An Assessment of Community Participation and Empowerment through Non Governmental Organizations’ development work among the rural poor. The case of World Vision’s intervention in the Gwembe Valley, Zambia.

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Dedication

To my children; Clara, Nkombo and Mweene. For the time I had to be on the desk and paid little attention to your ever probing needs, I lay this work in your hands. For you my dearest I endeavour; I therefore beseech each one of you not to be me if you can’t but to be inspired in your ambitions by this, my achievement.

To my wife, Chimuka C. Mweene, for always visioning a perfect family life. It is through your dreams that I have strength to keep going and with which I was always motivated to complete this work. To you I say, together we shall always overcome.

To my mother, Chilala Hamakona Mweene, for having laid a foundation upon which I could self-regenerate. Dear mama I remember in my days at primary and secondary school you worked hard to source for resources; all of which I took leaving you penniless and working even harder for the next time I would demand for more. You truly sacrificed your own welfare to provide for me knowledge. Dear Mama, there is no way I can pay you back but the plan is to show you that I understand, you are appreciated (Tupac Lyrics)
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Abstract

If development is to mean anything, it should ultimately translate into positive change in people’s lives. This is because development should not merely be of things but that of things through which people’s lives will be made better. Over time this realisation has taken centre stage in development discourse within most developing countries. While most of these countries were, in the 1950s and early 1960s, motivated by the advancements of the now developed Western countries and sought to westernise as well, their peculiar circumstances made it difficult to achieve this dream. This plunged most of these countries into national economy constraints and passing down the benefits of Independence which most of them had recently attained became difficult. However, although some countries recorded some economic progress, such were interim and marginal as to yield the kind of advancement of the West. Over time this led to state borrowing and implementation of liberalised markets with the hope of resuscitating the dwindling economies. Unfortunately these efforts did not match with the kind and magnitude of problems these countries were facing. They further fell into balance of payment problems and into less and less public spending. Poverty set in and big questions of what had gone wrong with development took the agenda of development discourse.

At the helm of all this was the realisation that development should not be about a homogenous path for catching up with the West but rather endogenous and meant for the satisfaction of local people’s needs. This entailed heterogeneity informed by local culture, nature and geopolitics. It hence called for a development approach that would come from below and a multi-sectoral approach requiring concerted efforts from many stakeholders. It is then that National States allowed the existence of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) among other stakeholders in the development process. NGOs became popular among rural communities, known for grassroots based development using bottom-up approaches.

In Zambia, World Vision International is one such NGO, undertaking child focussed and community based development in all nine provinces of the country. Based on a regional approach and emphasising devolution of power to the poor, the organization reaches about one fifth of the country’s ten million people and targets those that need development the most; the poorest. Its development interventions are said to be directed at the poor’s basic needs and are empowering because they involve the poor in providing for their own needs. Through this process, the community is further said to be capacitated not only to meet their needs now but even beyond NGO support.

With this strand of development; emphasising involvement of civil society, NGOs in particular, there is a great deal of evidence that development is now more directed at people’s needs than before. However, there are also concerns that NGO based development tend to be more of charitable efforts to the poor than those meant to build their capacities to handle their own development affairs. There is tendency to view the poor as mere recipients of charity from broad based and pre-packaged poverty reduction interventions.

The contention in this thesis is, however, that while development is a global project, its implementation needs to be particularistic; a local phenomenon that adapts its interventions on the needs of the poor as seen by them and not as perceived by development experts. Only then will development truly change the lives of the people, be locally owned and sustained by those it is intended to save.
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Chapter One: Introduction

Preamble
This study was targeted at seeking understanding on the role Non Governmental Organizations’ (NGOs) work among rural communities in Zambia. Taking a case study of World Vision Zambia the study particularly sought understating on the type of NGO activities, the intervention strategy, stakeholder participation, and how NGO activities contribute to meeting community needs and enhancing community capabilities to manage its own development. In this chapter, I give the background to development interventions in developing countries as a basis for understanding the emergence of NGOs in general and in Zambia’s development efforts in particular. The chapter also presents the research problem and research questions upon which this study was based. Further, as an introductory chapter, it also gives a description of the arrangement of this thesis.

1.1 Development in historical perspective
Pieterse (2001) observes that over time development has carried very different meanings and he analyses different development meanings as far back as 1870. The varying perspectives on the meaning of development over time can be related to the question of the different purposes for which interventions under each epoch were targeted to serve. This means that over different periods in time, development meaning was constructed around the kind of problems it sought to solve. It is in this regard that Pieterse (2001, 7) points out that understanding development theory in context means understanding it as a reaction to problems, perspectives and arguments at the time. He further holds that this implies epistemology or rules of what constitutes knowledge and also involves methodology. In essence this means that at a given time, people’s epistemological orientations will influence their way of defining the world processes around them and in this case influence their definition of what constitutes development and the means to achieve it. Development therefore, based on this argument, carries different meanings over time across different geographical locations and is based on what people construct as truth in pursuit of solutions to their problems. This part of this thesis briefly highlights the different meanings of development traced as far back as the 1950s and highlights how each period was manifest in the Zambian context.

1.1.1 Development as modernisation
Development interventions in the 1950s and part of the early 1960s were centred on economic growth maximisation through modernisation. The prime meaning of development at this time
was to achieve modernity. The development orientation therefore was to move from lower stages, generally referred to as traditional stages of development to higher stages or modern stages. All countries according to Rostow (1960) can be traced in this modernisation definition of development as lying within one of the five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take off, the take off, the drive to maturity and the age of high mass-consumption. In this notion of development, it is argued that the traditional stage is the basic stage while the age of high mass-consumption refers to being modern or as the ultimate and the desired goal for all the now developing countries. Desai and Potter (2002) argue that during this time, views of development undoubtedly stressed catching up with, and generally imitating, the West. Huntington (1971) postulates that the essential difference between modern and traditional society lies in the greater control which modern man has over his natural and social environment and this control is in turn based on the expansion of the scientific and technological knowledge. It is in this regard that countries that have achieved modernity are seen in terms of their level of industrialisation and huge capital base. The achievement of this state, it is argued, is due to pursuit and application of economic growth maximisation agendas which gave rise to high profitability of capital permitting rapid expansion of new industries. During this period therefore, the approach to development among most developing countries, as stated above, was to follow the path of the now developed countries and as such emphasised on efforts that sought for industrialisation as a process that would drive their economies to levels that would trigger production and spur profits, large proportions of which would be reinvested in new plants. National Governments therefore took centre stage in this process and were viewed as best engines through which industrial development could be achieved. Jenkins (in Hewitt, Johnson and Wield eds. 1992) concurs with this view and points out that economic growth was to be achieved by observing three key points which are;

- Market forces alone had failed to bring about economic development and therefore the state must actively seek to promote it,

- Development was to be achieved by transforming predominantly agricultural economies to industrial ones and

- Economic growth and structural transformation required an increase in the level of investment in the economy.

It was then clear from such kind of thinking that the main purpose of development at the time was to stimulate capital accumulation for economic growth and the state had to take centre
stage to achieve that. In the case of Zambia, the Environmental Council of Zambia (ECZ) 2001 (in Shitima 2005) observe that this period constitute the first phase of post-independence economic policy management where government rather than the private sector was the key player in economic matters through State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), including the Mining Development Corporation (MINDECO) which managed the copper mines. This was from about 1965 to the early 1970s. This period was characterised by high revenues arising from high copper prices on the international market. During this period, and as a way of passing down the benefits of Independence, the government subsidised many consumer goods. This was evident through free medical care, free education, lowly priced agricultural inputs etc. The common person was then a recipient from government high revenues and poverty was at minimum.

As a major actor, the state also had the monopoly in development decision making and as such people’s participation was downplayed. The argument was, as Friedmann (1992) observes, that modern capitalism could do without subsistence peasants, landless rural workers and the so-called popular sectors of rapidly growing urban slums and shantytowns who were perceived as having negative effects on capital accumulation. This was on the ground that the urban poor siphon off capital for relatively unproductive public expenditures on housing, education, and health, and that subsistence peasants obstruct necessary modernisation in agricultural production. Martinussen (in Mengesha 2000) also notes that the classical modernisation proponents argued that widespread and active participation of the poor or too much involvement of the masses in decision-making would impede growth because poor and ordinary people lack the foresight and imagination required to plan for the future. It was therefore thought prudent to make economic decisions at the level of the state and only provide the people with consumer services.

It was clear therefore that during this epoch, development orientation meant that satisfaction of people’s needs was secondary to enhancing national economic growth. It was postulated that the benefits of economic growth would trickle down to all members of society over time.

1.1.2 Dependency view of Development

The second part of the 1960s was characterised with a lot of critique to the modernisation conception of development. The sceptics of the modernisation view of development who eventually constituted the dependency school of thought levelled a number of arguments to augment their cause. For instance they argued that although there were forms of industrial activity in most developing countries during this period as a result of the modernization based
interventions, the level of industrialisation did not advance high enough to cause the required economic growth in these countries. Reasons for this are varied and form the basis for the critique of modernisation as a development paradigm. Jenkins (in Hewitt, Johnson and Wield eds. 1992) points out that among the factors that made the modernisation approach to fall out of favour was that pursuit for economic growth had failed to create sufficient employment to absorb the growing labour force of the Third World and created increased income inequalities and poverty in many countries. In this sense therefore, economic growth did not stimulate any trickle down effect to benefit the members of society for whom development was ultimately intended.

According to Huntington (1971) modernisation is a homogenizing process and sees all societies as having basic similarities. Against this background it is felt that societies will follow the same path to achieve the required economic growth for modernisation (Rostow 1960). On the contrary as Huntington rightly puts it, many types of traditional societies exists and have little in common except their lack of modernity (Huntington 1971). Therefore to prescribe the same factors that propelled economic growth in the now developed countries as panacea for economic growth of the now developing countries was homogenising societies and ignoring their structural differences and their varied resource endowment capacities. To this effect, Gunder Frank (1969) in dispelling the modernisation view to development argues that since the historical experience of the colonial and underdeveloped countries has demonstrably been different, available theory therefore fails to reflect the past of the underdeveloped part of the world entirely, and reflects the past of the world as a whole only in part. Most importantly, our ignorance of the underdeveloped countries’ history leads us to assume that their past and indeed their present resemble earlier stages of the history of the now developed countries. Such assumption according to dependency theory exponents is a fallacy. In fact it is held from this point of view that the current state of the Third World was a result of their unfair relations with the now developed countries. According to Gosh (2001) the theory of dependency considers the fact that the social and the economic development of less developed countries (LDCs) is conditioned by the external forces which are nothing but the central capitalism. Development efforts therefore for these countries should not be sought from the perspective of factors which led to the development of the West, but in their current situations which demonstrably varies from the past of the now Developed Countries (DCs) and also between and among the LDCs themselves. This should also entail breaking the existing unfair relations between the DCs and LDCs and rebalancing of the power relations.
The fallacy, however, with the dependency school of thought is that it does not in itself offer an alternative to modernisation apart from giving a critique. In this sense therefore, dependency theory according to its critics is in fact not a theory because it postulates no means for development. De-linking, which is the main agenda for dependency proponents is not in itself a development approach. The dependency view to development is therefore no much more than a critique to modernisation; as such it is more of a realisation that the benefits of the perceived economic progress in the developing countries were short lived and not sustainable.

In the case of Zambia, this period constitute the second phase of post-independence economic policy management running from 1975 to 1982. During this period, the country’s revenue fell drastically due to several factors. Shitima (2005) observes that these included the world fuel crisis of the early 1970s, decline in copper prices and the closure of the country’s access to sea ports when the settler regime under Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain in 1971. Zambia, under President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, as a member of the Frontline States, vehemently opposed the move. The civil war in Angola that broke out at Independence in 1975 also cut off the Benguela railway route to the sea. This implied that Zambia, a landlocked country, had to airlift her imports and exports. Internal factors included government failure to adjust to new economic realities but instead imposing controls through exchange and price controls, employing subsidies on essential goods and heavy borrowing to offset its negative balance of trade (Shitima 2005).

Eventually this plunged the country in financial difficulties and the benefits of the capital investments of in the post independence era were now clearly diminishing.

1.1.3 Neo-Liberal perspectives to development

The period leading to the onset of the alternative development paradigm was characterised with a development approach that sought to shift the role of development from the state to markets. The phase is thus considered as the period of neo-liberal perspectives to development. These argued that top-down, state-led development practice had failed to enhance the required capital accumulation and hence promoted the role of the market forces to direct the development process. Parpart et al (2002) state that the neo-liberal sympathisers took the failures of mainstream development agencies as proof of the need to reduce the size and function of the state, leaving development to the wisdom of market forces. The implication was that the market forces had to determine the course of development whose major priority was to enhance the growth of capital and maximisation of profits. So in many ways the neo-liberal view to
Development is similar to the modernisation conception of development i.e. both were geared towards economic growth maximisation. The only neo-liberal departure from the modernisation view is that of who should be in charge of the development process. As argued above, the modernisation perspective placed the role on the state while the neo-liberal approach puts the onus on market forces. It was common therefore during this era to see development orientation targeted towards achieving this shift in responsibility for championing development. The period thus is known in most developing countries as a period for the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which in Zambia was manifest through privatisation of most government parastatals, restructuring of government agencies, retrenchments of civil service and recurrent high levels of unemployment. All the major SOEs which had rendered economic growth after Independence were either given to private hands or sold off. Many people lost their jobs and poverty increased both in urban and rural areas.

According to the critics of this strand of development, though it may have had positive impacts on promoting economic growth and in some cases enhancing government operations, to a large extent, it did not help much in keeping low the poverty levels in developing countries and most of them saw an upsurge in real poverty among its people during this period. Hettne (1995, 177) points out that ‘in the early 1970s it was widely agreed among international development bureaucrats that economic growth did not necessarily eliminate poverty. Rather the economic growth that actually took place in most developing countries seemed to go with increase in absolute poverty’.

Based on its emphasis, the neo-liberal perspective to development did not have any social responsibility because this was thought to be an area which would siphon off the capital necessary for more rewarding investments in the market. However, because of the increasing poverty levels among the people, there was also an increasing need to tailor development towards mitigating the negative effects of the structural adjustment programmes. Thus to some degree, this period also witnessed the growth of programmes which sought to decentralise development to as many parts of the nation states as much as possible. It was therefore during this period that along side these neo-liberal policies most third world governments also encouraged and supported Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDPs) for purposes of taking development as close as possible to the poor masses within these countries. It was for instance through the IRDPs where import substitution measures were encouraged as a means of self-sustaining rural communities and mitigating poverty from within. Jenkins (in Hewitt, Johnson and Wield 1992) argues that at this time development required attention to the pattern
of income distribution and the standard of the poor as well. The IRDPs were therefore seen as one of the means towards that.

Though the IRDPs were seen to be more people centred than the economic growth approaches to development, they too fell out of favour because of being rural enclave and paying inadequate attention to rural-urban linkages.

1.2 An Overview of NGO centred development

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the emergence of the Alternative Development paradigm as a response to the increasing poverty levels. This perspective emphasised development approaches that sought to empower the people as the targets for development efforts. Through this approach, development interventions emphasised people’s participation as a stepping stone to empowerment. Oakley (1991) argues that participation will not only change the nature and direction of development interventions but will lead to a type of development which is more respectful of poor people’s position and interests. At this stage, most nation states alongside Government development efforts allowed the proliferation of NGOs to complement the process of taking development as close to the people as possible.

Although the history of NGOs goes back to the 1940s, it is largely since the 1980s that they began receiving a high profile as development role-players offering an alternative development approach to poverty alleviation and long-term sustainable development to poor communities in developing countries (Drabek in Matenga 2001). Matenga (2001, 1) also points out that the present emphasis on the development role of NGOs is firstly related to the difficulties experienced by government development interventions in rural and peri-urban areas in initiation of income generation activities and provision of services such as health, water and sanitation. Fowler 1991 (in Matenga, 2001) also observes that the effect of structural adjustment programmes on particular social groups led to the identification and growing involvement of NGOs in the development process on the understanding that the latter contributes to social requirements of structural adjustment programmes because it is believed they have the qualities to deliver services effectively and have greater ability to target the poor or the vulnerable groups.

The greater role of, and support for NGOs in the developing countries is also largely due to their own capacity in contrast with the limitations of the discredited official agencies. NGOs have a comparative advantage over governments and official aid agencies. Their interventions are largely as a result of requests for collaboration with communities, thereby making
development a community-based activity and getting the community to define their needs and empowering them to achieve those needs. Since their interventions are usually on a small scale it is also possible to adapt them to the requirements of communities (Fowler 1988). Fowler further notes that due to the worldwide growth in numbers, influence and importance of these NGOs the 1980s have been termed the 'development decade of NGOs' (Fowler, 1). Since then to date, there are in many developing countries a number of NGOs undertaking different development activities aimed at poverty alleviation and empowering of different target groups for them to manage and sustain their own development process.

This development discourse emphasising NGO involvement has since the 1980s coexisted with national oriented neo-liberal policies, a strand of development whose objectives were more or less comparable to the modernisation efforts of the 1950s. There was at this stage a re-emphasis on market forces as the engine to economic growth and development efforts therefore were aimed at fostering the role of the private sector. Jenkins (in Hewitt, Johnson and Wield 1992, 136) asserts that neo-liberal approaches dominated the discussion of development policy since the 1980s and advocated for policies including monetarist measures to bring down the rate of inflation, public expenditure cuts to eliminate budget deficits and reduced economic role of the state. However, poverty still persisted in these countries.

Because of the adverse effects of the liberalisation policies and its programmes on the people through for example retrenchments, high unemployment, lack of subsidies on consumer goods and many more, the role of NGOs continued to be of significance in national development. There is reasonable evidence that sizable proportions of the negative effects of the liberalisation policies have been and continue being mitigated through NGO interventions.

In Zambia, the failure of the neo-liberal interventions to economic growth and its corresponding increase in poverty led to the resurgence of Government commitment to poverty reduction through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). As though to affirm the contributions from NGOs’ efforts in development through the years, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) inspired and Government driven PRSP also recognised NGOs as key stakeholders and relevant actors in national development and poverty reduction. This is evident in the preparation process of the Zambian PRSP where NGOs were active participants. For example, The Joint Staff Assessment report by the Staff of International Development Association (IDA) and the IMF also consented to the view that the preparation process was sufficiently consultative and state that the Zambian PRSP has, from the beginning adopted a
participatory approach. The document was prepared by eight thematic working groups, comprised of representatives from government, NGOs, academia, businessmen, the church, parliamentarians and donors (IMF document: Report No: 24035-ZA, 2). The participation of NGOs in this process entails that they gave their input and indicated the role they can play in poverty reduction. This signifies their commitment to national development. So from the 1980s to date and possibly in some foreseeable future too, NGOs in most developing countries in general and Zambia in particular have and will continue to play fundamental roles in the development processes.

1.3 Research Problem

With the alternative development at the helm of development discourse in most developing countries and NGOs increasing in popularity as highlighted above, the buzz word in most of the NGO development interventions has been the concepts of building the poor’s capabilities and their ultimate empowerment. These concepts besides being the overall development motives of the time also heightened debates on the concerns of the poor’s contribution to shaping the kind of development intervention intended to cause change in their lives. This therefore gave impetus to the recognition of the poor not only as passive recipients of development aid but more as active participants with invaluable insights on their conditions and possible actions to effect the desired change. So the thrust of the capability and empowerment view of development has been to instill potential and give the poor the chance to participate and contribute in shaping their own development.

In view of the above, recent development projects are being designed with the proclaimed motive of giving power to the poor to manage their own development. It is common, in line with this view, to find most development agents claiming that their programmes do build the poor’s capabilities and involve them in programme design and implementation as a way of empowering them to own the development process.

There are however, big questions as to what extent this involvement can entail empowerment and to what degree the development process can be justified as having been shaped and owned by the poor it is intended to benefit. Equally questions are there on the extent to which such efforts are building capabilities of the poor to meet their own development needs now and beyond NGO support.
It is therefore this background; the lack of precision on the extent of the poor’s participation in development and ultimately how their capacities are enhanced through NGO interventions to provide for their own needs which prompted this study.

1.4 Objectives of the Study
In a general sense this study aimed at understanding NGO development efforts among rural communities in terms of activities undertaken, approach to development, the poor’s participation in activity implementation, and how all these processes impact on the poor’s needs. As stated under the research problem above, the study was inspired by the desire to contribute in building on knowledge on the role of NGOs as development agents within poor communities.

1.5 Research Questions
Specifically, the study sought to answer the following questions.

a) What activities are being undertaken by World Vision in the Gwembe Valley?

b) What strategy is World Vision employing in implementing development activities in the Gwembe Valley?

c) What is the extent of stakeholders’ participation in activities implemented by World Vision in the Gwembe Valley?

d) To what extent is World Vision’s involvement in the Gwembe Valley contributing in meeting the poor’s basic needs and enhancing their coping capacities to provide for their own needs now and beyond NGO support?

1.6 Organization of the Thesis
This thesis has eight chapters. Chapter one is the introductory chapter, providing a general overview of the context within which the study was done. A discussion is made in this chapter on the concept of development and how its meaning has evolved since the 1950s to date and how each epoch was manifest in the Zambian situation. This chapter zeroes down to understanding the current key players in development processes among rural communities in developing countries; setting a stage for understanding the research problem and questions which guided this study.

In chapter two I present both the country and study area profiles as basis for further understanding the context within which development efforts are done. Chapter three is the
theoretical framework for this study and discusses alternative development as the broad theoretical background with which most current NGO inspired development efforts are undertaken. Specifically this chapter discusses some concepts under alternative development relevant for this study. In this regard, the basic needs approach is used to discuss the kind of activities being implemented by World Vision, while participation is used for discussing stakeholders’ involvement in these activities. The concept of small is beautiful guides the discussion on the development strategy employed by World Vision while capacity building and empowerment are the basis for the discussion on the extent to which World Vision’s involvement in the study area is seen to be empowering the community to provide for their needs and sustain development in their locality.

Chapter four describes the methods used to collect and analyze research data; basically all data methods and techniques discussed here relate to the qualitative research design. Also highlighted under this chapter is the procedure for ensuring the reliability and validity of research results, and the challenges encountered during fieldwork. In chapter five I give a background on World Vision as an NGO; explaining the kind of organization it is and what its main area of focus is. Also reflected here is the procedure the organization follows to intervene in a given community. Basically this chapter sets a background for understanding chapter six in which I discuss World Vision’s activities in the Gwembe Valley and the strategy for undertaking those activities.

Chapter seven is an assessment of the extent to which the activities undertaken respond to the community’s basic needs and how the poor themselves and other stakeholders participate in the implementation of these activities. A discussion is also made in this chapter on the extent to which World Vision is said to be contributing in enabling the community’s coping capacities for providing for their needs now and beyond NGO support.

Chapter eight is the conclusion and as such gives a summary of findings, concluding remarks, recommendations and suggestions for further study.
Chapter Two: Background of the study area

Preamble

This chapter gives background information about the study area and is basically divided into two parts. Part one describes the overall country profile in terms of geographic, demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Highlighted in detail under this section is the country’s poverty situation and the general national development strategies intended for the mitigation of poverty.

The second part is a presentation on the Gwembe Valley with reference to regional coverage, environmental characteristics and the socio-economic status of the inhabitants. It is within this region where this study was conducted. The significance of this chapter therefore is that it gives background knowledge on the development needs and kind of development interventions which are going on in the area. As such it prepares the reader to more easily grasp the kind of perceptions with which both development agents and the community hold about the overall development efforts in this region.

2.1 Country Profile

2.1.1 Geographical location and Climate

According to the Zambian Central Statistical Office (CSO), Zambia is a land-locked country covering an area of 752,612 square kilometers (about 2.5 percent of Africa). It lies between 8 ° S and 18 ° S, and between 20 ° E and 35 ° E of the Greenwich Meridian, and shares borders with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Tanzania in the north; Malawi and Mozambique in the east; Zimbabwe and Botswana in the south; Namibia in the southwest and Angola in the west. Zambia's time zone is 2 hours ahead of GMT. The country has nine administrative zones called provinces (http://www.zamstats.gov.zm/) accessed April 1, 2006 at 20:00 hours. Figure 1 on the next page is map of Zambia showing the country’s neighbors and its nine provinces; the study area falls in the Southern Province.

The country has a tropical climate and vegetation with three distinct seasons: the cool dry winter from May to August, a hot dry season during September and October and a warm wet season from November to April. Among the main river water sources in Zambia are the Zambezi, Kafue, Luangwa and Luapula. The country also has major lakes such as Tanganyika, Mweru, Bangweulu and the man-made Kariba. The northern part of the country receives the highest rainfall with an annual average ranging from 1,100 mm to over 1,400 mm. The southern and eastern parts of the country have less rainfall, ranging from 600 mm to 1,100 mm annually,
which often results in droughts. The study area therefore falls in the region with the lowest rainfall in the country.

Figure 1: Zambia’s geographical location, neighboring countries and provincial boundaries


2.1.2 Demographic characteristics

The Central Statistical Office of Zambia, reports that the 1980, 1990, and 2000 national censuses reported total populations of 5.7 million, 7.8 million and 9.9 million respectively. Figure 2 on the next page show the population distribution by province. Further Zambia’s 2000 Census Summary report (CSO 2000, 1) estimated that out of the 9.9 million people reported about 5 million persons were male while 4.9 were female. The Zambia Demographic Health Survey 2001-2002 (CSO 2003) also put the adjusted preliminary estimate from the 2000 national census at 10.3 million people as at February 2003. More recent estimates of the population put the figure at 10.4 million people with a population growth rate of 1.47% as at July 2004 ([www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/za.html -](http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/za.html)) accessed 15th December, 2005 at 16:20 hours.
The Human Development Report (HDR 2004, 142) put Zambia’s life expectancy at 32.7 years as at 2002. This life expectancy shows a very drastic fall from the 2000 National Census estimate of 47.5 and 51.7 for male and female respectively (CSO 2003, 2). The life expectancy of 32.7 is very low when compared to other African Countries like Ghana whose life expectancy during the same period is 57.8 years (HDR 2004, 141). In so far as life expectancy is related to a nation’s level of development in general and a nation’s poverty situation in particular, then a low life expectancy as that of Zambia tells a lot about the country’s poverty situation. Table 1 below shows the country’s selected demographic indicators.

Table 1: Zambia’s selected demographic indicators for 1980, 1990 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Census Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (in millions)</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Urban</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Mortality rate</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Expectancy at Birth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Adjusted preliminary estimate from the 2000 National Census

2.1.3 Economic situation

Zambia has a mixed economy consisting of a modern urban sector and a rural agricultural sector. For a long time, the modern sector has been dominated by parastatal organizations, while private businesses have dominated construction and agriculture sectors. The introduction of a liberalized market-oriented economy in 1991 saw the privatization or liquidation of most parastatals hence ownership of these shifted to full time private business hands as well. The poor rural peasants are more into small scale un-mechanized agriculture; with production limited to food crops like maize and sorghum. In a few cases such farmers engage in small scale cash crop production and produce crops such as cotton, sunflower and groundnuts.

Copper mining is the country's main economic activity, accounting for 95 percent of export earnings and contributed 45 percent of government revenue during the decade following independence (1965-1975). In the mid-1970s following a sharp decline in copper prices and a sharp increase in oil prices, the country's economy deteriorated. Attempts were made to minimize dependency on copper exports by diversifying the economy through the creation of import substitution parastatals (http://www.zamstats.gov.zm/) accessed April 1, 2006 at 20:00 hours. The 1980s marked the start of the first phase of implementing Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). However, the SAP failed to substantially alter the economy resulting in high poverty levels among the majority of population.

The country is currently implementing vigorous programmes aimed at poverty reduction and stimulating economic growth. The Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper aim at reversing the country's deteriorating social economic conditions and attaining sustainable economic growth. This is being done through a multi-sectoral approach in which, agriculture, tourism, manufacturing and mining sectors serve as the engines of growth (GRZ 2002).

However, these efforts have not been significant in improving the economy largely due to the country’s large debt stock which by end of 1999 stood at $6.5 billion (GRZ 2002, 19). Servicing this debt therefore made it difficult for government to finance national economic programmes and in some cases even implied more borrowing. Owing to this, in late 2000, Zambia obtained relief through the Enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. This was expected to help minimize the country’s external debt commitment and debt servicing payments during the period 2001-2003 was expected to reduce from roughly $600 million to $165 million per year (GRZ 2002). The process leading to the successful implementation and finalization of
this initiative was expected to last till the end of 2003 at which point about $3.8 billion of the country’s debt was to be written off. Meeting the conditions for the completion point, however, did not materialize until March 2005. The IMF reported that as of March 2005, Zambia made satisfactory progress in implementing and monitoring its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) for at least one year, and maintained a stable macroeconomic environment as evidenced by satisfactory performance under a program supported by the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF). Further, Zambia also met the completion point targets in the social sectors and undertaken important structural reforms and strengthened public expenditure management (IMF 2005, Country Report No. 05/137 Zambia). It is based on these targets and others that the country qualified for the completion of the HIPC Initiative. It is, however, clear that this has not translated much into national economic growth and keeping low the poverty situation in the country. Zambia’s post newspaper on Saturday January 28, 2006 reported that ‘according to the IMF, this year promises to be a good year for Zambia. The country’s economy will gain by 6 per cent while inflation will fall to 10 per cent’ [http://www.postzambia.com/post-read_article accessed on 29th January 2006 at 12:40 hours. In spite of such speculations, the truth is that the majority of the country’s people still live in poverty now as was the case in the pre-PRSP and pre-HIPC Initiative phase.

2.1.4 Poverty situation
Poverty in Zambia is defined as lack of access to income, employment opportunities, normal internal entitlements for citizens to such things as freely determined consumption of goods and services, shelter and other basic needs of life (GRZ 2002, 10). In operationalizing the basic needs of life noted in the above definition, the PRSP outlines as most critical in the Zambian context education, health, food and clean water (GRZ 2002).

In Zambia with an estimated population of about 10.3 million people (table 1 of this thesis), 73 percent are classified as poor and it is noted that poverty is more prevalent in rural areas compared to urban areas (83 percent and 56 percent respectively) (CSO 2000). This therefore entails that poverty in Zambia is lopsided and rural enclave where the majority of the population lives and is engaged in subsistence agriculture. Zambia’s Central Statistical Office estimates that 65 percent of the population lives in rural areas compared to 35 percent living in the urban areas (CSO’s August 2004 Release, 2).

The quantification of poverty at 73 percent in the Zambian case is arrived at by the CSO determining the poverty line as an amount of monthly income required to purchase basic food to
meet the minimum caloric requirement for a family of six (GRZ 2002, 21). This is what has been referred to as the monthly “food basket”. Figure 3 below for instance shows the food basket as calculated by CSO for the month of March 2006.

Figure 3: Monthly Food Basket as a measure of poverty line

Source: CSO (March, 2006). Note that the above food basket is a latest measurement; as at 2000 National Census the definition of what constituted the food basket and consequently basis for determining the country’s poverty rate was based on minimal caloric requirement (vegetarian) and excluded meat, chicken and fish. It also did not factor in non food needs.

Based on the above, poverty in Zambia is measured using the income index which defines a poor person as one whose income falls below a defined money metric line.

There are however, views that the rate of poverty in Zambia could be higher than the estimated 73 percent based on use of the food basket criteria. This is because until recently, the food basket was not comprehensive in capturing basic needs to the fullest. The PRSP recognised this view and states that “in the Zambian case, the situation is, in reality, worse since the food basket used to arrive at the poverty line is very modest and based on a predominantly minimal caloric requirement that is vegetarian and excludes meat, chicken and fish. The Zambian measurement has also not factored in such basic needs of the people as shelter, education, health, lighting, clothing, footwear and transport. Human freedoms are also remotely linked to the current definition of poverty (GRZ 2002, 21). This therefore is one weakness in the way poverty is conceptualised in Zambia in the sense that at definition level, the country factors in some issues which are not considered when it comes to assessing the country’s poverty datum line. This weakness impacts negatively when it comes to programme design in the sense that plans are based not on the actual poverty situation in the country. To this, Shitima (2005, 23) also notes that the civil society in Zambia such as the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) and
the Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace (CCJDP), both religious advocacy organizations, put the poverty figure as high as 80 percent. This estimate is highly plausible and it is likely that with the current food basket as shown in figure 3 above, which seem more comprehensive, the poverty rate would fall within this range.

Given that most people are living in rural areas and engaged in subsistence agriculture as stated above, the poverty situation does not seem to be improving because subsistence agriculture does not seem in the interim period to be a panacea out of poverty for those rural based small scale farmers. This is attributed to the currently poor functioning markets for agricultural products/outputs and low productivity due to reliance on very basic implements and low utilisation of agriculture inputs. Alwang et al (1996) also observes that high rates of poverty in rural areas can be attributed to a number of factors, some related to household structure and others related to economic structure. Low level of education of the household head, large family sizes, and female headship are closely associated with poverty.

However, it is worth noting that though poverty in Zambia has for a long time been much more of a rural phenomenon, its intensity is increasingly being felt in the urban areas as well due to falling industries and rising unemployment. It can therefore be argued that though the majority of the poor live in rural areas and mostly among small scale to medium scale agricultural community, the poverty scourge is recently taking a more multi-dimensional face and is attributed to complex factors hence its high prevalence in urban areas as well. Zambia’s PRSP observes that the majority of the rural and urban poor earn livelihoods from small scale agriculture and a variety of informal income generating activities that tend to be short term, seasonal and poorly rewarding, a phenomenon that has generally resulted in severe food insecurity and the attendant high prevalence of levels of malnutrition among both children and adults (GRZ 2002, 10).

2.2 Response to poverty in Zambia

The poverty situation in Zambia has led to a number of development efforts being implemented all in the hope of providing for the poor’s basic needs and hopefully building their capacities to more effectively provide for their own needs. From the government point of view, this is done mainly through the implementation of the PRSP as highlighted above. Through this process, government has integrated other stakeholders such as private sector, civil society and the church in implementing the provisions of the PRSP. However, there is a general recognition that poverty is multifaceted and multidimensional as such requires a multiplicity of players/development
agents and also differentiated approaches to effectively cub it. It is in light of this that besides
engaging stakeholders in the implementation of the state run PRSP, government has also
legislated for the provision of a platform for all such stakeholders to undertake their own
initiatives for development in general and poverty reduction in particular. Of particular
importance among such stakeholders in this process are Non Governmental Organizations.

Though the country has no clear NGO policy, it has through the office of the Registrar of
Societies allowed the proliferation of many NGOs in the country which continue to contribute to
the development process. As stated in chapter one, these NGOs are mostly engaged in rural
based community development projects with the hope of tackling the problem of poverty from
where it is felt most. Among such Non Governmental Organizations in the country is World
Vision Zambia (WVZ). Particularly, this NGO is involved in all the nine provinces of the
country and undertakes child focussed and community based development programmes. It is
estimated that the organization reaches out to about one fifth of the country’s population through
its Area Development Programmes (ADP\(^1\)) (World Vision Zambia 1999).

As an organization undertaking child focussed development, World Vision is among other
national regulations regulated by the provisions of the National Child Policy (NCP). Below I
briefly discuss the provisions of this policy in terms of children’s role as development
stakeholders.

2.3 Zambia’s National Child Policy – vis a vis Children’s Participation

It is stated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) that all State Parties who have
acceded to it are expected to make its provisions a reality (CRC 1989, 2). Consequently each
such country endeavors to domestic the CRC and translate its provisions into national legislation.

In the case of Zambia, the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development is the leading state
machinery towards domesticating the CRC. Under this ministry government has formulated a
National Child Policy which provides a legal framework enshrining the principles of the
convention into laws governing the country. This, it is argued in the policy, is for purposes of
effectively localizing or domesticating international agreements (GRZ NCP 2004, 9). Further, it
is also stated that ‘the policy provides long term guidance and a framework for the development
and implementation of the required child development and welfare interventions through a well

\(^{1}\) An ADP is World Vision’s development project. It usually covers a selected regional area and has long term;
usually 10 – 15 years, development goals. The community in the area enters into partnership with World Vision to
undertake development activities for a stated period within which the community is expected to gain capacity to
provide for its own needs. It is at one such project where this study was done.
coordinated and multi sectoral approach to improve the quality of life of the Zambian child$^2$ (GRZ NCP 2004,10). It is in this respect that government is able to regulate all child centered development efforts in the country. Specifically this policy is described as a set of broad guidelines providing a general framework within which relevant interventions by different actors can be implemented (GRZ NCP 2004, vi). It is therefore a policy under which World Vision Zambia as a child focussed development organization falls.

Zambia’s National Child Policy, it is stated, is founded on six principles and these are briefly discussed below;

1) **The need for rights-based approach to programming:** The Policy is premised on the Human Rights approach that seeks to improve the rights of children and focuses on fundamental issues such as the child’s right to life, its survival and development, protection and non discrimination and best interest of the child.

2) **The need for community participation and empowerment:** There is need to strengthen the coping capacities of duty bearers and the communities as well as enhancing participation of children in programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The policy recognizes the participation of children in national development as a fundamental right and therefore imperative.

3) **Non-discrimination:** Application of all rights to all children equally so as to prevent all forms of stigma and discrimination. All children have to enjoy equal rights regardless of their status, physical or mental state, sex, race, creed, etc.

4) **Gender Equity:** Promotion of gender equity and focus as an integral part of Child Welfare and Development interventions.

5) **Integrated and holistic service delivery:** Linking child welfare and development interventions in all sectors with special focus on HIV/AIDS prevention, poverty reduction, child abuse prevention, care and support activities, psychosocial support to orphans and vulnerable children and duty bearers.

6) **Core Cultural Values:** Approaches to programming and development of interventions for children will take into account supporting core cultural values of communities and the Zambian society (GRZ NCP 2004, 25-26)

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$^2$ A child in Zambia and according to the National Child Policy is defined as any person below the age of 18 years.
In this study I pay particular attention to principle number 2 and 5 as most relevant to the work of World Vision and also the theoretical background upon which this study sought to understand children’s role in development.

A close review of Zambia’s National Child Policy reveals that there is sufficient policy direction relating to integrated and holistic service delivery or principle number 5 above. This is evident from the overall policy goals and both in the overall and specific policy objectives. For instance the policy proposes measures for; building capacities of families and communities to prepare and provide adequately for the children, creating enabling environment for the success of micro-enterprise to mitigate poverty and hunger, accelerating efforts in promoting food security and nutrition programmes by government and all other stakeholders, designing programmes that address the immediate needs of children and improving the conditions within which children live (GRZ NCP 2004, 28). As mentioned above, all these measures have specific policy objectives giving sufficient direction for all stakeholders to implement child based development programmes around these issues. What is also clear from these measures is that they are more focussed on the provision of services for the child by parents and what the policy calls duty bearers. Also there is an emphasis on measures for the protection of children from all forms of exploitation/abuse etc. Based on this, it is clear that the policy is more inclined towards provision and protection rights of the child.

In terms of children’s participation, there is a guiding policy principle stated under principle number 2 above. However, apart from this recognition and policy statement about children’s participation; the measures for operationalizing this pronouncement are subtle. In fact the above statement is made alongside the call for strengthening the coping capacities of duty bearers and communities’ participation in programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Measures towards the participation of these categories are documented in the policy, some as highlighted above while others under specific intervention areas. Enhancing participation of children as indicated in the policy principles is on the other hand not clearly reflected at the policy objective level and hence lacks policy measures. The effect of this is therefore that development interventions guided by this policy will equally be subtle on children’s participation while emphasizing provision and protection needs. Theoretical considerations which could have influenced this kind of orientation in child policy formulation are discussed in chapter three under the concept of participation.

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3 Duty bearers are defined in Zambia’s NCP as any person caring for a non-biological child whose parents cannot do so for one reason or the other.
2.4 The Study Area Profile

As stated above, World Vision Zambia is implementing its development activities in the country through the community based ADP approach. Among the regions where such a programme is being implemented is the Gwembe Valley in Southern Province. It is at this particular area where this study was conducted and below are highlights of this region.

2.4.1 The Gwembe Valley – Regional Coverage and Environmental Characteristics

Gwembe District is located between latitudes 16° and 18°S and longitudes 26° and 29°E in the Southern Province of Zambia (IDRC 2002). The study area, called Luumbo community, is situated in the eastern part of Gwembe District and is about 280 km from Lusaka, capital city of Zambia. The area currently covers ten traditional administrative areas of Chief Munyumbwe, which have now become Luumbo Area Development Programme zones. These are Fumbo, Makuyu, Bbondo, Ntanga, Chaamwe, Kkutwa, Kalelezyi, Luumbo, Nakasika and Gwembe zones. Luumbo ADP covers a total area of approximately 1,294 square kilometers (WVZ Luumbo ADP Design Document 1999).

The ADP boundary in the north is marked by the Gwembe/Monze District boundary whilst in the east it is marked by the Gwembe/Siavonga District boundary. In the Southeast the traditional boundary between Chiefs Chipepo and Munyumbwe forms the boundary while on the western side, the Gwembe-Chipepo road is the boundary and Kota-Kota Game Ranch form the ADP boundary (WVZ Luumbo ADP Design Document 1999).

The area has a lot of natural trees. The community guards against indiscriminate cutting down of trees. The fact that trees are not indiscriminately cut down means that soil erosion has been

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4 The phrase *the ADP* is used repeatedly in this thesis to refer to Luumbo Area Development Programme.
reduced to a minimum and only occurs in old fields and along streams/rivers where vegetable
gardens have been put up. The area is hilly and the vegetation is predominately grassland. The
soils are sandy and loamy. Gwembe valley experiences recurrent droughts since 1983. This has
a negative effect on household food security and hence results in perennial food shortages
necessitating on-going relief food interventions.

2.4.2  Demographic and socio-economic conditions of Luumbo ADP community

Demography
The population in the catchment area is 28,000 people, which represent 40.3 % of the district
population. WVZ Luumbo ADP Design document (1999) reports that based on baseline survey,
53% of the population within the ADP catchment are female and 47% male. Twenty six percent
(26%) of the population are children under 5 years. Table 2 below shows the breakdown of the
population by sex and age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On average, a household consists of ten people made up of two parents, five children and three
dependants. Polygamous marriages account for at least a third of the marriages in the area (WVZ

Socio-economic characteristics
Economic activities in the area include small-scale farming (mostly cotton), handcrafts, small-
scale trading, and cattle, pig and goat rearing. Most people produce food crops like maize,
sorghum, groundnuts and millet. Cultivation is normally on small plots less than five hectares.
Agricultural land ownership is through traditional heritage. Very little crop is sold due to very
poor yields owing to recurrent droughts and input constraints. The animals reared i.e. cattle,
goats and pigs are primarily a status symbol\(^5\) but are sometimes sold for household income.
However, such disposal of livestock does not assure adequate income. In other cases these are
consumed during local festivals or at funerals of very prominent persons in the area.

\(^5\) Status Symbol refers to property or asset held more for prestige than other purposes it may be worthy.
The area is serviced by four Rural Health Centers (RHC) built under the ADP. There is also another RHC called Munyumbwe Sub-District Health Centre about 45 km away from most of the ADP zones and a district hospital at Gwembe town, 80km away.

WVZ Luumbo ADP design document (1999) reported that at the time of entry into this community, in 1999, there were about 26 boreholes and about 11 protected wells in the area and this indicated that only 44% of households had access to clean and safe water. Road network in the area is very poor. The famous bottom road from Siavonga to Gwembe that passes through the ADP is in a poor state and renders quick communication impossible. During the rain season, this road and other roads that lead to the ADP area become impassable by vehicles. As such most of the people walk to get to their destinations while few use bicycles.

The conditions of schools were also reported to have been deplorable; ugly structures, without desks, chairs, and recreational facilities. This resulted in many qualified teachers shunning these schools. These factors also contributed to low enrollment rates.

Summary
This chapter has given background understanding about the country in general and specifically the actual area where this study was done. By presenting background information relating to socio-economic situation and poverty in particular, the chapter has laid a foundation for understanding the justification of NGO involvement in the area. Also particularly discussed in this chapter is Zambia’s National Child Policy with reference to children’s participation as development stakeholders. In this regard, the Policy is understood as giving overall guidelines on this issue; therefore since this study among other objectives sought to understand stakeholder participation in NGO activities, the information here helped explaining the circumstances regarding children’s participation in development as one such stakeholder.

In a general sense, this chapter is basis for understanding overall NGO work in the study area.
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Preamble
This chapter looks at the theoretical underpinnings which guided this study. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is a discussion on alternative development paradigm as the main theory used in this study. This part begins by giving an overview of the alternative development paradigm and then zeroes down to some of the conceptual underpinnings which constitute this development theory. As it were, alternative development embodies various development concepts and strategies and below I discuss those relevant for this thesis which are; participation and empowerment (Friedmann 1992, Hickey et al eds. 2004), need oriented - basic needs approach - (Nerfin 1977, Hettne 1995, Martinussen 1997) and small is beautiful (Schumacher 1973, Friedmann 1992). More recent thinking on development seem to have pushed the development discourse further to consider issues of building people’s capacities – capability approach (Sen 1999, Nussbaum 2000) - as means to poverty alleviation, emphasising as stated by Martinussen (1997, 291) welfare and human development with increased choices as higher-order objectives. It is thus common to find that development agents accentuating the alternative development strategies as outlined above are now also putting top on their agenda the notion of capacity building. I therefore include in this chapter a discussion on building capabilities as one of the conceptual frameworks for this study.

Since this study also considered the role of children as stakeholders in development, I also include, under the discussion on participation, theoretical perspectives on the participating child with reference to childhood as social and cultural phenomenon (Qvortrup 2002, Prout et al 2004).

The second part of this chapter is a presentation on the model of analysis used in this thesis.

3.1 Alternative Development Paradigm
Friedmann (1992, 33) states that Alternative Development must be seen as a process that seeks the empowerment of households and their individual members through their involvement in socially and politically relevant actions. So unlike in the mainstream development, the theory of alternative development is centred on people and their environment rather than production and profits (Martinussen 1997, 289). Pieterse (2001,75) points out that in the 1970s the dissatisfactions with mainstream development crystallized into an alternative, people-centred
Alternative Development – An Overview

approach to development geared to the satisfaction of needs, endogenous and self reliant and in harmony with the environment. It is thus these issues among others that came to constitute the alternative development discourse.

Arguing on the theoretical origins and emergence of alternative development Martinussen (1997) states that in the shorter term, the roots of alternative development must be searched for in the economic development debate of the 1960s and 1970s. In so doing, Martinussen observes that the pertinent questions in 1969 by the British economist Dudley Seers on a country’s development with reference to poverty, unemployment and inequality have since then been used as reference points to the debate about alternative development. According to Martinussen (1997, 295) among the earliest and central events which are often noted as being particularly important for the emergence and consolidation of new agenda for development are; a conference in Stockholm in 1972 on Human Environment and a seminar in Cocoyoc, Mexico, in 1974. Martinussen adds that the concluding declaration of the Cocoyoc seminar brought together two major strands of the alternative development: those who argued that highest priority should be given to satisfying basic needs for food, water and shelter, and those who were primarily concerned about the destruction of the environment and exhaustion of non-renewable natural resources (Martinussen 1997). Hettne (1995) also acknowledges the above and points out that alternative development (which in his words calls another development) finds its roots in the upsurge of normative thinking of the 1970s and states; ‘The real breakthrough to normative theorizing occurred in the mid-1970s, as shown in the NIEO debate, the Cocoyoc declaration, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation publication ‘What Now?’ where the concept of Another Development was born. The discussion ranged from world order issues to national patterns of development, in which normative concepts such as endogenous, ecodevelopment, self reliance, basic needs and participation were prominent’ (Hettne 1995, 175).

Thus based on the above, a more encompassing definition of alternative development is probably one which according to Nerfin connotes the following:

- **Need-oriented** – being geared to meeting human needs, both material and non material
- **Endogenous** – stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and the version of its future
Theoretical Framework

- **Self-reliant** – implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members’ energies and its natural and cultural environment

- **Ecologically sound** – utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local ecosystems as well as the global and local outer limits imposed on present and future generations

- **Based on structural transformation** – so as to realize the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making by all those affected by it, from the rural or urban community to the world as a whole, without which the goals above could not be achieved (Nerfin 1977, 10).

Though there may be many different conceptions of alternative development based on area of emphasis, it is probable that all such conceptions will in one way or the other imply to at least one or all of the above five principles. In this thesis, and as already stated in the preamble of this chapter, among other concepts, I consider the first two principles (*need oriented and endogenous*) and the last one (*structural transformation*) as most relevant theoretical concepts. These are selected in the sense that the principles of need oriented and endogenous form the basis for basic needs approach while that of structural transformation is a predisposition of participation and empowerment.

Thus considering the principles selected for this thesis, Alternative development can be perceived as being hinged on the notion of people’s participation (*structural transformation*) and utilization of their knowledge and value systems (*endogenous*) in development programme implementation as a basis for empowerment and ownership of the development process. This notion is further understood as a critical cornerstone for development because it recognizes the local people as competent enough to meaningfully contribute in shaping the development of their areas – development which best addresses their needs (*need oriented*). In this sense alternative development does not see the local people as passive recipients from charity approaches (Lund 1994) but as active participants who should be involved in the decision making process on issues of development of their areas. It is assumed here that when people are effectively involved in planning, implementation and evaluation of development projects, they understand the project priorities, give in their input and act as partners to accomplish project goals (Helle 1999). This
alternative line of thinking is in direct contrast with the modernization view to involvement of the poor in development decision making as pointed out in the introduction chapter of this thesis.

While alternative development gained enormous popularity in the third world and particularly among grassroots based development agents - NGOs, the critics argue that alternative development is nor more than loosely connected alternative approaches to development (Pieterse 2001). It is not clear whether alternative development has matured to the level of a coherent theory for development. Contributing to the critical analysis of alternative development, Pieterse has this to say; ‘Alternative development tends to be practice oriented rather than theoretically inclined. Alternative development travels under many aliases – appropriate development, participatory development, people-centred development, human-scale development, people’s self-development, autonomous development, holistic development; and many elements relevant to alternative development are developed, not under the banner of alternative development but under specific headings, such as participation, participatory action research, grassroots movements, NGOs, empowerment, conscientization, democratization, human rights…… etc. Such dispersion does not facilitate generating a coherent body of theory’ (Pieterse 2001, 81).

Korten (in Pieterse 2001, 82) adds to this critique by saying ‘it is impossible to be a true development agency without a theory that directs action to the underlying causes of underdevelopment. In the absence of a theory, the aspiring development agency almost inevitably becomes instead merely an assistance agency engaged in relieving the more visible symptoms of underdevelopment through relief and welfare measures’.

Other critics are based on the model’s overemphasis on the local as basis for best achieving people-centred development. This is as argued under concepts such as self-reliance (Cocoyoc 1974, Hettne 1995), endogenous (Nerfin 1977) and small is beautiful (Schumacher 1973, Friedmann 1992). These concepts put the core means for development as premised on the local scene and with much emphasis on the local people’s knowledge systems and values. This, it is argued, is the appropriate means for achieving the kind of development which best meet people’s basic needs hence responding to the basic needs approach. Pieterse (2001) asserts that ‘alternative development logic is that development is people-centred, genuine development knowledge is also people’s knowledge and what counts is local rather than abstract expert knowledge.’ The critics to this argue according to Lund (1994, 7) that alternative development pays inadequate concern with the role of external factors and processes of globalization. In this era of development, to think merely in terms of local systems and ignoring regional, national or
international (global) politics for instance and its impact on the local is seriously underestimating globalization. Parpart et al (2002, 13) hold that 'the growing power of global corporate and financial forces in an increasingly unequal world has inspired new thinking about potential solutions to the disempowerment and marginalization of peoples around the world. Some see globalization as a potential tool for empowerment’. Such arguments have thus caused the reappraisal of the alternative development view on localization of development.

There are still other critics to alternative development who argue as Lund (1994) rightly observes that the model has overemphasized the poor’s consumption needs rather than their productivity and their capacity to generate a surplus. From this point of view it is rather absurd for a development model to suggest consumption (geared to the satisfaction of needs – Cocoyoc 1975, Nerfin 1977) without a corresponding clear strategy which would generate the consumable surplus. As its main strong hold, alternative development paradigm arose as a critique to the growth-oriented development methodology under mainstream development. Its emphasis became people-centred development (consumption) rather than growth maximization (generation of consumable surplus). However, the proponents of alternative development respond to this critic by arguing that ‘an alternative development does not negate the need for continued growth in a dynamic world, it does not make a fetish of economic growth but searches for an “appropriate” path that includes growth efficiency as one of several objectives that must be brought into harmony’ (Friedmann 1992, 34). There are, however, still views that inspite of such admission and recognition of the need for economic growth in an all encompassing development, alternative development still hold needs over growth maximization. Hettne (1995, 177) puts the thrust of alternative development very clear by stating that ‘alternative strategies give a higher priority to redistribution than to growth’. For instance there is no clear strategy for economic growth which is spelt out under the alternative development model.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, alternative development has made great milestones in development and its concepts still stand as more favourable development methodology in most developing countries. Most developing countries today are still faced with the challenge of providing basic essentials for the livelihood of its peoples (meeting basic needs) and as such any development strategy which seeks to provide answers to that challenge will certainly be the people’s number one choice. In this case, alternative development seems to be that strategy.
With the evolution of the alternative development paradigm in the 1970s, there also arose the prominence of NGOs in development and many of them claim to be engaged in grassroots development using bottom up approaches in addressing the poor’s development concerns. This claim is consistent with the structural transformation, need oriented and endogenous argument discussed above and hence the close link between NGOs and alternative development. Pieterse (2001, 75) observes that alternative development is conceptualized as a response to the failed development efforts of government and economic power (merchants) and often is referred to as development from below where in this context ‘below’ refers both to community and to NGOs. He further states that Alternative development is frequently identified with development-by-NGOs. It is this close perception of NGOs as significant proponents of the alternative development paradigm that one finds most NGOs claiming that their programmes embody development strategies raised under the alternative development paradigm. Bartoli (2000, 107) notes that NGOs tackle not only the problems of the protection of ethnic groups’ fundamental rights but an entire mosaic of development problems. He adds that NGOs have been involved in summits on some of their operation areas including population, environment and social issues. Therefore, when conceptualising alternative development, NGOs are considered among the key players.

With this background, I now turn to consider in detail the selected development concepts/strategies under the alternative development paradigm.

3.1.1 The Basic Needs Approach (BNA)

Fundamental to alternative development is the issue of meeting people’s needs as the major purpose for development. The Cocoyoc declaration (1974) in which the origins of alternative development is traced held that the major preoccupation in development was to redefine development itself and find the new purpose for it. In its words the declaration states that: “Our first concern is to redefine the whole purpose of development. This should not be to develop things but to develop man. Human beings have basic needs: food, shelter, clothing, health, education. Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfilment – or, even worse, disrupts them – is a travesty of the idea of development” (The Cocoyoc Declaration 1974, 3).

The concept of basic needs approach is probably the main feature which distinguishes alternative development from the mainstream growth-oriented development approach. Its emphasis on meeting human needs rather than accentuating economic growth makes development bear the new meaning and purpose. It was now increasingly important that development programming
should also take into account the poverty dimension and hence incorporate strategies which sought to address it. It was no longer fashionable nor desirable to give a blind eye to escalating poverty all in the name of growth with a futuristic trickle down effect. The Cocoyoc declaration (1974, 4) strongly holds that ‘we believe that the 30 years of experience with the hope that rapid economic growth benefiting the few will “trickle down” to the mass of the people has proved to be illusory. We therefore reject the idea of growth first, justice in distribution of benefits later’. Hettne (1995) argues that in responding to the dilemma of increasing poverty, the proponents of the Basic Needs Approach favoured a direct approach, i.e. a straight relationship between development strategy and elimination of poverty rather than waiting for the trickle down effects of growth.

Against the above background, it is clear according to Hettne that the ‘Basic Needs Approach rejected the earlier growth paradigm, arguing for the incorporation of a sort of “development guarantee” for the weakest social groups in all development programmes. Thus the discussion of basic needs went together with attempts to define poverty in relative and absolute terms. The awareness of the fact that growth did not necessarily benefit the poorest was certainly a step forward’ (Hettne 1995, 178).

While the Basic Needs Approach came as a welcome development strategy and one which was to be embraced rapidly, it too had its own complexities. This was to do with the issue of interpreting needs and universalizing such interpretation in development practice. Mengesha (2000, 47) observes that ‘needs are highly contextual, mainly governed by actors and structures in a given social space and social time. He further adds that the degree of satisfaction, the means and strategies by which needs are satisfied are all contextual, they depend on actors ability, capability and motivation, and the structural settings that allow or constraint actors to act. Thus, the approach is less measurable, abstract and difficult if not impossible to generalise’. Lederer 1980 (in Hettne 1995, 179) describes a distinction between a universal and objective interpretation of needs on one hand and an interpretation that is subjective and historically relative on the other. Based on this Hettne adds that ‘the former school defined human needs as something that applies to all human beings and that could be quantified and measured; the latter took human needs to be historically relative and therefore to be seen in the context of special social systems. The first school referred to those needs that in all societies are necessary for the reproduction, where as the second approach had more to do with what makes life worth living in
different cultures. Thus, Hettne concludes, a universal definition of needs is impossible (Hettne 1995, 179).

Although there are such assertions insinuating that it is impossible to generalize human needs, there are also schools of thought which hold that human needs can be broadly categorised and ranked hierarchically. Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs as presented in figure 5 below is a clear illustration in this direction.

**Figure 5: Abraham Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biological and Physiological needs</strong></td>
<td>Basic life needs - air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sex, sleep, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Safety needs</strong></td>
<td>Protection, security, order, law, limits, stability, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belongingness and Love needs</strong></td>
<td>Family, affection, relationships, work group, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Esteem needs</strong></td>
<td>Achievement, status, responsibility, reputation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-actualization</strong></td>
<td>Personal growth and fulfilment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Based on the above model, Maslow suggests that human needs are hierarchically arranged and it follows that basic fundamental needs must be met to the satisfaction of the recipient before higher needs have a meaning. In that respect, the figure above is understood as a sequential progression of human needs from biological and physiological needs as basic/fundamental needs to self-actualization as the highest or ultimate level needs. This illustration therefore suggests a teleological path to meeting human needs, i.e. people can be traced within this hierarchy and known at which level of needs they are. This conception of human needs is thus similar to the modernisation view of development, which suggests, based on Rostow (1960), the five stages countries are supposed to pass through to reach the desired level of development. There is therefore based on such a conception a presumption that human societies are homogenous and as
Theoretical Framework

such people’s needs universal. Just, however, like modernisation fell out of favour on the basis of its non recognition of the heterogeneity of countries/societies, Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs model is also debatable in that it does not recognise societal differences and the corresponding cultural variability of people’s needs. It may, for instance, not be the case that higher level needs can only have meaning when the so called lower needs have been met. There are real life situations where people concomitantly seek varied levels of needs based on the issues at hand. Current development trends have proven that there are countries which are faced with disaster situations and its people require first level needs (material needs like food, shelter etc) but at the same time require security needs i.e. protection from the possible reoccurrence of similar disasters, law and order in disaster situation etc. The recent Tsunami disaster could be such a case where various needs of the disaster victims were being met in tandem.

However, it should be noted here that although the above model of hierarchy of needs faces criticism as being teleological, it still to a large extent inspires a lot of development strategies in the developing countries. Mengesha (2000, 49) argues that ‘the image of such thinking is empirically reflected in the operation of NGOs. One particular reason why most NGOs are still engaged in the relief and emergency operations in the developing countries is because of the claim that physiological and welfare needs (the material needs) should be met first before effecting any strategic development programmes.’ It is therefore possible to apply the model of hierarchy of needs territorially. This is to mean that the model should be viewed not as a global and universal one but one that applies at regional level and considers only those generally agreed upon needs within that locality. In this sense, the same model then can apply to different societies even though such societies are referring to different types of needs. This is because what may be considered as basic need in one society may not be so in another.

The basic needs approach is used in this thesis as an analytical concepts for NGO activities. This is particularly to assess how NGO activities in the study area respond to local community’s basic needs. In addition the analysis responds to questions on who defines the kind of needs addressed by NGO activities and what approach is used to address these needs i.e. a hierarchical approach as in Maslow’s categorization or an approach which deals with needs as interrelated concerns. These issues are addressed in chapters six and seven of this thesis.
3.1.2 Participation

Hickey et al (2004, 5) observes that participation has a longer and more varied genealogy in development thinking and practice than is usually acknowledged, and has been periodically regenerated around new schools of thought, institutional agendas and changing political circumstances. From the alternative development point of view participation is seen as a right of citizenship initially focussed on community and civic society and latterly on the state through inclusive governance (Hickey et al 2004, 7). It basically arose as an anti-thesis to top-down development planning approaches which sought to devise antipoverty programmes at the top for implementation downward through a compliant bureaucracy (Friedmann 1992, 66, Hickey et al 2004, 9). Instead participatory development requires, as Vincent (in Hickey et al ed. 2004, 111) observes, that people take the time and energy to engage in establishing the basis for; planning, carrying out and/or evaluating some activity or activities that will bring about the change in their own lives. It is thus focussed on the local level and depends upon local interests and capacity to engage in action for change. Chopra et al (1990, 18) refers to participatory development as a non-conventional approach requiring the evolution of non-market, non-governmental people’s organizations in the management of common property resources. These further add that participatory development therefore, is a new socio-economic force aiming for sustained development at the village level. Chambers (2005, 87) adds that among the objectives and functions of participation is seeking to increase the capability of communities to handle their affairs and to control and exploit their environment.

The term “people’s participation” (Chopra et al 1990) is therefore very popular among most development agents involved in programmes which target the community or those that do development at the local level or better still “among NGOs, CBOs and practitioners working with special targeted groups such as women and children (Lund forthcoming, 11). Most such development agents view people’s participation in development activities as an essential and supposedly good thing for materialising development objectives.

However, despite this general agreement that participation presupposes good results in development, it is variedly conceived by many development workers. Mikkelsen (1995, 62) notes that “the more experienced development worker and researcher will know that participation is so widely and so loosely used, like many other catchwords in development jargon, that the meaning of the concept has become rather blurred.” It is thus correct to argue that although the term participation has won wide acceptance among development practitioners it still means quite different things to many, mostly dependent on their focus and overall
development orientation. Below I consider some of the common meanings of participation as understood in development.

Marsden (in Mengesha, 2000) defines participation as ‘an active process by which beneficiaries/client group influence the direction and execution of development projects with a view to enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance or other values they cherish.’ In this definition it is clear that participation is directed at making it possible for the people targeted by development projects to decide project priorities based on their needs. It means therefore that in this sense, participation carries according to Lund (in Mikkelsen 1995, 65) a ‘normative assumption that the poor masses ought to get the kind of development decided by themselves.’ This is what is argued by Nerfin (1977), Cocoyoc Declaration (1974, 5) in the call for endogenous and self reliant development and also as maintained by Friedmann (1992, 66) that the poor must take part in provisioning of their own needs rather than relying on the state to solve their problems. These views are thus consistent with the alternative development position on ‘the how of development’. In his argument about another development Hettne (1995, 177) holds that in the alternative approach there is no universal path to development, every society must find its own strategy in accordance with its own needs.

Apart from the above definition of participation which seem to have been inspired by the ‘discourse on anotherness’ (Hettne, 1995) in development, there are other conceptions of the term. Table 3 on the next page illustrates the various meanings and types of participation as argued by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO in Mikkelsen, 1995) and Pretty (1995).

When considered from top to down, the categorisation of participation in table 3 below can also be understood as one moving from rhetoric to meaningful development efforts. Thus as a categorisation, it can be used as a measuring rod on how much development agents are ardent subscribers to participatory approaches in development i.e. the lower they fall on this categorisation the more they can legitimatise their claim for successfully upholding meaningful participation and forward looking towards community empowerment in development.
Table 3: Different meanings and types of participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Meaning of participation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Type of participation</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation is the voluntary contribution by people in projects, but without their taking part in decision-making.</td>
<td>Manipulative participation, where participation is simply pretence, unselected people’s representatives might be there but without power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation is the sensitization of people to increase their receptivity and ability to respond development projects.</td>
<td>Passive participation, where people participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves announcement by the Project Manager without any listening to people’s response. This is the area of participation most NGOs are criticised for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation is an active process, meaning that the person or group in question takes initiatives and asserts his/her or its autonomy to do so.</td>
<td>Participation by consultation, where people participate by being consulted or by answering questions. It does not involve any share in decision making. External agents will decide every issue which affects the life of the participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation is the fostering of a dialogue between the local people and the project preparation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation staff in order to obtain information on the local context and on social impacts.</td>
<td>Participation for material incentives, where people participate by contributing resources, for example, labour in return for food, cash or other material incentives. It is very common to see this kind of participation, yet people have no sake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation is a voluntary involvement of people in self-determined change.</td>
<td>Functional participation - This is where participation is seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals and objectives. It may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decision has already been made by external agents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation is involvement in people’s development of themselves, their lives, their environment. (FAO in Mikkelsen 1995, 62)</td>
<td>Interactive participation, where people participate in joint analysis, development of action plan and formation or strengthening of local institutions. In this level participation is seen as a right not just a means to achieve project goals. When groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regardless of the meaning or type of participation in which the people are engaged in as typified above, the purpose for embracing participatory approaches in various development programmes seem to cut across all. Oakley (1991) argues that purposes for people’s participation are normally perceived around achieving the following:

a) **Efficiency** - Using people’s participation in development projects means that the available resources can be used more efficiently. It may be less time and energy consuming for the
professional staffs and more cost effective since the people take more responsibility of the development projects.

b) **Effectiveness** - People’s participation can be a useful instrument for development in rural areas. Involving people in every step of the development projects, decision-making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, the projects are bound to be more effective, thus reaching their objectives more often than before.

c) **Self-reliance** - Participation in development projects can bring forward and build self-awareness and confidence in people that will enable them to take more part in forming their own development, at both the local and national levels.

d) **Coverage** - Sometimes government projects reach only a fraction of the rural poor. Participation in the development projects will extend the coverage because more people will be directly involved in project activities.

e) **Sustainability** - Often when external initiators withdraw themselves from the development projects, the projects lose their dynamics, but if people participate this will not happen so often.

The arguments raised above differ in terms of emphasis from project to project. The concepts of efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability, however, seem to embody the language of most community centred development projects. It is for example the desire of every project team to maximise output with minimal resource use and in this sense approaches that yield efficiency and effectiveness anchor their project plans and strategies. Likewise, all development projects have an inherent desire to see themselves survive beyond their described lifetime. This refers to issues of project continuity beyond phase out and wherever such plans exist, the attributes of people’s involvement and participation in the entire project cycle are seen as essential. It is based on these issues that participation is seen both as an empowering process as well as development sustainability mechanism. Vincent (in Hickey et al ed. 2004, 111) states that the participation of those at whom an intervention is aimed is meant to ensure that the change will be more appropriate to their needs. It is also assumed to have the effect of empowering them so that they continue to direct future changes and put pressure on the outside forces to support these changes.

Participation as means towards empowerment has transcended the main development discourse
and been taken as a key concept in other discourses as well. For instance, inspired by Article 12 part 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, children’s participation has gained quite some degree of attention within the childhood discourse. This Article reads “States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child” (CRC document, 4). This has been taken in the childhood discourse as basis for the conception of children as competent human beings. This is evident through such arguments as “children are human beings and not human becomings” Qvortrup (in Qvortrup et al 1994, 18). As such children’s participation in community life is seen as an important phenomenon carrying central concerns within research and child focussed development. Lund (forthcoming, 21) rightly observes that while recent development discourse focuses on building capacities and strategizing to achieve social and economic improvement at different scales, child research concentrates on the role of the child to participate as a way to empower self and local communities.

The notion, however, of the participating child is according to Hart (1992, 4) a subject of strongly divergent opinion. Hart (1992) notes that young people’s community participation is a complex issue which varies not only with a child’s developing motivations and capacities, but also according to particular family and cultural context. This implies divergence in terms of children participation based on social and cultural background of a given community. This is also the view held from the theoretical perspective of the socially constructed child. In this regard, Prout et al (2004) argue that a socially constructed child belongs to social structures but without any sense of fixity. These maintain that from the social construction point of view childhood would be a brand of historicism that sees the child as a product of its time and material conditions (Prout et al 2004, pp.212-213, Lansdown in Cloke et al 1997, 22). Since therefore different societies’ material conditions vary at any given time, then the construction of childhood will equally be different in those societies. Qvortrup (In Mouritsen et al 2002) also argues along the same lines and implores that in order to capture the meaning of childhood in historical and structural perspective one has to use a system-immanent approach. He notes that children’s manual labour in 19th Century Europe and in today’s developing world is recognised as a constructive activity that has economic value. The construction of childhood therefore in a pre-industrial production system as argued by Qvortrup is system-immanent; it responds to that particular system and hence conceived as socially acceptable. Therefore what children are considered to be, what they can do and how they are engaged in societal processes is, according
to the social constructionist, dependent on the society’s socio-economic and socio-cultural circumstances. Thus, as maintained by Prout et al (2004, 214), the socially constructed child is a local rather than a global phenomenon and tends to be extremely particularistic. Therefore while for instance in more egalitarian societies - emphasizing individual freedoms - children are seen as competent and capable of participation, the case is different in less egalitarian societies. Lansdown (in Cloke et al, 1997) for example states that children are to a large extent recipients of adult actions rather participants in decision making and are widely portrayed as irresponsible, incompetent, lacking morality, out of control and without experience on which to draw effective participation. Lansdown (in Cloke et al 1997, 22) further holds that for many adults childhood is imbued with a rather romanticized notion of innocence – period free from responsibility or conflict and dominated by fantasy, play and opportunity. Attempts to offer children greater control over their lives is seen as intrusion into this period, denying them the rights to enjoy their childhood. It is with such notions that children were viewed during pre industrial Europe and with which they are still held in most of the now developing countries.

Lund (Forthcoming) in her comparison of children’s situations in China and Sri Lanka also recognizes the differences with which children are held in different societies. Lund argues here that the two different experiences made her realize again that there is no such thing as the Global South. She notes that situations in the South (between and within states) may vary as much as situations in the Global North and between the North and the South. She adds that her experience provided an eye-opener to what constitutes childhood and how childhood is constructed by local places and cultures, nature as well as geopolitics. As held from the socially constructed child point of view, this does not denote fixity. The complex matrix of factors (Lund forthcoming) which guide the construction of childhood change with time and hence new constructions of childhood may emerge in the same society. It is thus against this background that one would also argue that there is no such thing as a Global Childhood. Childhood is as much a historical phenomenon as a social and cultural one.

Involvement of children as stakeholders in development projects is therefore informed by construction of childhood immanent at a given time in a given society. It is with this view that this study makes an analysis of children’s participation in World Vision’s programme activities. Since World Vision programmes are child focussed, children themselves are considered as one of the key stakeholders in the process of development. It is therefore imperative, from research
point of view and with reference to participation as an analytical framework, to understand how different stakeholders are engaged in the course of development which affects their lives; children in this case being one such stakeholder. Other stakeholders whose participation is also analysed include the household, elected community representatives traditional leaders and related government institutions.

3.1.3 Empowerment

Since the late 1970s and through the Alternative Development paradigm, the buzz word in most of the NGO development interventions has been the concept of empowerment. Parpart et al (2002, 3) argue that empowerment has become a ‘motherhood’ term, comfortable and unquestionable, something very different institutions and practices seem to be able to agree on. And in terms of definition these argue that empowerment is not simply the possession of power but more the exercise of power, they state for instance that to empower implies the ability to exert power over, to make things happen and is an action verb that suggests the ability to change the world often for the better (Parpart et al 2002, 5). It is probably this transformatory sound and implicit promise for change for the better that the empowerment concept gained so much ground as a leading motive in the development discourse. With reference to empowerment as possession and exercise of power, Friedmann identifies three kinds of power which should constitute empowerment at the household level and these are;

1) Social power – concerned with access to certain bases of household production such as information, knowledge and skills, participation in social organizations and financial resources.

2) Political power – concerns the access of individual household members to the process by which decisions, particularly those that affect their own future are made.

3) Psychological power – described as an individual sense of potency demonstrated in self confident behaviour and is often a result of successful action in the social or political domain (Friedmann 1992, 33).

In the above view of empowerment, it is clear that the household is used as a model of reference. Friedmann (1992, 32) holds that an alternative development involves a process of social and political empowerment whose long-term objective is to rebalance the structure of power in society. He further points out that ‘just as the paradigm in dominance approaches the question of economic growth from the perspective of the firm, which is the foundation of neoclassical economics, so an alternative development, based as it must on the life spaces of civil society,
approaches the question of an improvement in the conditions of the life and livelihood from a perspective of the household.’ Central therefore in the empowerment argument are issues of rebalancing the system of power imbedded in people’s social and political lives. Friedmann points out that households forms a polity and economy in miniature; it is the elementary unit of civil society composed of natural persons who engage in a daily process of joint decision making in producing their lives and livelihood (Friedmann 1992, 32). The process of daily interaction entails social life while decision making is a political activity. Thus, it is logical to conceive the household as the beginning point in assessing power relations because households are also the basic units where social and political interaction begins. This conception of the household as an elementary unit for changing power relations or empowering people is particularly important in this thesis because the project at which this study was done also holds the household/family as one of its levels of intervention. This is so particularly for activities targeting community rather than individual needs.

The other conception of the empowerment concept is hinged on the notion of community preparedness to manage the courses of action aimed at improving their life conditions or eradication of poverty. This view to empowerment moves from the analysis of power structure at the household level and considers how households collectively amalgamate their social and political power for more communal benefits. This is called ‘’participatory empowerment’’ (Parpart, in Parpart et al 2002, 166) and finds its rationale in the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as propagated by Robert Chambers (1997). This form of empowerment is popular among development agents as a bottom-up and people centred approach to tackling poverty. Parpart (in Parpart et al, 2002) points out that participatory empowerment approaches to development anchored on the participatory methodology of Robert Chambers have become a new mantra, promising solutions to the intensifying poverty and disempowerment. Parpart further observes that Chambers’ methodology provides a lens into the world of participatory empowerment approaches used by both mainstream and alternative development practitioners (Parpart in Parpart et al 2002, 166). Chambers’ PRA entered the development scene as step up to Rural Rapid Appraisal (RRA) which emerged in the late 1970s and called for greater attention to local people’s knowledge but still relied heavily on the expert or outsider to organise this knowledge. ‘PRA, which emerged in the late 1980s and is still evolving, shifted the focus from gathering indigenous people’s knowledge to encouraging and utilising their analytical skills. Western
development experts are no longer seen as in charge of the development process, rather, they become facilitators, aiming to empower local people so they can analyse and solve problems in ways that lead to sustainable development practices.’ (Parpart in Parpart et al 2002, 167). Through PRA the knowledge and analytical skills of the poor, whether formally educated or not, are crucial to both the definition and implementation of development in the south and PRA methods and techniques are designed to bring this knowledge to light, to integrate it into the development process and to empower those usually dismissed as marginal, voiceless and powerless (Chambers in Parpart et al 2002, 166). According to Helle (1999, 21) empowerment in PRA means two important things, confidence building and capacity building.

Whichever form it takes, the overall aim of participatory empowerment is to give people the power, power to enable them participate in shaping development activities within their localities which are centred on their needs and whose intervention strategies are built out of and attuned to their knowledge systems. It is this type of empowerment which most community centred NGOs describe as their goal and upon which they base their justifications for involving community members in development activities. When NGOs advocate for people’s participation they envision a future where the community will be empowered as discussed above. It is further in this sense that participation is seen as a means to an end: the end being community empowerment in this case.

Using the empowerment concept as discussed above, I assess in chapter six and seven of this thesis the extent to which NGO activities can be said to be empowering to the local community. Just like under participation, this assessment is done at the level of individual beneficiaries from NGO activities, the household and the elected representatives.

3.1.4 Capacity Building as an empowering process
Lund (forthcoming, 21) argues that recent development discourse focuses on building capacities and strategising to achieve social and economic improvement at different scales. And Nussbaum (2000, 11) notes that an approach based on functioning and capability was pioneered in development economics by Amartya Sen. Sen (1999) contributes to the development discourse propositions for understanding individual welfare through the use of the capability approach. Parpart et al (2002) argue that Sen sees poverty as an indication of the inability of people to meet their basic needs whether physical or more intangible and his work on human capabilities stresses empowerment as both a means and an end, a process of developing individual capacities through gaining education and skills in order to empower individuals to fight for a better quality
of life. The analysis of poverty is central in Sen’s contribution to the development discourse and he argues in terms of poverty as *capability deprivation* \(^6\) (Sen 1999, 87). The basic assumption therefore from Sen’s argument on individual poverty is that such individuals lack the necessary capacities (*capability deprivation*) to be able lead the life they have reason to value. Building capabilities therefore through basic education and skills development is a means to individual empowerment and a means to poverty alleviation. It is further argued that enhancing people’s capabilities expands there freedoms to choose the kind of life they wish to lead and therefore a much clearer process of people’s empowerment.

Nussbaum (2000, 5) also argues of human capabilities as basic social minimum of what people are actually able to do and to be – in a way informed by an intuitive idea of life that is worthy of dignity of the human being. Nussbaum’s statement here presupposes that capabilities are about what an individual is able to do or be and not necessarily what they choose to do or be. This is the position also held by Kabeer 2003 (in Lund forthcoming) when arguing that capabilities are not about what people can choose but what they are able to achieve and as such they depend partly on personal circumstances and partly on social constraints. In this way the capability approach in development goes beyond availing the poor with a range of opportunities from which to choose or exposing them to packages of assistance/relief from where they will passively receive. It instead seeks to build within individuals capacities that make them able to, according to Kabeer (in Lund forthcoming), not only meet the needs considered essential to a decent human life but also the right and ability to take part in the community and achieving self-respect. One can then argue that the capability approach has moved a step ahead of “*the conventional development theory and practice*” (Lund forthcoming) and in particular of the participation discourse in that it is no longer merely a process in which people are engaged to yield better people owned development projects but one where people gain individual skills and qualities that enable them to self direct their own lives. It is in this regard that according to Lund (ibid) capabilities may be seen as the foundation for which people may be able to empower.

Though the capability approach is more centred on assessing individual welfare than community development, its connotation can still be extrapolated to explain development at the community level. This is insofar as a community is seen as nothing but a sum total of its individual members

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\(^{6}\) Capability deprivation according to Sen is an approach for conceptualizing poverty using an approach that concentrates in deprivations that are intrinsically important unlike low income which is only instrumentally significant. It consider among other issues such as the age of the person, gender, social roles, location, epidemiological atmosphere etc.
and Sen himself according to Rai (in Parpart et al 2002) assumes that human empowerment is best carried out at the local communities where most people live their lives.

Since its inception to date the, the capability approach has gained great momentum in development and more and more development agents are now fine tuning their approaches and building tailor made capacity building programmes for their target groups. Just like it has been imperative for development agents since the 1970s to strongly stress participatory approaches in their programming, so it is today for development programmes to accentuate capacity building techniques as means specifically targeted towards individual skills development and ultimately towards community empowerment. Although, however, it can be stated that the phase of participatory approaches and capacity building could be somewhat distinct, it should also be borne in mind that the distinction in purpose and current practice between the two is a very thin line. For example in most NGOs’ work, people’s participation in decision making on development priorities is seen as empowering and in most cases the process leading to this is through workshops where the community or its representatives are trained (capacity built) on specific roles they should take. Similarly an approach for building capabilities in development would among other things be centred on tailor made training programmes for community members with the ultimate aim of widening the scope of “what they are able to achieve”. This is both at the level of pursuing individual concerns as well as through appropriating community development needs. Against this background, suffice to mention here that the concept of capacity building is used as an analytical framework in this thesis. This is with reference to how NGO interventions can be said to be contributing in building capabilities of the target group.

### 3.1.5 Small is Beautiful

Having argued in terms of which “needs” development should address, people’s participation and building their capacities in development and on the notion of empowerment it also becomes important to consider the level at which all this should be done. Arguing in his book “Small is Beautiful” Schumacher (1973) addresses the issue of regional or district approach to development. Schumacher (1973, 164) argues that if the purpose of development is to bring help to those who need it most, each region or district within a country needs its own development. From Schumacher’s point of view centrally planned and managed development interventions tend to concentrate the benefits of development to the more affluent metropolitan areas while only marginal benefits accrue to the majority of those who need it most in small towns and rural areas. Equally large scale and long term development plans tend not to change the conditions of
the poor in significant ways. In this regard, Schumacher (ibid) illustrates this by stating that highly ambitious five-year plans in India and Turkey regularly show a greater volume of unemployment at the end of the five-year period than at the beginning, even assuming that the plan is fully implemented. There is therefore a straight argument here that smaller and regional based development programmes will more appropriately address the needs of the poor than large ones based in big cities. This according to Schumacher (1973) boosts the agro-industrial structure in the rural and small-town areas and addresses the problem of rural-urban migration. It is in this regard that it is argued that small is beautiful.

This approach to development based on Schumacher’s argument can be formulated in four propositions:

- First, that workplaces have to be created in areas where the people are living now, and not primarily in metropolitan areas into which they tend to migrate.
- Second, that these workplaces must be, on average, cheap enough so that they can be created in large numbers without this calling for an unattainable level of capital formation and imports.
- Third, that the production methods employed must be relatively simple, so that the demands for high skills are minimized.
- Fourth, that production should be mainly from local materials and mainly for local use (ibid, 163).

Friedmann (1992, 139) also argues for the small is beautiful and states that the typical example of an alternative development in practice continues to be a micro-project. He argues here that local-action projects of this sort typically bypass the state or else exist, barely noticed, on its margins. Friedmann further states that these projects’ aim is eminently practical: they respond to a specific local need, their methods are experimental, and their immediate results are often encouraging (ibid). The advantages of the small projects over large ones can be summarized in a schematic comparison by Friedmann as shown in table 4 below:
### Table 4: Small-scale alternative development projects vs. typical large-scale mainstream development projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Alternative projects</strong></th>
<th><strong>Mainstream projects</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial assistance goes directly to the poor</td>
<td>Financial assistance goes to the state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively inexpensive, especially in terms of foreign-exchange requirements</td>
<td>Relatively expensive in terms of foreign-exchange requirements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People-intensive; fact-to-face interaction essential</td>
<td>Capital intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriate technology, often as extension of existing practices</td>
<td>Advanced technology, usually imported from abroad and displacing existing practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexible management (change possible in course of implementation)</td>
<td>Bureaucratic management (once committed to a course of action, changes are difficult to make)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine-tuned to local conditions</td>
<td>Procrustean: what doesn’t fit must be “cut off”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriented towards mutual learning between external agents and local actors: transactive planning</td>
<td>Top-down technocratic planning, little learning occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control for negative side effects is relatively easy and quick</td>
<td>Control for negative side effects are delayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short start-up time</td>
<td>Long start-up time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Friedmann (1992, 140)

From the above contrasting views about the concept of small is beautiful, it is important to note that development should not be a rigid project. It should be informed by geopolitics and seek to address the problems of the poor based on critical assessment of the prevailing circumstances. Development strategy should therefore respond to this recognition.

In this thesis, the concept of small is beautiful is used as an analytical framework in explaining NGO development strategy and how this is or is not adequately responding to the needs of the poor.

### 3.2 Model of Analysis

The analysis in this thesis is based on the concepts discussed above. The model used is premised on the understanding of the operations of Non Governmental Organizations among rural communities. The model depicts NGOs as agents for development and also shows what kind of support these organizations have as they seek to do development. In this case three sources of support are identified and these are; state policy, local community and donors. The model also identifies the community as the target for NGO development efforts and particularly breaks
down the community into three main intervention levels i.e. the individual, the household and the elected representative levels. It is at these levels that the analysis of the various NGO interventions and strategies in this thesis is based. Particularly, this is to say that each of these levels is taken as agency and constitutes a set of specific NGO interventions which in this case are analysed with respect to the theoretical concepts discussed above. It is assumed here that effective intervention at the three levels will yield into some development indicators depicted in the model of analysis as NGO expected outcomes.

In a nutshell the model of analysis for this thesis is built on five thematic areas; sources of support for development, development agents, target for development, intervention levels and the expected development outcomes. Suffice to mention here that this model was developed based on Friedmann’s Democratic Transition Regime of State-NGO relations model (1992) and Mengesha’s Model of Analysis (2000). This is illustrated in table 5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Support</th>
<th>Model of Analysis</th>
<th>Target for Development</th>
<th>Intervention Levels</th>
<th>NGO Expected Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Policy</td>
<td><strong>State Policy</strong></td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Intervention Levels</td>
<td>NGO Expected Outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donor Support</td>
<td><strong>Donor Support</strong></td>
<td>Community/ Locality</td>
<td>Household</td>
<td>- Reduced child mortality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Support</td>
<td><strong>NGOs</strong></td>
<td>Household</td>
<td>Elected Representatives</td>
<td>- High school enrolment for children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Adapted from:** Friedmann’s Democratic Transition Regime of State- NGO relations model (1992, 148) and Mengesha’s Model of Analysis (2000, 68)
Summary
This chapter has discussed different concepts constituted under the alternative development theory as analytical frameworks used in this thesis. These concepts are basic needs approach, participation, empowerment and capability approach. All these concepts have been used in this thesis to explain NGO intervention in rural communities and particularly in assessing how such intervention is; premised on local community needs, take into account the views of the local community/stakeholders and ultimately empowers both individual members of the community and the community as a whole.
Chapter Four: Research Methodology

Preamble
This chapter discusses the methodology which was used in this study. The chapter therefore explains the type of research design, the data collection methods, type of analysis and issues relating to the validity and reliability of the research and its findings. In particular the qualitative research design and its associated data collection and analysis methods relevant for this thesis are discussed in this chapter. This part of the discussion begins by giving a general overview of types of research designs i.e. qualitative and quantitative, and then zeroes down to qualitative research as one used in this thesis. This is done in order to lay background understanding on the orientation upon which the choice for qualitative methodology was made. The chapter also highlights the challenges encountered during fieldwork and the limitations within which this study was conducted. The significance of this thesis is also pointed out under this chapter.

4.1 Research Design
Mouton (1996, 107) describes a research design as ‘a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem. The main function of a research design is to enable the researcher to anticipate what the appropriate research decisions should be so as to maximise the validity of the eventual result.’ An appropriate research design therefore is important to any research as it will guide the process for collecting the desired data and also the process for analysing that data. The research decisions therefore which are to be made and which in turn determine a particular research design revolve around issues of data collection and data analysis methods in any given research. This is what is also referred to as research methodology. Thus, it can be argued that the type of research methodology a researcher adopts determines the kind of research design one will be working under. Enderud 1984 (in Mikkelsen 1995) defines research methods as tools to be used for answering specific questions and for solving different scientific or practical problems. Mouton (1996, 35) further states that research involves the application of standardised methods and techniques in the pursuit of valid knowledge and precisely because scientists aim to generate truthful knowledge, they are committed to the use of objective methods and procedures that increase the likelihood of attaining validity. Methodology is thus about this process and Helle (1999, 25) observes that one can distinguish between two methodological approaches in the social sciences, the quantitative and the qualitative.
Kitchin and Tate (2000, 40) state that in basic terms qualitative data are generally unstructured and consist of words, pictures and sounds and in contrast quantitative data are generally structured and the data consists of numbers or empirical facts that can easily be quantified and analysed using numeric techniques.

The choice of one methodology over another is dependent on the type of research and also on one’s perception of the social world. Smith (in Limb and Dwyer 2001) contends to this view and holds that there is no set recipe for research design; the different methods have particular strengths and collect different forms of empirical material and the most appropriate method for your research will therefore depend on the questions you want to ask and the sort of information you want you generate. Limb and Dwyer (2001) also observe that the choice to use qualitative methods for your research project will be shaped by the dimensions of your research questions and will also depend on how you understand social reality and the philosophical position that you take with regard to the production of knowledge. Further, Limb and Dwyer (2001) contend that it is possible to identify particular characteristics of qualitative methodologies that distinguish them from more quantitative methods and perhaps the most important point is that qualitative methodologies do not start with the assumption that there is a pre-existing world that can be known, or measured, but instead see the social world as something that is dynamic and changing, always being constructed through the intersection of cultural, economic, social and political processes. Denzin and Lincoln (1994, 2) also states that qualitative research is multifaceted in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Denzin and Lincoln further observe that qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry, they seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning (ibid, 4).

The above perspective on qualitative research is consistent with my research’s theoretical framework based on the alternative development view of not holding a closed recipe for development as in the stages of economic growth under modernisation theory. Under alternative development the world is conceived as heterogeneous and that no one standard development programme is suitable for all societies hence the arguments about endogenous development, basic needs approach etc. Therefore seeking to understand the world with an alternative
development approach can best be done with the use of research design which presupposes a
dynamic and changing world as in qualitative methodology. In this case this referred to seeking
knowledge on; relationship between NGO activities and people’s needs, community perceptions
about NGO development approaches, and also community perceptions on sustainability of NGO
pioneered development. Obtaining knowledge on all these issues required, as Denzin and
Lincoln (1994, 5) rightly point out, capturing the individual’s point of view by getting closer to
the subject’s perspective through detailed interviewing and observation.

In addition to the above theoretical consistency I, based on my academic and professional
background as a Social Worker, feel more competent to undertake research using qualitative than
quantitative methodology. I therefore through this study and particularly with the choice of
qualitative methodology, had the opportunity of further building on my academic orientation and
also utilising research techniques on which I have background knowledge. In many ways, this
made the whole study process much easier than otherwise would have been under a different
research methodology.

It is against this background that this study used the qualitative methodology. Below I discuss
the various qualitative data techniques which were used in this study.

4.2 Data collection methods
There are various data collection techniques that are used in qualitative methodologies and Limb
and Dwyer (2001) outline that first, there are in-depth open-ended interviews, which may be
with individuals or groups and which may be conducted once or in a series of meetings – for
example in the construction of a personal life history or community biography. Next, there are
group discussions, which may be single-meeting focus groups or consecutive meetings of in-
depth discussion groups. Third, there is the participant observation and finally there are
interpretations and analysis of a wide variety of different kinds of text. Below I discuss how I
applied some of these techniques and others in the course of this study.

4.2.1 Semi-structured key informant interviews
Kvale (1996) observes that a research interview is one whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of
the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described
phenomena and a semi-structured interview is one which has a sequence of themes to be
covered, as well as suggested questions at the same time there is an openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subject. This is strength in the sense that it enables research subjects to talk of issues in the sequence which is best for them. Such interviews, however, can be problematic in the sense that one can easily be swayed away from the main issues of the research to aspects being brought in by the interviewee. This can eventually generate too spontaneous data which may be difficult to analyse. Mikkelsen (1995) holds the same view and points out that a semi-structured interview guide approach has a weakness in that interviewer flexibility in sequencing and wording questions can result in substantially different responses and from different perspectives, thus reducing the comparability of responses.

Bearing in mind the above, I prepared the interview guides in such a way as to capture relevant information for the study. Firstly, at project level the interview guides used centred broadly on the activities of World Vision Zambia and community perceptions about World Vision’s involvement in the study area. The specific information sought here was to help understand; type of NGO activities being implemented, the process undertaken for deciding on these activities, whether NGO activities are responding to community needs, activity implementation strategy, and ultimately the impact of NGO intervention in the study area.

At district and national levels the interviews solicited information on NGO – Government relations. Specifically, this related to data on how World Vision activities as described above are conforming to government development plans. On national level, the interview at the Ministry of Child Affairs was planned to obtain information on National Child Policy guidelines for agencies involved in child centred development, World Vision being one such organization. Further this same interview gave insights on the conceptualisation of childhood in the Zambian context.

Based on the above information needs, the respondents for these interviews comprised of selected WVZ members of staff, selected government department representatives, parents of sponsored children and selected local traditional leaders. In total I conducted fourteen (14) in-depth semi-structured interviews.

Although there were tendencies of interviewees getting to talk about other things not directly related to my questions, I managed to focus the interview back on main issues by carefully asking my unanswered question differently. This was particularly the case during interviews with parents of sponsored children who in some instances mistook the interview process as another
registration process. In such cases, some respondents opted to talk about other of their children who were not under the sponsorship programme with the view that they should also be included in the programme. In situations like that, I acknowledged their concerns but had to re-explain my position and role, and carefully re-focused the interview on issues I had projected to learn about. I did this without making the respondents feel that what they talked about was not important to me but rather not within my jurisdiction.

All the notes from these interviews were transcribed and analysed in line with the information needs described above.

4.2.2 Focus Group Discussion

The Focus Group Discussion was conducted with the Project Management Committee (PMC). Bedford and Burgess (in Limb and Dwyer eds. 2001) define the focus group as a one-off meeting of between four and eight individuals who are brought to discuss a particular topic chosen by the researcher(s) who moderate or structure the discussion. The benefits of a focus group are that they place the individual in a group context where conversations can develop and flourish in what could be considered more common place social situations than being interviewed for a questionnaire survey and the flow of conversation ensures that there is dialogue between people, with individuals free to challenge the interpretations or assumptions of other group members. This dialogic characteristic of the focus group gives the researcher access to multiple and transpersonal understandings that characterize social behaviour (ibid).

The focus group discussions, however, have their own problems. Bedford and Burgess (in Limb and Dwyer eds. 2001) state that at the extreme, it is sometimes impossible to promote a topic of conversation because the group has no interest in discussing it nor is it possible to be sure prior to facilitating the group whether the group will move towards consensus or dissent. There is also the possibility that formal/informal leaders may monopolize discussions, influence and tacitly direct other participants’ response patterns and also group situation may inhibit rather than stimulate individual responses on sensitive/intimate/personal matters which may be awkward, controversial or socially disapproved (Mikkelsen 1995). So applying this method also requires some careful planning and preparedness for any likely pitfalls. Therefore, in this particular study, a guide to the focus group discussion was prepared and was structured to capture information on the following issues:

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7 Child sponsorship is World Vision’s way of raising long term support for children by establishing a relationship between an individual child in a poor community and a donor who pledges regular support for the child’s welfare and general community services.
Data Collection Methods

- Local community participation in NGO programme design and implementation
- NGO activities considered as most important by the community
- Community sense of ownership of NGO development programme and
- PMC’s preparedness for development sustainability after programme phase out.

There were eight (8) PMC members present for this discussion and were divided into two groups of four (4) each to discuss the above issues. Figure 6 below shows one of the groups in discussion.

During the discussions I closely moderated the groups to ensure participation of all group members and also to ensure that the discussions were within the given guidelines. Each group’s views were subjected to a further discussion in plenary which either reconfirmed such views or brought in additional information.

Figure 6: PMC members during Focus Group Discussion

Source: Fieldwork Photo by Researcher

4.2.3 Direct Observation

This was targeted at sponsored children’s livelihood conditions (it included observation of children’s nutritional status, clothing, shelter, access to services like school, health and clean and safe water). Mikkelsen (1995) puts it that direct observation involves observation of physical structures, social differences, behaviour, action and symbols in solitude or with others with
whom observations are discussed and it provides important information for posing central questions. Thus in this way direct observation was used to form follow-up questions during interview sessions and as well as during focus group discussion. This part of the research was meant to assess the impact of NGO activities on its target group. This method of inquiry was particularly important in this research because livelihood conditions are a more direct indicator of the effectiveness of the World Vision programme activities in the area. This is so because the improvement of the lives of the children is the central reason for the existence of the World Vision programme. In this sense it means that the type of activities and intervention strategy should directly contribute to the quality of life of the children the organization seeks to do development for. This data collection method was thus a reinforcement for meeting information needs sought in my first three research objectives.

4.2.4 Text Analysis
This data collection method involved the reading and interpretation of various secondary data sources. The sources for text analysis which I consulted are WVZ Luumbo ADP reports, Zambia’s National Child Policy, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and various internet sources. In acknowledging the importance of secondary data in research, Mikkelsen (1995) holds that it is a crime in research and development work not to allocate time for prior documentary studies; it gives a better start and saves time- not only your own time, but also more importantly valuable time for respondents. Secondary data also help to get better insights of the issues under study before getting into the field.

Accordingly, in this study I carefully referred to the above documents and some of the information got was used to build on further inquiry through the other methods outlined above. I should point out here however, that due to bureaucratic procedures for acquiring certain secondary data documents, it was not possible to read them before conducting planned interviews and focus group discussion. Before the study, I had projected that I should consult relevant secondary sources so as to get insights on issues and in other cases to avoid asking questions whose answers could easily be found in secondary data. The reality however, was that some interviews preceded the reading of some secondary data. In whichever case, the secondary data sources gave invaluable insights to my study and to some extent validated some of the information obtained from the primary data collection methods.
4.3 **Selection of respondents**

Mikkelsen (1995, 204) points out that one of the critical and controversial areas in the use of qualitative methods is selection of respondents and sampling. Normally in such studies the number of selected research subjects is small and the selection procedures are not random as to give everyone equal chance of being included. Kvale (1996, 102) also observes that a common critique of the interview studies is that the findings are not generalizable because there are too few subjects. A paradoxical answer, he adds, from the history of psychology, is that the aim of study is to obtain general knowledge then focus on a few intensive case studies.

Against this background and as a qualitative study my research did not have a large sample as would be expected in a survey/quantitative study. As rightly argued by Kvale (1996) this study arose from the desire to obtain deeper insights on community involvement in development programmes and as such a small but reasonable number of respondents was considered more appropriate. The number of respondents was actually arrived at after considering the information needs for this study. Accordingly Enderud (in Mikkelsen 1995, 226) also holds that information maximisation guides the selection of respondents, who are unique key persons and are known to have particular knowledge. Based on this I proceeded to include the following as my research subjects:

- The Luumbo ADP Management Committee (PMC) members
- Five Sponsored Children
- Five Parents of Sponsored Children
- One representative from WVZ Luumbo ADP
- Three selected Traditional Leaders
- A Representative from each of the following Government Departments in the district: Education, Health Agriculture and Social Welfare
- A representative each from the Provincial Child Affairs department and the Child Development department of the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Child Development.

Because of their close interaction with the work of WVZ, the PMC members, senior member of staff at Luumbo ADP, Traditional Leaders and representatives of government departments were regarded as unique and had special information about the issues under research. This qualified them as key informants for my research.
I was, however, not able to interview officers from the department of Social Welfare and the Provincial Child Affairs department because the incumbent were not available during the study period.

As stated above, the above research subjects were purposively selected based on the type of data required, accessibility and convenience within the study period. Although the main selection procedure was non random, a random selection of sponsored children and their parents was made using the Children in the Program (CIP) listing at the ADP. In this way, the study protected against being led into observing only children who may be seen as success stories in the eyes of World Vision staff. Thus this aspect of blending the qualitative approach with quantitative technique substantially enriched the qualitative approach and rendered credence to the research conclusions.

4.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation
The analysis of the data from the field is based on the theoretical concepts discussed in the theory chapter. The basic needs approach is used to explain the extent to which the activities undertaken by the NGO are generated by the community and how much they respond to the needs of the community. This assessment is done from both the perspective of the NGO management and that of the community. Alongside assessing NGO activities towards meeting community’s basic needs is also an assessment and explanation of how NGO activities/processes do contribute in building both individual and community capacities to widen the scope of things they can achieve. This part of the explanation is based on the concept of building capabilities. The concept of small is beautiful is applied in explaining the NGO development strategy in terms of programme set up and activity implementation. This is done with reference to both World Vision Zambia national level and at the level of Luumbo ADP. At the national level an explanation is made on the general World Vision approach to development in the country while at the programme level the explanation is centred on the structure of programme operations within the study area.

Participation is a key analytical concept in this thesis and as such is used to explain the forms of participation applied in all programme processes. Specifically, this concept is used to explain stakeholder participation in NGO activities, both from the perspectives of the NGO Management and from that of the stakeholders themselves. Interpretations generated based on the assessment

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8 Children in the Programme are children under the World Vision sponsorship programme. All such children are listed and their demographic data also kept at the ADP office.
of stakeholders’ participation in programme activities is used as building blocks to further explain community empowerment and preparedness to sustain the existing development efforts. This is in view of participation as \textit{means} to an \textit{end} and the end in this case being empowerment. Consequently empowerment is used to explain the overall impact of NGO involvement in the study area. The ultimate aim for NGO’s interventions in the area is visualised in terms of improvements in the community’s livelihood conditions and enhancing the capacity of the community to sustain such change. This process therefore entails that alongside providing for community needs, there should be efforts to empower the community to provide for its own needs. Therefore, the explanation on how much NGO intervention in the study area has led to this is based on the concept of empowerment. Also the concept of capacity building is again used here to explain how much NGO activities lead to community empowerment. This is from the perspective of capacity building as an empowering process.

Based on the above, analysis of data involved transcribing of all interview notes and categorising the information into the following main themes; type of activities undertaken by the NGO, Community and NGO Management perceptions on appropriateness of activities to community needs, NGO development approach and strategies for community participation in programme activities, Community perceptions on its participation in programme activities and Community and NGO Management perceptions on the overall impact of the programme activities.

Consequently, information under each of these themes was interpreted and explained in line with the relevant theoretical concept as highlighted above. Therefore, the research results in this thesis are presented in a more interpretative, descriptive and explanatory manner. This approach gives meaning to the research data and brings afore some of the unrecorded findings but which may have given insights to the researcher about the issues under inquiry. It is therefore quite an appropriate data analysis approach because it goes beyond the most basic and obvious interview responses to attaching meaning as was observed and intuitively captured during fieldwork.

\section*{4.5 Approach to ensure reliability and validity}

The fact that I am a former employee of World Vision Zambia could have affected my perception of things and hence the reliability of the study. This is because I could possibly have been taking some things for granted and made personal assumptions about what I know of World Vision operations. This, however, was handled with care. I went to the field with this realisation and kept it to myself that I had to avoid taking things for granted or being presumptuous in my data collection. As such I sought to learn from the research subjects based on their perceptions.
By taking this attitude, I was even amazed at how things have changed over the years and how much new things I had to learn.

It is important however, to mention here that although I kept the possibility of prejudicing the inquiry based on my former experience at this project, in some ways the fact that I had prior knowledge about the study area made the research process easier. For example I was able to arrange in advance to meet the different representatives from the ten zones under the programme for the focus group at one central place. If I had not known of the geographical and structural arrangement of this programme before hand, doing this would have taken more time than was the case. My prior knowledge also on the kind of government departments the programme is collaborating with made it easier for me to prepare my interviews better than if I had not known them. Further, I had the opportunity of being easily granted permission by World Vision Zambia to study at one of its ADPs. This would have required longer bureaucratic procedures for a person who may be new to World Vision. So in these ways and others based on logistics, I feel I had an advantage for doing this research. These ways however, do not impact on the reliability and validity of the research findings because they are more of logistical issues than actual data collection.

The validity of the study could also have been affected by the manner in which the selection of respondents was done. This is because some categories of respondents were selected only from one of the ten geographical zones under the programme area. This was the case for parents of sponsored children and the local traditional leaders. Such a selection could have skewed the data to only reflect the views of the people from the selected zone. With this recognition I undertook to triangulate data collection methods and sources so as to get unbiased understanding of the issues under inquiry. For example, though the interviews of the parents to the sponsored children were conducted with respondents from one of the ten zones, the Focus Group Discussion had representatives from eight of the ten zones covered by the programme. In this way, I feel the peculiar issues from different zones which could have been missed from the interview category of the study, were still captured from the zone representatives during the Focus Group Discussion. Also although two of the three local traditional leaders interviewed were headmen from within one zone, the third was a local Chief’s representative whose views reflected on issues under the entire ADP catchment area. Further, secondary sources like Luumbo ADP reports which I consulted also compensated any likely information gaps. Thus in these ways, I
4.6 Challenges encountered during data collection

At the time of organising for the Focus Group Discussion with the PMC members, I was advised by Luumbo ADP Management that I had to pay for the PMC accommodation and meals for the period I was to be with them. I inquired further whether I had to pay any cash allowances to the participants and was advised that this was not World Vision standard practice. It was felt that paying cash allowances would set an example to do so for any future meetings and since the operations of the programme entailed several consultative meetings with PMC members, this was not going to be sustainable. I was thus informed that as motivation for their involvement in all programme related activities, there are some inbuilt incentives for PMC members which are felt to be more sustainable and consistent with the organization’s development philosophy. In short I was advised not to pay cash allowances to the PMC members for participating in the Focus Group Discussion. Contrary to this, it came to my knowledge that the PMC members present for the Focus Group Discussion were actually expecting to be paid some cash allowances for participating in the study. This was besides paying for their accommodation and meals for the two day period they stayed at the lodge for this activity. When I explained to them that I was working under their programme guidelines and was a student with limited financial resources, they expressed discontentment and some pointed out that they felt like walking away. Realising that this was a serious concern from the participants, I gave time for them to discuss it thoroughly among themselves so that they could come up with a group decision. They decided after some lengthy discussion that the problem concerning allowances was their internal issue i.e. between World Vision Luumbo ADP Management and The Project Management Committee. They thus unanimously agreed to continue with the Focus Group Discussion as planned. I feel that had this issue not been carefully addressed, it would have disrupted the planned meeting and hence given rise to information gaps in the study. To the contrary and as expressed by the participants themselves, a careful approach to the issue made it possible for the meeting to progress as planned. It also brought some realisation among the PMC members that there were some internal issues which needed to be addressed by themselves and the Programme Management. I am hopeful that the issue of allowances was discussed in the subsequent programme planning meeting between the staff and the PMC to arrive at a collective solution. I am therefore happy that a potential problem during data collection was carefully turned into a possibility for a more permanent and collective solution. With this done, not only will it have
been a positive on my study but also one for future researchers/development workers in the area who may not have to face the same challenge as I did.

4.7 Significance of the study
This study is relevant for building on information on work of NGOs among rural communities in Zambia. It therefore contextualizes alternative development theory and contributes to understanding how it is conceptualised on the ground in terms of responding to the development needs of the rural poor.

As a case study this thesis could be used by World Vision to reflect on issues raised and seek to harmonise its interventions based on community perceptions. In this sense, this study could be seen as an add-on to World Vision Zambia’s own monitoring and evaluation of its development work in the Gwembe Valley.

Further the study is particularly important to me because it gave me the opportunity to undertake research of this magnitude at this level; it therefore is a contribution to my personal academic credential.

Summary
This chapter has discussed qualitative methodology as the design used for this thesis. Semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, direct observation and text analysis are explained as methods used during data collection. Highlights are made on the strengths and weaknesses of each of these methods and most important, the discussion also alluded to the measures taken in order to keep the weaknesses of each method used to the minimum. The data collected through these methods was transcribed and categorised into the main themes of the study and in relation to the theoretical concepts upon which this thesis is based. The presentation of the study results is discussed as being through interpretations, descriptions and explanations; again this is based on the study themes and theoretical concepts.

In a nutshell, this chapter is presentation on the process I underwent to generate this thesis.
Chapter Five: History and Structure of World Vision International

Preamble
This chapter is about what World Vision is and its development approach. So an account of World Vision International in general and World Vision Zambia in particular is presented here. Basically, this chapter is written in order to form some background understanding to the nature of activities at Luumbo ADP, a World Vision Zambia project at which the study was done.

5.1 History of World Vision International
World Vision is a Christian relief and development organization dedicated to helping children and their communities worldwide to reach their full potential by tackling the causes of poverty. The organization was started in 1950 by Dr. Bob Pierce (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Vision#History) accessed March 5, 2006, 20:44 hours. According to World Vision, Dr. Pierce established the programme of child sponsorship to assist children orphaned by the Korean War. Pierce appealed to North Americans to underwrite the costs of caring for these children by pledging a certain amount each month. Operations were directed from a head office near Los Angeles. Over the next two decades, World Vision expanded its work throughout Asia, and into Latin America and Africa (http://www.wvi.org/) accessed February 19, 2006, 17:43

In the 1970s, World Vision embraced a broader community development model and established an emergency relief division. It attempted to address the causes of poverty by focusing on community needs such as water, sanitation, education, health, leadership training, and income-generating projects. At the same time, large-scale relief efforts were initiated on behalf of earthquake victims in Central America, cyclone survivors in India, and refugees adrift in the South China Sea. Recognizing the international scope of both operations and fundraising, World Vision International was established in 1978 as a partnership of interdependent national offices. By 1985, World Vision maintained development projects in 84 nations and was responding to the globe’s worst humanitarian disasters (ibid). To date World Vision continues to intervene in disaster situations with relief efforts including the recent Tsunami disaster.

5.2 World Vision’s Target Group and development approach
World Vision helps transform the lives of the world’s poorest in nearly 100 nations. The
assistance rendered is community based and child-focussed and available to all those in need, regardless of race, gender, ethnic background or religious belief. This is done following Christ’s example to love one another, especially children and the poor. It is anticipated that by addressing the root causes of poverty, the organization is helping to seek “life in all its fullness” for all people the poor in particular (http://www.wvi.org/) accessed February 19, 2006, 17:43 hours.

World Vision works in close partnership with other stakeholders such as communities, churches, governments, and other aid agencies to render development support more effectively and efficiently. According to the World Vision brochure “Who we Are” the poor themselves are World Vision’s primary partners. As such poor communities take responsibility for directing the work supported by World Vision. It is also noted that World Vision endeavors to work in a manner that parallels or complements national development objectives. In this regard Governments are key stakeholders in the work of World Vision. The brochure further states that although the organization does not fund government programmes or assign funds to government agencies, it establishes relationships at grassroots level with local groups or district level government departments. The organization also supports local communities in their efforts to effect government policies that benefit the poor (ibid).

Based on the above, it is clear that World Vision uses an integrated approach both in dealing with the needs of the poor and also in collaborating with other stakeholders for development intervention. It is from this approach that it is held that the organization is holistic in its response to the problems of the poor.

5.3 World Vision’s Organizational Structure and Funding Sources
The World Vision brochure “Who we Are” states that World Vision International functions as a partnership of interdependent national offices, overseen by their own boards or advisory councils. A mission statement and shared core values bind the partnership. By signing the Covenant of Partnership, each partner agrees to abide by common policies and standards. Partners hold each other accountable through an ongoing system of peer review. In general a sense the partnership is bound by the values of responsiveness and commitment to the poor (http://www.wvi.org/) accessed February 19, 2006, 17:43 hours.

World Vision raises private and public funds in most of the countries in which the organization is working. Contributions are received through financial support from child sponsors, other

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9 Life in all its fullness is derived from World Vision’s vision statement which reads ‘Our vision for every child, life in all its fullness; Our prayer for every heart, the will to make it so’.
private donors, businesses, foundations, and investment income and also through Gifts-in-kind (GIK), such as food commodities, clothing, medicine and other items donated by various corporations. Funds from child sponsorship account for about half of World Vision’s cash income (ibid).

It is stated that World Vision is accountable to those it serves particularly to the communities and donors. For development accountability, World Vision measures its work in communities against project designs and annual plans. Indicators related to quality of life and long-term sustainability are used to assess the extent of change (http://www.wvi.org/) accessed February 19, 2006, 17:43 hours.

5.4 History of World Vision Zambia
World Vision Zambia (WVZ) was established in 1981, and has since operated in all the nine provinces of the country. For sometime since inception, World Vision Zambia undertook its operations through Community Development Projects (CDPs) reaching more than two million people (about one fifth of the country’s ten million people). The focus of activities included interventions in education, water, sanitation, health, agriculture, Christian witness and community capacity building as well as micro-enterprise development. In an effort to bear greater impact than was being achieved through CDPs, WVZ made a major decision to streamline its operations from 110 small scale projects in 1996 to 20 Area Development Programs (ADP) by the year 2001 (WVZ Luumbo ADP design document 1999). There are currently 18 Area Development Programmes (ADPs) in the country with over 41,000 sponsored children, and the organization has since inception operated three large-scale programs focussed on Child Survival, Integrated Agro-forestry, and the Cross-border HIV/AIDS Initiative project (http://www.wvi.org//country_profile/zambia) accessed February 19, 2006, 18:17 hours.

According to Luumbo ADP design document (WVZ 1999) some of the factors that led to WVZ’s accelerated transition from CDP to the ADP approach included; high operation service costs owing to long distances; geographical scattered-ness of community projects resulting in poor responsiveness to donor queries and poor project monitoring as well as a “broadcasting” of resources. The concentration of resources on fewer but enlarged locales was meant to enhance the impact of WVZ’s development interventions in addition to promoting effective resource utilization. With the shift to ADP approach there was the need for re-defining catchment areas
through re-appraising and reprioritizing of needs with the involvement of community, government, and World Vision representatives.

Under the ADP approach, areas that are being addressed include among others, nutrition, water, education and leadership development. The communities are also involved in primary health care programs. These programs include maternal health care, child immunization, and the training of health care workers. There are also projects training farmers to increase crop yields, improve crop storage, and care for the environment. Women and men are also encouraged to explore other ways to generate income (ibid).

World Vision Zambia has also been involved with the relief work during the drought years the country has faced with the major one having been the 2002 to 2004 food crisis.

5.5 Structure of World Vision Zambia

World Vision Zambia operates a decentralized development approach. This is an approach where there are several independent development programmes around the country with a national office which renders logistical support and links those programmes to their respective support offices\textsuperscript{10}. ADPs are area specific and seek to answer development challenges in a given area following World Vision development philosophy. These ADPs are autonomous in so far as identifying and implementing of development activities is concerned. They also run individual budgets and have their own administrative structures unique to each in terms of size but similar in their general pattern. The difference in size is due to the varying activities at each ADP but because they all conform to the World Vision development philosophy, then they share a common structural pattern. An Area Development Programme will cover a certain region in a district and in most cases given a local name such as name of a local chief, name of a locality/area or even the name of the district under which the programme falls. Each ADP is sizably large and covers a number of local administrative regions called in some ADPs as zones (Interview with the Development Facilitator\textsuperscript{11} at WVZ Luumbo ADP).

At the ADP level each programme has two kinds of structures. First there is an administrative structure which comprise of full time and salaried members of staff. This is responsible for the day to day routine operations of the programme and is headed by the Programme Manager. As

\textsuperscript{10} A support office is a World Vision international office which sources for financial assistance from individual child sponsors for a given ADP. It is the office through which ADP resources are channeled from donors.

\textsuperscript{11} A Development Facilitator is a full time and senior member of staff, second from the ADP Manager and is in charge of projects coordination at Luumbo ADP. The incumbent stays within the community.
stated above, each Programme Manager will have a requisite number of employees dependent on the activities under his/her programme. The second is a development management structure which comprise of elected local area representatives with the responsibility of planning and monitoring the implementation of programme activities. This structure also bears the responsibility of mobilizing the community for different tasks as may be required under programme activities. This structure is called Programme Management Committee (PMC). The Programme Manager sits on this committee as a link between the two structures. (ibid, WVZ Luumbo ADP Design document 1999)

The elected representatives who make up the PMC are normally chairpersons (in some cases other recommended committee members) of the zone committees. Their presence on the PMC is to ensure that their respective zones’ development concerns are part of the ADP operations. They thus are the direct link between the Community and the ADP (based on field notes from Focus Group Discussion with PMC, 24th June 2005)

Besides the above two structures, each ADP may maintain or participate in ad hoc structures/committees as may be deemed necessary for the successful implementation of its development activities. It is at this level where partnerships with, for example, government ministries/departments, local traditional leadership, local church organizations, other NGOs existent in the area, etc are formed. Where such partnerships exist, they are considered vital for development and in some cases anchor development sustainability plans (based on interview with Luumbo ADP Development Facilitator).

In a nutshell, the World Vision Zambia organizational structure is anchored on the belief in bottom-up development approach emphasizing local community participation and partnerships with like-minded stakeholders.

5.6 Procedure for Project area and beneficiary selection

The ADPs are what can be referred to as World Vision project areas. The beneficiaries under a typical World Vision ADP/project area are the children in particular and the community in general. The reasoning behind this has been already discussed above in section one of this chapter. The procedure, however, for the selection of a given community as project area and the type of beneficiaries within that area is presented below.
Based on the interview with the Development Facilitator at Luumbo ADP and also as contained in Luumbo ADP design document (1999), the initial criterion for selection of a project area is the identification of poor communities or communities in need of the kind of support rendered by World Vision as described above. Once such a community has been identified, a study called a baseline survey is done to establish its socio-economic and demographic characteristics. It is based on this data that a decision is made as to whether that community is a potential World Vision intervention area. Once it has been confirmed, based on the baseline data, that a community qualifies for World Vision intervention, a proposal is done on the kind of development activities which could be undertaken. Because the bulky of World Vision development funds are raised through child sponsorship, a recruitment of needy children in the area is done. This is done based on the assessment of the child’s needs and the existing social support networks. Once this is done and the neediest children enter the sponsorship programme, the ADP is established and begins to run. In this way the selected children become the direct beneficiaries of the programme and are called Children in the Programme (CIPs). Apart from the CIPs the community as a whole also benefits from the ADP activities. It is stated that “The assistance rendered by World Vision is community based and child-focused and available to all those in need” (http://www.wvi.org/) accessed February 19, 2006, 17:43 hours.

According to World Vision International ADPs use an approach to transformational child focused human development that target geographical districts with a long-term commitment to improve child well-being and to reduce poverty. These activities are run over a 10 to 15 year life span and usually target the poorest areas in the district. The ultimate goal of an ADP is community self-sufficiency, reaching a level where the community can provide for themselves and for their children. (http://www.wvi.org/wvi/) accessed March 1, 2006, 12:31.

Summary
This chapter has laid a foundation for understanding World Vision as a development non governmental organization. It has brought to the fore what World Vision’s development philosophy is; that is in terms of the organization’s development approach and kind of activities undertaken. By zeroing down to World Vision Zambia, this chapter has further laid foundation for understanding the nature of the development activities which are going on at the project where I did the fieldwork. This is particularly important in that a background understanding at national level helps to amplify understanding on some development orientations at project or
local level. Much of the information in this chapter therefore is a build-up for the discussion and analysis of activities presented in chapters six and seven.
Chapter Six: World Vision Zambia’s development orientation in the Gwembe Valley

Preamble
This chapter is a presentation on World Vision Zambia Luumbo ADP’s development orientation in the study area. Specifically, this chapter outlines the development activities being undertaken by World Vision in the Gwembe Valley and the development approach employed. These issues are presented from both the ADP Management \(^{12}\) and the Community respondents \(^{13}\) perspectives. As such, this chapter is a presentation of the empirical data collected during fieldwork.

6.1 World Vision’s Development activities in Gwembe District
This part of this chapter answers the study’s first research question which sought to identify the activities being undertaken by World Vision in the Gwembe valley. Presented therefore here are programme activity details and both Community respondents and the ADP Management perceptions about these activities towards meeting the poor’s needs.

Based on the interviews with the Development Facilitator at Luumbo ADP and also as contained in both Luumbo ADP design document (WVZ 1999) and Bi-Annual report (WVZ 2004), it was learnt that World Vision has organised its activities in the area around key development sectors. Under this section I discuss those falling under the following sectors; health, education, agriculture, relief and rehabilitation, leadership development, and child sponsorship. In the ADP Bi-Annual report (ibid), each of the above sectors appears under the project logical framework as a distinct programme purpose. Below I discuss the main issues under each purpose based on the review of the programme documents and also as interpreted from the interview notes.

6.1.1 Health
According to Luumbo ADP Bi-annual report (WVZ 2004), the health sector is subdivided into two purposes. Purpose one is to reduce malaria and diarrhea incidence among 28000 people in Luumbo community from 55% to 21% and 21% to 10% respectively by the year 2013. Purpose two is targeted at having better health facilities and basic primary health services for 28000 people of Luumbo as close to their households as possible by the year 2013. From this, it is evident that the project has a dual dimension of tackling health issues in the area, the first targeting disease prevention and control while the second addresses the issue of primary health

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\(^{12}\) The ADP Management refers, throughout this thesis, to fulltime and salaried members of staff at Luumbo Area Development Programme

\(^{13}\) The phrase Community respondents is used repeatedly in this thesis when referring to the combined views of the parents of sponsored children, local traditional leaders and the PMC members
care for the target community. In a way, purpose two is seen as reinforcing the attainment of purpose one in the sense that better access to primary health care will help curb both the prevalence and incidence of disease.

To achieve the above, the ADP planned under purpose one to carry out anti-malaria and diarrhea prevention awareness meetings in all the zones. Meetings are organized to pass on messages aimed at reducing the breeding of mosquitoes and maintaining home and dwelling hygiene in order to curb the prevalence of malaria and diarrhea respectively. This approach is seen as vital in reducing malaria and diarrhea incidence in the area because according to the ADP design document (WVZ 1999), the baseline survey results for this programme revealed that poor habitat surroundings, unhygienic home conditions and use of unsafe water were among the leading causes of high incidences of malaria and diarrhea cases in the area. Disease awareness campaign meetings also carry messages on detecting early signs of infection and the importance of seeking early treatment. In addition to education on maintaining the surrounding environment for malaria control, the programme also distributes insecticide treated mosquito nets (ITNs) for further prevention of mosquito bites, the cause of malaria. These are given to households where there are CIPs as direct support/benefit to such children.

The intervention in malaria and diarrhea control was noted both from the ADP Management and Community respondents’ points of view as addressing a serious community need. The ADP design document (ibid, 18) reports that malaria prevalence rate for children between five years and fifteen years old was 72.5% well above the all age group average of 55% while that of diarrhea among under five children was 39.9% also above the all age group average of 21%. From the Community respondents’ point of view, health (of which malaria and diarrhea are key concerns) was among the top five ADP activities considered as most important during the PMC focus group discussion. This therefore indicates that this intervention is perceived as very important and addresses a major community problem.

However, in terms of specific interventions/activities for addressing this problem, there were some views from the community that some are not as effective. For example, while most of the respondents (under the parents of sponsored children category) acknowledged that insecticide treated nets help to protect from mosquito bites and ultimately malaria infection, some felt distribution of such nets by the ADP was in some cases not an effective measure. One mother of a sponsored child noted that sometimes the nets given are for single sleeping and she pointed out the following; “I have many children, some of them are not sponsored by World Vision and
therefore do not receive nets, but the problem is our children do not sleep alone, they sleep together on one place. So it is not possible to use a single net to protect three children for example at the same time. Because of this we sometimes do not use the nets, we have kept it.” Figure 7 below for example shows a mother and several children under one household who share sleeping spaces.

Figure 7: A mother with children under her household who share sleeping spaces

Source: Fieldwork photo by Researcher

Other parents also felt that the nets are not always user friendly given the sleeping arrangements in their villages. It was pointed out that in cases where the net had to be used, it required to be hanging and tucked in around the bed/mattress to close up possible spaces through which mosquitoes would enter. However, the problem according to these respondents is that in most cases children sleep on the floor where they only spread some blankets upon which the net may not be effectively tucked in. The mosquito nets therefore as argued by these respondents are either not used at all or when used are not as effective as they are expected to be.

Based on this, most respondents felt that the most effective way of preventing malaria is by clearing and maintaining surrounding areas to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes. It was,
however, also observed that although home surroundings maybe well maintained, people are still vulnerable to mosquito bites as and when they are out of their homesteads performing household chores. Most of the respondents indicated that mosquitoes bite them for example when they go to their crop fields, when they go to fetch for water at community water wells, while herding their cattle etc. This therefore predisposes them to malaria infection. In such cases, the best practice as maintained by other respondents was to seek early treatment. Almost all community respondents indicated that early treatment of diseases has been made easier through construction of rural health centres under the ADP. This intervention was reported as being effective and greatly contributed to reducing mortality due to malaria and diarrhea whose rates according to the ADP design document (WVZ 1999, 18) stood at 48.9% and 20% deaths respectively among all age groups.

However, although there was a general acknowledgement both from Community respondents and the ADP Management that malaria and diarrhea related mortality had been reduced owing to the above measures, the actual statistics indicating this reduction could not be accessed during the fieldwork period.

The second health purpose targeted at construction of Rural Health Centres (RHCs) within the catchment area. Four RHCs were planned to be operational by 2013 and that they would provide about 80 percent of the community with easy access to primary health care. The ADP Development Facilitator indicated during interview that it was expected that by putting up these structures, the ADP would be contributing to reduce walking distance for the community to access health care. At the time of planning for this intervention, the nearest health facilities people could access were Munyumbwe RHC and Gwembe District Hospital which are over 45 and 80 km respectively away from most of the ADP zones. This intervention was therefore also envisaged as a contribution towards meeting the national health goal of providing equitable health care to many as close to the family as possible. These RHCs were earmarked to be located in Chaamwe, Luumbo, Bbondo and Lukonde zones. The selection of these zones was based on their geographical centrality to the surrounding communities which would access the intended health services. As such it was estimated that each RHC would have an equal share of health facility users from the entire ADP target population. As at the time of fieldwork, construction of all these four health centres had already been completed and they were all operational.
As already hinted to above, the community respondents felt that this intervention was essential and impacted positively in their lives i.e. besides being among the top five community priority of activities by the ADP during PMC focus group discussion, it always was one of the easy ones to be remembered by parents of sponsored children when asked to outline activities known as being undertaken by the ADP. This shows the importance they attach to it. A village headman interviewed pointed out that “Even when World Vision is gone, it will be remembered for the infrastructure they have constructed in this area, these “schools” and “hospitals” which are now close to our homes are a big relief for us.” Figure 8 on the next page shows a mother with her WVZ sponsored child. The child suffers from epilepsy and the mother feels that the proximity of a rural health centre has made it easier to manage her child’s health condition better.

Even from the government point of view, this intervention was highly commended. The District Health Management Team (DHMT) Planning Manager indicated during interview that Luumbo ADP had contributed a great deal in construction of both RHC blocks and medical staff houses at these centres. He indicated that the construction of staff houses in this remote community has made it easier for the ministry to send health personnel to run these health facilities. He jokingly added that “some of the houses which have been built for staff are better than the old houses we are living in here in more urban areas as such everyone wants to move there now.”

The Planning Manager from DHMT was, however, also quick to point out that in some cases, these structures were of poor quality partly because of poor workmanship and partly due to environmental conditions in the area. He explained that the use of local community contractors and locally produced building materials sometimes greatly compromised quality. Given also that the ground and soil structure in this area allows for cracking of infrastructure walls, some of the structures already had been renovated a number of times. He noted the case of the health centre at Luumbo zone where the block had to be mended many times for cracks even before it was completed. There was a view therefore that the ADP and the community need to compromise on this and agree to engage contractors with sufficient skill to erect durable infrastructure.

14 The community respondents generally referred to the RHC blocks and medical staff houses as hospitals while classroom blocks and teachers’ houses as schools. Apparently there is no local term used to differentiate for instance a RHC and a full fledged hospital; in the local language both would be translated to mean hospital.
The above child suffers from epilepsy and the mother says it is now easy for her child to access medical care from the nearby RHC.

Source: Fieldwork photo by Researcher

The ADP Development Facilitator explained that the above two purposes under this sector have been programme components since its inception in 1999. Over the years and with the increasing impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, a purpose specific for HIV/AIDS was introduced as another health intervention. It was therefore reflected in the ADP Bi-Annual report (WVZ 2004) as targeting at increasing knowledge and mitigation measures within Luumbo ADP on the effects of HIV/AIDS on the infected and affected persons by the year 2013. In this respect, a special add-on project called RAPIDS (Reaching HIV/AIDS Affected People with Integrated Development and Support) is being run by the ADP to boost up HIV/AIDS interventions. An interview with the RAPIDS Coordinator at the ADP revealed that activities being undertaken through this intervention include conducting HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns in schools, conducting HIV/AIDS workshops for traditional leaders and school teachers, assisting school going orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) with school requisites, rendering material and moral support to Home Based Care Givers, distribution of nutrition food stuffs to the chronically ill and training of Church/Faith Based Organization (FBO) leaders in HIV/AIDS. It is hoped that these measures will eventually lead to the following outputs;
• school going children able to demonstrate knowledge on HIV/AIDS
• support and care for terminally ill and OVCs will have been enhanced
• Advocacy on HIV/AIDS enhanced
• Partnership with the church/FBO on the fight against HIV/AIDS established.

It was further explained that the inclusion of the HIV/AIDS dimension into the programme activities is a demonstration of the organization’s flexibility and responsiveness to the emerging community needs in the catchment area. There was no doubt that the HIV/AIDS pandemic, like in many other parts of the country, was being recognised as a serious scourge in the area and one which could no longer be ignored nor sidetracked by the ADP. It was noted from the ADP Management point of view that the effects of HIV/AIDS do impact on all other programme sectors in one way or the other and as such ignoring it would only cause piecemeal advances in achieving the intended programme results.

Most respondents talked to were of the view that although HIV/AIDS is a serious problem in the area; it did not originate from within their locality. A village headman pointed out that most of the HIV/AIDS related problems existent in his area originate from urban areas; he explained that when their children or relatives get sick in urban areas where they work and live, they eventually come back to the village for home based care and support. Equally the bulky number of HIV/AIDS orphans and vulnerable children in the village are siblings of parents whose family origins are from within the area but lived and died in urban areas. In this way the local village is seen more as being affected than infected with HIV/AIDS. Therefore it was noted by most respondents that providing care and support in this situation is putting a lot of pressure on the rural poor with already outstretched family resources. It is in this regard that the ADP intervention on this issue was felt by most respondents as timely and going a long way in mitigating household poverty.

6.1.2 Education

The education sector is also planned to serve two purposes with the first targeting at increasing the number of school age going children receiving primary and basic education from 60% to 95% by the year 2013. The second is aimed at reducing illiteracy levels from 39% to 10% by the year 2013 (WVZ Luumbo ADP Design document 1999, WVZ Luumbo ADP Bi-Annual Report 2004). While purpose one is more concentrated on contributing towards increasing universal
education for children, purpose two considers more the concern on adult illiteracy. Therefore, under this sector, the ADP addresses both children and adult education needs. The ADP Development Facilitator explained that there was a close relationship between adult literacy (or the education level of the parent/guardian) and the child’s chances of being enrolled and retained in school. It was held that a literate adult is more likely to enroll and retain his/her child in school than an illiterate one. The ADP baseline survey also concluded that among the reasons for low school enrolment and retention of children of school going age in the area was low value for education among parents. It was also found that withdrawal of children from school and in some cases opting to have children do other household chores during school time was higher among illiterate parents/guardians than among literate ones (WVZ Luumbo ADP Design document 1999). It is thus in light of this that the adult literacy intervention is perceived as a factor to contribute in increasing child enrolment and retention in school. So in as much as purpose two under this sector is in itself desirable for reducing adult illiteracy in the area, it further acts as a reinforcing factor for the attainment of purpose one.

Specific activities targeted at meeting purpose one include the construction of school infrastructure i.e. classroom blocks and teachers’ houses within the catchment area, supplying of school materials to community schools and strengthening of Parent Teacher Association (PTA) Committees.

It is hoped that by constructing more classroom blocks in different schools within the area, the number of children admitted into school will increase. Since increased numbers of children in school demands for an increase in the number of teaching staff, the ADP also has planned to construct teacher’s houses alongside classroom blocks. Further the ADP supplies school materials such as; packets of white chalk, board rulers, board dusters, class registers, staplers together with staples, to community schools as a response to erratic provision of such by government. Due to the introduction of radio based education, the ADP also periodically supplies solar radios to selected community schools.

PTA committee training seminars are held as a means towards increasing community appreciation of education for their children. Such seminars are attended by selected community representatives and representatives from the teaching staff. The seminars are expected to yield in increased dialogue between teachers and parents on how best to enhance the education of children. Through such dialogue, it is hoped that the challenges that would impede the education
process would be identified and solutions found. The role of the ADP therefore on this issue is to facilitate the holding of such seminars by financing related costs.

Construction of school infrastructure is one of the ADP activities for which World Vision is highly commended for by the community. All community respondents talked to were unanimous on the view that the ADP’s contribution through this intervention is benefiting their children a great deal. As pointed out under the discussion on health above, this intervention and one on construction of health infrastructure were always the easy ones all respondents could remember and for which even the community in general associates World Vision with in the area. Even away from the scheduled interviews, during social interaction in the community, when asked about what World Vision does in the area, most people simply responded; “they build schools and hospitals and distribute relief food”. There was therefore a general community recognition of this intervention as an important one. Respondents explained that by constructing classroom blocks and renovating old ones the schools look better and attractive. This makes the learning environment conducive and even children themselves feel motivated to be in school.

Commenting on this intervention, the local Chief’s representative particularly noted that the number of teachers in schools has also increased because there are more staff houses in schools built by the ADP. He further recalled that in the past, some schools like Kkutwa and Kaleleziy had only one or two teachers responsible for both teaching and school administration. In the event therefore that such teachers had to be out of school to the district offices either for school administrative business or to collect their salaries, then the school had to temporarily close. This, in some cases would take one to two weeks because these schools are remote and without accessibility to motor transport. The teacher would then take such long periods to get to and from the district either by walking or in rare cases riding a bicycle. By constructing staff houses the number of teachers has increased and as such other teachers do sit in for their colleagues who may be away. This, the Chief’s representative maintained, has minimized teaching disruption and children have higher chances of attending school for all the term days.

At District level, the District Education Standards Officer (DESO) also commended this intervention. He pointed out that the ADP was complementing the ministry’s education efforts in the area through construction of low cost school infrastructure and supplying school requisites.
Although, however, all these measures are meant to increase enrollment and retention of children in schools, some parents talked to still indicated that there were other problems that inhibit school attendance. It was noted that in cases where one had more children it was a burden to pay school fees and manage to get the requisite school supplies for children not sponsored by World Vision. In such cases, the family would have preferences for some children to be in school while others would not. The general tendency as noted by most respondents was that in such times, the boys were preferred over girls. It is generally held in this community that a boy child has higher chances of completing school than a girl child. The ADP design document (WVZ Luumbo ADP Design document 1999) concluded that the general community perception about children’s education was that girls are easily married off and parents are more keen to receive lobola\textsuperscript{15} than pay school fees for a girl child. In this sense therefore, the problem of children’s school attendance in this area also carried a gender dimension.

The problem therefore of low school attendance in the area is multifaceted and not merely a result of lack of or dilapidated school infrastructure. The PMC member from Ntanga zone explained that a beautiful 1 x 3 classroom block was constructed at a school in his zone and it was projected that many children in the area would have a chance of being enrolled in school. However, the situation is that there are still many children in the area who do not attend school. This is largely attributed to family poverty situations and the consequent value of immediate needs (consumption) over protracted returns from children’s education. As such it was generally felt that the ADP should, alongside this intervention under this sector, also intensify on interventions aimed at building the capacities on the households to provide for their most basic requirements. Only then, most respondents maintained, would families have disposable resources to manage to retain all their children - both sponsored and un-sponsored ones - in school.

The DESO also acknowledged that school attendance by many children in the area was compounded by many factors of which poverty played a major role. Even though the efforts by the ADP as exemplified above were contributing towards increasing enrollment, issues of poverty in some cases were outplaying such efforts. The DESO explained that the number of children therefore who consistently stay in school is turbulent and is at its lowest during farming months (period from about November to March) and for most part of the school calendar during drought and food deficit years; reason being that during such times, involvement of children in household chores perceived as immediately rewarding is preferred over keeping them in school.

\textsuperscript{15} Lobola means bride price
To some extent these views about confirms that human needs are best met in a hierarchical manner as in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs in figure 5 under the theory chapter. In this sense community consumption needs can be seen as first level needs while children’s education is a need at a higher level. Satisfaction of these needs is therefore perceived as following a hierarchy as explained above.

The major activity under purpose two of the education sector is to train Literacy Instructors and facilitate literacy education sessions in collaboration with the government department of Community Development. The department of Community Development is responsible for developing the training curriculum and conducting the actual training. The ADP on the other hand sponsors the training of selected individuals from its catchment area as contribution towards the policy on adult education.

In terms of achievements under this intervention, Luumbo ADP Bi-Annual report (WVZ 2004) reported that as of April 2004, a total of thirty five (35) students supported by the programme had completed the Literacy Instructors’ course run by the Ministry of Social Services and Community Development. This document further states that this number of students was slightly more than half in seven months of the target of sixty (60) for the period October 2003 to September 2004. The ADP Development Facilitator also indicated that the ADP has so far supported the training of a grand total of about 292 Literacy Instructors while over 1000 community members have attended adult literacy education. However, there were no computed statistics to show the actual percentage of these figures against the targeted 90% adult literacy in the area by the year 2013.

From the community point of view, adult literacy is perceived as a development concern, although most respondents did not attach as much value to it as other activities. PMC members for instance ranked this quite low among what they considered as major development needs in the area during focus group discussion.

6.1.3 Agriculture – Crop Production and Animal Husbandry
Based on Luumbo ADP Bi-Annual report (ibid) and also from the interview with the ADP Development Facilitator, this sector targets development in both crop production and animal husbandry in the area. As such the sector has a crop specific purpose and an animal husbandry
Activities Undertaken - Agriculture

Based purpose. Under the crop production, the ADP hopes to have 1500 farming households in Luumbo community increase annual cereal production from 5x90kg of (maize, sorghum and millet) to 20x90kg bags of the same crops by the year 2013. The animal husbandry purpose is to have 400 households of Luumbo community increase their animal assets by the year 2013.

To attain the crop production purpose the ADP has planned to support vulnerable but viable farmers with agro input loans. These inputs include fertilizer and drought resistant seed. Further, farmers are constantly educated through extension services on good crop production practices suitable for the area. Farmers are also encouraged to diversify from cereal crop production to other viable agricultural products. As such the ADP is currently supporting the community through the crop diversification initiative project where households are benefiting by acquiring citrus fruit tree seedlings with varieties such as lemons, guavas and paw paws.

From the community point of view, agricultural support should constitute the core efforts of the ADP’s intervention in the area. For instance, all the three Local Traditional Leaders interviewed clearly held that farming is the main economic activity in the area and for any development effort to succeed in this region, it should be centred on this. The Chief’s representative elaborated by arguing that “food is the number one priority in a person’s life, without food other things stand still. Children can not go to school hungry, even at the hospital before they give medicine they ask whether you have eaten. This means food is number one. Development should therefore start from there. We expect that these people (World Vision) should give more support for us to produce our own food. We commend them for distributing relief food but what our people want is to help them produce their own food. They can continue giving us relief food now, but when they go we shall still be hungry. So since we are by our roots a farming people, we expect that the ADP will support us more and more to boost this main economic activity here”.

Such views were held by most respondents. A Father to a sponsored child complained that the ADP is not helping much in food production as was the case when World Vision was operating through CDPs. He explained that during the CDP approach the families which had sponsored children received tangible support compared to what they get now under the ADP. He explained that “under the CDP we used to receive sorghum seed, beans and other agro-inputs. The number of families that used to receive such support was more than those who get this kind of support under the ADP. They told us that the ADP is bigger but I think the CDP was better because the sponsored children received more support and their families got support too”. Figure 9 below
shows a father with his daughter; he feels that small scale CDPs which World Vision used to run were better than the current large scale ADP.

The issue concerning the number of agricultural support recipients under the ADP was echoed by most respondents. It was explained that the agriculture input loan scheme is at a small scale such that it only benefits a few households. Further these respondents indicated that even for those that receive this support, the quantity of inputs is not sufficient. This therefore, it was explained, does not make such households food secure the whole year. In backing up this argument, one village headman indicated that during relief food distribution all households in the area, including those who might have received agro-input loans, still line up for relief food. This is because their yield is not so sufficient to take them all year round. He further elaborated that the main agricultural products in the area, maize and sorghum, are both food and cash crops. He therefore noted that “even though what we may harvest in a year may be enough for household consumption, we take out some of it for sale to raise household income. So in this way what remains is not sufficient for consumption all year round”. It was therefore in view of this that all three Traditional Leaders argued that agriculture is the main economic activity in the area.

Figure 9: A father with his sponsored child.

The above parent was of the view that the CDP approach was better than the current ADP approach

Source: Fieldwork Photo by Researcher
Although, however, most respondents held the above views, the ADP Management was of the view that the community has, through this intervention, received quite some good amount of support. The ADP Development Facilitator held that the interventions for crop production are benefiting a number of households. A check in the ADP Bi-Annual report (WVZ 2004) also impressed upon the view that there is a positive impact under this intervention. The report indicates that during the 2003/2004 farming season three thousand eight hundred and thirty five (3,835) vulnerable but viable farmers received agricultural support from NGOs operating in Gwembe District and within the ADP catchment area. The ADP provided sorghum, cowpeas and groundnuts to 2,000 farmers, Programme Against Malnutrition (PAM) provided 1000 farmers with maize, sorghum, cowpeas, millet, groundnuts, cassava, sweet potato vines and fertilizer while Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) provided 835 farmers with maize, sorghum, groundnuts, cowpeas and fertilizer. Further the report states that 2,420 CIP households received citrus fruit tree seedlings of lemon, guava and paw paw varieties. Also one thousand four hundred and thirty seven (1,437) farmers were reported to have been trained in conservation farming and specialized in potholing; a concept commonly known as zero tillage. Based on these interventions and through monitoring of farmers’ crop performance it was felt from the ADP Management point of view that households would have good yields, thus be food secure in that year. The situation however, revealed based on the majority of community respondents’ views, that although there was higher crop yield during that season, it was still not sufficient to guarantee the kind of security as would be expected of a main economic activity. There was however, one community respondent, a mother to a sponsored child, who supported the ADP strategy on crop production as she maintained that the support is appropriate. She explained that Gwembe Valley is a drought prone area, so if the ADP spends more resources supporting crop production than they are already doing, then it will have no means to support the community with relief food and other needs in the event that there is low rainfall, crop failure and ultimately poor harvest. It was therefore felt, from this point of view, that the level of support on this intervention is appropriate given that the ADP spends resources to respond to many other community needs.

In general, although the crop production intervention under the agricultural sector was controversially perceived by Community respondents and the ADP Management in terms of approach and impact, there was a general agreement that it is of central importance in targeting poverty in this region. The community clearly called for more and intensified support in this
direction. It is hoped therefore that the ADP will through its own programme review realize this need and begin to re-orient its strategy on this to address this challenge.

Under the animal husbandry component the ADP is implementing the livestock restocking project. Through this project, selected households are given heifers, bulls and goats for purposes of improving the local breeds and eventually increasing the livestock numbers in the area. This is seen as a direct benefit to the households in the sense that it increases their animal stocks. This is further important for the people in the area because ownership of animals is culturally regarded as a status symbol and provides a ‘fall back on’ asset in the case of any eventuality. Commenting on the livestock restocking project under the programme, the Local Chief’s representative had this to say; ‘This project is once again bringing back our lost dignity as the Tonga people. It is our tradition and culture to own animals and this is what we always have been like. Those of my fellow community members benefiting under this project are definitely proud to own these animals because a household with animals is what completes a Tonga household. We applaud this project and wish that more animals are provided to more and more households.’

At least all except one of the parents of sponsored children interviewed acknowledged that their children had received goats through this intervention. Figure 10 below shows some goats in the community, some of them have been given to sponsored children under the livestock restocking project of the ADP.

Figure 10: Some Goats in the community

Some of the above goats are children’s benefits under the livestock restocking project of the ADP.
Source: Fieldwork photo by Researcher

16 *Fall back on* refers to household assets which are kept as status symbol or for prestige but can be sold or exchanged for other consumable household goods and services during difficult times.
Activities Undertaken – Relief and Rehabilitation

These animals were appreciated by the recipients and most held the view that as they multiply, it will be possible to sell some and use the money to provide their children with necessities especially with regard to school requirements.

6.1.4 Relief and Rehabilitation

Relief and rehabilitation is one of World Vision Zambia’s oldest activities in the area. The ADP Development Facilitator indicated that the history of World Vision in this area is based on relief activities which the organization undertook in the Gwembe valley as early as 1984. The evolution of other activities currently under the programme came as a result of the experience over the years and the realization that a more sustainable approach to tackling the problems of the poor in the area required more than a philanthropic approach. This was because it was now clear that the kind of problems affecting the poor were multifaceted and as such a single relief approach would not go far in bringing about the desired change. It therefore, over the years, became increasingly necessary to include within World Vision’s work an integrated approach which would take care of the many dimensions of the poverty situation in the area and hence the current programme. In spite of this realization, relief and rehabilitation activities never died out and as at the time of this study, still formed a critical component of the current World Vision development programming in the study area.

Consequently, over the years the programme has implemented various relief activities in response to the varying disaster situations that continue to hit the area. Under the current plans, the programme’s purpose is to continue giving food supplements to 24,000 people (especially the children) affected by the drought till the year 2013. As such the ADP is involved in the food security project in partnership with another NGO working in the area called Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ). Through this project, households receive food rations in the form of maize grain – the staple food in the area- , and beans. This kind of assistance goes on almost every year from the time World Vision moved in the area because of the perennial food deficiency the community faces.

Because of the many years of operating in this area, the ADP also acts as a conveyor belt for most relief activities run by other organizations/institutions including government. This is because the ADP has established structures within the community in terms of people committees to coordinate relief aid, infrastructure to stock relief food pending distribution, equipment like motor vehicles to transport relief food even to remote parts and the experience of handling relief
activities in the area. For instance during the national food deficit season 2002/2003, government had contracted the ADP to coordinate relief food distribution in the Gwembe valley.

It was clear both from the ADP Management and the community members’ perceptions that relief is still a core activity of World Vision’s work in this area. As pointed out under the education and health sectors above, the community in general holds this activity alongside construction of school and rural health centre infrastructure as main activities being done by World Vision.

In terms of impact almost all respondents held that the ADP is doing well through this intervention. Even though they acknowledged presence of other support NGOs undertaking this activity such as PAM and EFZ, they maintained that World Vision’s efforts have been longest in the area and which they feel are more stable. The Chief’s representative held that “Since World Vision moved in this area in the early 1980s they have assisted many people through relief food. We know now that for as long as they are still here, they will quickly respond to any hunger situation we may face. We need to thank them for this”. He further added through a local proverb that “uutalumbi mubwa” which when translated means “its only dogs which do not say thank you”.

6.1.5 Leadership Development

The leadership sector is the capacity building component of the programme. Its purpose is to continue imparting leadership and management skills to the ADP Committee members, staff, traditional and key leaders till the year 2013. This programme component is seen as vital for programme sustainability beyond phase out. It is therefore under this sector where it was said the Programme Management Committee (PMC) members participate in the running of the ADP activities. This is generally through participation in annual and quarterly preparation of programme plans and monitoring of programme activities in their respective zones through out the year. This sector is therefore designed to enhance the efficiency of the PMC in the above processes through leadership based training.

The ADP Development Facilitator explained that besides capacity building of the PMC members, the ADP also runs leadership development activities for traditional and other key leaders in the community. These leaders include the Area Chief and his representatives, village
Activities Undertaken – Leadership and Child Sponsorship

headmen, selected church leaders and any other key persons who may be relevant based on particular programme components. All these are from time to time engaged in tailor made training programmes for purposes of enhancing their contribution to the development process in their respective areas. The idea behind involvement of all such leaders is that they carry different forms of authority and could use it to compel their subjects to adhere to the development standards advocated for under the ADP. It was explained that this is another important component of the ADP operations because it recognizes the multidimensional response to development challenges. By incorporating people of different background and with different forms of authority, it increases the chances of having concerted efforts to development and hence maximises programme efficiency and effectiveness. This approach is particularly consistent with the alternative development view that effective development calls for involvement of various stakeholders as argued in the theory chapter. The village headmen interviewed generally acknowledged that leadership sensitization meetings to which they have been invited by the ADP have been fruitful and helps them to better organise their subjects.

There was, however, a lot of controversy on the issue of PMC capacity building. From the ADP Management point of view this sector’s strength is in its vision to provide for the sustainability of ADP development efforts in the area. It is expected therefore that through involving PMC members in programme planning meeting, leadership training sessions and mobilisation of the community, they will attain community development management skills and be better placed to continue spearheading development initiatives in the area beyond the ADP phase out.

Although the PMC members acknowledged the above, they also maintained that the kind of capacity building processes they are involved in, appropriate as they may be, are more of information dissemination processes by the ADP Management than being tailored to equip them with skills to address the challenges of development. As such it was held from this point of view that these processes are not holistic as to result in the expected programme sustainability. The section on participation in the next chapter discusses this issue further.

6.1.6 Child Sponsorship

Child sponsorship is the main reason for the existence of World Vision programmes thus anchors the organization’s continued existence. As stated in the section on the history of World Vision, the organization was founded on the principle of sponsoring children in a given area for purposes of undertaking designated community development projects whose benefits are supposed to spill over to the children.
While the other programme sectors may differ from ADP to ADP dependent on the priority of needs in an area, the child sponsorship sector is common to all World Vision Area Development Programmes. This is because the bulky of funding for all other sector activities of all ADPs comes through child sponsorship. It is therefore the number of CIPs which determines the budget capacity and consequently the number of other development activities an ADP can support. It is in this sense that the child sponsorship sector is conceived as the engine of all World Vision ADPs.

It was also explained that besides being the main funding source for all ADP activities, child sponsorship also offers direct support to all CIPs. Although it is envisaged that the benefits from other sectors will eventually trickle down to all CIPs, it is recognised that there are also more specific needs of the children hence the direct support component under this sector. This includes meeting CIP basic needs like health, food, clothing, shelter and any other as may be dictated by the circumstances. A Customer Relations Service Worker (CRS Worker\textsuperscript{17}) under the ADP explained that the ADP pays for; medical fees for any CIP who falls sick and requires specialised treatment, school fees and other school requisites for all school going CIPs, and periodically distributes clothing to all CIPs and gives food rations to families with CIPs in the face of hunger. All such direct support is made as a way of contributing towards meeting the context and area specific children’s basic needs. Figure 11 below show World Vision sponsored children at Bbondo zone receiving clothes as GIK.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure11.png}
\caption{Children receiving Clothes as Gift In Kind}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{17} A CRS worker is a full time staff member at the ADP responsible for CIP information updates through monitoring the each CIP general welfare. Each CRS worker has a designated number of CIPs he/she is responsible for.
Although the child sponsorship intervention was said to be beneficial by all respondents, some felt the kind of direct support going towards children is very minimal. Comparisons were made between how things used to be during the CDP approach and the current ADP approach. All community respondents held the view that there used to be more and regular support to children during the CDP time. A CRS Worker pointed out that these views by the community were correct but added that although the CDP had regular support to CIPs it did not have other sustainable projects as being undertaken by the ADP. The ADP Development Facilitator, who apparently also served under the CDP, also explained that the CDP approach was short term and quite true had more immediate incentives to the child and their families. However, the ADP has a longer term of development assistance and is thus focused not only on provision of direct material support to children but also on building sustainable structures which would benefit the community longer than what was the case through CDPs. He explained that such sustainable structures include support to education, health and community capacity building through on-farm training, PMC leadership training etc. The community respondents however, felt that all these things were still going on during the CDP. One PMC members explained that he is aware for example that the construction of Chaamwe and Luumbo zone Rural Health Centres currently being reported under the ADP as long term health benefits was started during the CDP period. It was clear therefore that the general feeling from the community was that there is a general decline on the amount of direct support rendered to children under the sponsorship programme.

In this regard, the PMC maintained that the only major change which they have seen under the ADP is that it has employed more members of staff who have eventually taken over the role which the community used to play. They explained that during the CDP period, whenever project funding was received, the community representatives would sit together with the project workers to decide on how to spend it and were even involved in actual procurement of project requirements and were signatories to the project account. One PMC member argued that “they now tell us that the ADP has a large budget and require qualified accountants to manage, but if the budgets are bigger then why is there less direct support to children compared to CDP which they say had smaller budget?”

Figure 12 shows a sponsored child in not very pleasant clothing; the mother claimed that apart from one or two other better pieces of clothes this child has, this is his usual standard of dress.
Figure 12: A sponsored child; the mother says he has limited clothing.

Source: Fieldwork Photo by Researcher

Therefore, although there could be tangible long term development impacts through all other ADP interventions and while this is to some extent recognised by the community, there was also a general perception by the community respondents that assistance towards immediate needs has gone down.

6.2 World Vision Zambia’s Development Approach

6.2.1 Intervention strategy

This part of the this chapter responds to the second research question of this thesis which sought understanding on the strategy World Vision is employing in implementing development activities in the Gwembe Valley. Analyzed from the national level point of view, it can be argued that World Vision Zambia employs the concept of “small is beautiful” as its development strategy. By its structure the organization has several independent development programmes (ADPs) around the country and one central national office which facilitate information flow between these programmes and their support offices. The national office also renders logistical support for the operations of the individual ADPs. The actual implementation of development activities is not done at the national level but at the respective ADPs whose interventions are also
area specific and vary from ADP to ADP. For instance, this study was conducted at a programme in the Southern Province of the country where there are a total of six ADPs spread over five of the twelve districts in the province. From World Vision’s point of view, the justification for the decentralization of development to this level is said to be based on the need to do development at the grassroots with the poor. World Vision describes ADPs as “an approach to development that target geographical districts with a long-term commitment to poverty reduction and aim to empower communities and help build capacity so that the community itself retains ownership of the development process. The community decides what its development priorities are and works alongside World Vision to achieve its goals.” (http://www.wvi.org) accessed 28th March, 2006 at 17:55 hours. Therefore, ADPs, by virtue of being district based, connote the regional or district approach to development as argued by Schumacher 1973 and as such justifies the view that the organization applies the concept of small is beautiful as its intervention strategy.

Further, from the national level point of view, the argument is that although the organization moved from smaller CDPs to ADPs as discussed in chapter five, ADPs are still considered as reasonably small compared to what they would be in the event that all of them were merged. It was explained therefore that the current structure of the ADPs in the country is that although all of them share general similarities as World Vision programmes, they also considerably vary in terms of activity implementation and as such the success of one ADP is not dependent on the other in any way. Each ADP is quite independent of each other and in some cases even receives funding from different support offices thereby adhering to specific and unique donor requirements. This in turn also renders varied programme management and operation styles. Both the ADP design document (WVZ 1999) and the interview with the ADP Development Facilitator clarified that the shift from CDP to ADP was carefully done so as to protect against bureaucratization and a tendency towards top-down programming synonymous with large-scale programmes. Therefore the ADP approach was perceived as a better way towards the execution of long term sustainable community projects with sizable budgets, manageable administrative structures and more in contact with the needs of the poor in a given area. Such are the tenets synonymous with small projects as schematized by Friedmann in table 4 under the theory chapter of this thesis.

At ADP level and specifically at Luumbo ADP where this study was done, activity implementation is further a decentralized process. As such, it was explained that the ADP has

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18 Regions or districts form the unit of intervention under the concept of Small is Beautiful. This is as argued by Schumacher 1973 and also maintained in the theory chapter of this thesis.
been further demarcated into ten regions known as zones. Again although in general all zones have similar activities, there are some exceptions where some zones are implementing activities not found in other zones. It was explained for example that the construction of school infrastructure such as classroom blocks had been done in some zones e.g. Ntanga, Kkutwa and not others like Gwembe where such facilities already exist. Equally Rural Health Centres were constructed in zones where the need was felt greatest. The ADP Development Facilitator pointed out that the reason why the ADP is further regionalized into zones is to devolve development planning to the smallest level where needs will be more easily identified and planned for.

However, from the community point of view, the ADP strategy was perceived as being too big an approach whose benefits do not spill over to the poor as expected. This was the case from most respondents, especially parents of sponsored children, who maintained as argued above that the CDPs were better than the ADP. This is in terms of direct benefits both to the sponsored children and their families and also in terms of involvement of the local community in project activities. The discussion for instance on agriculture and child sponsorship above highlighted some of the benefits the community feels it had during the CDP phase. Therefore to some extent, this assertion by the community further confirms the attributes of small scale projects as typified by Friedmann in table 4 under the theory chapter. This also exemplifies the view that large scope interventions in the life conditions of the poor tend to be technical, bureaucratic, top-down and scantily benefit the poor themselves. The PMC members also claimed that the CDP approach was much more on the ground in many aspects; through the direct support as argued above and also through interaction between the project staff and the community. It was explained for instance that under the CDP the Project Coordinator was staying and had his office at one of the centres within the community. In this way he was much more aware of what was going on among the people. Now under the ADP the ADP Manager together with other top positioned members of staff stay in Monze, a nearby town and only periodically gets to the catchment area. Community respondents therefore held the view that by staying in urban areas far away from the community the ADP staff are now remote from the realities of the problems of the poor.

On the contrary, the shift from CDP to ADP was defended by the Development Facilitator as having been made in the best interest of the community. For instance he explained that the shifting of the ADP office to a nearby town was to facilitate better handling of information requirements from donors through use of such equipment and communication technology as
computers, fax machines, telephones and the internet; services which are not available even up to date in the catchment area. In addition he explained, as already mentioned above, that the CDP benefits were short term while the ADP ones are long term and sustainable.

6.2.2 Luumbo ADP’s Intervention levels

In terms of actual intervention, the ADP Development Facilitator further explained that activities are generally targeted at three levels. These are the individual, household and elected representatives’ levels. These are also the three levels of intervention presented in the model of analysis in table 5 under theory chapter. As such each specific ADP activity is designed and implemented at an appropriate level. The discussion below briefly exemplifies some activities under each of the three intervention levels.

**Intervention at the Individual Level**

Intervention at this level was explained as implementation of activities which directly target the individual as both beneficiaries of the activity outcome and as agents for that change. Based on the ADP documents and also through my own assessment of the nature of activities as was explained to me during different interviews, it was deduced that child sponsorship constitute activities at the individual level of intervention. Through child sponsorship, individual children are targeted and given support in terms of meeting primarily their health, education and clothing needs. This support is individual based and targets at the special basic needs a child may require depending on his/her circumstances. So it is the case that each child who is a CIP receives from regular support in terms of the above three need areas. For instance Luumbo ADP Bi-Annual report (April, 2004) indicates that between October 2003 and March 2004 a total of seventy one (71) CIPs were given health related support while another seventy (70) received either education or nutrition related support. The report also indicates that all the children under the programme received some help in form of clothes and other forms of Gift in Kind (GIK).

**Intervention at the Household level**

The household is the main intervention level for most activities undertaken by Luumbo ADP. Under this level are activities from the health, education, agriculture, and the relief and rehabilitation sectors. For all the activities under these sectors the household is targeted as the medium through which overall community change can be effected. For example, the second purpose under the health sector is targeted to provide health services as close to the family as possible as such the four RHCs that have been built by the ADP in the area are expected to provide health care to the household as close to it as possible. So although the kind of medical
treatment at these health centres is individual and specialised, the programme’s approach for making this available is at household level. Further, the Neighborhood Health Committees target individual households within a specified geographical locality for their health awareness campaigns and promoting of good health behavior.

Agriculture interventions are other household based activities. This is even explicit in the agricultural sector goal which target at increasing household agricultural productivity both in crop production and animal husbandry. Specifically the crop component aims at enhancing household food security while the animal husbandry targets at increasing household assets. So it is clear again that the household is the main intervention level for agriculture related activities. Due to the level of development in the area and the country as a whole agricultural production is still heavily labour intensive and in this particular region, cases of mechanized agriculture are almost none existent. Therefore, the very fact that agriculture is largely labour intensive justifies consented household effort and hence the need to target any agricultural development support at this unit of intervention.

Relief and rehabilitation as conceived under the ADP design is mainly a response to the drought and hunger situations which affect the area almost every year. The major intervention therefore under this sector is to provide relief food during drought and food deficit months. Since food consumption is a household activity, such support is also rendered at household level.

From the foregoing it is clear that intervention at the household level constitutes the majority of activities which the ADP implements and hopes to spur the expected development outcomes. This is again clear from the presentation in table 5 on the model of analysis in the theory chapter where most of the expected NGO outcomes are presented at household level. However, though it is the case that most activities are implemented at household level, intervention at other levels is not in any way less important towards achieving the desired development. As an integrated programme, all its processes are mutually reinforcing and equally relevant for the overall development goal.

**Intervention at the Elected Representatives level**

Intervention at this level involves the issue of trusteeship. The local people have entrusted some elected representatives called Programme Management Committee to decide, plan and
implement development programmes on their behalf. It is also at this level of intervention where program sustainability plans are anchored. Table 6 below shows the sustainability plan of Luumbo ADP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of programme</th>
<th>Entry phase</th>
<th>Establishment</th>
<th>Maturity</th>
<th>Phase out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>1 – 2 years</td>
<td>3 – 6 years</td>
<td>7-12 years</td>
<td>13-15 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to World Vision the maturity phase at which Luumbo ADP was as at time of the study is described as “Institutions and structures established in the first and second phases are consolidated. The community begins to take a leading role in directing of the activities of their area” (ibid). Of particular importance in reference to institutions and structures here is the PMC. Also when it is said that the community begins taking a leading role in directing activities reference is made to the PMC.

The specific examples of activities which were explained as being undertaken to achieve the above include involvement of the PMC at programme level planning in liaison with the ADP Management and facilitating effective programme activity implementation through community mobilisation. For instance, it is through the elected representatives that community mobilisation for unskilled labour during health and education infrastructure construction is done. Also all the ADP community meetings to discuss programme activities are organised through the PMC. It was further explained that this level of intervention acts as the ADP entry point to the community. It is the agent which provides a link between the community and the ADP Management and facilitates information flow to and from the community. The ADP Development Facilitator noted here that this level of intervention is conceived as a higher level of intervention and as stated above one where programme sustainability plans are anchored. It is a higher level because all programme activities in one way or the other are dependent on the operations of the PMC as a programme decision making and planning body. The extent to which this is perceived so by the community is discussed under the section on participation in the next chapter.

**Summary**

This chapter has highlighted the NGO development activities being undertaken in the Gwembe Valley. It has been generally acknowledged that these activities do respond to the local community’s most pressing needs and account towards much of the development in this region. Also this chapter has discussed the kind and appropriateness of Luumbo ADP’s intervention strategy towards community development. Approaching development from the “small is beautiful” point of view is understood as maximizing programme efficiency and effectiveness.
This argument, as held by World Vision, is appropriate in circumstances of heterogeneous community needs. It is also ideal for optimal resource use for meeting those needs.

In terms of activities undertaken, both community and the ADP representatives acknowledged that such interventions are going a long way in making the lives of the poor in this area better than what would otherwise be the case. In as much, however, as the community acknowledged the difference the NGO activities are bringing into their life situations, there was also a general concern that the extent to which this is so has relatively gone down. This was attributed to the organization’s shift from smaller scale community development projects intervention approach to the current larger area development programme. While the ADP Management maintained that this was in the good interest of the community as it yields in longer and sustainable development support, the community still held the view the shift negated the immediate direct benefits to the poor and in some cases imbued top-down development planning. This issue was therefore controversially perceived by the Community respondents and the ADP Management. The discussion on stakeholder participation in the next chapter exemplifies more in detail the basis of this controversy.
Chapter Seven: Analysis and Discussion of World Vision Zambia’s development orientation in the Gwembe Valley

Preamble
This chapter discusses the impact of World Vision Luumbo ADP’s intervention in the Gwembe Valley. Specifically the chapter considers how World Vision’s presence in this region has contributed to changing the poor’s living conditions and the extent to which the poor themselves and other stakeholders participate in the development process. Ultimately, the chapter considers the extent to which World Vision’s intervention in the area has contributed to building the poor’s capabilities to not only be recipients of development assistance but more importantly to take more responsibility for providing for their needs now and beyond NGO engineered assistance. Thus, this chapter addresses the question of effectiveness of Luumbo ADP activities in meeting the poor’s basic needs, building their capabilities and contributing to community empowerment.

7.1 Luumbo ADP’s response to local community’s basic needs
It has been discussed in the theoretical chapter of this thesis that basic needs are context based and unique from society to society. Even in societies with some general characteristics of homogeneity, what may constitute basic needs of regional groupings like one part of the country or social groupings like women, children, the blind, etc, and other classifications may markedly vary and depict uniqueness in each case. This is because basic needs are contextualized and dependent also to a large extent on the social, political, economic and even geographical circumstances of the area/social unit under study. Therefore organizations which plan to undertake development interventions among social or regional groupings should also be aware that meeting basic needs of such groupings requires careful articulation of what is considered as basic by the people themselves and not what is understood as universal needs by the development expert. Consequently, the kind of activities laid down should be in harmony with this understanding.

An analysis of the activities being undertaken by World Vision in the Gwembe Valley reveals a long list as discussed in chapter six. However, the question is whether these activities are implemented as a response to the local community’s basic needs and if so, whether such
needs are as agreed upon by the local people themselves as basic.

In this particular study, seeking a response to the above question required an elaborate understanding of the procedure which World Vision took to decide on the type of activities being implemented. Based on explanations by the PMC members, the ADP Development Facilitator and also as contained in Luumbo ADP Design document (WVZ 1999), when this locality was identified as potential for World Vision intervention, a team of World Vision Zambia and other hired independent research experts was constituted to undertake a social survey of the area. During this survey, the local people were asked to identify what they considered as main problems and in particular what they considered as their basic needs. Through this process, long term (15 years) and broad area development activities were decided upon and are now contained in what is referred to as the ADP design document. When the ADP was finally set up in 1999 local structures were quickly constituted. These structures comprise of elected committees at each of the ten ADP zones. It is representatives of these zonal committees who form up the Programme Management Committee. The local community, through their zone and programme management committee representatives, and the ADP Management are then responsible each year for breaking down the long term and broad development goals in the design document into Annual Operation Plans (AOP). This process besides considering activities contained in the design document also takes into consideration what is considered as emerging and most pressing needs of the local people at the time. This therefore updates the process of targeting at community needs while still retaining the originality as was captured during the baseline survey. The relief and rehabilitation component of the programme is one such indication that the programme not only responds to the community’s needs as was captured during the survey but spontaneously takes on provision for other needs as they emerge. The ADP Development Facilitator explained that this demonstrates commitment to meeting the poor’s needs and the ability to know that doing so requires an on-going awareness of the poor’s current livelihood conditions. Therefore, activities contained in each year’s operation plan go through this process and are said to be a reflection of what may have been decided upon by the local people as a response to their basic needs at the time. In a general sense community respondents did acknowledge the existence of this process.
On the other hand, however, there were some concerns from some community respondents that in certain instances, the process above is not as inclusive as it sounds here. The specifics of these concerns are highlighted on the section on community participation below.

From the ADP Management point of view it was maintained that the above process is existent and further argued that World Vision Zambia recognizes the poor’s needs as contextualized phenomena and as such interventions in the Gwembe Valley integrate community views. To some extent, this conclusion is quite expected because NGOs are in many instances associated with programming based on the people’s identified needs. This is why NGOs are sometimes referred to as grassroots organizations\textsuperscript{19} and also synonymous with bottom-up development approaches\textsuperscript{20}. It is not common to find NGOs whose activities greatly contradict the views of the local people. In cases where such NGOs exist they do not last long. They either receive great community opposition or are quickly noticed by the state and consequently banned under state regulation. It is therefore for this reason that the issues NGOs are interested in and are likely to receive funding for are those which represent the target group’s basic needs. This argument is vivid on the presentation on the role of NGOs in the introduction and theory chapters of this thesis. So it is also quite true to argue that NGOs activities are intentionally attuned to local needs because this is where they are likely to get accepted by the target communities themselves, the state and most importantly to get financial support for. The increasing popularity of NGOs is based on their likelihood to directly take financial support to the poor as opposed to government where such support is thought to be consumed through bureaucratic structures while only meager resources trickle down to the poor. In this way they maximize their continued positive recognition from the three NGO sources of support which are; State policy, Local community and Donors\textsuperscript{21}.

Suffice therefore to mention here that World Vision Zambia just like most NGOs is responsive to local people’s needs and in this particular instance does appropriately employ its values of responsiveness and commitment to the poor as described in chapter five. The Community respondents also acknowledged that the ADP activities do respond to their needs. This is clearly exemplified under specific interventions as discussed in chapter six. The question, however, on whether this responsiveness to local community basic needs by

\textsuperscript{19} Pieterse 2001 as quoted under the theory chapter of this thesis refers to NGOs as grassroots organizations.

\textsuperscript{20} According to Friedmann 1992, quoted in the theory chapter of this thesis bottom-up approaches are associated with NGOs.

\textsuperscript{21} Table 5 (model of analysis) identifies state policy, local community and donors as the sources of support for NGOs work.
Luombo ADP is wholesomely inspired by the poor themselves or is a result of NGO general conformity to the poor’s needs as discussed above requires attention. I now turn to consider these concerns in detail.

7.2 **Stakeholder Participation in Luombo ADP activities**

Suffice to say two issues at this stage are quite clear. First it is that World Vision Zambia is appropriately responding to the local community’s basic needs in the Gwembe Valley. At least the activities meet among others the poor’s health, education, food and clothing needs, which needs are also identified in chapter two of this thesis as among Zambia’s basic needs. Second, in doing so, the organization employs a reasonably appropriate intervention strategy as discussed in chapter six. What, however, has not been clear from the preceding discussion is the extent of stakeholders’ participation in the ADP activities.

Stakeholders in a development programme are people or groups of people or institutions/structures who affect or are affected by the outcomes of particular development interventions. In this case, it was clear based on various interviews conducted and also through the interpretation of programme documents that the community and related institutions operating in the area constitute the key stakeholder category of Luombo ADP. These two categories either contribute towards or are affected by the operations of Luombo ADP or both. Consequently each of these categories participates in the operations of the ADP. This participation is differentiated and is based on the nature of the interests held by each stakeholder. As such it was part of this study to identify the participation level of each of these stakeholders in the operations of the ADP. Below is a presentation in this direction.

7.2.1 **Community Participation in the ADP processes**

The community in this sense is perceived from four perspectives. These are the elected representatives (PMC) under the ADP, individual households in the area, children in the programme and the local traditional leadership. Each of these constitutes some type of interests and participates in the ADP activities in a unique way.

**Participation by the Programme Management Committee**

The ADP Development Facilitator categorised stakeholder participation mainly by emphasising on indicators such as number of people who attended programme consultative meetings, number of such meetings held, number of stakeholders who were consulted over an issue, etc. Likewise specific participation by the PMC was described in terms of number of
programme management committee meetings held, number of leadership training sessions conducted and the like. From this point of view, it was therefore clear that numbers, not content and result of the process constitute the greater meaning of participation.

The ADP reports consulted (monthly, quarterly, bi-annual, annual) also carried the same understanding on stakeholder participation and as such reinforced the assertion above. It was also particularly clear from these documents that the participation and involvement of the PMC is emphasised. As such it was reflected from these sources that the PMC participates in programme planning; they are part of the programme activity implementation process as community mobilizers and they are involved in capacity building programmes to equip them with development management skills. The participation of this category in programme activities is conceived as an empowering process, one which is intended to entrust the programme management responsibility entirely to this community structure at programme phase out. In fact it is through the PMC that the ADP is said to be owned by the community. The ADP Development Facilitator revealed that Luumbo ADP is conceived as a community owned development programme and in his interpretation, this ownership is through the community’s elected representatives, who he said are the overall decision making body of the ADP. This view was further reinforced during the focus group discussion with the PMC who unanimously agreed that on paper, Luumbo ADP belongs to the community through them. It is therefore with this line of thinking that both ADP reports and interviews with staff members maintained that the participation of elected representatives is more organised, scheduled and is budgeted for under the programme. For example, the ADP Development Facilitator explained that programme management committee meetings (attended by PMC and some staff members) are held every quarter and sometimes other spontaneous planning meetings are held in between the quarterly meetings to respond to urgent issues. All such meetings are organised and financed by the ADP as an integral programme activity and a process for community empowerment.

On the contrary however, the focus group discussion revealed that in as much as the PMC members acknowledged and appreciated their presence in the various programme consultative processes; they also felt that such did not represent effective participation. As indicated under the leadership development sector in chapter six, most PMC members felt that such processes are more of information dissemination procedures by the ADP Management than balanced
dialogue of all stakeholders. For example, it was reported from the ADP Management point of view that during the process of developing annual operations plans all zones are consulted and it is the ideas of the community through the PMC whose ideas are ultimately reflected in the final document. The PMC on the other hand did not quite agree with this claim. Although they acknowledged that the final document does bear their views, they pointed out that it does not reflect their ideas in its entirety. They maintained that some activities proposed by the community are dropped out and not reflected in the approved programme plans. The PMC argued here that activities suggested by the community are reflected in the approved programme plans only if and when they are in harmony with the ADP Management’s point view.

The feeling also from the PMC was that although they acknowledge presence in the ADP planning processes, their participation dwindles as the process advances. It was indicated that their participation is more limited to elementary processes and for more general issues while main and specific decisions about the programme are still a preserve of the ADP Management. For example it was explained by the PMC that the community is made to decide broadly on activities e.g. support households with agro-inputs, construct classroom blocks etc. What is not clear to the community during this process is the extent to which such activities will be undertaken; things like how many households will benefit from agro-input support and how much support may be given to each household. Such decisions are made by the ADP Management after considering annual budget allocations and the community is only informed of the outcome afterwards. Sometimes, the PMC maintained, even when specific targets have been decided from the community, the ADP Management makes alterations on basis of what is said to be budget limitations and only communicates such alterations to the community later in the year. The PMC did acknowledge that to some extent such decisions are technical and may as well continue to be made by the technical staff at the ADP office. However, they also felt that it is important that they be made aware of such budget limitations so that they can also make suggestions on the programme areas to be altered/dropped based on the priority of community needs. The absence of such a practice, in the view of the PMC, amounts to usurping the community of its privilege to input into programme activities and renders their participation ineffective. Based on these arguments, it can be said that this process of participation is devoid of what Pretty 1995 calls interactive participation. It was thus held by the PMC that if they are to be the kind of stakeholders the ADP Management

Pretty 1995 and as quoted in table 3 under theory chapter of this thesis defines Interactive participation as where people participate in joint analysis, development of action plan and formation or strengthening of local institutions.
says they are - owners of the ADP - then they expect to be informed of all programme related changes at all stages. They felt that it is through such dialogue that they will be enabled to effectively communicate back to their respective communities about the ADP operations.

The PMC also held that during planning meetings, their contributions are limited to field programme activities and not on programme management issues. It was for instance explained that community members or their representatives do not contribute or decide on staff recruitment, financial management and other such related issues. It was said that such decisions are made by the ADP Management. The feeling therefore from these Community representatives was that the ADP Management is selective on the kind of issues it decides to involve or have them participate on. They further explained that they see themselves more as community mobilizers than a programme management committee. An agitated PMC member strongly maintained that “we merely organise the community on behalf of the members of staff. If we are a management committee as they say, what management decisions do we ever make or take part in?” It was explained that even in cases where the ADP has inbuilt structures meant to facilitate such involvement; the ADP Management intentionally sidelines such structures. An example was given on the existence of the tender and procurement committee of the ADP which comprise of both some fulltime members of staff and some PMC members. This committee is, by its terms of reference, supposed to be in charge of all major ADP purchases such as building materials, some programme equipment and machinery etc. All such purchases are supposed to be discussed and approved by this committee. However, it was explained that those PMC members who sit on this committee are never consulted and simply do not participate in this process. According to the PMC, this is exclusion from participating in processes which to them are important and for which they would love to have their input. It was also explained that the PMC is comprised of committee positions such as Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer etc. However, PMC members argued that in practice all this is rhetoric; they questioned for instance what the purpose of having a treasurer was when the incumbent does not even have an idea of the ADP financial situation. Again as argued by Pretty 1995 in table 3 under theory chapter, this is synonymous to manipulative participation where structures set are for pretence only while the people have neither authority nor power to cause desired change.

Further, the PMC members argued that effective participation is only possible where all
stakeholders have access to information on issues about which they are expected to participate. It was claimed here that the PMC members do not have the necessary planning information and as such even when they attend ADP planning meetings, their input is in most cases said to be way off of what is projected for under a particular planning period. For instance both the PMC members and the ADP Development Facilitator explained that every year the ADP prepares a document called Annual Operation Plan (AOP) as indicated above. This document is the main guide for all planned activities in that particular year. All financial estimates for implementation of the said activities are also contained in this document. So from both sources, it was admitted that the AOP is an important ADP planning document and one which all PMC members are supposed to have. It was, however, reported by all the eight PMC members present for the focus group discussion that none of them had or was given the current year’s AOP. They therefore argued that it was difficulty for them to even organise community meetings because they did not have the information required to guide such meetings. It was noted that lack of such vital planning information renders their participation in the ADP processes rather ineffective. The ADP Administrative Assistant who was said to be responsible for making copies of this document available to all PMC members sluggishly brushed off my question and she explained that “even if they are given these documents, they do not read them; anyway we shall make copies and send them over.” Further inquiry on this with the ADP Development Facilitator also revealed that he was aware that the PMC members did not have that year’s AOP and indicated that a follow-up was going to be made. However, the fact from the PMC point of view was that nine months into the ADP fiscal year\textsuperscript{23}, none of them had a copy of what they considered as the most important ADP planning document; this, they maintained, negatively impacted on their role as a programme management committee.

**Participation by the Household**

Household participation was said to be through; contribution of ideas in the process of programme activities identification, provision of unskilled labour during various construction works, actual implementation of programme activities as recipients of assistance etc. Although most respondents acknowledged that they participated in the prioritization of needs upon which programme activities are based as highlighted above, some argued that this was a one-off activity at the time of baseline survey. From this point of view, the respondents felt that on-going involvement in decision making about activities currently running is limited.

\textsuperscript{23} World Vision’s fiscal year runs from 1\textsuperscript{st} October of current year to 31\textsuperscript{st} September of the following year.
The parents of sponsored children interviewed indicated that most of the current ADP meetings they are called to attend are for provision of unskilled labour to the already running activities or ones where they are being informed of what is going on under the ADP. They explained that their elected representatives are supposed to meet them so that they can get views from the community and pass them on during the ADP planning meetings. Such meetings were however, said to be rare while some respondents said never even took place. As such, if and when the PMC representatives attend ADP planning meetings they represented the community based on their general understanding of the community needs and rarely on the views as collected from the community. The PMC members also admitted that they rarely hold community consultative meetings before attending ADP planning meetings partly because they do not get logistical support for this and partly because they do not have as much information about the programme to pass on to the community. As argued above, PMC members held the view that their role is much more in name only and do not posses planning information e.g. AOP to help them effectively organise community meetings.

Further, some community respondents also felt that the ADP sometimes ‘over acts’ on behalf of the local people and does not give them chance to take responsibility even on what is considered as obvious from the community’s point of view. One mother of a sponsored child narrated the following situation;

“One time my child was sick and was admitted at the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) in Lusaka. The ADP arranged for everything: transport, food and accommodation for me, my child and a World Vision employee who accompanied us. The World Vision employee came along because he was the one who was authorized to handle the money for the trip and advise on the authorized expenses. This worker explained to me that I had to be informing him whenever the child needed anything and he would then buy and give it to me to give the child. I think that this was too much, why can’t I be given the money and left to handle things on my own. It looks as if they do not trust us or they expect that we should just sit and let everything be done for us. Although we appreciate the help they are giving to us, they should also trust that we are responsible and do not need such close monitoring all the time.”

Participation by the Children
As discussed in the preceding chapters, children are the key reasons why all World Vision child

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24 This was a term used by some community respondents referring to the ADP Management’s tendency to want to do everything on behalf of the community; this leads the community to feel as passive recipients of charity.
sponsorship based programmes are initiated. Their participation in programmes activities should therefore be seen as particularly important. At Luumbo ADP, it was learnt that children are involved in the programme at the level of registration/enrolment as CIPs and also during ongoing child information updates. From there on, all CIPs are considered more as development recipients and not much as partners whose ideas are sought in the process of running the routine programme activities. It is conceived that children are young and need to be protected and decisions about their welfare made on their behalf by adults mostly their parents or guardians. This is normally justified as what is contained under the protection rights of the CRC and also what is emphasised in Zambia’s National Child Policy. As explained under the section on Zambia’s NCP in chapter two the participation rights of the child in Zambia are not as emphasized as those of provision and protection. This position was also very clear in terms of how World Vision engages children in its development process. A CRS Worker at the ADP indicated that when for instance a CIP needs specialised support from the ADP, the decision about that need is made by either the parents/guardians or an ADP employee in charge of the child sponsorship sector. Therefore, the CIPs’ authority as stakeholders in the ADP activities is entrusted to those under whose jurisdiction they fall.

From the theoretical point of view this stance on child participation both at policy and project level could have been inspired by the consideration of the hierarchy of needs as argued by Maslow. As presented in figure 5 under the theory chapter, Maslow considers that human needs are best sought in a hierarchical fashion where the meeting of basic or lower level needs leads to attainment of higher level needs. From this point of view, provision and protection rights of the child would respectively fall within the first and second category of needs under Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. They can be classified as biological/physiological and safety needs respectively. On the other hand participation rights which may be synonymous with esteem needs in Maslow’s categorization are fourth level needs. It is going by this that one would speculate the reasons why participation rights of children in the Zambian situation are subtle at policy level and remote at development implementation even in programmes focused on children like this World Vision ADP under study. Simply put; children’s participation in development programmes as conceived from the participating child point of view, may still be a higher level need for children yet to be achieved in the Zambian case in general and at Luumbo ADP in particular. Against this theoretical perspective, it is therefore true to argue that CIPs participation in the ADP activities is more as underprivileged recipients of development outcomes than as active stakeholders with decision making power over their life situations. In this way, the child’s
position as competent and participating child as argued in the theory chapter is not very significant.

However, based on the explanations of most respondents on the role of children in the community, it can be argued that children’s participation in the development processes of the ADP is more indirect than that of other stakeholders. Most respondents argued that children do participate in the overall development process in the area by virtue of them being part of the community. This is in cases where children perform household tasks as prescribed by the adults or their parents/guardians. For instance, while adults are busy in the ADP meetings and other development processes, children are required to do such tasks as herding cattle, drawing water for the household, collecting firewood, taking care of younger siblings, cooking/meal preparation for the entire household etc. Such tasks are quite common in most African societies and were particularly observed during fieldwork in the study area. Of course all these tasks are done in relation to the age of the child; as such younger children may not participate in the above activities. By children performing these tasks, it gives adults the leverage to go out of the homestead and participate in what is considered as more direct development activities or to engage in more visible systems of production. But it is important to view this work by children as equally contributing to the development processes/system of production in the area since their participation in this way enables a complete functioning of community life. It must be observed as argued by Qvortrup that children are and historically always were constructively involved in any prevailing system of production.

It can, however, be argued from other schools of thought that engagement of children in such tasks may constitute forms of child labour, child abuse and the like. On the contrary in a society like this one, such activities by children are maintained as culturally right and seen as a way of having children participate in community life. It is seen as a necessary and positive socialisation process for children and prepares them for adulthood. It is part of the community socio-economic and cultural order and is therefore, as argued by Qvortrup, *system immanent*\(^\text{26}\). Notwithstanding, however, the concerns raised by child rights activists about child labour/work/exploitation/abuse etc, it is important to note that childhood is *socially* and *culturally*\(^\text{27}\) bound. As such what may constitute negative practices towards children in one

\(^{25}\) This position is held by Qvortrup 2002 as has been quoted in the theory chapter of this thesis under the section on participation.

\(^{26}\) This is as maintained by Qvortrup 2002 as quoted in the theory chapter of this thesis under discussion on participation.

\(^{27}\) This has been elucidated in the theory chapter and partly in chapter two under the section on Zambia’s National Child Policy.
society may as well be regarded as forms of socio-economic imperative in another. The participation of children in household chores as exemplified above is thus one such a case.

**Participation by Local Traditional Leaders**

The local traditional leaders interviewed indicated that they are generally happy with the way in which the ADP involves them in development issues in the area. It was explained here that their role in this case as traditional leaders is to ensure that the ADP operates within the limits of the local culture. Therefore as custodians of cultural heritage they felt that they are in touch with the operations of the ADP. They maintained that the ADP consults them as and when they are undertaking activities which have cultural connotations. For instance, it was said that the ADP engages the traditional leaders as stakeholders during campaigns against cultural practices such as sexual cleansing as a way of curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS. Through such processes traditional leaders acknowledged that they give their input and this enhances the impact of such interventions. This is particularly because involvement of Traditional Leaders legitimizes the messages passed which eventually get assimilated into traditional laws governing the area. The Traditional Leaders also generally acknowledged being aware of all the activities being undertaken in their respective villages and feel all such activities do not contradict their cultural heritage.

Based on the discussion on community participation from the above four perspectives, it can be argued that while the ADP Management hold the view that it is employing effective participation of the local community, what the community itself feels about this participation could be summed up in what Pretty 1995 calls participation by *consultation*\(^{28}\). This is participation where the local community acknowledges being consulted but do not see all their recommendations as being part of the final development decisions. From the Programme Management Committee point of view, the feeling is that with eight years of operations in a fifteen year long programme, community participation should have started taking a more *functional*\(^{29}\) form than what is obtaining currently. This is what is contained under Luumbo ADP sustainability plan in table 6 within chapter six of this thesis. However, although participation by community respondents was perceived as less effective with some decisions about the ADP operations being thought as being made from the top and passed down to the community, the general feeling was that the overall ADP operations still responded to their needs in many ways.

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\(^{28}\) See table 3 under theory chapter
\(^{29}\) ibid
7.2.2 Participation of other institutions in the ADP activities.

As discussed under different development sectors in chapter six, respective government departments are closely associated with the operations of the ADP. These departments include health, education, agriculture, and community development and social services. The ADP Development Facilitator explained that the ADP development sectors were conceived to fall within the broad government operation areas. Therefore, in as much as the sector activities are a response to the local people’s development priorities, in general they are patterned to be complementing what already exists under government departments. It is therefore because of this close relationship between the two that the participation of relevant government departments in the activities of the ADP is seen as particularly important.

Based on interviews with heads/representatives of respective government departments it was learnt that participation levels of these stakeholders is varied. However, all heads of departments from health, education and agriculture acknowledged that their departments were involved during the Luumbo ADP design process. In this way, they were able to give input on the type of activities under their respective departments which could be scaled up through NGO intervention. There was a general consensus therefore that all these institutions share the overall ADP goal and identify themselves with some components of the ADP activities.

Besides the participation during the programme design process, some departments like education and health also indicated that they are still actively involved in the operations of the ADP through on-going consultations and joint activity implementation. For example, the officer from health indicated that during the outreach programmes such as the child immunization programmes, antenatal outreach programmes and health awareness campaigns, the department of health provides the required drugs and medical personnel while the ADP provides logistical support in terms of transport and facilitates mobilisation of communities. Further, it was pointed out that there is close collaboration with the ADP during construction of rural health centre infrastructure. While the ADP provides financial resources for such construction, the health department prescribes the construction plans and eventually supplies medical personnel to such centres to render actual health services. The same goes for all construction of school infrastructure under the education sector.

The interview with the District Agriculture Coordinator (DACO) also revealed that his
department continues to play an important role in the agricultural activities of Luumbo ADP. The DACO pointed out that besides continued support to the ADP through provision of technical staff and information for particular interventions, the department also undertakes backstopping measures to ensure compliance with government policy. For example the DACO, narrated of a situation where the department had impounded the goats meant for animal restocking project under the ADP. According to the DACO, the ADP had obtained these goats from another district and was in the process of transporting them to the Gwembe area eluding veterinary procedures on stock movement. Though, according to the DACO, this may have been seen as a negative way of intervening in the ADP operations, it was an important procedure which reminded the ADP of the importance to operate within the confines of government regulation. It was important to note in this case that a stakeholder could regulate an NGO activity because the tendency is that NGOs are glorified and almost given blind loyalty on all it operations. This is because NGOs are often doing development with the people and act on the people’s immediate needs. This makes them win the favour of the local people and rarely have their operations closely monitored especially by the state. This is also as argued in the theory chapter on the concept of small is beautiful and particularly as held by Friedmann 1992. Further, this particular incidence brought into context the point that stakeholder participation should not only be of positive contribution but rather objective and intended to cause better change.

7.3 Addressing Community’s Capacity Building and Empowerment concerns
As discussed in the preceding presentations capacity building interventions enshrined in the programme target various categories of people. They include for example education support for CIPs, training support to Parents Teachers Associations, household agricultural training sessions, Programme Management Committee leadership training and HIV/AIDS education programmes for traditional leaders, Faith Based Organization leaders etc. Ultimately these interventions are expected to enhance the coping capacities of these categories of people. It is anticipated that such capacity building will better place the target group to more effectively respond to their livelihood conditions. This, it is further hoped, will facilitate the enjoyment of what Sen 1999 as quoted under theory chapter of this thesis calls substantive freedoms to lead the kind of life they have reason to value. From Sen’s point of view a wide range of processes are required to enhance this condition and therefore it may be argued that such

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30 Friedmann 1992 has been quoted in the theory chapter of this thesis arguing that local action projects typically bypass the state or else exist, barely noticed, on its margins.
approaches as enshrined under the World Vision programme discussed above are not in themselves sufficient. Suffice, however, to state here that no one single development programme can possibly cause all the required development outcomes in the lives of the poor. The process requires integrated development efforts from various players as each only contributes to the process. Therefore it is still reasonably sufficient on the part of World Vision to claim that its capacity building interventions as categorized above contribute to broadening people’s opportunities and choice of the kind of life they have reason to value.

From the ADP standpoint this whole process is construed as community empowerment. This kind of interpretation of programme capacity building interventions as empowerment efforts was quite vivid in the ADP documents which I had the opportunity to read during fieldwork. The ADP Development Facilitator also explained the ADP capacity building intervention as community empowerment measures. Further, based on these sources, community empowerment under this programme is construed as enabling the coping capacities of the following categories of people; the children, the household and programme management committee. It was also clear from these sources that empowerment of these categories of people is the ultimate vision of the ADP and as such formed the three levels of NGO intervention as presented in table 5 – the model of analysis for this thesis. Each of these forms of empowerment was therefore explained as below.

**7.3.1 Individual Empowerment**

To a large extent, individual empowerment under World Vision programmes is more inclined to imply child empowerment. This is individualized empowerment directed at children under the sponsorship programme. Under this particular ADP, child empowerment is understood in two ways. Firstly by giving the children under the programme specialised support to meet their immediate needs and secondly by facilitating the building of capacities in them to be better persons with ability to source, obtain, manage and sustain the kind of life which satisfies their wellbeing. In this sense wellbeing is understood to imply the feeling of self-confidence, self esteem, sense of agency and dignity. This is the kind of empowerment as defined by Rowland (in Basila 2005). Luumbo ADP conceives of itself as an empowering agent when it supports the children in the programme with food, clothing and shelter needs. This is primarily empowerment at the level of meeting basic needs. It is thus felt that satisfying these needs puts the children in better position to seek for higher level needs and
cultivates in them self- esteem. Therefore the activities described in chapter six which are targeted at meeting these needs are construed as empowering in this sense.

The empowerment process intended to build the children’s capacities is hinged on the child education support programme. As described in chapter six, all the children in the programme are encouraged to be in school once they attain school going age. The ADP contributes towards these children’s school fees and other school requirements from primary education to tertiary level for those children who make it and whose age may still be eighteen years or below. Further, as a foundation and an aim to idealize this empowerment process the programme endeavors to make primary education accessible to all children in the area by supporting government education sector plans in the area. It is hoped that through education, children will obtain relevant skills to enable them engage in different productive activities making them more independent and self sustaining. Individual educational empowerment is not only limited to the children in the area. It is also scaled up to benefit adults under the literacy education programme. Similar benefits envisioned through child education support are also envisaged for adults under this programme area.

7.3.2 Household Empowerment

The household is the next level of empowerment envisioned under the ADP. Empowerment at this level is seen from two perspectives, firstly by meeting the household’s basic needs and secondly by facilitating enabling circumstances for the household to self-regenerate. The meeting of household needs is done through the interventions under the relief and rehabilitation sector and partly under the health sector as described in chapter six. It is hoped that through these interventions, household members shall not only deal with its most pressing needs but also gain some relief from devoting their energies and meager resources sourcing merely for survival to investing for meeting their immediate needs and sustaining their livelihoods. In this regard, the ADP target at enhancing the household’s productive capacities particularly under the agricultural component which is the main economic activity for the people in this area. Therefore supporting both household crop production and animal husbandry is envisioned as a household empowering process.

7.3.3 Empowerment of the Programme Management Committee

Empowerment of the Programme Management Committee is basically seen as a plan for the sustainability of all ADP activities. Reference to this kind of empowerment has been made in the various sections of this thesis. As has been said over and over, the PMC under this ADP is
a structure with an ongoing mandate to plan and coordinate development efforts in the area. Empowerment of this structure therefore entails sustainability of the development activities implemented under its authority. Consequently, the ADP through the leadership development sector undertakes to develop the capacity of the PMC for this purpose. This sector is designed to provide leadership and programme management skills particularly for the PMC with the intention that this will accrue into its better development planning and community mobilisation for sustainability.

Based on the above descriptions of community empowerment, it was clear that the ADP efforts are quite significant and markedly contributed in changing the life situations of the people of the Gwembe Valley. The popularity of World Vision as a development organization in the Gwembe Valley is derived largely from this very contribution; making the local people manage to attain a livelihood which otherwise they would not easily attain. As told by most Community respondents. World Vision has made the lives of the people in this area, a drought stricken, almost arid and not easily accessible region, livable. One respondent, a mother to two sponsored children, explained the organization’s contribution with these words; “The organization has put up health centres in areas where it would otherwise have taken centuries to do so, erected school infrastructure in schools where government had no such immediate plans, been there year in year out when the community is hit by perennial hunger and continues to render support to our children more than us the biological parents. To me, World Vision is an all weather friend; these people have done things for my children which I could not have done on my own. They have truly made things easier for me.” As exemplified in the preceding chapters, although there are some concerns about the ADP’s work in this area, it was also quite common to find such kind of sentiments from parents of sponsored children. Most of those interviewed acknowledged the support rendered especially that which goes to their children. There is high confidence that by supporting children at school the organization is laying a better foundation for the lives of such children.

Therefore, it is quite true based on this, to argue that Luumbo ADP has won the favour of most households for which it has had direct contact with through its various development activities. Its activities, though in some cases are said to be premeditated by the programme management as discussed in the section on participation above, improve individual and household life conditions and in this way seen as empowering to the local community.
Towards Community Empowerment

The case is, however, not quite like that from empowerment for programme sustainability point of view. As discussed in the preceding sections of this thesis, development sustainability is one of the major goals of this programme. In fact the whole sector on leadership development is anchored on this hope. Consequently the attainment of this is heavily embedded in strengthening of community organizational structures to coordinate and manage community development now and beyond programme phase out. Empowerment in this sense is therefore visualized as capacity building of community leadership and particularly the Programme Management Committee. Such capacity building from the programme point of view is contained under the leadership development sector. It is hoped that through specific interventions under this sector as discussed above.

Although the above has indeed exposed the PMC members to different forms of community mobilisation for different development purposes, it was felt from the community point of view that the process is not holistic as to yield in the expected programme sustainability. The discussion on participation above did allude to this fear from the community point of view. The argument here is that development sustainability requires much more than just information dissemination by programme management to the community. It entails concerted efforts to transfer power to the community; power to decide on programme activities based on community needs, power to decide on allocation of resources to programme activities, power to decide on programme changes in the course of activity implementation based on prevailing circumstances and even power to begin to be accountable for programme resources. These issues constitute the challenges of development management. It is therefore important to begin exposing the community to these challenges as a way of nurturing it to effectively sustain development. This can be done if not through the community as a whole then through its elected representatives. Through such an approach the community will begin to identify itself with the development programme as its own making and seek to sustain it. The absence of this approach, as argued above, will only render an ornamental approach to development sustainability. It will further alienate the programme from the community hence sentiments like *these people are doing a lot of good things for us*. The programme in this sense is seen as belonging to the outsider, the development experts from more affluent urban areas who come to salvage the rural poor from the shackles of poverty. The programme therefore is seen as belonging to the external charitable organizations while the community only as a beneficiary from external charity. This was for instance the view held by the PMC members during focus group discussion who, when asked who they thought Luumbo ADP belonged to, maintained
that it was for the ADP Management. They did point out that though on paper it is said to be for the community, in reality all decision making power on what they consider as major issues is held by the ADP Management. To them ownership of something also entails authority to decide unlimitedly on that issue and they argued that this was not the case on the part of their alleged ownership of Luumbo ADP. Examples backing this position from the community point of view have been abundantly discussed above.

**Summary**
Universal human basic needs are only universal in that similar needs may overlap in some instances. But the intrinsic characteristics, degree and intensity of such needs vary dependent on social, political economic and geographical circumstances from place to place. Consequently, development programmes that claim to be approaching development from below and seek to respond to community basic needs must be cognizant of this. The discussion in this chapter has exemplified the extent to which Luumbo ADP has embraced this realization in its development efforts in the Gwembe Valley.

With the realization that NGO development programmes have life spans and phase out over time, involvement of the local people and other collaborating institutions in the area becomes vital. This is what is referred to as stakeholder participation. This is basically for two purposes, firstly to get varied input into development programming from different stakeholders and secondly as a means towards empowerment of such stakeholders and ultimately development sustainability. The extent and degree of participation of the various stakeholders under Luumbo ADP has also been categorized in this chapter. In a general sense, while participation of other related institutions in the ADP activities has been said to be effective, that of the community is in some cases thought to be top-down and as such erodes the chances for complete recognition of the development process as community owned.

However, there is much evidence showing that World Vision is, through its activities in the Gwembe Valley, substantially improving the poor’s living conditions in many ways. By so doing the organization can be said to be amply contributing to the empowerment of the local community to lead reasonable livelihood. From the community point of view, the continued existence of the programme is therefore seen as a guarantee of this process. However, from the ADP Management point of view, this is not possible because this is a programme with a
life span and its benefits are envisioned to be sustained through the various capacity building processes. This is understood as community empowerment. Much of this empowerment is idealized through enhancement of the PMC capacities. On the contrary, it was the position of the PMC that the sustainability of Luumbo ADP, given the current situation, does not lie in their hands. As discussed in this chapter the empowerment process leading to PMC members’ ability to confidently acknowledge community ownership of the programme and capacitated to continue facilitating development activities when the programme is phased out has not been comprehensive.
Chapter Eight: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Preamble
This chapter highlights the summary of findings of the study. This is presented in terms of how the data responded to the research questions which sought understanding on; type of activities undertaken by World Vision in the Gwembe Valley, development strategy employed, stakeholder participation and extent to which activities meet the poor’s needs and empower them to self-regenerate and provide for their own needs. The chapter also highlights my concluding remarks and makes recommendations and suggestions for further study.

8.1 Summary of Findings
It has been thoroughly discussed in this thesis that the activities being undertaken by World Vision in the Gwembe Valley are centred on contributing towards broad national development programmes. As such these activities are built around development sectors mainly as contained under selected government departments. These include health, education, agriculture, and community development and social welfare.

Interventions under the health sector include community sensitization on the prevention of disease of which malaria and diarrhea take key emphasis. The construction of health infrastructure such as Rural Health Centre blocks and medical staff houses is another contribution under the health sector. This is particularly done as an effort to contribute towards the national health goal of making health care accessible to many as close to the family as possible. Four Rural Health Centres have so far been built up and render health care to an estimated 28000 people under the ADP catchment area.

The education sector activities include support to World Vision sponsored children with school fees and other school requisites as may be required by individual children. Due to the poor state of school infrastructure; mainly dilapidated classroom blocks, mud and grass thatched teachers’ houses or in some cases insufficient number of such houses, lack of desks etc, the ADP, through the education sector interventions, has also been undertaking activities to provide such. It is hoped that through such support, the organization will be contributing in making education accessible to as many children of school going age as possible. There are also activities under this sector directed at improving adult literacy as means to improve the
general community literacy level and expecting that this will also impact positively on parents/guardians willingness to enroll and retain their children in school. This anticipation was derived from the programme baseline survey results which indicated that the rate of children’s enrollment and retention in school was higher among households with literate members than those with illiterate ones.

The agriculture sector targeted crop production and animal husbandry related activities. The crop production component is the main economic activity in the area. Activities under this intervention are centred on supporting households with agro-input loans and on-farm training for the production of staple food crops of mainly maize and sorghum. This intervention therefore is envisioned to contribute to household food security as a response to the perennial food shortages that this region has been facing as far back as the early 1980s. The animal husbandry component of this sector is targeting at restocking of cattle and goats in the area. This support is directed at selected CIP households and is intended to increase the animal assets for such households. The people in this region value animals both as a status symbol and also as assets which can be sold or exchanged for other household requirements including food, better shelter, children’s school requirements, medical fees etc.

It was noted during the study that a household may have many children some of which may not be under the World Vision sponsorship programme. While providing things like school and medical fees and other gifts in kind for sponsored children is taken up by World Vision through the child sponsorship sector, providing such services for un-sponsored children still remains a responsibility for parents/guardians. Therefore any disposable income the household may have is spent for such purposes and for other household needs.

The agricultural sector interventions are closely related to relief activities. As an independent programme sector, relief is mainly undertaken through provision of actual food supplements and also by providing food insecure households with agro-inputs to enable them produce their own food. It was noted during this study that even though households receive support for food crop production, the reality for many years has been that productivity is low mainly because of erratic rainfall in the area. Gwembe valley has, since the early 1980s, been a drought stricken area. During years of high rainfall, it is usually of torrential form destroying crops. Arising therefore from these circumstances, it was learnt that even during years of best crop yield, the produce is not sufficient for consumption all year round. This is particularly because some of the crops produced are sold as a source of income for other non-food household
requirements; this is arising from the fact, as alluded to above, that crop production is the main economic activity in this region. These circumstances therefore have necessitated annual food relief interventions targeting almost all households in the catchment area.

The activities under relief, health and agriculture as highlighted above target the household as a level of intervention while child sponsorship and education sector activities are implemented more at the individual level. These intervention levels are as depicted in table 5 (model of analysis) under the theory chapter of this thesis.

As a way envisioned for sustaining development processes in the region, the ADP also undertakes activities for building community organization and development management capacities of elected community members. It is indicated in the model of analysis in chapter three that intervention at this level constitutes the third level of intervention. In this regard, the ADP is structured in such a way as to give opportunities for such community members, called Programme Management Committee, to be involved in such processes as on-sport development planning orientation and actual implementation of all activities. The PMC members are also engaged in tailor made training programmes with the hope that they will be better equipped with community mobilisation and development skills for continued management of community development efforts beyond NGO support. The programme sustainability plans are therefore anchored around this intervention.

Therefore given the above, it is clear that each of the above World Vision activities in the Gwembe Valley is implemented at an appropriate intervention level. This study identified three levels as shown in table five under model of analysis which are individual, household and elected representative levels. It is hoped that by targeting these levels the ADP will be contributing to holistic community development in the area.

Further, given the above World Vision activities in the Gwembe Valley, there was sufficient evidence to conclude that these activities respond to the local poor’s basic needs. This conclusion is based on the views from respondents and also through consideration of the procedure World Vision followed to finally decide on the ADP activities. Almost all community respondents acknowledged an initial consultative process World Vision took to decide on the broad development targets in the area. Further these respondents also perceive
the current ADP activities particularly relating to health, education and agriculture/food relief as constituting an integrated response to their basic needs. Suffice to mention that even at national level health, education and food are among Zambia’s basic needs and constitute the definition of national poverty. This has been amplified in chapter two of this thesis. Therefore, in a way this finding reinforced the national classification of what constitutes basic needs in the country vis a vis poverty. World Vision’s intervention on these issues is therefore both a contribution to meeting basic needs for the poor in the Gwembe valley and also towards poverty reduction in Zambia. It is in such a sense that NGOs are said to be complementing state development plans.

While the ADP response to community’s needs as argued above could have been inspired by the community through some consultative processes, there are also views that such interventions are typical of NGO’s approach to development. It has been argued both in chapter one and chapter seven that NGOs are generally known to go for development issues which are in harmony with the people’s needs lest they face community rejection and state deregistration. Known mostly for community based development, NGOs also win the favor of donors for channeling resources direct to the poor than the highly bureaucratic state machinery. As such, NGOs find themselves obliged to respond to community needs in order to continue enjoying state, donor and most importantly community support for their existence. As presented in the model of analysis i.e. table 5, state policy, local community and donors form the three fundamental sources of support for NGOs community work. It is in view of this therefore that some schools of thought hold that NGOs carefully plan there activities to respond to community needs in order to continue enjoying support from the above sources. However, whatever reason is motivating World Vision’s interventions in the Gwembe valley; its activities are generally commended by the community as responding to the poor’s needs. In this respect therefore, it is also quite true that World Vision is adhering to the basic needs approach as discussed in the theory chapter.

The activities undertaken are also understood as empowering in various ways. At the individual level this is seen in two ways; firstly through the provision of specialised support to children to meet their immediate needs. By meeting children’s food, clothing and shelter needs it enables them to seek higher level needs and creates in them a sense of self esteem. Secondly individual empowerment is seen through efforts to make education accessible to as many children as possible. Through education children attain relevant skills to
engage in different productive ventures. This is envisioned as empowerment because it contributes to making the children more independent and self sustaining.

At the household level empowerment is seen in terms of enhancing their productive capacities to self-generate. This is particularly the case through agricultural support interventions. It is hoped that by supporting households to produce sufficient food and some surplus for sale they will in turn be self reliant and provide for their needs even without external aid. This therefore is envisioned as empowerment in the sense that such households are enabled not only to spend their scarce resources for food needs only but also other household requirements.

However, although there was general consensus that the above ADP activities respond to the poor’s needs and empower them as alluded to above, there were also perceptions that the extent to which such needs are met is in some cases not sufficient. This was the case for example with support for crop production under the agriculture sector. Some respondents argued that the number of beneficiaries and quantity of agro-inputs given through this intervention are limited. As such, the expected household food security situation in the community is never achieved. Equally some respondents felt the direct support rendered to children such as clothing has drastically gone down since World Vision shifted from CDP to ADP development approach. Some respondents therefore held the view that some children under the sponsorship programme and their families are in some cases as needy as those without the direct World Vision support. However, the ADP Management maintained that the current interventions are far reaching and more sustainable than any of its previous development approaches. This is particularly in terms of longer development assistance and emphasis on sustainable projects such as those described under health and education sectors.

In terms of development strategy, it was learnt that although World Vision Zambia shifted its approach from smaller scale community development projects to the current area development approach, it is still operating within the overall framework of the small is beautiful. This is so based on two main reasons. Firstly when considered from the national level, the organization has several area development programmes around the country which are independent of each other with autonomous management and own development interventions. These ADPs are patterned to target particular regions under a given district constituting the regional or district approach. In this way the national office serves to provide
logistical support to all the ADPs. It was therefore held that this is a decentralized approach to
development which seeks to devolve development decision making authority to the
grassroots. Therefore the clustering of CDPs to form the current ADP structure as maintained
by World Vision Zambia did not negate the benefits of small projects over large ones as
schematized by Friedmann 1992 in table 4 under theory chapter of this thesis. On the
contrary, it scaled up the smaller projects to an appropriate level; relatively bigger but small
enough to efficiently accrue all the advantages synonymous with small project.

Also considered from the level of the ADP at which this study was done, the decentralization
of activity planning and implementation further proves the organization’s approach towards
development implementation at units small enough with the hope of maximizing the poor’s
access both to resources and information. However, as already hinted to above, the shift from
CDP to ADP approach was seen by the community respondents as having actually distanced
them from involvement in most programme processes. Particularly noted were processes such
as deciding on specific details of project activities and involvement in handling of project
expenditure. In both cases, the community held the view that more of top-down and less of
community consultative processes are prevalent in the operations of the ADP.

The study also revealed different levels of stakeholder participation in World Vision Zambia’s
Luumbo ADP activities. At the community level, stakeholders are categorized as individual
children, households, elected representatives and the local traditional leadership. It was clear
that individual participation by sponsored children is limited to their availability during
enrolment and also during the ongoing child information update sessions. Beyond this,
children are passive recipients of charitable NGO support as itemized under the kind of
activities undertaken. They are further regarded as too young to make contributions of their
own and whose interests are thought to be best represented by the adults under whose care
they fall. This position is also reflected in the National Child Policy as explained in chapter
two where children’s provision and protection rights are emphasized than their participation.
In this sense, it can be argued that children’s participation rights are held as higher level needs
as presented in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs in figure 5. Their participation, however, in other
households chores give adults the leverage to participate in what is regarded as more direct
NGO development processes. In this way, children are seen as facilitating the complete
functioning of community life and hence participating in their own way. It is therefore in this
sense that children, as argued in the theory chapter, are and historically always were
constructively involved in any prevailing system of production.
Household participation was reported to be through consultative processes during the ADP baseline survey and also during on-going preparation of annual plans. Through these processes members of the household contribute to what they consider as important development concerns in the area and as such are said to be part of deciding on the ADP activities. Further, household participation is also through the actual implementation of programme activities i.e. As one of the intervention levels, households are the recipients of support under the agriculture sector, they too are targeted through interventions for disease control under the health sector and members of the household contribute labour during construction works for both health and school infrastructure. All relief activities are also implemented at the household level. Therefore, as actual recipients of support, households are held as participants under such interventions. It was particularly held that household members participate in meetings and other processes leading to such support.

The participation of the elected representatives/Programme Management Committee is conceived as basis for ensuring development sustainability. Their participation is therefore through ADP planning sessions, community mobilisation, and monitoring of activity implementation. Further, the PMC members are engaged in some training sessions and involved in actual ADP operations with the hope of building their capabilities for facilitating community development beyond NGO support. It was learnt that the participation by this group is more organised and scheduled i.e. planning meetings take place every quarter and also whenever necessary in between quarters to respond to urgent issues.

Local Traditional Leaders participate in activities through mobilising of their subjects for various development efforts. For instance each village under the ADP catchment is expected to make contributions towards the construction of health and school infrastructure. The respective village headmen are therefore involved in organising their subjects mainly for provision of unskilled labour during such work. As custodians of cultural heritage, the village headmen also give general advice on traditional values which the ADP has to observe. In this way the Traditional Leadership facilitate the coexistence of the people’s culture and the ADP development efforts.

Besides the participation of the community as described above, is also the participation of related government departments in the ADP activities. These departments as noted above are;
health, education, agriculture, and community development and social welfare. These institutions were part of the ADP design process. Representatives from departments of Health, Education and Agriculture all indicated that they identify their departments with components of the ADP activities. These also noted that in some cases they jointly implement respective activities as a way of ensuring efficiency and facilitating for development sustainability.

Although, however, forms of participation were noted particularly from the above categories of the community, there was also a general feeling from among community members that the process is elementary i.e. members of the community only take part in very general and broad decision processes than in the finer details of what constitutes actual activities on the ground. It was held that decisions about number of beneficiaries, quantities of material support, or specific budget allocations to activities are always made by the ADP Management. Most community respondents were also of the view that processes where community members participate are limited to announcements by the ADP Management on things that have already been decided upon. PMC members maintained that such participation is basically for purposes of information dissemination processes than balanced dialogue between stakeholders. It was therefore based on this that some community respondents also argued that although the activities undertaken do, to a large extent, respond to community needs, the process of undertaking such activities in some cases is characterized with top-down forms of participation by the poor. As exemplified in a number of cases under the discussion on participation in chapter seven, the ADP Management tends to regard the poor as mere recipients of charity and take full responsibility for making activity implementation decisions with less input from the community. Even where structures are in place to facilitate community involvement in vital stages of development implementation, it was argued by the community respondents that such arrangements are sidelined. Examples included among others, the exclusion of PMC members from participating on the tender committee and in major ADP operation decisions, and the failure by ADP Management to make planning documents e.g. annual operations plans accessible to PMC members. PMC members particularly held that this renders the community passive stakeholders in development and begins to conceive the entire ADP as *those people*; a tendency to associate development efforts with the external agents and not as community owned. Stakeholder participation in this sense is therefore seen as what has been defined in the theory chapter as voluntary contribution by people in development projects but without them taking part in decision making or participation by consultation where the community is consulted by answering
questions but do not get involved in decision making. External agents will decide every issue which affects the life of the participants. Table 3 under theory chapter of this thesis clarifies further on these forms of participation.

It is based on such forms of involvement that the community feared that this will result in development sustainability problems since such participation only render piecemeal contribution to building the poor’s capacities to respond to their needs beyond NGO support. It is also in this sense that community empowerment still remains a far fetched development necessity. Consequently the community holds the hope that NGO support should be infinite to ensure continued provision for their needs. On the contrary, this is not an achievable expectation since NGOs have life spans beyond which the community is visualized as competent to self regenerate.

8.2 Conclusion

This study has contributed to the understanding that NGOs play an important role in the process of national development among many developing countries. This development is particularly visible in most rural communities in these nations where NGOs are engaged in various poverty reduction interventions. Most of the NGO activities, though criticized from some quarters as largely premeditated by NGO experts, are also to a large extent based on the realities of the poor’s problems and what is considered as appropriate solutions to those problems. In this particular study, while some members of the community for instance argued that they are not consulted about the type of activities World Vision is undertaking in their localities, they still admitted that the activities still address their most pressing needs. Largely this is attributed to the fact that NGOs are engaged in development at the grassroots with the people; as such in the event of undertaking activities which contradict people’s wishes they would receive immediate community criticism and rejection ultimately leading to de-registration through state regulation and losing donor support. So their activities even when they may not have gone though an elaborate consultative process are still tailor made to suit the general community situation and hence seen as people driven and win the support of the state, local community and the donors. As indicated in model of analysis these are the three fundamental sources of NGO support for their community work.

The general patterning of NGOs as development organizations also makes it easy to fine-tune
and accustom their activities to local circumstances at whichever stage of development implementation. Again this is due to the obvious desire to always find themselves relevant within the communities they work in. It is in this sense that one of the strongest bases of NGO support is community acceptance.

The other reason why NGOs’ activities are attuned to the poor’s needs is related to their history and perceived better handling of resources entrusted to them for the poor. NGOs became increasing popular as development agents after the realization that highly bureaucratic state programmes did not effectively trickle down development assistance to the poor. In this sense NGOs were, because of being close to the poor and operating through small scale and less bureaucratic projects, seen as the best way to render assistance to the poor. In so far therefore as the strength of any development programme is in its ability to access resources with which to render support to the poor, NGOs carefully plan their activities to impress upon both the community and the donors in order to secure financial resources to run their programmes. It is most probable that those NGOs whose activities are questioned by the community will find difficulties to receive donor support.

Notwithstanding the views above, it is worth noting, as maintained in the opening remarks of this conclusion, that NGOs are important players in poverty reduction among rural communities in most developing countries. Like any other development player, theirs is to contribute to the development process and not claim total responsibility of causing the required change in the lives of the poor. Poverty is multifaceted as such require a multi-sectoral response from many stakeholders. There is probably no one single organization that can claim single handed ability to address the poor’s problems in their totality. In this particular study, the efforts of World Vision in the Gwembe valley go a long way in contributing towards the welfare of the poor. Other stakeholders such as government departments and other civil society organizations should complement these efforts by either filling in the gaps or stepping up particular interventions. While doing this, it is important to note that the process should be indigenous and based on what the poor think can work in their communities. It is therefore imperative even for World Vision to embrace this view in its development work. The poor it seeks to render development support to are knowledgeable of their situations and posses invaluable knowledge which can contribute to changing their life situations. Involving them in the entire development process should not only be for purposes of fulfilling the need for consultative development but rather more to get insights from the
poor and seek to work through their perspectives than that of the development experts. It is clear that World Vision is structured in such a way as to ensure this kind of involvement of the poor; however, adherence to the existing structures seem to be loose and require strengthening. The onus lies both on the community to increasingly demand for their full involvement and on the World Vision Management to make this a reality. Through this process the community will perceive activities by World Vision in the Gwembe valley as people owned and not merely as charitable efforts only long enough as the NGO life span.

It is therefore with this background that I wish to conclude this thesis by maintaining that development is a global project. Implementation, however, of specific development interventions should be seen as a local phenomenon, largely informed by poor’s perceptions about their conditions and directed by their active participation at different levels. It should comprise of tailor made approaches which seek to maximize the poor’s productivity towards providing for their own needs and not only to passively receive from charity. Only then will development be truly understood by those it is intended for as need oriented, endogenous and sustainable.

8.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study I wish to make the following recommendations.

- The activities being run by World Vision Zambia in the Gwembe valley have been running for over eight years now. It will be important for the organization to undertake a detailed assessment of the impact its involvement has made in the area. This should take the form of mid-term evaluation in order to see whether the projected targets are being met or not. For example, there was no data readily available to assess the extent to which the construction of school infrastructure has increased the number of children attending school. The annual reports available only give information for that period. In order to measure actual impact, there is need to weigh the results against the specific sector goals e.g. what is the percentage of children now attending school against the projected 95 percent by the year 2013. This assessment should apply to all programme sectors.

- While there is some overwhelming appreciation of the work World Vision is doing in the Gwembe Valley as addressing the poor’s needs, there is also a big need for the
organization to begin to prepare the community for self-sustenance beyond its projected life span. This should be done through more meaningful community participatory processes where the community will begin to take responsibility for much of the programme’s activities. This is actually in conformity with the ADP’s sustainability plan as presented in table 6. Only then will the community identify with the activities and live to own them even after World Vision has phased out in the area.

- This study also touched on the issue of child participation and particularly made reference to Zambia’s National Child Policy provisions on children’s participation in development. It is clear that while there is policy commitment towards this, there are no specific measures for making this a reality and as such children’s participation remains a general policy pronouncement. It has then been held in this thesis that this could be impacting on the way developments organizations; World Vision Zambia in particular, will engage children. Accordingly this is done with emphasis on the provision and protection needs of the children while participation is downplayed. It is therefore recommended here that the National Child Policy should re-appraise its provisions on children’s participation to provide for more explicit measures upon which all child centred development stakeholders can engage children in their development interventions.

8.4 Suggestions for further study

During the course of this study, it became clear that understanding the role of NGOs work among rural communities is a diverse topic. While this study dwelt on the issue by assessing type of activities, development strategy, stakeholder participation and extent of community empowerment, issues surrounding this topic were not exhaustive. As stated above, this is mainly because the issues concerning NGO role are multifaceted and could not all be addressed in a study of this magnitude. Below I highlight some areas I feel could build further understanding on this issue and upon which other scholars can pick interest for further study.

- The study did not extend to assess the views of community members who do not receive direct support from World Vision. This is for example households without sponsored children. It could be important therefore to undertake a study assessing their perceptions and how they are impacted by World Vision’s work in the area.

- It will also be interesting to have a similar study done in another community where a different NGO other than World Vision is working so as to compare results. This will
enable understanding on whether NGOs development approaches can really be
generalized or are specific and unique to each NGO.

- Although this study did collect views from respective government departments about
NGOs’ work, to a large extent it is based on community perceptions about NGO
work. From this point of view and generally that of NGO architects it is held that
NGOs’ work complement Government development efforts. It is, however, not clear
whether this is the case from Government point of view particularly amidst State
speculations that NGOs are unaccountable and benefits NGO architects themselves
more than the poor they purport to serve. It could therefore be interesting to undertake
a study which would assess the role of NGOs from the Government point of view.
This would particularly consider how NGO activity results are factored in as part of
national development impacts. This is important because as argued in the theory
chapter, sometimes NGO activities bypass the State or exist barely noticed as such are
rarely accounted for as contributions to national development.
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Appendices:
Interview Guide for World Vision Zambia (WVZ) Luumbo ADP Members of staff

Brief Introduction:
I thank you for taking time to take this interview. Am a student studying for an MPhil in Development Studies in Norway and this interview is part of the process for generating data for my thesis report. To do this, I selected World Vision Zambia and specifically Luumbo ADP as case study for my topic and this is the reason why I requested to do an interview with you. Therefore the information I will get from you is purely for academic purposes and will not be used for other reasons. As we progress in the interview I shall be taking notes so that I can refer back to issues we shall discuss when I start writing my report. I shall appreciate your comments on all issues I wish to know about but in case there are areas on which you feel uncomfortable to comment, kindly feel free to indicate so and we shall proceed to other issues

Questions
1.0 What is the history of World Vision Zambia’s operations in the country?
2.0 What is World Vision Zambia’s development strategy and what are the main intervention areas?
3.0 Are the activities carried out by World Vision Zambia supported by any piece of Government regulation? If yes what kind of regulation and how does it impact on the operations of the organization?
4.0 How long has World Vision been involved in development work in the Gwembe Valley and have your approach to development been the same since then?
5.0 If there have been changes in your development approach in the Gwembe Valley over time, could you please elaborate on these changes giving emphasis on the main focus under each approach.
6.0 What are the main activities being implemented under Luumbo ADP?
7.0 In undertaking these activities who are your main target group and why did you choose to target such a group
8.0 While undertaking the above outlined activities, do you have any partnerships with other institutions, local structures or any other stakeholders? If yes could you please outline them and briefly explain what kind of partnership you share with each stakeholder.
9.0 Are any of your project stakeholders involved in project design and implementation and if so would you kindly elaborate on the process you follow to do this.
10.0 How much do you think your PMC is capable of running development programmes
without the ADP staff involvement?

11.0 To what extent do you think Luumbo has instilled a sense of community ownership of the development process your undertaking?

13.0 Finally, how much do you think Luumbo ADP is contributing to making people in the Gwembe Valley able to manage their own development without NGO involvement?
Interview Guide for a representative from the Government Ministry responsible for Child Affairs.

**Brief Introduction:**

I thank you for taking time to take this interview. Am a student studying for an MPhil in Development Studies in Norway and this interview is part of the process for generating data for my thesis report. My study among other things considers NGO efforts in child focussed development and as a Government department falling under the Ministry responsible for Child Affairs, I thought it shall be important to inquire on some issues pertaining to Child welfare in the country. The information I will get from you is purely for academic purposes and will not be used for other reasons. As we progress in the interview I shall be taking notes so that I can refer back to issues we shall discuss when I start writing my report. I shall appreciate your comments on all issues I wish to know about but in case there are areas on which you feel uncomfortable to comment, kindly feel free to indicate so and we shall proceed to other issues.

**Questions**

1.0 Has Zambia got a child welfare policy? If yes, what is the main provision under this policy?

2.0 How much does the regulation which guides the operations of your ministry’s child affairs department draw from the provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)?

3.0 Though child welfare interventions in most countries are inspired by the general provisions of the CRC, each country may have its own specific and culturally relevant provisions on issues of child welfare, do you think this is the case for Zambia and if so in which ways?

4.0 What are the main activities under the Ministry that Government is targeting for child welfare?

5.0 Are there any provisions that some of the activities outlined above can be undertaken through NGO interventions? If yes could you please explain how this integration of NGO activities into Government plans for child welfare is working in practice?

6.0 Are you aware of World Vision Zambia’s existence in this country and if yes how do their activities, as an NGO centered on child welfare, complement your ministry’s efforts?

7.0 Finally, how much do you think NGOs are contributing in enhancing the welfare of children in this country?
Interview Guide for selected Government Department representatives in the study area

Brief Introduction:
I thank you for taking time to take this interview. Am a student studying for an MPhil in Development Studies in Norway and this interview is part of the process for generating data for my thesis report. My study is centered on the development work by World Vision Zambia Luumbo ADP and as a Government department working in the same area I thought it shall be important to take interview with you particularly on issues of linkages between your work and that of Luumbo ADP. The information I will get from you is purely for academic purposes and will not be used for other reasons. As we progress in the interview I shall be taking notes so that I can refer back to issues we shall discuss when I start writing my report. I shall appreciate your comments on all issues I wish to know about but in case there are areas on which you feel uncomfortable to comment, kindly feel free to indicate so and we shall proceed to other issues.

Questions
1.0 How long have you known of World Vision Zambia’s Luumbo ADP’s operations in the Gwembe Valley and how are their activities related to yours?
2.0 As a government department operating locally in this area, do you think the activities of Luumbo ADP identified above are in line with government plans under your department? Please elaborate you view.
3.0 Is your department in any way involved at any stage of Luumbo ADP operations? If yes could you please elaborate on your involvement?
4.0 In general, what is your view on Luumbo ADP’s involvement in the Gwembe Valley as an agent for development and how its operations are contributing towards the development of the area?
Interview Guide for Selected Traditional Leaders

Brief Introduction:
I thank you for taking time to take this interview. Am a student studying for an MPhil in Development Studies in Norway and this interview is part of the process for generating data for my thesis report. My study is centered on the work of Luumbo ADP and as a Traditional Leader of the area where this project is working from; I thought it important to get your views on the work being done by this project. The information I will get from you is purely for academic purposes and will not be used for other reasons. As we progress in the interview I shall be taking notes so that I can refer back to issues we shall discuss when I start writing my report. I shall appreciate your comments on all issues I wish to know about but in case there are areas on which you feel uncomfortable to comment, kindly feel free to indicate so and we shall proceed to other issues.

Questions
1.0 World Vision Zambia Luumbo ADP is one of the NGOs working in your area, what are some of the activities which this organization is undertaking here?
2.0 As a leader of this area, were you involved at any stage when World Vision Zambia was deciding on the kind of activities (outlined above) to be undertaken in your area? If yes, how were you involved?
3.0 In the course of Luumbo ADP’s operations are you involved at any stage and if yes how?
4.0 Could you please comment on how the work of World Vision Zambia and their attitude towards your traditional values as people of the Gwembe valley in line with upholding your culture.
5.0 In all, could you please comment on how you think World Vision Zambia’s Luumbo ADP is fairing as a development organization in your area.
Interview Guide for parents of WVZ’s Sponsored Children

Brief Introduction:
I thank you for taking time to take this interview. Am a student studying for an MPhil in Development Studies in Norway and this interview is part of the process for generating data for my thesis report. My study is centered on the work of World Vision Zambia’s Luumbo ADP and as a parent to a child under this organization’s sponsorship programme; I thought it important to interview you on your involvement with World Vision. The information I will get from you is purely for academic purposes and will not be used for other reasons. As we progress in the interview I shall be taking notes so that I can refer back to issues we shall discuss when I start writing my report. I shall appreciate your comments on all issues I wish to know about but in case there are areas on which you feel uncomfortable to comment, kindly feel free to indicate so and we shall proceed to other issues.

Questions
1.0 Your child is one of World Vision Zambia’s Sponsored Children, how long has this child been in the World Vision Programme?
2.0 In your own understanding what does it mean to have a child under the World Vision Programme?
3.0 What help do you and your child receive from World Vision Luumbo ADP since your child became a sponsored child?
4.0 Apart from the direct support which you or your child may have received, are you aware of other community projects that World Vision is undertaking in this area?
5.0 If yes which ones are they and how did WVZ decide to undertake these activities in your area?
6.0 As parent to a World Vision sponsored child, were you involved in way at the stage when WVZ was deciding on the type of activities to be implemented in this area? If yes, in which ways were you involved?
Has this involvement continued in the current operations of Luumbo ADP?
6.0 How has WVZ’s sponsorship programme and its general operations impacted on your child’s life situation and that of yours?
7.0 What is your general comment on the work of World Vision Zambia in this area?
Guidelines for Focus Group Discussion with Project Management Committee (PMC) members

Stage one: Divide participants in groups comprising of four members each and ask each group to **discuss and list what they consider as five most important activities undertaken by Luumbo ADP**.

After the discussion in small groups, members will be asked to present their list in plenary session and through this process, generate a prioritized list of a maximum of five activities.

Stage two: Ask participants to get back into their groups and hand each group with one prioritized activity from stage one and ask them to **explain at least three ways in which they are involved in that particular activity**.

After the discussion participants will, in plenary session, be asked to add other forms of involvement, if any, on each particular activity discussed by other groups.

Stage three: Ask participants to get back to their groups and have them outline ways in which they think the forms of involvement identified in stage two are helping in:

A: **Their feeling of being part and parcel of World Vision Zambia’s programme activities in the area**

B: **Their feeling of ownership of Luumbo ADP development process in the area.**

C: **Making them able to handle future development programmes without NGO involvement**

Stage four: In plenary session let each group present its responses to a, b and c. Participants from other groups may be allowed to comment on other group member’s work and based on this compile a comprehensive perception by the PMC on the ADP in terms of the above issues.

Stage five: Based on the notes taken during the whole focus group process, make a recap in plenary session on all issues discussed and inquire from the participants whether the recap represents their views. This will help to make sure that what will have been taken from this process will have been a correct reflection of the participants views.