities (those in the pipeline and those already underway) and experiences. The last part of the paper attempts a critique of some of the concepts that are pillar stones of the project such as participation by highlighting what one might call conceptual traps and blind spots which may negate good intentions that planners have. The discussion calls for more conceptual realism. The discussion is intended to red flag issues as opposed to criticizing. It hoped that this will enable a thorough self-criticism as a means of reflecting on experiences so far and enable better planning for the future.*

### **Introduction**

This report is done under the auspices of the Kellogg Foundation which is funding a region wide Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) which is piloting in 3 sites in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The major aim of this study is to allow a moment of introspection and analysis of what was intended, what took place and how, what is yet to take place in order to aid future planning and broadening of the project. The end product of this report should be a deeper look at lessons learnt in the project so far.

### **Kellogg Foundation's conceptual framework of IRDP**

The concept of "integrated rural development" comes out of the realization that for many years rural development interventions have been sectoral, uncoordinated and eventually unsustainable economically and ecologically because of limited focus on one small aspect of rural poverty in isolation from other at any one time. It is always assumed that hope that someone/another organization will deal with the others (Makumbe 1996: 75). Crittenden and lea (1989:4) define integrated rural development as activities and services that are managed in such a way that they "...act...synergistically [thereby] spur[ring] the 'developmental processes' and bring[ing] about permanent change". Integrated rural development therefore demands cooperation between different actors and holistic approach.

The sectoral approach to development leads to a multiplicity of organizations and people working in the same area, each dealing with one dimension of rural poverty without coordinating efforts and therefore building synergies with each other. Through Integrated Rural Development rural poverty is seen as a multidimensional socio-economic, political and cultural phenomenon, which is dealt with in from the its many discernible dimensions *simultaneously* not serially. It is also hoped that organizations which work in one community (the district in this case) can all coordinate efforts as long as there is an understanding that they are all working towards the eradication of rural poverty regardless of their entry point whether this is food availability, marketing, health issues etc. It is also hoped that their work on poverty reduction can change or empower the individual who is a victim of this poverty by enabling him/ her to deal with her circumstances head on. Eventually empowerment of whole communities is envisaged.

Empowerment is used in this context to increased control of production resources (land, credit, access to training and markets), which might mean changing economic and political environments to ensure this kind of change Longwe (1991: 150). Parpart (1999) says that empowerment enables people to collectively and individually take charge of their lives and seek to change those aspects of life, which lead to their oppression. Chowdry (1999:37) reiterates by noting that 'empowerment' makes women and poor people partners in development as they define what their development needs are as opposed to being passive recipients with no say in the process of development. All these definitions point to empowerment is both *a process and an end*. As a process it ensures that people take charge of their life situations, they can make informed decisions and know how to get them implemented. However empowerment is hard to measure and to realize.

WKKF's general strategy is to target whole communities (the district in this case) and a multiplicity of sectors concurrently to ensure a holistic approach to development—one that ensures that development is sustainable through synergies generated from the many sectors. It is also hoped that the multi-sectoral approach eventually elevates the energy and confidence levels of the local community in such a way that they can run the project on their own at a later date when donor funding is terminated.

At the economic level it is anticipated the project will lead to the creation of new businesses by local people leading to more savings and increased access to capital. Attitude wise it is hoped that people, especially the youth and women can be motivated to demand development projects focusing on their needs and that such locale responsive programs will lead to sustainability of programs. It is also hoped that this change can lead to good governance at the local level and result in lasting partnerships between local people and the service providers that they interact with. It is hoped that such change leads to a lasting change in quality of life.

### **How Chimanimani became a pilot site**

The implementation of IRDP is such that there is one pilot site in each of the seven countries (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and South Africa). The three initial pilot sites are in South Africa (2) and Zimbabwe (1).

In Zimbabwe, Chimanimani district was chosen because of the high prevalence rate of poverty as indicated by the Central Statistical Office (CSO 1998) and other studies. The Chimanimani project started in Sept of 1998, which means the project, has been running for the last 2 and half years.

### **Structure of the report**

The first part consists of background information about the project and on Chimanimani district. Thereafter the report highlights the role of each intermediary and the process the organization has gone through to implement its aspect of the project and what lessons have been learnt so far. I start with the DFA followed by all other intermediaries and their interventions. Although lessons learnt are discussed after each intermediary, I have made efforts to discuss lessons one learns from the whole project so far at the end of the report.

## **1. Background of Chimanimani District**

### **1a. The socio-economic characteristics of Chimanimani**

Chimanimani District is tucked in the South East corner of Zimbabwe, 150 km from Mutare on the border with Mozambique. Chimanimani was chosen because it is one of the poorest districts in

Zimbabwe according to CSO (1998)<sup>1</sup>. Other poor districts include Beitbridge in Matabeleland South, Bikita and Mwenezi in Masvingo, and Buhera in Manicaland. The donor chose Chimanimani because of its proximity to Mozambique making it easily accessible to the project there as well as those yet to be started in Swaziland.

Chimanimani is one of the smallest districts in Manicaland province. It has 23 wards, of these 6 border or incorporate commercial farming areas. In these 6 wards there are 4 small communal area wards, 1 resettlement area and 1 small-scale farming area<sup>2</sup>. These are areas that lie on the border and therefore the eastern most part of the district. The Large Scale Commercial Farming (LCSFs) areas are characterized by high rainfall and good soils and hence commercial farming activities. These activities include forestry, coffee and fruit production.

The rest of the wards are in communal and resettlement areas that are characterized by peasant farming. In terms of ecological potential, these areas can be divided into two: one with good enough rainfall for agricultural activities and another which is semi-arid. The latter is the largest part of the district. It is characterized by food deficits as a result of erratic annual rainfall. However the area also has a number of irrigation schemes such as Nyanyadzi, Chibuwe, Fuve Panganai and Mutambara (see Manzungu 1999). Although these schemes cater for a small population of farmers they ensure food security through the sale of food and the use of hired labour.

In areas with comparatively good rainfall farmers produce maize, cotton for local consumption as well as for sale. Farmers also produce fruit in their plots such as banana, pineapples and mangoes for local consumption as well as for sale. Local people also produce honey from wild bees.

According to Mbetu (n.d) there are a number of community based income generating activities (IGAs) such as beekeeping, nutrition gardens, piggery, chickens, goat keeping, cattle fattening, pottery and crafts which are done with the assistance of Village Community Workers. Women participate in most of these activities. However, because of small economies if scale the returns of these projects have been comparatively small.

Regarding the social outlook of people, Mbetu (undated) observes that post-Independence euphoria yielded to apathy and disillusionment as promises turned to mirages. Mbetu says that over the years many NGOs have worked in Chimanimani each promising to change things and yet the broad picture remains the same if not worse. People do not have faith in many interventions because past experiences do not seem to have yielded touted results. Cynicism has set in even as new initiatives are made. There seems to be a meeting and consultation fatigue. Mbetu notes that at one point in 1998 or 1999 there were 16 meetings in 2 months in one community. These meetings were for a wide range of issues such as the school development committees, dam development, the ruling party, traditional meetings at the chief's place etc. As such local people are tired of meetings even when the meetings are called to consult them on local development. They do not attend because some of these meetings run counter to local productivity moreso when the results of these meetings continue to be elusive. There are some issues which this project has to contend with.

---

<sup>1</sup> Manicaland Province has the highest number of poor people although there are other provinces with people with more severe forms of poverty.

<sup>2</sup> Small-scale commercial farming areas are often for blacks who have been allocated land holdings that are big enough to enable commercial farming on small scale. Some of the land is under freehold while some of is used under lease from the government.

## **b. Physical features**

Chimanimani lies at an average of 6000m above sea level in an area characterized by mountain ranges on the border with Mozambique. The district is also characterized by the Save and Odzi river systems. These rivers create a potential for dam construction were it not for soil erosion and siltation. As a result the district's terrain is not flat at all but is characterized by deep ravines, slopes and curves around mountains. Some of these features are a result of bad environmental practices such as wanton tree felling for energy, construction and for clearing farmland.

The district is served by one major tarred road from Mutare which passes through key economic establishments such as forestry estates and the Chimanimani administrative centre which locals call 'the village'. The road does not reach the furthest reaches of the district in Rusitu valley to the eastern point of the district.

Within the district the road network is quite bad. Because the district is mountainous, the terrain is rugged. The dirt roads are especially impassable during the rainy season. The lack of bridges notwithstanding, the clayey nature of soils make the roads slippery in the rainy season. Some of the roads are so rocky that even on a 4-wheel drive vehicles they are quite hard to navigate. This renders the communication network rather precarious. Buses and other private trucks cannot reach these areas as often the local communities wish. It has been observed by Chimanimani Rural District Council that many Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have what Chambers (1987) describes as a highway and city bias (see Chimanimani RDC Resolution C693 of 28 Nov. 2000). Most limit their activities to areas near the road such as Nyanyadzi and its environs that are not only near the highway but are also near Mutare. The Irrigation schemes referred to earlier are near this highway as well. As a result one finds that those areas, which lie near the border with Mozambique such as Rusitu, are not well catered for by development interveners/organizations because of the state of roads in the district<sup>3</sup>. This is of course a cause for concern for the local community as well as for local authorities. These conditions nurture what Oxfam (1995) describe as the poverty trap. The poverty trap thrives on intertwined marginalities including ecological, political, economic and social marginalities. These marginalities nurture vulnerability which leaves local people overwhelmed. Hence interventions have to tackle these issues in order to grapple with development issues.

## **2i. Aims of the Initiative for Integrated District Development Program (IIDDP)**

Given the generalized fatigue and cynicism towards development interventions because of past failures as a result of the use of inappropriate technology, poor targeting, and ill-informed policies development has tended to proceed on a sectoral basis which makes development interventions rather unsustainable. Many have called for a holistic approach (Makumbe 1996: 75). IIDDP seeks to be holistic by ultimately ensuring that in each site the development interventions would have psychological, political, economic, ecological and social dimensions. By psychological dimensions it is hoped that activities will seek to change people's attitudes to their situation, to do away with apathy and hopelessness, to instill confidence through training and raising people's self esteems in such a way that the community and individuals within it feel empowered to determine their own course in the development of their locale.

Political dimensions aim at consciousness raising and civic education so that communities *know and understand* what to expect from elected and non-elected officials in the area and learn *how to demand* attention from authorities as well as from NGOs. Such a demand driven agenda also calls for a heightened sense of self-awareness at the individual as well as group level. This is

---

<sup>3</sup> The state of infrastructural development can also be attributed to the Renamo insurgency in Mozambique. Proximity to Mozambique meant susceptibility to attacks by the rebels there.

particularly important when dealing with gender relations. Men and women have to understand the things that shape their socio-economic circumstances, and how their socio-cultural situation determines their socio-economic status and how society views them.

Economic dimensions include skills training in business, and capacity building for small and medium scale businesses. Social dimensions refer to healthcare and educational concerns as well local culture.

The WKKF vision is that all these sectors are synergetic and none can be successful without the other. Given such a conceptual framework it is hoped that development interventions target all sectors of the district from all discernible angles and also all demographic and socially defined interest groups benefit from the process. This is a mammoth task which calls for a high level of commitment, patience and self criticism. Above all it calls for conceptual clarity and an ability to sell these values to implementing agencies. It is anticipated that in the end the following objectives will be achieved: -

- ❖ poverty reduction,
- ❖ accelerated, sustainable social and community development
- ❖ improved quality of life.

### **Data gathering methods**

Data for this report was collected from secondary data generated by the District Facilitating Agency (DFA) and other actors in the district. The author also visited a number of projects within Chimanimani to see what is happening, and to talk to the beneficiaries as well as the intermediaries themselves. The visits made it possible for the author to interview community members and what their assessment of the process is. For this purpose a checklist of issues was used to guide discussions.

It was not always possible to get people as individuals especially where the projects visited were projects that benefited whole communities such as water tanks. As a result there were some places where whole communities were met at the project site. Under these circumstances 'interviews' proceeded in a meeting mode where generally people expressed appreciation of the assistance they were given. In these meetings often it was the male elders of the communities who spoke more than other people. For those community members who were visited in their homesteads, household heads and people in charge of the household projects were the ones who availed themselves for interviews. Often men spoke and women confirmed and added one or two things merely to elaborate on and to corroborate men's contributions. As a result this report will not claim to have been able to engage in a gendered analysis of project experiences.

In polygynous households we came across two dynamics were observed. In those households where all wives stayed together in one compound there was a chain of command according to which the men gave instructions to the senior wife who in turn passed them on to junior wives. The order of marriage therefore determined women's prerogatives in household decision-making. In those households where wives run their own households but the husbands visit at agreed times, the wives seemed more outgoing and could explain what was happening in their households without seeking approval. As a result one has to understand issues of polygyny in households in order to deal with issues of development and empowerment. Data was also gathered by discussing with intermediaries themselves to find out what their experiences of dealing with the donor, the community and the DFA have been. Often these interviews took place in the offices or places of work of the intermediaries.

## **Weaknesses of data gathering methods**

Time constraints did not permit a more rigorous data-gathering regimen because the author relied on information given by the intermediaries and respondents indicated by the intermediaries too. While this should not be misconstrued to mean that the intermediaries gave false information, the problem is that the author was not able to visit all projects and to see the less successful or less promising aspects of the projects in order to fully factor in problems of the projects. The data gathered therefore had a bias towards the more visible people who were keen and understood the projects as opposed to those who did not understand or support the project. There was also a bias towards the more successful projects. The fact that intermediaries identified the respondents means that people put their best foot forward. As a result the report bears "progressive farmer/peasant" biases which have implications for its content.

## **3.The transformation agents and their roles in Chimanimani District in the IIDDP**

### **3.1 The DFA**

The DFA for Chimanimani is the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) based in Mutare. The role of the DFA is to identify and liaise with the local players and the donor for the pursuance of the vision. The DFA coordinator said that he sees the role of the DFA as building "relationships" between players. The DFA also mobilizes communities by selling the idea of integrated rural development to the communities as well as local authorities and also trying to explain the new partnership between the communities and the donor as well other players. In addition the DFA also identifies needs such as capacity building and facilitates the delivery of relevant services by identifying institutions and individuals who can deliver these needs most efficiently.

ITDG as DFA has a number of strengths. The organization has been in Mutare for a number of years. It has experience in dealing with socio-economically marginalized areas as it deals with technology development for poor people. As a result its personnel have a lot of knowledge of the region as well as rural development itself. They have knowledge in community development especially in view of Mr. Kuda Murwira's (the DFA Coordinator) previous experiences in Chivi district another impoverished rural district in Zimbabwe (see Murwira et al 2000). The choice of DFA and its institutional capacity, experience and expertise are appropriate and good for a task such as this.

So far the DFA has tried as far as possible to involve local communities in producing documents that deal with local level development. This has seen the DFA assisting local people to produce proposals for a myriad of people within IIDDP in a participatory way. The proposal is discussed in the vernacular and later transcribed into English. This ensures that local people feel a sense of ownership of the projects. However as noted by a lot of scholars, participatory development takes a long time to plan and implement. It is also labour intensive for those involved. It is early days yet to judge whether these approaches have resulted in sustainable empowerment. I comment of the participatory development strategies at the end of this report. Suffice it to say that with participatory development, returns to investments are not immediate. It will take a long time to judge whether this is paying off.

### **The DFA's experiences in the project**

In order for the project to develop its own benchmarks it was important for the DFA to commission baseline studies. In this vein a number of studies were commissioned. These studies aimed at understanding the current status of the district in terms of its institutional endowment, its economic potential, to identify development needs and its social and economic characteristics. Thus the DFA commissioned *inter alia* :-

1. **District Strategic plan.** This study was initially done in a hurry in order to meet donor deadlines but is now being refined to make it more detailed and more analytical. The plan is intended to be the basis of all development interventions in the district. Consequently it is hoped that all future change agents will agree to be guided by the plan so that their work remains relevant to the district's vision. The plan identified 5 priority areas namely;
  - a) the need for capacity building at all levels,
  - b) the need to manage natural resources to arrest the decline of natural resources through erosion and to deal with the effects of devastating floods such as Cyclone Eline (especially infrastructural damage) ,
  - c) there are concerns with healthcare in the face of HIV/AIDS (prevention and care for the sick),
  - d) people also expressed concern with the education system because of rising unemployment in the district and finally
  - e) there was concern with infrastructural development in the district given the state of the road network. The road network is said to inhibit development in eco-tourism and agricultural marketing potential of the district.
2. **Institutional survey:** this was intended to identify institutions already working within the district, it did a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis of these institutions. Some of the institutions or intermediaries will be discussed in detail below according to their roles. The institutional survey also identified institutional gaps and made recommendations. As a result it was recommended that more local organizations be formed to meet specific expressed needs for instance the formalization of community orphan care programs because of the increase in the number of orphans as result of HIV/AIDS, mobilization of women and youths to form structures through which they could implement programs of interest.
3. **Economic status of the district survey-** This study sought to investigate how much wealth the district has and what its potential is in generating more wealth. However the DFA feels that this study was not done satisfactorily. They want it redone to bring out issues much more clearly.

The findings of all studies were discussed at public meetings of stakeholders. This enabled potential service providers to see areas of need and what they could do and how it connected with other actors' roles. Even though on the ground development does not occur in an orderly manner, these studies enable systematic planning and subsequent monitoring and evaluation

The DFA chose to work in three pilot sites one each in the three discernible "socio-economic" regions of the district as described above. These pilot sites are Nyanyadzi (to represent the western end of the district which has low rainfall and is prone to food deficits), Ngorima A and Mhakwe. Each pilot site has a Field Officer whose roles are to understand local livelihoods systems and the linkages between service providers, to facilitate local level development planning as well to facilitate links with other communities and intermediaries. Field Officers have also participated in the production of the institutional survey, wealth ranking of households; assessing household needs and producing community development plans. Field Officers have become a link between the DFA, service providers and the community. Often when service providers have a meeting with specific communities they do so by liaising with Field Officers through the DFA. Field Officers give feedback to the DFA coordinator through monthly reports.

The DFA is satisfied with the work done so far except where deadlines were such that a thorough job could not be done due to time pressure such as in production of the **Economic status of the district survey**. The DFA's experiences of selling the project to local communities and building partnerships have been well received up to this point. All intermediaries interviewed appreciated the support received.



However one of the major problems in Chimanimani is that of national politics. The district's Member of Parliament is a white farmer who is in the opposition and yet most local government structures seem to be populated by ruling party sympathizers or at least people elected into office before the opposition party was formed. As such there are tensions between the parties. Mutual suspicion and rivalry between the parties spills over into developmental debates and meetings. Intermediaries and service providers have to be sensitive to these matters and transcend party allegiances if their programs are to succeed. Until proven neutral, people are bound to be suspicious. This means being sensitive to people and knowing who the parties' stalwarts are and ensuring that one does not play into their hands lest the other party's supporters feel marginalized and boycott meetings and the program. These issues give credence to the civic education element of the program so that people realize that development should ideally benefit all people in the district and not political parties *per se*. It is therefore necessary that people appreciate development should benefit the whole community and support those interventions which seek to meet community needs regardless of who is implementing them. However we know that development itself is a political process and is about politics.

Generally many intermediaries have to contend with the populace's high sense of entitlement to donor assistance. People do not see themselves *as capable* of doing something for themselves. People in Nyanyadzi for instance told me that when ITDG came to their community and asked people to be involved in planning local development and get involved in civic education there was a lot of interest because initially people had what could be called a 'cargo image' of development (Long 1989)<sup>4</sup>. Precisely, the view that donors and government are the bearers of gifts (tangible or otherwise) which they deliver for the consumption of local people in the name of 'development'. When these resources run out, people expect that another player will bring more resources. The cargo image of development views these external resources as infinite. Poverty, real or perceived is seen as a moral qualification for accessing these resources. As such many people often lament the need for 'donors' to do this or other project for development. Development for many is therefore seen as access to donor goods and funds. This view plays down local agency and capacity to change the prevailing situation and reproduces poverty because without external help people feel impotent. Thus there is pressure on intermediaries to act as welfare organizations to deliver goods to alleviate poverty.

When these goods did not seem to arrive some thought ITDG was just bothering them. The leader of women's groups Ambuya Washaya indicated that in the past if there was assistance that came from the government people approached is as 'the government's project' and never as "our" project. As a result when there was a problem people quickly distanced themselves from 'government' projects and waited for the government to fix the problem. Many were also keen to take advantage of government gifts and projects because of the view that there is a lot of corruption in government. Even at the local level people have a sense of entitlement to government and donor gifts (believed to be infinite) without obligation. This leaves people susceptible to lies and manipulation by politicians. In the absence of an understanding of where and how the government accesses resources and distributes them, the shrinkage of national resources has not been well received let alone understood. There is limited understanding of donor fatigue worldwide. These developments threaten donor driven development intervention and hence it is important to rely on local initiative. ITDG has tried to make locals understand this.

Ambuya Washaya says she now realizes and appreciates the DFA's efforts to try to get people involved in 'owning' the projects from conception through to implementation and evaluation because development should be locally defined and controlled. She however lamented that there

---

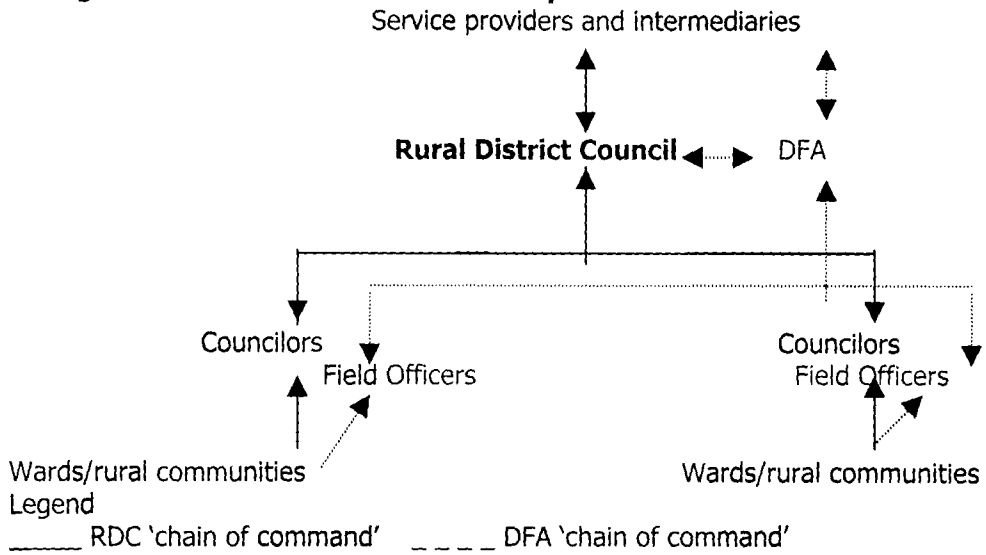
<sup>4</sup> This view is not only a found at the local level but pervades a whole range of development interveners. Generally very few NGOs work without donor funds. In other words no matter how committed they are to development they too require external resources to begin work.

is a lot of work which needs doing to get more people convinced as many are worried about immediate bread and butter issues and view attending meetings and awareness campaigns as 'useless'. She however expressed hope that once the projects are up and running perhaps more people will be persuaded when the intervention bear fruit.

The DFA also notes that working for change at the local level is sometimes hindered by government procedures which were laid down without much broad consultation at the local level. For instance the drive to revitalize local government organizations such as Rural District Councils (RDCs) through decentralization was done without consultation. Makumbe (1996) notes that the RDC reforms started with the Prime Ministerial decree way back in 1984. In other words even though the intentions were noble there was no debate at the local level to discuss the direction of change and why it was necessary. As it is local governance structures have aspects inherited from the colonial era where control of people was more important than local self-governance. Stiefel and Wolfe (1994) note that the extent to which the state can be a facilitator in of participatory development is questionable because states by their very nature are regulatory and controlling. In the process groups are coopted through patron-client relations. Given these structures it is hard to try and incorporate self-governance on institutions that serve to consolidate the centre's control of the periphery. This is a broader dilemma which people have to contend with.

In addition one finds that RDCs are largely gerontocratic<sup>5</sup> and patriarchal. As a result to make RDCs more responsive to local needs demands changing a lot of things not least the attitudes and value systems of power and power relations. It also means making all locals regardless of gender and age more demanding of their leaders and knowing how to make their demands known. However those in power, because they hold conservative views of life, might not value the demands and expectations of youths and women. Gerontocracy and patriarchy mean that youths and women are not seen as full subjects in society. Until these views changes, youths and women cannot participate fully in politics and the development of their locales. This exclusion has negative implications for citizenship rights of women and youths as indicated in a discussion at the end of this report.

**A diagrammatic indication of relationships between the DFA and other intermediaries**



<sup>5</sup> Gerontocracy means being preoccupied with age and where older people take precedence over young people. Patriarchy is used here to refer to male domination.

Ideally, local communities should determine development needs and tell them to the councilors (who are elected officials) who take them to the RDC when it meets as a Council. The Council is the body that approves all development plans from the communities or suggested by service providers and also ensures their implementation. Please note that the service providers are not above the RDC. This is just to show the line of communication mainly to emphasize that the RDC is the focal pointing district development. The DFA and its work aids the RDC and works with it as a partner.

## **Lessons**

1. Knowledge of an area and having a good organizational track record enables better facilitation.
2. Open communication and networking are good for smooth running of projects and ensuring participation of local people.
3. Use of vernacular languages is important for ensuring that local people are involved in development. However this is also labour intensive in that proposal writing has to be explained in the vernacular and then later written in English so that donors can read the material.

## **3.2 The intermediaries**

The intermediaries can be divided into several categories according to the services they provide and target populations they serve. There are those that are involved in capacity building within the district, namely the District Training Team (DTT), IRED and the Centre for Applied Social Science (CASS) a research department at the University of Zimbabwe. Some deal with the youth training such as Outward Bound, Junior Achievement Zimbabwe (JAZ), Students Partnership Worldwide (SPW) and the Chimanimani Youth Development group (ChiYODE). There is the Nyanyadzi Training Centre, which concerns itself with local skills training, needs and Chimanimani Business Association, which deals with local economic development. Others deal with sustainable agriculture through permaculture and improved natural resource management such as Towards Sustainable Use of Resources Organization (TSURO)<sup>6</sup>. Women are in the process of formalizing their groups into the Chimanimani Women's Development Association (ChiWODA). However in some communities women were already organized through savings clubs, goat and chicken rearing schemes (such as in Nyanyadzi) and involved in community based orphan care programs. Some of these intermediaries especially those that are international were invited to participate while others are a result of local initiatives after it was realized that there is need for locals to mobilize themselves for development. In the following section of the report I will try to deal with these intermediaries one by one detailing their objectives and experiences. All these intermediaries are encouraged to involve women and the youth so that no section of the population is left out.

All intermediaries meet at grantees meetings where they interact so they know each other and can establish the boundaries of each other's work to avoid duplication of duties and ensure complementarity. These meetings are often called by the DFA to appraise all concerned on developments and review progress.

---

<sup>6</sup> The acronym 'TSURO' also means hare or wild rabbit in Shona. This is an animal, which is characterized as very shrewd in Shona folklore.

## **3.2 Intermediaries concerned with Economic development**

### **3.2a) The Chimanimani Business Association (CBA)**

Economic development is the focus of the Chimanimani Business Association (CBA). This is an organization of local business people. It was formed in 1999 after the RDC noted that the district has a lot of economic potential but that this potential has not been tapped and hence the district is among the poorest. The DFA's work also came in handy in encouraging the business community to get together.

The chairperson of the Association Mr. Tapiwa Chinguno said that they had an association before independence but were discouraged after independence because the government wanted them to join the Indigenous Business Development Community (IBDC) and the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce (ZNCC). However he noted that despite these organization's good ideas, ideals and despite their popular appeal, their centralized and top-down approaches render them inaccessible to the ordinary businessperson at district level. They are elitist because they focus on top business people. They are based in Harare and seem to focus only on Harare. When there are resources to be accessed rural business people are the last to hear about them. The top-down approach also has been made worse by the politics of patronage in these organizations. He says that marginalized small rural operators do not live in Harare nor have the political connections to access these resources. For instance several years ago the World Bank made available some money for Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs) but its disbursement was mired in controversy as people complained that they did not understand who qualified, how the money was accessed and where went to get the money.

At the local level Mr. Chinguno noted that there are problems to do with infrastructural development such as lack of roads, electricity, poor telecommunications coverage partly due to terrain but also because of antiquated systems<sup>7</sup> that are used in the area, lack of capital and equipment, lack of appropriate buildings in which to do business, limited access to technology, limited access to information, no qualified personnel, limited skills in business management and lack of confidence. They also hope that when Nyanyadzi Training Centre' programs are up and running CBA will plug into its training programs so that there is acquisition and consolidation of the skills base.

#### **Aims of CBA**

- To improve retailing in Chimanimani through skills training (including skills training in the marketing of handicrafts such as mats, bags and hats made from the bark of the baobab tree). EMPRETEC, SEDCO, Africa University and Nyanyadzi Training Centre have been identified as partner institutions in business skills training.
- To start or be involved in eco-tourism projects (the terrain and the numerous waterfalls from mountains and hot springs are under exploited),
- To do value adding to locally available resources such as fruits which often rot in the district because there is no transport. They also wish to be involved in furniture manufacture because of the abundance of timber in the district. In this regard they hope that they can start a fruit cannery and timber treatment plants. It is hoped that such ventures would not only increase wealth creation in the district but that it would also create employment.
- To access more information on the marketing of produce and commodities that are available in the district. For instance to know how the Zimbabwe Agricultural Commodities Exchange (ZIMACE) works so that they can store their produce until the prices are right rather than selling to any middlemen who often rip off local farmers.

---

<sup>7</sup> Telephone systems in major cities like Harare and Bulawayo have been digitalized thereby expanding the capacity of the telephone system and improving the quality of communication. These developments have not yet reached rural areas.

It is hoped that the training received will create local trainers so that CBA does not have to continuously rely on outside help. However it is not clear whether these trainers will be paid for locally or whether it is anticipated that they will work as volunteers. Often voluntarism is disastrous because when fatigue sets in the whole scheme is threatened with collapse. However where these trainers will be paid one has to ask who will pay and from what? Will the system be self-sustaining? Who will supervise the trainers?

Although these ideas are still at conceptual level, the interest shown indicates an appreciation of issues and an understanding of local potential. The objectives tally with the District Strategic Plan. It is yet to be seen whether or not they will take off. Mr. Chinguno indicated that the enthusiasm shown is overwhelming and he is confident that if they implement their plans they will be able to work by themselves without the assistance of the DFA when this institution eventually pulls out.

Mr. Chinguno also indicated that his organization is also aware of problems female members have and the discrimination they suffer when they interact with male colleagues. Women dominate in the informal sector and especially the handicraft section. When it comes to retailing, women operators are discriminated against on many fronts. Success rouses accusations of witchcraft, prostitution and other uncouth liaisons with suppliers etc. Failure is viewed as a vindication of the fact that women are not good business persons. Widows are particularly vulnerable. Mr. Chinguno indicated that they still have a lot of work to do to get men to accept women as business people. This calls for a lot of gender awareness and sensitization training. Women have to be trained to deal with these issues but men also have to change their attitudes towards female colleagues.

### **3.2b) Junior Achievement Zimbabwe (JAZ)**

JAZ is concerned with entrepreneurship training for young people. It has an in-school and out of school program. The program is run in such a way that the young persons have imaginary companies which they run while in school to give them theoretical and applied knowledge of running a business<sup>8</sup>. The idea is to train, kindle and nurture business interests among youngsters so that they think of starting their own businesses when they leave school.

#### **Lessons**

1. Honest self-appraisal and appreciation of local iniquities in the face of abundant resources which could possibly be converted into major or better businesses is a good starting point. How it translates into social transformation is yet to be seen.
2. The training of youths also deals with great developmental potential since the young are the ones most affected by unemployment.

### **3.3 Sustainable natural resource management: The experiences of TSURO dzeChimanimani**

Ecological marginality is associated with a lot of rural poverty. Ecologically marginal areas also need special management if they are to sustain people for a long time. This is especially the case where one is dealing with peasants who make a living from the natural environment. The environment therefore has to be managed in a manner which takes cognizance of the long term impact of methods and implements of cultivation. In recognition of these issues the IIDDP, has an ecology component in the form of permaculture projects.

---

<sup>8</sup> This intermediary was not interviewed so I cannot say much about their experiences. Due to the tightness of my program when I went to Chimanimani I was unable to have a one-to-one with the organization's management.

It is important to note that there is a Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) project in Mhakwe area concerned with fisheries after the completion of the Mhakwe dam. CAMPFIRE has an eco-tourism project proposed for Nyakwaa forest, which has abundant bird life and butterflies. There is also a Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE) project which deals with flora conservation. However because CAMPFIRE and SAFIRE are not intermediaries in the project they will not be included in this discussion. Suffice it to say that the projects are under the jurisdiction of the RDC and one hopes that the benefits of these initiatives will cross-fertilize and benefit the people of Chimanimani.

### **3.3a) Permaculture projects in Shinja Resettlement area**

Tsuro was formed in 1999 and is concerned with permaculture. This is a type of agriculture that does not rely on high technology but rather uses local resources as well as indigenous farming methods. It was formed because farmers were clamoring to emulate people in Chikukwa area also within Chimanimani. These people have formed what is now referred to as the Chikukwa Ecological Land Use Trust- a college that trains small-scale farmers on low-cost and less capital-intensive agriculture within Chikukwa. In Chikukwa many households apparently have fishponds and intercrop a number of crops to enhance soil fertility and food security through maximal use of arable land. Local people have reclaimed gullies and other 'disused' patches of land. As such the formation of TSURO was demand driven.

#### **Aims and objectives of TSURO**

TSURO aims at:-

- enhancing household food security
- ensuring environmental sustainability of farming
- making farmers more creative and use locally available materials
- ensuring that there is local self reliance

#### **How Tsuro works**

Tsuro has a staff complement of 3 officials. They work in Shinja resettlement area to start with. They approach villagers by organizing an introductory workshop in a chosen site where people who want further training are selected. The selection is based on where the people come from so that there is equal coverage of villages in that particular area. This is to enable farmer-to farmer training. People learn through imitation as well and trial and error. Advantages of this approach are that it ensures sustainability of the project in the long run when the intermediary might not be able to continue to render services to these people. So all farmers are potential trainers too and TSURO officials do home visits just to check on progress and to facilitate exchange of ideas and seeds.

According to Mrs. Antoinette Takawira between half and three-quarters of participants of training sessions are women. They try to encourage women to join these sessions. The training programs have three components. There is an introduction, followed by home visits (exposure visits) in Chikukwa and lastly the farmers go to Nyahode Training Centre also within the district to learn about water harvesting techniques so that the farmers can preserve precipitation and run-off water after the rain.

TSURO encourages three types of projects

- i) individual projects (which also means household based projects),
- ii) group projects where people form groups for a specific project
- iii) there are community projects too. The latter are projects where for instance a whole village comes together to work on one piece of land to ensure food security.

Before projects can be initiated they have to be certified as environmentally friendly and sustainable. Sourcing of cheap materials is encouraged and suggested as the project develops.

## **TSURO's achievements thus far**

### **Household food security**

Rukuni and Eicher (1995) define food security as access to optimum quantities of which enable normal bodily function. At household level in peasant societies food security is possible through own account production or through the market. Own account production is at the mercy of seasonal variations and the whims of nature. Market based food security relies on access to income. Own account production is therefore more reliable provided that peasant control factors of production. In a sense permaculture allows them to do so.

TSURO enhances food security by encouraging intercropping of cereals with legumes as well other edible and non-edible plants which are biological pesticides e.g. marigold flowers for pest control. The intercropping of cereals with legumes aids soil fertility. When natural pesticides are added this guarantees higher yields without having to resort to chemical inputs which are not only expensive but can be harmful to human and other life in the long run. These chemicals also damage the environment when they flow into river systems and enter the food chain.

Indigenous crop varieties are also encouraged. Thus many farmers grow indigenous maize varieties that had disappeared in many areas as a result of the introduction of hybrid maize varieties. Indigenous maize stores better post-harvest and for much longer as it is hardy and therefore less susceptible to attacks by pesticides. Thus in the 5 individual projects we visited we noted that together the farmers grow 3 or 4 indigenous maize varieties. Many are doing so at the moment more to generate seeds for circulation to others and not necessarily for domestic consumption. They also grow different varieties of beans. Farmers also grow indigenous and exotic fruit trees and keep nurseries of a huge variety of plants that are also used for the treatment of common ailments such as lemon grass which doubles as a herb for cooking as well as a mosquito and fly repellent. It can also be consumed as a tea. Comfrey aids soil fertility as 'liquid manure', it can lower high blood pressure, can treat minor burns and when fed to chickens it stimulates them to lay more eggs. It can also be consumed as a vegetable. It is apparently very tasty with a spinach-like texture. The farmers also grow a number of vegetable varieties for local consumption. They also grow keep bees for honey. Food availability and the range of variety are therefore very high within households which are part of the project. The immediacy of these results made support and enthusiasm for the projects very high.

The farmers also have fishponds that were started towards the end of last year. Those with fishponds are in areas with a high water table. This is because fish breeding demands flowing water. In the absence of water reticulation systems, water-harvesting techniques are very important. Since November 2000, 21 farmers expressed interests in having fishponds. Only one did not carry through the project because someone from Harare had advised him that it was not viable. The farmer then said he would use the water he had harvested for watering cabbages.

Fish breeding is a major attraction and the farmers involved are really proud of these projects. As such TSURO has not been able to give all farmers fish. The fish are caught in the wild while still small and given to farmers.

The farmers themselves usually dug the fishponds. Most keep bream but were also advised to keep catfish whose eating habits help to keep the ponds clean.

In Shinja Village 2 the farmers have a community project which they say supplies them with enough food on lean months. All 10 households have a portion of the garden. This therefore takes cognizance of the seasonality of rural poverty and food availability.

### **Environmental sustainability**

Richards (1991) decries declining agricultural productivity in Sub-Saharan Africa attributing it to what he calls the "quick fix" approach to environmental problems. These approaches often are inappropriate as they are based on knowledge systems external to the locales where they are applied. They isolate, trivialize and marginalize local knowledge systems. However their external nature renders them unsustainable in terms of their effects on the environment and the fact that locals do not control them. Thus there is need to incorporate local knowledge systems when dealing with environmental problems and *ipso facto* productivity problems.

TSURO encourages farmers to be more attuned to their environment even on the basis of indigenous knowledge. Farmers told us that to spot a place which is likely to have water one has to know 'water markers' or vegetation which points to a high water table such the fig tree. In order to harvest the water, they plant bamboo or sugar cane to stabilize the soil and to preserve the soil. Bananas are also encouraged. The leaves of bananas and sugar cane are used as mulch and later as manure so that no biodegradable material is wasted, banana leaves are also used for potting plants in nurseries. One farmer Mr. Njobo of Shinja Village 10 told us that he planted mulberry trees in the garden and not at home as many people usually do because he says that this attracts children to the garden. With children in the garden playing and eating mulberries they also help to guard crops. Growing mulberries and flowering plants attracts bees and birds, which also aids pollination and therefore productivity of other plants. These were issues which farmers themselves discussed with conviction because these were conclusions they arrived at after observation.

Fish are fed with biodegradable material such as cow dung and chicken droppings as well as leftover food. As a result this means that no biodegradable material are wasted. In one homestead the farmer built a fowl run above the fishpond (on stilts) so that the droppings fall automatically into the pond. The fishponds and legumes mean protein calorie malnutrition is a thing of the past. None of the farmers had started to sell the fish yet although they indicated that in the near future they could do so when the ponds are expanded and the fish stock is increased.

Farmers also grow a grass called vetivar, which is good for soil preservation especially around fishponds as its roots grow three meters deep. Some farmers grow an indigenous tree called "*muore*"<sup>9</sup> which is good when harvesting honey. Once crushed and placed in the opening of a beehive, bees are 'neutralized' and leave the hive without stinging anyone. Mr. Njobo said this is better than using traditional methods such as fires which might destroy forests. Most farmers cannot afford modern equipment.

For fencing farmers use what they describe as 'live fences' in the form of sisal. They also use an indigenous acacia-like creeper and has small dense thorns locally called *rukato*. These fences deter thieves and problem animals like goats from entering the gardens. They also act as windbreaks and help to prevent soil erosion because of wind and water. The windbreaks also protect young plants.

To reclaim gullies and stabilize the soil farmers told us that they plant a wide variety of grasses such as bamboo, sugar cane and bananas.

---

<sup>9</sup> I hope to get the botanic names of these plants later.



## **Farmer creativity**

Farmer creativity was seen in the encouragement of trial and error and therefore experimentation. One farmer told us how the floods brought by Cyclone Eline helped him to discover that sweet potatoes grow better in sandy soils like cassava. The tubers become very big. He now grows sweet potatoes on sandy loams without any need for ridging the sweet potatoes. This has helped him make better use of all soil types in his locale.

In the case of Mr. Njobo he had a fairly sophisticated irrigation system. He even has a map of his garden as well as details of pipes used in the different sections of the system. (He has no training in irrigation design or engineering). He explained to us how he draws water from a nearby river using all manner of tubes and piping. He explained how he tries to defy the gentle slope and proudly demonstrated to us how the system works. It does work except that the pressure is not optimal so this makes irrigation of some parts of the garden rather difficult. Despite this problem he has an idea of what he needs to do to resolve the problem. Namely he feels he has to buy bigger tubes for sections that are near the water source.

We also had occasion to see the result of plant propagation such as citrus fruit, mango and peaches. In one home it was interesting to see that something had gone wrong with the propagation and the mango tree was bearing two types of mangoes. Farmers discussed the solutions. It was suggested that the farmer should wait until the mangoes are ripe and cut the one branch and leave the one with the more superior variety of fruit.

## **Local self-reliance**

In Shinja Village 1, which is very small with only 10 households, there is a lot of cooperation between men and women and they visit each other's plots/gardens. They advise each other on issues. Our visit was marked by lively chatting on what to do and how. However in village 10 where Mr. Njobo lives the village has to contend with religious differences between villagers. For instance Mr. Njobo and his family are of the *Vapostori* sect while other villages are Zionists. Although Mr. Njobo is doing very well he has not disseminated this knowledge to other farmers in his village because of the lack of cooperation between people. Before he was trained another farmer on the other side of the divide had been trained and he too did not teach others. We were not able to get details of the differences but it was acknowledged that the villagers do not work together at all.

The problem of intra-village politics and rivalry notwithstanding farmers are self-reliant in that they exchange ideas and plants/seeds. They also do so through TSURO officials who take request from one area to another and get seeds from one point to another. The use of locally available materials has enabled farmers to save money especially when it comes to fencing. This makes low input agriculture a possibility and an avenue of ensuring higher incomes. Assuming that the projects maintain this momentum and farmers maintain this level of interest the farmers cannot be plunged into deep poverty.

### **3.3b) Gonhi Water project**

Gonhi is a village that is surrounded by mountains but has good red clayey soils. Due to the fact that the area is near a sacred place, the villagers cannot sink boreholes because the spirits of the land forbid it. As a result access to water is a big problem. Women used to walk for 5 hours to fetch water from a nearby sacred water pond. Immediately after Independence in 1980, only 6 families occupied the area but now there are more than 30 households. In the past they were provided with water tapes drawing water from a small tank but these facilities can no longer cope given the huge demand for water. As a result they requested for a bigger overland water storage

tank. Through TSURO they were able to source materials for the tank and the villagers are building the tank themselves. Those villagers who do not participate are fined Z\$50,00 for everyday that they miss work.

The villagers expressed hope that once the tank has been built they will be able to have a crèche and also have fishponds. It is hoped that the availability of water will improve the food security.

### **Lessons learnt**

According to Mrs. Takawira the lessons she learnt is that it pays to respect local farmers. She says the farmers know a lot of traditional methods of farming which they never practiced because they believed them to be old fashioned. She says her organization tries not to play the role of "teachers" or "knowers" but rather facilitators by accepting the traditional knowledge of farmers as equally acceptable. She also indicated that her organization is very honest where they have no information they say so that farmers know that it is all right to try other methods. If these methods work they are share with others. This is empowering for a lot of farmers as they become partners in development as opposed to "beneficiaries" or welfare cases. The term beneficiary is very patronizing of local people and assumes that whatever development are doing is benefiting someone yet the record of development intervention is so abysmal (see Staudt 1991, Hancock 1989).

TSURO also facilitates the exchange of seeds and plants where necessary. Mrs. Takawira noted that given the enthusiasm of farmers she finds that it is hard to plan one's day. Visits to farmers tend to last longer than anticipated as farmers discuss issues lively and have a lot of things which need clarification and explanation. On the day of my visit we had intended to visit 6 farmers but ended up visiting 5 only and even then we left the resettlement at dusk. This means farmers define the nitty-gritty of the day 's business.

Mrs. Takawira also said she and her team are pleased with the progress they have made this far except that they would have wanted to have given more farmers fish to stock their fishponds.

However she noted that divisions within villages as a result of religious and political difference make it hard for farmers to work together. She says that one has to be sensitive to these issues because they make farmer-to-farmer training difficult. Under these circumstances it is important to train farmers on both sides of the divide and not be seen to align oneself with one group and not the other.

The RDC officials are also pretty excited about the progress made so far. After they informally heard us marvel at what the farmers were doing they seemed keen to want 'to showcase' the project too. However one worries that given political polarization will not lead to political parties winning scores for work done and in the process alienating those people who do not support the party associated with the RDC.

### **3.4) Capacity building and civic education**

There are many service providers who meet these needs. I will deal with them one by one. I will detail the work of the District Training Team (DTT), Nyanyadzi Training Centre and IRED.

#### **3.4a) The District Training Team**

The DTT part of the RDC is a multi-sectoral group in which different government ministries are represented, as are NGOs. However it has a core team of 5 people from key line ministries in the

district led by an employee of the RDC. It was formed to coordinate training needs within the district. The DTT falls under the Human Resource Department of the RDC.

The parameters of DTT's work are defined by the RDC's capacity building program.

### **Aims and objectives of DTT**

- to assess institutional capacities within the district and to identify training needs which would ensure that the aims of the council are met
- to train RDC personnel, traditional leaders, elected officials and service providers for transformation and to be more responsive to their clientele
- to do civic training so that people understand the role of officials and what they should demand and expect from their elected officials in the RDC (the councilors )
- to sensitize all within the RDC to the needs of the special interest groups such as youths and women

### **Implementation of project**

DTT started with an institutional audit of its own. This sought to assess personnel needs of the RDC vis-à-vis the qualifications of those already employed by council. It was noticed that after the 1994 merger of Rural Councils and District Councils forming Rural District Councils, people employed by the two types of institutions were merely given new jobs without assessing whether they were well prepared for the new challenges and therefore training them to best serve the people and to do their jobs. As it is there is a lot of deadwood in many RDCs. There are many ill-qualified people who are employed even in specialized departments such as accounts. In Chimanimani the RDC is currently undergoing a restructuring exercise. RDC authorities find it hard to fire people because of the political ramifications that this carries. As a result retraining and reallocation of duties is the best way forward and hence the development of the Human Resource Development Policy.

### **Identified training needs**

- ◆ The institutional audit indicated that there was need for further training in many areas including record keeping and filing systems which would ease management of data.
- ◆ There is need for a Human Resource Development policy to facilitate in-house training of personnel. So far the CAMPFIRE manager is doing a course in tourism marketing, and another person doing a Rural Development diploma.
- ◆ All top officials have to have a work plan in which they detail what they seek to achieve from year the year within the parameters of the RDC's own vision.
- ◆ There is need for a system of performance appraisal for all employees including the Chief Executive of the Council.
- ◆ There is also a need for better supervision of junior staff in key departments such as finance. It was noted that this is only possible where the supervisors themselves are aware of what it is they should be doing.
- ◆ Gender awareness training for gender sensitive and responsive policy planning and industrial relations.
- ◆ Training in the legal codes and statutes that affect local government
- ◆ Training on matters to do with good governance (transparency, accountability, human rights and mutual obligations of institutions and clients).

## **DTT's activities to-date**

### **A) Training of councilors**

Interviews were also done with councilors who are RDC policy makers to determine their level of knowledge on council matters and to determine the committees they should be slotted in. There are five RDC committees, namely Finance, Road Works and Planning, Social Services, Natural Resources and Staffing committees.

After the interviews councilors were slotted into committees and trained to deal with the needs specific to the committees. Councilors were also sensitized to be responsive to their constituencies' needs. Councilors also need training to understand legislation that binds RDCs and to understand their duties and obligations to the people.

There are plans to train councilors in involving people when planning projects. It has been noted that as a result of political affiliation there is deep-seated polarization in many rural communities. The current councilors have difficulty calling for well-attended meetings which many locals see as ruling party meetings so they boycott them. This apathy has a long history in the district. As a result some councilors resorted to making plans with a few people and asking the RDC to implement with the people's cooperation. Of course people would not cooperate and the projects were destined to fail. As it is the council has to make do with what Mrs. Storey described as some kind of a "shadow council" where people in the opposition seem to be organizing their own meetings. With council elections due in the near future it is hoped that this polarization might be resolved.

### **b) Training of ratepayers association**

DTT also trained the Chimanimani Ratepayers' Association emphasizing on rights and obligations of the RDC and the Ratepayers themselves. This arose out the fact that sometimes ratepayers refuse to pay rates saying that they do not appreciate what the revenue is used for without understanding the council's budget and what each task costs. As a result the need to be transparent was emphasized on the part of the RDC and to communicate openly with all stakeholders. The need to keep political party affiliation out of RDC business was noted because so far this has paralyzed the smooth running of council affairs.

### **Interfacing with NGOs**

As stated earlier many NGOs are on the highway and not in the remote areas of Chimanimani. The RDC through DTT now seeks to influence NGOs' choice of sites and to emphasize the need for a gender and environmental impact assessment for each project undertaken by NGOs. NGOs will be directed to areas that are most needy. The District Strategic Plan will be the basis for determining this. DTT feels that NGOs should not be the 'bearers of goods' but train locals so that the NGOs leave more capable communities instead of communities whose expectations for assistance have increased. (See Chimanimani RDC Resolution C693, 28 Nov. 2000). NGOs will now have to apply to enter the district and the full council will ratify their entry after reviewing the NGO's written proposal. Allocation of sites will be based on the need to ensure equitable distribution of resources within the district. The Council will also evaluate NGO activities through its Monitoring and Evaluation Committee. NGOs will be asked to submit written reports periodically detailing their achievements and their impact on the community and also detailing problems and challenges etc.

## **Lessons learnt**

This is a mammoth task that the DTT set itself and may be too ambitious. However it also shows a self-conscious awareness of the high expectations people have of the RDC. They also admit that they have not been able to do all training programs they set out to do in 2000. To their credit, the need to make training a continuous process has been noted because the RDC has to be able deal with challenges as they arise.

## **Problems**

Although RDCs are an avenue of decentralization, it was noted that people are not clear what services they provide and how they relate with sector ministries with offices in the district. Although all sector ministries are coordinated by the District Administrator's office, some ministries seem not to fall under his/her jurisdiction. This problem cannot be solved at the local level without articulating them with central government.

The other problem is that of female participation in council affairs. There are few female councilors. Within the district, women have to be organized and mobilized through gender awareness training. The same applies to the youth. It is erroneously assumed that because councilors are voted for they represent women and youth interests. Councilors have to be trained to deal with these interests.

While the plan of the council and concerns it has are valid, it might be difficult to carry through such a mammoth task given the fact that the council itself has limited capacity at the moment. The RDC is obviously under pressure to deliver and to legitimize itself. However it also has to battle with the low confidence that other service providers have of it. Besides given its association (real or imagined) with the ruling party, it seems the legitimacy crisis mirrors the national one.

### **3.4b) IRED and CASS leadership training initiative**

IRED is generally concerned with policy debates and outcomes leading to poverty reduction as well as economic democracy. The latter means that they try to ensure that as many people as possible have access to economic resources. They focus on issues of leadership and change management as key factors in affecting development policies with a special focus on reducing poverty.

CASS is a research department, which has worked in rural capacity building for quite a long time especially in the CAMPFIRE program where they trained RDC, is the management of locally available natural resources as well as proceeds from them. Their interventions were research based. Leadership training is therefore CASS's forte.

In the IIDDP both CASS and IRED focus on leadership training. They target different types of leaders within Chimanimani including elected officials and traditional leaders well as people in Community based organizations. They target the youth, women in their different roles. In Chimanimani it is hoped that leadership training at RDC level will enhance the capacity of leaders make policies which address issues of development as defined by locals. According to the CASS program Coordinator there are many initiatives in rural communities which flounder because they lack guidance to deal with day-to-day as well as long-term challenges.

CASS did a 'training needs assessment' which established that leadership skills are in short supply. It is also understood that leadership is important for institutional development, a key

ingredient in development. The leadership challenges faced by rural people were defined as follows: -

- ◆ The conflict between traditional and elected officials (because of unclear roles and boundaries of officials' jurisdiction)
- ◆ How to renegotiate roles to meet local needs and circumstances
- ◆ Coping with local challenges such as HIV/AIDS, economic and social decay
- ◆ The need to factor women's roles in dealing with all these issues

The leadership program has 4 components which complement each other. Namely it has

- ◆ a Leadership Academy which provides a platform for public servants, NGO employees to sharpen their skills in leadership in dealing with the many manifestations of rural poverty and to enhance experiential learning in rural areas.
- ◆ A Youth 21 component which specifically targets the youth to increase their economic opportunities
- ◆ A Local Leaders Futures program which local elected and non-elected leaders to enhance their ability to respond to local needs.
- ◆ A Public Policy Dialogue which enables nationals to debate issues which affect national development.
- ◆ A Global Leadership program which can capture the universal challenges at a global level for leaders through research and research dissemination.

It seems the first three components are the ones that are running at the moment. The Youth leadership program works to augment programs such as the Chimanimani Community More Out of Life Award (ChiCoMOOLA), which exposes local youth to leadership training and challenges under the guidance of Outward Bound Zimbabwe.

There are plans to develop an eco-tourism handbook for locals to use as a guide to establish eco-tourism projects given the noted potential of the district in that area. There are also plans to hold a "business challenge" workshop to train youths and women in the challenges of business. It is hoped that business captains in Zimbabwe will attend. These training workshops will hopefully produce leaders to work with emerging business entrepreneurs.

In order to build on these efforts CASS and IRED intend to facilitate access to loans of up to Z\$30 000,00 for local youths to run community programs. The loans will come from a local bank. These programs will enable the youth to put into practice the skills they have learnt and contribute the development of their communities.

### **Lessons learnt so far**

When people are well supported to deal with local situations they can deal with them. Often development interventions focus on the material resources without looking at the human aspect-what are people's abilities and capabilities. Leadership training has implication for sustainability of projects after the withdrawal of donor funds because people are left in a lurch not knowing how to proceed.

### **3.4c) Nyanyadzi Training Centre**

#### **Background**

In view of the soaring unemployment rates in Zimbabwe it has been noted that there is need to train the youth to be self-sufficient and to be self-employed. The levels of unemployment have made many to critique the education system in Zimbabwe as more academic than practical.

Given changes in the economy there are fewer employers yet the number of educated people is rising annually. Concerned with this state of affairs the government commissioned an enquiry into the status of education in Zimbabwe. After a study done by Ministry of National Affairs reviewing manpower development in 1980-1989, it was agreed that there was need to establish training centres in each district or at least each province to cater for the province's training needs in a way which capitalized on the potential of the local community. There were two pilot studies one in Manicaland at Magamba Training Centre and the other in Midlands at Kaguvi Training Centre funded by the British Overseas Development Aid (ODA now called DfID). The pilots were intended to experiment with locale-responsive curricula, which sought to develop the economic potential of the community. These national developments tie in very well to the IRDP. They have provided Nyanyadzi Training Centre with lessons of what works and what does not. Besides these developments mean that at national level there is commitment to changes. Within IIDDP conceptual framework, Nyanyadzi Training Centre will augment the training needs of the community and enhance its socio-economic potential by providing locally needed skills.

Nyanyadzi Training Centre is situated in Nyanyadzi near (across the road from) Nyanyadzi Irrigation Scheme. It was started by Alvord<sup>10</sup> in the 1930s to train blacks farming. Since then the school has not been very active despite the fact there are many new farmers who have since taken over the plots after their parents aged. It is hoped that Kellogg's support will bring new life and relevance to the institution.

### **Aims and objectives of Nyanyadzi Training Centre**

In order to establish its aims and objectives, the Centre had to do a community needs identification exercise. These issues emerged:

- It was noted despite the fact that district has forests; local people are not participating in the processing of forestry products so business and employment opportunities are slipping by. As a result it was noted that the Centre has to focus on agro-forestry production and processing.
- The Centre lies near an irrigation scheme which in recent years has experienced a lot of difficulties and declining productivity, there is need to focus on agriculture as well.
- The district produces quite a lot of agriculture produce (fruit and vegetables) there is need to train people in value-adding to prolong the shelf-life of produce and therefore increase incomes. As a result the Centre will focus on fruit and vegetable preservation using locally available materials e.g. drying and other such methods.
- There is also need to train people in the marketing of produce so that after spending time making wares people can dispose of their wares profitably.
- To tap into the tourist sector it was also noted that there is need to train people in textiles such as batik dying and making of curios.
- Building and roofing skills are also needed to meet people's need to build modern homes since traditional methods of construction often lead to deforestation.

In addition to all these issues it was agreed that there is need to involve women in all courses and so that there are no courses that are perceived to be 'women only' courses and others that are for men only. As it is the centre has had 7 female students doing carpentry. In the previous year there were 5. The head of the Centre expressed hope that when there are a few trailblazers many women will likely follow suit.

In order to effectively meet community needs the Centre will not emphasize on academic qualifications to choose candidates but individuals' determination to create employment and to stand on their own two feet. The target group is the unemployed youth and women. The Centre

---

<sup>10</sup> Alvord is the man credited with initiating "African" irrigation during the colonial era.

also intends to give post-graduation support to students through facilitating the sourcing of finance (loans) through local banks to ensure that the graduates can generate employment for themselves and for others.

### **3.5 Youth mobilization**

As indicated above, youth mobilization is important because the young are the leaders of tomorrow. There is need for the young to have a sense of community belonging so that they do not feel that development is the concern of older people and that they do not belong in rural areas where they tend to be economically and politically marginalized. *Social anomie* among the youth is on the increase as seen in the high incidence of drug and substance abuse among the youth as a way of dealing with unemployment, boredom and a resulting sense of not belonging. In rural areas where life revolves around households, youths as individual in their own right are often not considered in development. They remain invisible. Young persons are seen as part of households where they provide free labour which benefits the household. There are often few activities, which target the youth on their own and cater for their interests.

There is also a high incidence of teenage pregnancy and with it Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) and HIV/AIDS which manifest themselves in chronic illness and death among young adults. In order to deal with these youth problems a number of organizations are involved in youth mobilization. These are Outward Bound, Student Partnership Worldwide, JAZ and ChiYODE.

#### **3.5a) Outward Bound and the ChiCOMOOLA project**

This is a leadership, group dynamics and problem-solving course. Outward Bound generally deals with business people and others who can afford its fees. ChiCoMOOLA is the first project of its kind formed to benefit rural peoples especially those from surrounding rural Chimanimani. As the name implies it seeks to make youths get more satisfaction out of life from rendering service to their communities.

At the moment the ChiCoMOOLA project focuses on the youth. Outward Bound offers 100 scholarships in a year for 2 years (10 groups of 10). In 2001 they already had trained 7 groups by end of January. Each course takes 12 days. Participants think of a community project where they do something together as a group while at Outward Bound. They are also expected to think of a community project which they do for their community. This is intended to instill a community feeling, a sense of belonging, a sense of responsibility and initiative. All these are important ingredients of local leadership development.

There are plans to also offer a Mountain Guides course so that local youths can take advantage of the economic opportunities of tourism and be mountain guides. The course will offer Advanced First Aid in collaboration with the Medical Air Rescue Services (MARS). This will provide self-employment opportunities to local youths. It is hoped that tourists visiting local mountains will pay the youths.

This project is run in collaboration with other intermediaries such as CASS/IREC and JAZ whose programs add more dimensions to these initiatives. ChiCoMOOLA is supposed to be the first port of call. However this does not stop youths from starting at other 'levels'.

#### **Lessons learnt and challenges**

One of the major problems has been drawing female youth to be more open as they are at that stage in life where they render important service to households as free domestic labour as



daughters and daughters in law if they marry early. Many parents easily release sons than they do girls. This also has to do with traditional culture which values marriageable young women and keeping them housebound is a way of ensuring that they do not get into trouble. Often parents release girls when the returns are immediate. This remains a challenge.

The youth we spoke to were very excited about the program. They had not decided on their community project but they were going to be working on it soon. Otherwise it is early days to assess the effectiveness of these training programs.

### **3.6 The mobilization of women**

Women of Chimanimani are involved in a number of Income Generating Projects (IGPs) as individuals and in groups. They are also involved in community management programs such as community based orphan care programs which care for orphaned children as a result of HIV/AIDS. In order to enable women to effectively organize themselves there is the proposed formation of Chimanimani Women's Development Association (CHIWODA) through which women's activities will ideally be organized and coordinated within the district.

#### **3.6a The proposed formation of Chimanimani Women's Development Association (ChiWODA)**

In a survey done in 1999 by Shaba (2000), it was noted that women dominate in many community-based organizations including church based ones such as the mothers' unions *Ruwadzano*. However it was also noted that many women are marginalized when it comes to leadership positions within the community and in local politics. Many women also noted that they wish that things would change. They lamented that they do not have confidence, some feared being divorced if they were outspoken, and others said that women are inherently weak and emotional and therefore could not handle the demands of leadership positions given domestic obligations. They also lamented that sometimes men withhold information when they fear that women may challenge them. As such the report noted the need for gender sensitization of both men and women so that both genders cooperate in a bid to change local norms which help to oppress women. The proposed formation of ChiWODA is a step in that direction.

The need to mobilize women was reiterated at a meeting held in December 2000 where it was agreed that there was need for a women's association to represent women from different wards. The aim of the association is to plan development issues that affect women. The association is yet to have a constitution. The constitution will likely be discussed at district level next time the association meets.

#### **Aims of ChiWODA**

- To empower women in the whole district to deal with gendered social and economic challenges in their lives; to take charge of their lives and to enjoy the fruits of their labour.
- To make women economically independent
- To train women in business management and in leadership
- To train women to run their individual and community projects more effectively
- To give women civic education
- To train women to deal with the effects of HIV/AIDS infection

Because the association has not been formalized yet the coordinator merely indicated that that women in the district are very determined to change their lot. She indicated that in Nyanyadzi, for instance, there are women in difficult marriages where the women participate in the earning significant sums of money through irrigation agriculture only to be sidelined by husbands when it

comes to income control. She noted that that this is bad and in the clubs that they have in the area they speak against these practices and encourage women to insist on going to the market too when beans are sold. They also encourage women to go with their husbands to cash the cheques and to participate in decisions on the disposal of the money since women are the ones who earn the money in the first place. As an older woman she thinks that she has been able to mobilize women in this locale because people respect her but she has been called names too. She says this does not daunt her because she says development is not a personal thing but it is for the whole community.

In order to ensure economic independence Ambuya Washaya spoke strongly about the need for women to have their own disposable income, which is not controlled by men. She noted that in Nyanyadzi there is a postal agency so women can open postal savings accounts and deposit proceeds from their projects in these accounts. She said this helps one in times of need so that one can manage for a bit along and only later begs for assistance. She says this money should take care of such emergencies as ill health, death and school fees.

### **3.6b) Community based orphan care program**

Many women are already informally involved in community based orphan care programs. They are found in Shinja, Rusitu and in other wards. Most groups operate without registration. In Shinja they had 230 orphans aged between 1-18 years of age in 2000! In Chakohwa there are 231 orphans in 2001. They had 216 in 1999, 219 in 1999. In 1999 2 children died. By 2000 they had 290 orphans. The women also have to contend with the children's ill health and eventual death.

Community based orphan care programs are dominated by women who are called 'volunteer mothers'. Because of the AIDS pandemic it was noted that some relatives are not keen to care for their relatives children but when the community starts caring for them some are shamed into doing something about it. Volunteer mothers care for the orphaned children as they do their own children. Women I spoke with said there is a major problem of supervision and socialization of the children. They noted that there have been cases of incest where older brothers have made younger sister pregnant. As a result they have developed a 'code' of conduct according to which if among the orphans there are older girls and boys, they make sure that the boys and girls are separated at night. This might mean that the volunteer mothers offer the girls accommodation overnight. The children have to be supervised to do housework and not mill around aimlessly. This milling around leads girls to prostitution and boys to theft and substance abuse. The older children are also taught about responsible dating etc.

In order to care for the children effectively women engage in income generating projects to raise money for school fees, food and clothes and accommodation where the children's parents had no decent homes. In fact this is the case because by the time people die of AIDS they will have exhausted whatever savings they might have had. Thus women in Chakohwa have a mushroom project in collaboration with Africa University (the university is based in Mutare). The women meet twice a week to tend to, sell the mushroom, and give each other moral support. They also sell firewood, and want to start a poultry project.

### **Challenges in lieu of lessons**

Although ChiWODA has been formalized, it has been observed that women have to be organized to deal with local challenges in the face of an increase in the number of orphans and as problems of non-control of resources often correlate with female impoverishment especially following widowhood.

The need to deal with prevailing local cultural norms that women acknowledge are the basis of experiences that they go through was also expressed. Many feel that there is need for women and men to be sensitized on gender relations and ideologies; and their effects on development. Many agree women feel that it is better that people who are not locals sensitize men lest they feel that 'their' women are challenging them.

There is need to be conscious of the interaction between age and gender. In the projects referred to there is high visibility of middle-aged women while younger women go unaccounted for. In traditional patrilineal societies the mobility of younger women of childbearing age is closely monitored while middle-aged women are comparatively freer to participate in projects and other responsibilities outside the home (Schmidt 1992: 23-4). This is because they can leave their daughters and daughters-in-law doing household chores which they otherwise would have to do themselves. Thus there is need to ask oneself what target population of women are intended beneficiaries? The visibility of older women needs not be applauded as an achievement of the empowerment of women but a cementation of existing gerontocratic norms that are quite oppressive except that they are transitory. They are oppressive in that they mirror intra-household relations and dynamics which affect relations in the home and affect personal options available to individuals outside the home.

#### **4. Emerging conceptual and policy issues**

IIDDP prides itself of aiming at local empowerment and participation. These concepts are buzzwords in development. One needs to operationalize and critique these concepts in order to be clear not just of our intentions but also what pitfalls these concepts have at implementation level.

##### **The question of participation**

Participation as a concept is one of those enduring concepts which has survived many a development approach. It is generally associated with social justice, equitable access to resources and opportunity; and believed to ensure sustainability as local people 'control and define' the development intervention (Chambers 1995, Croft and Beresford 1996:179). It is about 'role reversal' says Chambers (1995) where the underlings take charge while those in control yield to them. As such the term is very persuasive and expresses good intentions (Nelson and Wright 1995). Many see participatory development as the best way to deal with marginalization and poverty. However whether or not these proclamations of participation are equivalent to commitment to the intentions is something else.

Participation should ideally lead to transformation of social relationships which uphold poverty and abuse. It should also lead to empowerment which means a state of being when people take charge of their lives and control locally available resources and opportunities as individuals and as groups. It means being able to influence goings-on in one's socio-economic and political environment. However there is need to understand the different forms of participation which the IIDDP project has so far implemented and to evaluate the extent to which they achieve the ultimate aims of participation.

In its most ideal definition, participation as transformative development demands conscientisation and awareness raising. It demands a critical worldview which questions the *status quo*; a deeper awareness of oneself and how one is constructed in society. For women and youth this means gender awareness training where people understand how gerontocracy and patriarchy organize society and define access to tangible and intangible resources etc. One has to understand patriarchy and gerontocracy as structures of domination, exclusion and discrimination. Awareness

of social identities should hopefully enable marginalized groups to support each other because they understand each other's vulnerability given existing structural relations.

Questioning the *status quo* is often a painful process which is hard to deal with for many activists and victims(?) alike. The powerful do not yield without resistance. The underlings may be made to feel deviant while demanding change. This is often the case where gender and age relations are concerned. As such there is need to be aware that meaningful participation is about politics and struggles for social change. Such struggles are often protracted. Often though change agents are reluctant to deal with intra-household and gender politics. These issues are seen as personal matters yet at the same time we talk about changing mindsets. This becomes a contradiction. How do we change mindsets without affecting the private and personal relations between people?

Failure to deal with issues expressed above lead to what Chambers (1995) observes as the folly of self-perpetuating tendencies of power relations where the powerful are likely to participate more. Thus they may consolidate their social positions through participatory development and by 'speaking for' those in their patronage. Croft and Beresford (1996) echo this sentiment when they say

"Typically participatory schemes *mirror rather than challenge* broader oppressions and discriminations". (Croft and Beresford 1996:187). (Emphasis added)

This might be an indictment of our efforts. How far are we willing to push the limits of social change? Thus Croft and Beresford (1996) say participation is often qualified. Poor people are often *involved* in a process while the rich and powerful *influence*. Involvement takes many forms from mere attendance in meetings and voting *without room to define* the process. This is because social relations are inevitably hierarchical and power relations are such that those with resources use them to impose their will on the weak and less powerful. In the process this gives legitimacy to issues which have nothing to do with the desires of the weak and marginalized. This gives a feeling of popularity. Manipulation of masses is reflected in dynamics of elections whether parliamentary or local. Why are women never elected? Why does development continue to marginalize women who are the majority of voters? This limited participation is also seen in the participation of older women as opposed to younger women. These relations can be coercive. Thus participation is illusory if we are not true to ourselves. We have to set realistic aims, intentions and outputs acknowledging the whole gamut of socio-cultural factors and how they define who participates in which activities. It is important that where there is a commitment to participation there is also a commitment to changing these social relations.

The other trap with participation is that even where leaders are elected on the basis of the most participatory of methods and approaches, elitism often sets in thus marginalizing those who are not leaders or have never been leaders. There are many instances where broad based mobilization leads to the election of leaders through participatory processes but in time leaders become elitist and marginalize their constituencies (Zachariah and Sooryamoorthy 1994). Bureaucratization is one of the easiest and commonest ways of creating elitism. Elitism negates the ethos of participatory development. Participation therefore demands new forms of administrative structures which enable the weak and marginalize to influence goings-on. There is a danger of bureaucratization and elitism in some rural institutions in due course especially when the projects begin to bear fruit.

Croft and Beresford (1996) say that we have to think about skills that people need in order to participate effectively. It is not possible that people will participate effectively without experiences, which *make it normal to demand service and to demand to be heard*. As indicated earlier, there are many categories of people for whom, as a result of culture it is not normal to demand to be heard.

Participation unfortunately deals with individuals' public personas. It is not possible that people who cannot make decisions in private can make decisions in public because circumstances in the private domain are inextricably linked to those in the public domain. This touches on tradition and culture vis-à-vis the youth and women. The social transformation sought through participation has to deal with intra-household relations and dynamics too. Women surveyed by Shaba (2000) were acutely aware of these issues and hence they demanded that men be conscientised too. Women also lament the dynamics of conjugal relations as a problem although they feel that they need external intervention to rectify whatever is wrong with these relations because they fear being labeled as deviant if they challenge what they see as a problem but is also seen as local culture.

Results of participatory development often take long to realize. This might make some people lose interest in the process. In this case too there are some people who seem mired in the idea of development as the delivery of goods for local consumption who are disinterested in being conscientized as that does not deal with the here-and-now which often has to do with bread and butter issues.

However when all is said and done, it is impossible to have a participatory scheme in which all people participate. There are inevitably losers. The question one has to ask is a moral as well as a political one: who should lose?

Finally, as this study shows there are problems of religious differences and envy which create tension within communities. In the women's community based orphan care program issues of witchcraft were raised. In one case, women involved in the program were collecting food donations for children and one woman gave poisoned food. Apparently she aimed at discrediting those involved. These issues also dampen participation and demand acute sensitivity to them.

### **Development discourse and women's labour contribution**

In development there is a feeling that women's resources especially time and energy is infinite and that when new problems arise women can be called on to deal with it. Where such work has to do with care giving people do not even see it as work. It is always assumed that women can take in their stride. Indeed women themselves are in a sense convinced that it is their duty as people with care giving social roles to give care to those without it without thinking about themselves. I was shocked by the workload of caring for so many orphaned children in addition to one's own. This does not exempt women from other IGPs and community work such as attending funerals etc. all done for free. It means that we continue to view women's efforts as non-work and as available whenever we have a crisis of provisioning at state level<sup>11</sup>. The emotional and psychological impact on women's health is hard to measure but has to be measured somehow. It is therefore important to think about who cares for the caregivers? A development process which does not question these issues leads to women being more burdened and eventually being unable to effectively participate in the development process as they withdraw to mind the people that they care for.

It seems that there is need to do more advocacy work so that the government can take care of the terminally ill because the policy of home based care and community care of orphans all

---

<sup>11</sup> It is important to note that this has been the case in Zimbabwe since the colonial era. The state then and now has no well-developed social security scheme which covers all people. Women, especially those in rural areas therefore run a cheap social security scheme when they maintain rural homes for the depositing of spent labour. Today with HIV/AIDS, many terminally ill end up in rural areas to be cared for under home based care schemes. The same applies to community based orphan care. Usually women are not given any material support nor any acknowledgement for their efforts at subsidizing the state.

intensify women's workloads. There is need to have more resources channeled to these programs. Perhaps there is need to rethink the AIDS levy to find means and ways of pepping up women involved in care work connected to HIV/AIDS which is often emotionally exerting. There is need to give them some awards for outstanding performance and to offer them courses which build on the skills that they use when they care for orphans. This might mean documenting their efforts and making a film so that they feel recognized and appreciated.

## **5. Conclusion**

In a project of this scale in which the district as whole is seen as the target population, and there are several service providers, one of the biggest lessons is that of the importance of networking on the part of service providers. This has demanded that the service providers give themselves clear areas of influence to avoid duplication.

Although in many instances the project has not taken off as service providers are at a stage where they are doing conscientisation work and preparing to implement programs. The groundwork that has been done indicates that there is a great need to let the community define what type of change they want. Their participation has indicated that they are aware of the potential in the community and that they need capacity to unleash it.

It is also clear that where local communities are encouraged to feel at home demanding and defining the type of development they want; the results are successful programs such as seen in the TSURO intervention. This means that communication with local communities has to be kept open and on going in order to ensure that programs are successful. However there are challenges of sustainability which all people have to worry about.

## References

- Chambers, R- 1987- *Rural development: Putting the last first* Longman
- Chambers, R-1995- "Paradigms shifts and the practice of participatory research and a development" In Nelson, N and Wright S (eds.) *Power and participatory development: Theory and practice*
- Chowdry, G – 1999 – "Engendering development? Women in development (WID) in international development regimes" in Marchand, M. H and Parpart, J. L (eds.) *Feminism, postmodernism and development* Routledge, London
- Croft, S and Beresford, P –1996- "The politics of participation" in Taylor, D (ed) *Critical social policy* Sage Publications
- Hancock, G-1989- *Lords of Poverty* Mandarin
- Long, N- 1989-"Demythologizing planned interventions: an actor oriented perspective" in *Sociologia Ruralis* vol. 29 number 3-4
- Longwe, S. H – 1991 – "Gender awareness: the missing elements in the Third World development project" in Wallace, T and March, C (eds.) *Changing perceptions Writings on Gender and Development* Oxfam, UK
- Makumbe, J-1996- *Participatory development: the case of Zimbabwe* Univ. of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare
- Manzungu, E- 1999- *Strategies of smallholder Irrigation Management* Wageningen The Netherlands
- Murwira, K et al –2000- *Beating hunger: the Chivi experience* IT Publications
- Oxfam-1995- *The Oxfam poverty report* Oxfam Publications
- Parpart, J. L – 1999 – "Deconstructing the development "expert"; *Gender development and the "vulnerable groups"* in Marchand, M. H and Parpart, J. L (eds.) *Feminism, postmodernism and development* Routledge, London
- Richards, P-1991-"Experiencing farmers and agricultural research" In Haswell, M and Hunt, D (eds.) *Rural households in emerging societies: technology and change in Sub-Saharan Africa* Berg Publications
- Rukuni, M and Eicher, C-1995-"Alleviating hunger in Zimbabwe: towards national food security" *Zambezia supplement* Univ. of Zimbabwe Publications
- Schmidt, E-1992-*Peasants, traders and wives: Shona women in the history of Zimbabwe 1870-1939* Baobab Harare
- Staudt, K A-1991-*Managing development* Sage Publications
- Stiefel, M and Wolfe, M –1994- *A voice of the excluded: popular participation in development: Utopia or necessity?*

Zachariah, M and Sooryamoorthy, R –1994- *Science and participatory development: the achievement and dilemmas of the development movement* Zed Books

**ITDG Documents**

Mbetu, R (n.d)- Report on District and Community institutions in Chimanimani District, Manicaland Province

Shaba, L- 2000-Training for capacity building and empowerment for women





This work is licensed under a  
Creative Commons  
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 License.

To view a copy of the license please see:  
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

This is a download from the BLDS Digital Library on OpenDocs  
<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/>