

**Regional Workshop for
Eastern and Southern Africa**

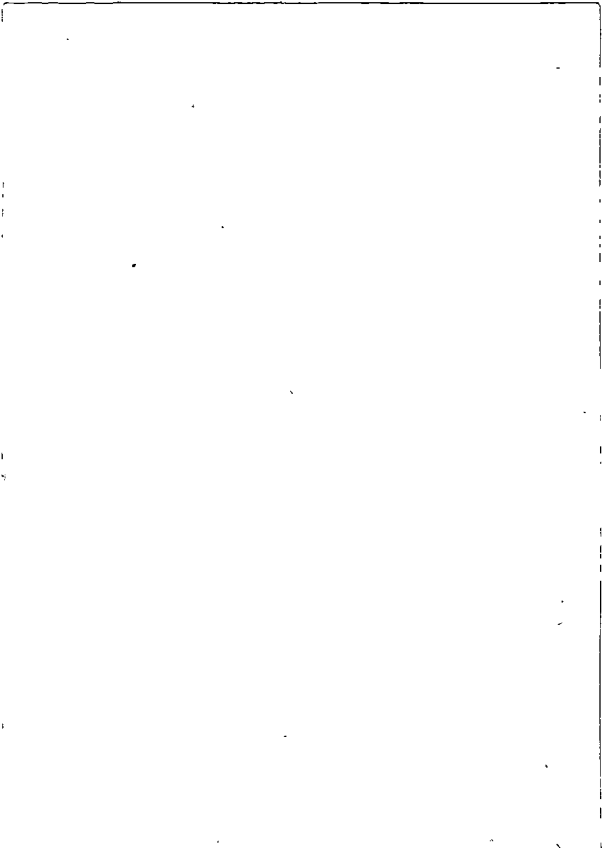
"What Works in Development?"

Workshop Proceedings

**2 - 5 February 1999
Safari Park Hotel
Nairobi, Kenya**

The International Development Research Centre
Le Centre de recherches pour le développement international
El Centro Internacional de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo

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ACRONYMS

ART	Africa Resources Trust
Agritex	Agricultural, Technical and Extension Department
AMFI	Association of Micro-finance Institutions
BBK	Barclays Bank of Kenya
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resource
CBO	Community Based Organizations
DNR	Department of Natural Resources
DNPWLM	Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EARO	Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa
ESANET	Eastern and Southern African Universities Network
GN	Good Neighbourliness
GNP	Gross National Product
FASI	Family Support Institute
FC	Forestry Commission
HDR	Human Development Report
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NCKK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
MYWO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization
OSSREA	Organization for Social Science Research in East and South Africa
KWFT	Kenya Women Finance Trust
PRF	Poverty Reduction Forum
PTC	Postal and Telecommunication Services Corporation
PTF	Peace Task Force
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SITE	Strengthening Informal Sector Enterprise and Training
SME	Small and Micro Enterprises
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNZANET	University of Zambia Network
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VTI	Vocational Training Institutions
ZimTrust	Zimbabwe Trust

TABLE OF CONTENTS

WORKSHOP OVERVIEW	i
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. OPENING SESSION	2
2.1 Opening Address	2
2.2 Introductory Remarks	2
3. WORKSHOP STRUCTURE AND PROCESS	3
4. PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS	3
4.1 Development Indicators, Strategies and Natural Resource Management - Archie Mafeje	3
4.2 Governance and Civil Society in Eastern and Southern Africa - Jonathan N. Moyo	9
4.3 Education and Employment in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region: An Appraisal - Daniel Sifuna	15
4.4 Poverty Reduction Forum: Its Role in Strengthening Local Participation in Governance in Zimbabwe - Donald P. Chimanikire	22
4.5 Natural Resources Management: The Campfire Experience in Zimbabwe - Calvin Nhira	25
4.6 Conflict Resolution and Peace Building - Rose J. Barmasai	29
4.7 Skills Development for Enterprise and Employment - Harun Baiya	34
4.8 Case Study of ZAMNET: An Internet Service Provider in Zambia - Shuller T. Habeenzu	38
4.9 Kenya Women Finance Trust: A Micro-finance Institution - Jennifer Riria	43

4.10	Partnerships	
4.10.1	OSSREA's Experience and Partnerships - Abdel A. Ghaffar	48
4.10.2	The Experiences of the Family Support Institute - Shanyisa Khasiani	50
5.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	51
6.	APPENDIX - List of Participants	53

Workshop Overview

Eva M. Rathgeber

The EARO workshop on 2-5 February 1999 was convened to provide some insight into ongoing processes of development in the Eastern and Southern Africa region. The starting point for the workshop was the recognition that despite years of investment by regional governments and by bilateral and multilateral donors, the economic and social conditions in most of the countries of the region are still very poor.

During the workshop, both from the presented papers, and from the ensuing discussions and working groups, a number of issues emerged which seem to have had an impact on development. These are briefly discussed below (in no particular order):

Participatory approaches. It seems quite clear that the most successful development initiatives have been inclusive, rather than exclusive and bottom-up rather than top-down. This is not to argue against the importance of effective leadership, but a hallmark of such leadership in successful projects seems to have been an ability to share decision-making with various stakeholders while at the same time maintaining sufficient control to ensure that the end objectives of the project are kept in mind. The Communal Areas Management programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) project in Zimbabwe provides an excellent example of a multi-layered partnership that included all stakeholders but has kept the communities at the forefront of the initiative, as owners and ultimate decision-makers. Similarly, the National Council of Churches of Kenya's Peace and Rehabilitation project has gone to extreme lengths to ensure that all sectors of communities are involved in discussing and working together towards peace and conflict resolution. One important factor seems to be that there was a planned approach to participation, i.e. the project leaders have had concrete ideas of the roles that could be played by different actors and they have steered the participatory process in that direction (although this has not been done in an authoritarian way).

Self-reliance. Although donor support has been critical to the start-up of many projects, the most successful ones have quickly moved towards developing plans to ensure their own sustainability. Mafeje's paper particularly emphasizes the need to move beyond donor support. The Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) is currently expanding its lending operations and trying to ensure that it is responsive to the needs of its clientele. Zamnet Communications Systems Limited (ZAMNET), which established itself as the first commercial Internet service provider in Zambia, has diversified its activities into a learning centre aimed at teaching computer and Internet skills to business people and is also establishing revenue-producing telecentres outside the capital city. Strengthening Informal Sector Enterprise & Training (SITE) is starting to charge entrepreneurs for training. The Poverty Reduction Forum (PRF) in Zimbabwe is producing and selling its publication, the annual Human Development Report (HDR) for Zimbabwe.

Planning and long-term commitment. This seems to have been particularly important at the level of governments. The three keynote papers all suggested that most governments in the region have failed to plan effectively and/or to stay with development plans once they have been conceptualized. There must be a recognition that development processes are long-term and governments must be willing to commit both human and financial resources. Sifuna's paper provides substantial evidence of the tendency for Eastern and Southern African governments to have been inordinately swayed by multilateral donors to change their approaches to education and training, especially in relation to employment. Similarly, most of the Non Governmental Organization (NGO) papers suggest that good, long-term planning is central to success.

Lack of a single solution. There is no single approach which is appropriate. It is obvious that approaches must reflect local conditions and situations. Moyo describes the different attitudes to multi-party politics and democratization that have been taken by governments in the region, both negative and positive. Several of the NGO papers suggested that their own activities were aided or hindered by prevailing government policies. All of the NGOs took different approaches to developing their own projects.

Strategic alliances and partnerships. The most successful projects have involved varieties of local partners, including NGOs, government, communities, donors and sometimes the private sector. Each brings a different dimension to the development process. However, it is important that these partnerships be carefully structured with clear understanding of the expected contributions of all parties. This seems to have been done particularly effectively in the CAMPFIRE project. Such alliances have also formed the nucleus of efforts made by the Poverty Reduction Forum (PRF) in Zimbabwe to develop effective research and action strategies for dealing with poverty alleviation. The PRF has brought together a coalition of organizations, including academics, NGOs, trade unions and rural communities. SITE's work with informal sector employment has similarly focussed on partnerships, which have reduced operational costs, increased outreach, expanded ownership and added value to the services offered.

Good management. This has been the most basic requirement of success. Good management has involved not only financial accountability and transparency, but also capacity to integrate the needs and views of different stakeholders, to act quickly and decisively, and to be ready to adapt and change as required. The effectiveness of the KWFT improved significantly when it reorganized its management practices early in the 1990s. A corollary to good management is good staff. Virtually all of the "NGO success stories" indicated that much of the credit for success was due to their capacity to attract and retain competent, committed staff. Regular interaction of staff with customers was seen as critical both in the case of KWFT and ZAMNET.

Adaptability/flexibility. Successful projects have changed in response to changing local conditions. This may mean that different objectives emerge or it may simply mean that changes are made in the design of the project to accommodate new knowledge or information. For example, ZAMNET moved its operations from the University of Zambia when it became apparent that the university's physical location far from the centre of Lusaka, was causing inconvenience for its customer base.

Economic pay-off. The most fundamental need for all African communities is access to financial resources and consequently it is not surprising that the most successful projects are those which have provided economic opportunities for participants. Even in the case of the Peace-building and Rehabilitation project organized by the National Council of Churches of Kenya in response to ethnic clashes, there was a recognition that unless the project could help to develop alternative sources of income for clashing communities, it is unlikely that activities such as cattle rustling would be curtailed. In the case of SITE's work with the informal sector in Nairobi, the project found that clients were willing to pay for training and skills upgrading if they saw immediate applicability.

Civil society. Although the definition of what constitutes "civil society" continues to be elusive, it is clear that successful development projects have had broad involvement. Moyo's paper on governance makes a compelling case for recognizing that civil society has to do with the organization of the whole political community, which in turn is based on a recognition of the rights and obligations of citizenship.

Donor involvement. As Mafeje makes clear, donors in Africa have usually acted out of self-interest. Most of the successful projects identified in the papers have had some financial support from donors but it would appear that the most effective strategy for success has been to develop an independent plan of action which is not closely tied to the interests of particular donors. The CAMPFIRE experience showed that too much donor money can serve as an impediment, straining the absorptive capacity of communities, and pushing the project to develop or expand more quickly than dictated by its natural rhythm.

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of "development" is an artifact of the second half of the 20th century. Following upon the successful reconstruction of Europe after World War II, ruling elites in Europe and the United States gradually came to believe that similar results could be achieved through the infusion of large amounts of money and directed technical assistance into the economies of less developed countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Without exception, the vision of "development" shared by these early advocates, was based on a eurocentric and more especially, American model. "Development" was seen in linear terms as a goal achievable through adherence to a logical progression of steps related to rational planning and decision-making.

From the 1960's onwards, countries in Eastern and Southern Africa have received billions of dollars in development assistance. This assistance has usually followed the prevailing trends of particular periods. For example, at different times donors have concentrated their funding on basic needs, on infrastructure, on science and technology, on female education, etc. There have been some advances and all countries have witnessed the growth of educated technocratic elites, but overall the economic situation of the poorest is little better at the end of the 20th century than was that of their grandparents 50 years ago. Per capita income in East Africa today is about US\$300 or less.

And yet despite the apparent failures of large scale efforts to accelerate "development" there are many examples of successful change. Some NGOs working in the region have had successful initiatives in non-formal education, in income generation, in natural resource management, etc. These have provided opportunities for thousands of poor and marginalised peoples to improve their standards of living and their sense of personal empowerment.

The purpose of the Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa (EARO) meeting was to explore the status of research and development in Eastern and Southern Africa and examine whether there are some common principles and factors associated with successful NGO initiatives. A major expectation was that the discussions would provide valuable inputs concerning emerging research and development issues to be incorporated into IDRC's planning for the support of future work in the region.

The workshop included both plenary and group work sessions and a total of eleven papers were presented in the plenary sessions. About eighty participants from Eastern and Southern Africa, in addition to staff from IDRC's head office and all regional offices attended the workshop. The list of participants is appended.

2. OPENING SESSION

2.1 Opening Address: Maureen O'Neil, President of IDRC

The President described some of the work of the IDRC. She highlighted the slow progress of development in Africa and stressed the importance of consultations, if research is to be responsive to the real needs of countries in the region.

In particular, it was pointed out that IDRC is an organisation that supports research for development and tries to strengthen the capacity for research in developing countries. To do this successfully, the Centre needs to understand the context of research, the people and institutions involved, and the linkages among them.

Concerning development in Africa, the indications are that all is not well. For instance, from the 1960s onwards, countries in Africa have received billions of dollars of development assistance, based on prevailing policies. Africa now has a larger *pool* of senior scientists, but despite all the many interventions, the life of the average African is no easier today than at the end of the colonial period. The question is, of course, 'what has gone wrong?' There is a clear need for formal meetings involving people working in development to jointly examine problems and share experiences. Scientists want to understand how research can make a difference, and in what areas. To facilitate the research process, IDRC will provide support in areas in which people feel there can be a difference.

2.2 Introductory Remarks: Eva M. Rathgeber, Regional Director, Eastern and Southern Africa

Dr. Rathgeber also highlighted the slow progress of development in the region and attributed this, in part, to the conventional approach used in development assistance and the fact that there appear to be few widespread 'African solutions to African problems'. She noted, however, that there have been many successful small-scale development interventions, some of which were to be presented and discussed at the workshop.

IDRC has been active in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region since 1970 and has tried to respond to key problems. In the current meeting IDRC is trying to develop an understanding of issues considered important by stakeholders in the region. Workshop participants include natural scientists, social scientists and administrators.

The Regional Director noted that the forthcoming World Bank report for the year 2000, will focus on poverty. This was considered appropriate given the disheartening statistics on poverty and development in Africa.

Dr. Rathgeber concluded her introductory remarks by expressing the hope that the collection of papers by African scholars and development practitioners will stimulate fruitful discussions.

3. WORKSHOP STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

The workshop employed both plenary and group work sessions. A total of eleven papers were presented in the plenary sessions, as follows:

- Three keynote papers: one on development indicators, strategies and natural resources management; one on governance and civil society; and the third on education and employment;
- Six application papers reporting on experiences in some development interventions; and
- Two discussion papers on partnerships.

Working groups met each afternoon to discuss questions related to the overall themes of the workshop. A list of participants is presented in appendix 1.

4. PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Development Indicators, Strategies, and Natural Resource Management

Archie Mafeje

Conceptual Orientation

The 1970s witnessed a confrontation between growth theorists and development theorists. Reduced to its bare essentials, the argument was about whether or not growth indices such as Gross National Product (GNP) and income per capita were necessarily a measure of social development. In real terms in regions such as Africa the choice was never between individualistic 'trickle-down' theories and bureaucratic socialism as was practised in Eastern Europe before its demise. The observable disparity between measurable economic growth and declining social well-being in sub-Saharan Africa fuelled the debate about the relevance of 'growth' and 'development' indices in the 1970s.

As the economic and agricultural crisis deepened at least in Africa during the 1980s, a critical divergence in policy between the World Bank and the UN agencies emerged. This was precipitated by the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in Africa from the beginning of the 1980s. The SAPs effectively reversed the previous philosophical trend towards equity and solicitude towards the poor by putting at the centre of its programs not people but "market forces". Nevertheless, by 1989 disenchantment with the SAPs had begun. The most devastating critique of the World Bank SAPs came from the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in 1989. It urged African governments to ensure development with equity on the continent.

Since the end of the 1980s there has been a growing consensus that the World Bank's SAPs have been an unmitigated failure in Africa in that they did not bring about any visible economic growth and far from alleviating poverty they increased it. Consequently, there is now an insistence on the role of a democratic developmental state in Africa and a persistent warning against unstudied individualisation of land rights and of agricultural production under African social conditions. But it was not until 1997 that UNDP in its *Human Development Report* tried to provide some indices for measuring human development.

Socio-economic Indicators

Education

Independence got associated not only with liberation but also with development i.e. greater access to social services and means of livelihood. The newly installed African governments responded to these aspirations. Education received the highest priority. The rate of primary school enrolment grew from 30 percent in 1965 to 60 percent in 1980. The main objective was to eliminate illiteracy. Beyond this there was no clear indication of how the educational system would be restructured to meet the social needs of independent Africa, despite a great determination to establish national institutions of higher learning.

It is generally agreed that the educational system in Africa is in an unprecedented crisis since the 1960s. However enrolment figures at all levels have not declined as a result of the 20-year old crisis but have only stagnated since 1980. What this indicates is that African parents, despite their increasing poverty, are still willing to invest in education for their children. This might prove a losing battle because the quality of education in Africa has dramatically declined since the end of the 1970s. Since the 1980s there have been discussions about restructuring the system of education in Africa. As part of its SAPs, the World Bank had suggested that African governments would do better by spending their money on expanding primary education than on expensive but ineffective tertiary education. It argued that in low-income countries tertiary education yields the lowest social rate of return compared to its share in the overall education budget.

Health

Immediately after independence in Africa, health did not grow as fast as education and was never free. In contrast to the demand for education which was associated with economic mobility and development, in post-independence Africa, health was generally seen as a consumption item and largely a private affair. Households and kin took care of their sick members, without necessarily counting the number of hours lost in productivity. But in the urban areas the cost of illness is felt by both employees and employers. It is, therefore, not surprising that medical services got concentrated in the primate cities throughout Africa.

Water

Clean drinking water is related to the health issues discussed above. Yet, water development in Africa is associated with irrigation schemes and industrial/commercial development. African governments assume correctly that in the rural areas users harvest their own water. However, the problem is not so much finding water, which at times can be an extra burden on women because of distance, but purification of water. Water-borne diseases affect millions of Africans in the rural areas, especially children and pregnant women (vulnerable groups).

Economic Development

The World Bank projections for the 1990s in Africa have not been fully confirmed. The second half of the 1990s showed more positive signs than had been expected. While the plight of the majority of the people remained more or less the same, the African economies showed signs of recovery as measured by macro-economic indices. The vicissitudes of different African economies notwithstanding, one thing certain is that since the 1960s there has been neither sustained economic growth nor social development (human development) in Africa.

Foreign Aid and Development

Foreign aid is the most difficult relationship between developing and developed countries. Political choices have to be made by both parties. Such choices might have less to do with development but more with political/ideological expediency. In every report since 1980 Africa is conspicuous by lack of progress, compared to other regions. Whenever development indices show improvement globally, they are literally followed by the refrain, "except sub-Saharan Africa". In the absence of development the social cost of foreign aid in Africa is proving much higher than the benefits it might have brought. Among other things, this refers to a correspondingly increased degree of economic dependence, foregone opportunities for self-reliance, a greatly depreciated rate of accumulation due to the ever-increasing financial burden of servicing usually chronic foreign debts, and forfeiture of the element of choice referred to earlier. Aid does not and cannot bring about development where there is no serious internal commitment to development.

Aid to Africa has been comparatively small and piecemeal. Yet, aid for national development cannot be measured by a number of little, unintegrated projects scattered all over the place. Projects should be seen as part of a comprehensive plan which identifies unambiguously priority areas which are usually based on sector by sector analysis. Even in the case of the project approach to Africa, a large portion of the officially declared aid is recycled to the donor countries through tied equipment purchases (which creates technological incompatibilities), haulage, and consultancy contracts. This does not apply to other regions (barring the Middle East) and is arguably a function of Africa's lack of capital goods and low human capital.

Development Strategies in Africa

Agriculture

In the 1960s, the agricultural sector was divided into two sub-sectors, the "modern" and the "subsistence" sector. The former was associated with cash-crop production (meaning export crops) and use of modern technology, which also was in keeping with the suppositions of modernisation theories. The subsistence sector was associated production for "subsistence" (meaning food production) and was expected to disappear as the economy got monetised and cash crop production became the norm in agriculture. African governments gave priority to export crops, which they mistook for cash crops in general, which under growing domestic markets could have included food crops. They saw export crops as the easiest and quickest way of earning foreign exchange. In order to consolidate the gains made by medium-scale farmers (progressive farmers) the idea of co-operative was adopted by most African governments from their colonial predecessors. Agricultural co-operatives in Africa were a complete failure. As far as the bigger commercial farmers were concerned, the distinguishing factor is that they were not only bigger in scale of operations but also big in their own right as landowners. Agricultural services and credit got concentrated on them and yet they were subject to less taxation than the ordinary producers. By and large the export-led big-scale farmer agricultural strategy failed.

Industrialisation

After independence African governments did not attach the same importance or urgency to industrialisation as to agriculture. But the cost of imported consumer goods was acutely felt. Therefore, import substitution seemed the best way to alleviate the problem. However, to produce goods of any kind, capital goods are a mandatory prerequisite. This was the missing link in the African industrialisation strategy. What is worth noting is that countries such as Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire and Malawi which were doing well in agriculture also showed correspondingly high rates of industrialisation and capital goods production in the case of the former two.

But, as we approach the new millennium, it is clear what the Africans need but it is not clear what their future practice is going to be. The old neo-classical models are kept in abeyance but as yet no new models have emerged to replace them.

Natural Resource Management

Natural Resource management is as yet an undeveloped concept. The term could refer to either of two things, namely, prevailing systems of utilising natural resources or how best these could be improved so as to guarantee sustainability over time. It is perhaps in the context of the latter that the term "management", assumes significance because natural resources can be used without any due regard for their preservation and augmentation over time e.g. the plunder of the tropical rain forests or the depletion of fish stocks all over the globe. Viewed from this angle, "natural resource management " becomes a developmental concept distinguishable from merely descriptive accounts of how natural resources are used. This places a particular burden on those agencies such as IDRC which are trying to foster the concept of "natural resource management" to clarify their terms. What is meant by "natural resources", by "management, and what is the unit of analysis and its relevance to development policy?

The way natural resources are used on the continent has a bearing on sustainability, regional integration, options for local communities, and prospects for accumulation of the necessary revenues for national, local and regional development. Thus, whereas it is common to think of land, water, and vegetation being the relevant factors for agricultural and rural development, it is of strategic importance to view this in the context of the whole quantum of natural resources, including minerals, fisheries, and timber whose value up to now is lost to developed countries. It is possible that the retention of such value could more than compensate foreign aid at the initial stages of development in Africa.

It is possible that the concept of "natural resource management" predispose the users towards thinking that in Africa, especially, we are necessarily dealing with natural economies or have a relative advantage in that regard. Second of all, there is an underlying assumption that community-based systems of resource management are aimed only at guaranteeing subsistence. In the midst of poverty this is a justifiable consideration. But in essence it is contrary to the idea of a "bottom-up" development strategy. Local communities, no matter how prudent they are in their use of natural resources, cannot hope to be a dynamic force in development, without making a significant contribution to primary accumulation.

The intention here is not to discourage ameliorative interventions but to interrogate the criteria that are used for measuring "success". From the point of view of development, it is obvious that the major concern is not the few who manage to find a way to provide clean water for themselves, preserve the soil and vegetation which they need for their livelihood but the millions who suffer because of lack of appropriate national policies. Of course, local adaptations are the key to success.

Relevant Research Areas

It would seem appropriate to recommend the following research agenda:

- The role of small producers in agricultural and rural development. This would entail an investigation of their forms of social organisation, descent systems, sexual division of labour, viability of communal systems of cooperation, technological capacity, and management of natural resources;
- The role of the informal sector in urban development and production. Since the collapse of the African economies over the last 20 years the informal sector has emerged everywhere in sub-Saharan Africa as the most dynamic economic sector and yet it is not officially recognised and as such has no access to public facilities. Can it be upgraded as part of an enlightened development strategy?
- The prospects for African Governments to adopt a "bottom-up" development strategy. Sociologically-understood, this would refer to pressures or impulses for social democracy and not a change of heart by incumbent African governments. The prevailing internal and international environment makes it possible to raise this question, without indicting any particular government;
- The meaning and prospects of "natural resources management" in the local, national, regional, and global context. Given current processes of globalization (vertical integration) and the controversies to which they have given vent, the continuous threat to natural resources everywhere in the world, and absence of considering national policies, how do we give meaning to natural resource management in local communities that can be translated into national/regional policies?

Plenary Discussions

African leadership: Participants argued that by and large, the African leadership has been incompetent in handling development issues. In particular, African leaders have not been able to convert revenue received into capital. It is therefore not surprising that the expected growth had not occurred. This view was contrasted with the practice of colonial governments who were very successful in managing revenues derived from the exploitation of resources in Africa for the benefit of the home economies of the colonial powers.

Participation of small producers and informal sector: The participants confirmed the phenomenal growth in the informal sector over the last ten years or so. This was attributed to the fact that the common man had been let down by the African Governments and as such people have been increasingly finding their own ways for

developing and growing. The informal sector is vibrant but major research thrusts are necessary in order to increase the understanding of dynamics of the sector.

Development aid: The views on development aid were generally quite consistent, namely:

- Development aid has the potential to “kick-start” some development.
- However direct aid (to governments) have proved to be of very limited assistance in addressing real developmental problems as governments have used these to protect themselves making it even harder for people at the bottom to move on.

Education and culture: There was overwhelming agreement that the growth in African education, in terms of numbers has not been accompanied by a corresponding growth in quality and relevance to development. It was agreed that education is not necessarily efficient if not culturally informed. There is therefore the urgent need for more research into both education and culture and their implications for development.

Gender: The discussion on gender highlighted the fact that knowledge of the relationships between gender issues and development is still limited. For instance, the sound indigenous knowledge proposed by women is still not being harvested for development because existing practices tend to put women at a disadvantage. Research into gender and development should therefore be a priority.

Land: It is said that a major problem exists in Africa in the name of land scarcity. Views were expressed that this is not necessarily true and that the problem stems more from the mismanagement of land. The traditional tenure systems presented no problems until governments began to intervene in land issues thus giving rise to the land crisis, which is evident by the decreasing agricultural productivity. Questions on land issues could only be conclusively answered through appropriate research.

4.2 Governance and Civil Society in Eastern and Southern Africa: Challenges for the Donor Community

Jonathan N. Moyo

The resurgence of multi-partyism in Africa has put elections on the top of the agenda of everyday politics across the continent leading to narrow debates on governance and civil society. In this regard, an overwhelming majority of African countries have now adopted multiparty elections. As the popularity of multiparty elections in the wake

of the demise of one party rule grows, scholars, activists and politicians are becoming sceptical about the political significance of such elections in Africa. This is partly because the link between the outcomes of multiparty elections in Africa and the determination of who governs has remained tenuous. But even more serious, these elections have not changed the social and economic relations of power. Indeed, it is curious that, despite their presumed objective of institutionalizing accountability and transparency in governance, multiparty elections in Africa thus far appear to be severing the connection between the governors and the governed by opening the door for unbridled intervention, under the tutelage of globalization, by international financial institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and multinational corporations who have become the real governors in Africa.

The critical question is whether the opening and widening of political space through multiparty elections has provided an opportunity for genuinely new individuals and groups to enter into politics.

The Eastern and Southern Africa Context

Over the last decade, Eastern and Southern Africa has been going through major social, political and economic ferment. From a governance point of view, these developments have brought at least some semblance of political liberalization in Eastern and Southern Africa. But democratization in the region remains a far cry. The roots of political liberalization are still not firm. Despite having abandoned the constitutional premises of one party rule and apartheid, an overwhelming majority of Eastern and Southern African countries are still *de facto* one party states as most of them are still to enact democratic constitutions commensurate with political pluralism and social justice fostering "plural constitutionalism" and "needful democratic practice." This is because, in essence, Eastern and Southern Africans are still at loggerheads over fundamental constitutional choices.

Governance and civil society in Eastern and Southern Africa are now defined by squabbles over constitution making. Despite these squabbles or even because of them, the advent of political pluralism in the wider region has enabled ordinary people across all walks of life to begin to take control of their lives outside the confines of state politics. Some creative individuals, organizations, institutions and communities in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have started to remake their societies in fresh and innovative ways. New community initiatives and new national leaders are emerging outside the ambit of state politics. The new initiatives and the new leaders have a background of gender, racial, national, ethnic and religious diversities with far reaching implications for governance in the region. These developments not only speak to the hopes on the horizon around the making of a new democratic Africa but they are also the culmination of a political process which has been taking root since the end of the Cold War in particular and since the beginning of the end of colonial rule in general. A new civil society is steadily developing in Eastern and Southern Africa.

Defining Governance

Ordinary people, especially among NGOs, often speak of governance as if it means the same thing as government. Among donors, some use "governance" to describe the nature and style of a political system including the type of political regime; lines of political authority; institutional and structural arrangements; decision making processes; the flow of information; and the nature of the relationship between the state and society. Other donors employ the concept of governance normatively (meaning good governance) to link it with human rights, democracy and market based economies. In this case, "good governance" is used to refer to the legitimacy of governments; the accountability of elected and appointed leaders; the 'transparency' of decision-making; the freedom of the mass media; the right to free association and freedom of speech and the general respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Yet other donors define governance as the organization and management of the state characterized by:

- Accountability of government and its institutions and officials for their decisions and actions;
- The existence of institutions and mechanisms to enforce government accountability to redress transgressions;
- Transparency in government decision making;
- Openness and availability of information about government decisions and actions, and public access to such information; and
- The existence of the rule of law for the conduct of government business such that government actions are based on predetermined rules under the presumption of government limited by law and based on a separation of powers to ensure that those who make the law are not the same who interpret or enforce it.

This donor driven view of governance dates back to 1989 when the World Bank published a widely cited long-term perspective study that identified 'the crisis in Africa' as a crisis of governance. The report argued that the African crisis was a result of the personalization of power, excessive centralization of state authority, lack of oversight and countervailing public institutions, excessive dependence on the state because of the absence of a viable private sector, the denial of fundamental human rights, widespread corruption and the prevalence of unelected and unaccountable leaders or governments. The Bank's report defined governance in formalistic and legalistic terms, presupposing the existence of a market centered economy supported by a supposedly universal liberal political system rooted in a separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary for the enforcement of contractual and other business purposes.

While the Bank's view of governance has gained wide currency in the donor community and even in some academic circles, its conceptual premise is nevertheless problematic. A major weakness with the Bank's view of governance is its failure to address questions of power and relations thereof. As a result of this omission, the Bank's view spuriously assumes that political control rests with political leaders and formal institutions of the state. Powerful actors outside the state, some national and others multinational, are ignored. This has led to ill-defined forms of political conditionality not only in World Bank and IMF circles but also among bilateral donors and others involved in development aid. The new conditionality is based not only on control of external aid but also on control of information relating to 'transitions to democracy' and "capacity building" under the title banner of good governance. Some of the expert opinions of donors are dangerous to prospects of good governance in Africa. They undermine national efforts in the struggle for democracy largely because the opinions are invariably superficial and not sensitive to local conditions.

Common View of Civil Society

For purposes of donor funding, it is important to be clear about the operational meaning of civil society. This is not only a conceptual matter but it is also a practical issue related to the everyday politics of specific countries where there may be funding opportunities or activities to research and support. In practice, few donors pay attention to critical or nuanced definitions of civil society. The separation of the state from civil society often leads to claims about some nations having strong states with weak civil society, others having weak states and strong civil society and yet others having an optimum balance between the state and civil society. Some bilateral donors define civil society in Eastern and Southern Africa as the space that is occupied by fragile Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), partisan church groups advocating human rights, parochial Community Based Organizations (CBOs), fragmented political parties and loose conglomerations of trade unions. There is neither sufficient nor necessary connection between NGOs or CBOs and civil society not least because most of such groups are in fact not civic. Indeed, for example, CBOs typically embody some of the crudest forms of gender inequality and the dictatorship of traditional authority in general.

Civil Society and the State as Intertwining Parts

According to critical literature, the state and civil society are intertwining parts of one and the same social reality. This view is premised on the notion that both the state and civil society belong to one public realm. The dichotomy between the state and civil society is based on a false dualism that negates the historical fact that civil society means the same thing as 'political community'. It is for this reason that, in their examination of current problems of state-society relations in Africa, an increasing number of scholars are using the concept of governance, in order to show that the state and civil society belong to the same public realm. Governance builds on civil society precisely because it does not prejudge the locus of real decision

making or political and economic power in a given country. This is because the focus of governance is the whole political community, i.e., and civil society. One major problem in Eastern and Southern Africa is that the public sphere has been privatized, i.e., powerful national and multinational political and economic actors are using public goods to advance private interests. The challenge for the donor community is to support and strengthen a democratic public realm that is 'civic'. The pre and post colonial experience of Eastern and Southern African countries is that they have not had a civic public realm built on the principle of citizenship.

A full appreciation of civil society in any country can only be achieved through an understanding of that country's regime. Various forms of authoritarian regimes have characterized the three East African countries. But this does not mean leadership or governments, even though there have been serious problems with both. Put differently, this means that authoritarian public realms that eschew the principle of citizenship have characterized Eastern and Southern African countries. Yet another way of putting this is that these countries have been characterized by an authoritarian form of civil society or political community or authoritarian governance. Given this problem, the question is how to bring about a 'civic' political community, i.e., and one that is substantively democratic beyond legal formalism.

What is Civil Society?

First, civil society is used in a sense in which there are free associations (political parties, trade unions, NGOs, CBOs and church groups) which can be empirically shown to be free from the control of the state. In Eastern and Southern Africa, examples of countries with this type of civil society include Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Secondly, the concept is defined in a stronger sense in which civil society is said to exist where the public, regime or political community (nation-state?) as a whole, is able to organize it and coordinate its activities without the control of the government. Kenya and South Africa approximate this type of a fragmented civil society notwithstanding the existence of a vibrant press and a mushrooming of local and international business interests, church groups, trade unions, political parties, NGOs and CBOs. Finally, the concept is used in an even stronger sense in which civil society is said to exist only and only when the political community (nation-state?) is composed of an ensemble of free associations which have the political and organizational capacities not only to coordinate their own activities but also to significantly determine or influence the type, sequence and development of state policy. In this scenario, the government is a product of the political community as a whole. There is no empirical example of this type of civil society in Eastern and Southern Africa.

Conclusion: Implications for research and Policymaking

Thus, building on the third definition given above, civil society is a political community (a public realm) capable of accommodating a variety of individual and associational interests within a pluralist, or at least multicentric, social framework in search of a greater common (public) good.

It is for this reason that emphasis has been put on understanding civil society, as the same thing as 'political community'. That is what is conveyed by the concept of a "public realm". Therefore, in policy terms, supporting and strengthening civil society should involve the development of a policy strategy for cultivating and sustaining an accommodative public realm or political community based on the principle of the rights and obligations of citizenship.

Liberalization is the first problem of countries moving from authoritarian rule to some form of democratic rule. This is why the respect of basic human rights by governments and third parties is a *sine qua non* of nurturing mutually tolerant civil society actors. For this reason, political liberalization is the first important step towards supporting and strengthening civil society. Its focus is not just the leadership, government, CBOs or NGOs, it is the whole political community. The ultimate objective of political liberalization is to achieve a civic public realm, to wit, a civic political culture.

This understanding of political liberalization lends itself to some general questions which include the following:

- What individual rights were denied prior to the new policy or program and through what means?
- What specific individual rights is the policy or program supporting or strengthening and how are they being made effective in practical terms?
- What social groups are targeted by the policy or program and why?
- What social rights were denied prior to the policy or program and how are these being made effective since the implementation of the policy?

The lynchpin of democratization, and that of a civic public realm or a democratic regime, is citizenship, which involves both the right to be treated by others as equal in the making of collective decisions and the obligation of those who implement collective choices to be equally accountable and accessible to all members of the community. Citizenship imposes obligations on the members of the community to respect the legitimacy of collective choices made by equals and, *ipso facto*, confers rights on those who implement collective choices, that is the government, to act with authority in the interest of promoting the effectiveness of public choices.

Another way of seeing democratization is that it is a process whereby civic rules and procedures are expanded, extended and applied to the organization of the public realm. This leads to a number of possible questions which program researchers, policymakers and others in the donor community can ask about their program or policy activities in order to determine whether they are succeeding in supporting and strengthening civil society. Three general policy evaluation questions come to mind:

- To what extent is the policy or program applying the rules and procedures of citizenship for purposes of internal management and public impact?
- How has the policy or program used the rules and procedures of citizenship to expand the category of persons who previously were excluded from public life?
- To what extent has the policy or program extended the rules and procedures of citizenship to cover new issues and new institutions not previously subject to citizen participation?

The challenge for the donor community is to support initiatives which are capable of transforming the organization of the public realm from an authoritarian to a civic regime. The shift would also open new avenues for dealing with the problem created by elite individuals and groups who have used the cover of civic and political rights in pursuit of unjust forms of possessive individualism with respect to property ownership, especially land rights.

The donor approach advanced in this paper is that programs to support and strengthen civil society in the region are unlikely to succeed in the long run unless they are preceded by some recognition that civil society has to do with the organization of the whole political community. This approach should enable policy researchers, policymakers and others in the donor community to develop a methodology of identifying the 'stage' of civil society in the country they are working in, and examine the governance challenges of that stage, before designing their programs either to strengthen good governance and promote democratic civil society.

4.3 Education and Employment in the Eastern and Southern Africa Region: An Appraisal

Daniel Sifuna

The Expansion of Formal Education and Employment

The expansion of formal education systems in Africa was sparked off by a conference of African Ministers in Addis Ababa in early 1960s that placed emphasis on expansion of secondary and tertiary education. The major reason for investing in formal schooling was that it would lead to increase in the productivity of physical

capital. By late 1960s in the Eastern and Southern Africa region as elsewhere in Africa, the period of unprecedented educational expansion had not increased production, but brought with it foreseen and unforeseen difficulties.

The emphasis placed on education for human resource development by most governments and donor agencies seems to have precipitated a serious problem of unemployment. The limited absorptive capacity of the urban sector had not provided the predicted wide employment opportunities. In general labour absorption of major modern and semi-modern establishments was limited: in the civil service, large industries, the principal commercial and transport enterprises. Governments generally accounted for as much as 50 percent of all wage paid jobs, but the rate of recruitment of new staff set by planners, the restraints of the budget, rate of retirement, the replacement of expatriate staff and other measures were slow relative to the output of the education systems.

While in most countries primary-school leavers and drop-outs from the early years of secondary schools made up the bulk of the unemployed, by the late 1960s secondary school graduates began to be noted among the jobless, although the problem varied from one country to another. For instance, the Kenya government reaction to the emerging secondary leaver unemployment was an attempt to deal with symptoms rather than the actual problem.

Many government officers perceived the problem to be one of the school system's failure to produce people with practical skills, hence emphasis on technical and agricultural education, which was the solution. The second set of solutions was to blame the victims of unemployment. The problem was blamed on the unrealistic aspirations of school leavers coupled with their white collar mentality. The third solution was that school leavers try self-employment and seek employment in the smaller towns. Such government solutions were by no means unique to Kenya.

The most powerful single factor behind the growing massive youth unemployment was the sharp rise in rates of population growth. In the Eastern and Southern Africa region between 1960 and 1970, the growth rate was 2.6 on the average. Although the annual rates of economic growth were a little higher varying from 4 to 9 percent, they were too negligible to have had any impact on unemployment. Population growth has remained constant as economic growth has continued to decline. The high population growth combined with low economic growth rates have created high unemployment. There was a mismatch between the absorptive capacity of the economy and the number of school leavers coming out of the formal schools. This problem became more and more enormous in the subsequent decades and has virtually reached an explosion level.

The problem of the educated unemployed has had a major effect on employment and education systems. First, is the escalation of qualification requirements, secondary leavers take jobs which formerly went to primary school leavers and so on. Secondly, in response to the qualifications spiral the result has been an exponential increase in secondary and tertiary provision often referred to as the Diploma Disease or Certification Syndrome. A new phenomenon in the employment market has also been the acquisition of computer skills.

Non-Formal Education (NFE) and Employment

Interest in non-formal education arose originally from a growing awareness of the complexities of the connection between education and development and as it became evident that linear expansion of formal education was not the way to meet the demands of both quantitative expansion and qualitative change in education. Non-formal education had the potential for efficient use of scarce resources, expansion of educational services, promotion of equity in educational opportunities and the enhancement of the relevance of education to the demands of socio-economic development.

Despite the enthusiasm on the part of the proponents of NFE, on the whole non-formal education programmes were not designed and implemented on any large scale or become part of the policy agendas of many African countries. As a result, policies and plans have been half-hearted, consequently, non-formal education programmes have been starved and implemented with an obvious lack of conviction. The youth themselves have not been impressed with the available opportunities to self-employment with the result that such programmes focus almost exclusively at wage-employment and thus strengthen the practices towards formalisation. Moreover, many of the initiatives are introduced without simultaneous reforms in other sectors of human life. It has hardly been realised that the value of the training lies not in the acceptability of the graduates to employers, but also in the absorptive capacity of the economy. In a case of stagnating economy as most African economies appear to be, saturation is soon reached leading to a serious devaluation of the training in the labour market, similar to what has happened to formal educational credentials. In this regard, in any economy there is an optimum number that can be trained to effectively use available opportunities. Equally important is that many of non-formal youth programmes are not planned as an integrated part of a more comprehensive programme for community development. They are not linked to wider societal aims such as improvement in the distribution of employment and income, reduction of poverty, establishment of essential social services, and the promotion of cultural values and identity.

Generally for many programmes, there is a great dearth of information about the actual impact of the training. Although in some cases, there is data about how many graduates found wage-employment, little is known about the nature of their

employment, their performance on the job and their prospects. It is also not known about what enabled such youth to enter their jobs and to what extent the training was relevant to the job situation. Furthermore less information is available about the frequency of self-employment, its nature, quality and related factors.

Finally, there has been much controversy as to the socio-economic background of those who participate in NFE programmes. The debate has centred on whether or not the target groups are the marginalised poor of the community which often stigmatises these kinds of programmes. It is common knowledge that trainees are generally not elite children since their chances for continuing in the formal system are relatively better.

Informal Sector Training and Employment

It is widely acknowledged that the informal sector has greater potential for youth employment than the formal modern sector. However, it is important to note that the largest share of informal sector activity is in such occupations as petty trade and simple food processing with low requirements for specialized skills or pre-employment training. It is partly because of this that young people with vocational preparation enter the informal sector when opportunities for wage employment are limited. This is clearly a second best option in comparison with stable wage employment. Moreover, entry is easiest where skill requirements are lowest. In the upper-tier informal sector firms where skills are important to productivity, the potential for labour absorption is often limited by market saturation.

Although reckoned as being most vibrant, the informal sector faces many constraints in its operations. For instance in Kenya, only until recently, the sector has suffered from a very negative public image with the result that its operations have not grown in a co-ordinated and planned manner, and have not been easily integrated in the national planning processes. The informal sector as a result has continued to grow and operate on the periphery of the formal sector. Operations in the informal sector fall outside the nation's tax structure with the consequence that official policy frown at the activities as illegitimate and which fail to raise any money for the state. Another factor that hinders the development of informal sector operations is the inability to attract credit. The crippling lack of capital is made worse by other shortcomings such as high level of functional illiteracy that makes it difficult if not impossible for them to acquire both technical and management skills as well as a high level of inexperience since many of them are young school leavers.

The Role of Donor Agencies in Education and Employment

Donor agencies have played a key role in pushing an agenda for education and employment in Africa. However, the donors are much interested in exploring their technologies, than in improving the socio-economic conditions of recipient countries. There has been little donor investment in the informal sector, this is despite donor

interest with the perception that human resource development is of paramount importance to Africa. Donors thus have placed emphasis on post secondary education and training overseas.

Donors are interested in interventions at tertiary institutions. These interventions may not have a discernible impact on the education landscape. As long as African countries continue to depend on donor agencies for assistance to develop their education systems, it is likely that they will emerge with an agenda that is not tailored to address their socio-economic and political problems.

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have led to a reduction in financing of education and this has affected the quality of education. There has been less spending on teachers, materials, equipment and capital development.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes and their Effects on Education and Employment

The late 1970s ushered in an economic crisis that accelerated after 1980 and has left most African economies in serious disarray. The investment rate in the region fell from more than 18 percent of income in the 1970s to less than 15 percent in 1983 and is currently the lowest of any developing region. African governments, therefore, embarked on microeconomic policy reforms. They reconsidered their exchange rate policies, instituted wage and salary reforms. They have also reduced public spending, including spending on education. The reduction in funding has adversely affected education in a number of ways. For example in Africa, between 1975 and 1985 the proportion of educational expenditure on teaching materials fell from 7.6 percent to 4.2 percent. In Kenya, the government has officially acknowledged that gross enrolment rate reached its peak of 95 percent in 1989, but has fallen to around 72 percent due to the cost-sharing measures. The cutbacks in public sector employment have exacerbated the unemployment problem. They have had the most dramatic impact in many African countries where public sector provides a large proportion of jobs in the formal sector, particularly for those with post-secondary education. Continued economic stagnation and low levels of investment in these debtor countries has meant that new opportunities for employment have been very limited. With increasing unemployment more and more people are driven into the informal sector employment.

Proposed Solutions to Unemployment

Policies such as increasing rural incomes and amenity levels which have been ignored will need to be addressed by policy makers. Proposals have been made repeatedly for the restructuring of the nature of economies inherited from the colonial era. This is an immediate concern that should not be continually ignored.

Restructuring of the economies should be followed with total reorganization of the inherited western models of education with strong focus in competitive examinations and fostering technocratic middle values. The relevance of curriculum to meet the needs of individuals and societies should be studied. Exploration of the opportunities for establishing centres of excellence to promote both the basic and applied research in science and technology and adaptation to local problems and conditions.

Africa needs to critically re-examine the education reform packages promoted by donors and selectively adapt those that are relevant to Africa's situation. Research to establish the employment problems that science and engineering graduates face and the continued utilisation of expatriates in these fields. Research should be carried out on issues of policy in the informal sector, such as traditional education characteristics, legal barriers to its operation, modes of training, linkages with formal sector, gender and its operations.

Areas of Further Research

From a number of key issues identified in the review, there are areas which need further research to guide policy action in education in the region.

- The SAPs notwithstanding, there are indications that governments have cut expenditure on education while spending colossal sums of funds on prestigious projects that play little or no role in development. Research should therefore be undertaken on public expenditure to provide information that is likely to guide governments to increase funding to education as a way of arresting the declining quality.
- Research needs to be carried to establish problems that face employment of science and engineering graduates and the continued utilisation of expatriates in these fields. Furthermore, to enhance Africa's participation in new technologies, efforts should be made regionally to establish a centre of excellence that will undertake both basic and applied research in science and new technologies.
- Although non-formal programmes were not enthusiastically embraced by policy makers in most countries of the region, no doubt there are many successful non-formal education programmes run mainly by NGOs in the region that have made considerable impact on development. Research on such programmes is generally scanty as to be used to guide the mainstream education policy.
- Research is required on the informal sector, in terms of the number of people employed by the sector, their educational characteristics, legal barriers to its operations, the mode of traditional and modern training, its linkage with formal sector, gender and its operators and a host of other issues.

- Research is need to assess the role of national educational policy makers in articulating education policy agendas in post-independent Africa and the factors that tend to influence continued support for expansion of higher education over the years.

Plenary Discussion

Threats from globalization: It was suggested that good African practices that curb the adverse trends (Threats) associated with globalization need to be researched into. These threats include: threats to national environmental assets; threats to social and cultural cohesion; and threats to political security and democratization. Research to upscale the linkages between all these areas is crucial.

Crisis of access to higher education: There seems to be a crisis of access to higher education in Africa. There is need to assess the following (a) The capacity of educational institutions for development including the inculcation of values and norms important for development in the region (b) the role of education in political development of society and the linkages between education and economic development, and (c) the capacity of governments to invest in educational institutions on their own initiative and not at donor urging.

Socio-economic issues: It was agreed that one cannot isolate education from the political and social structures. Africa has made mistakes by accepting a socio-economic structure handed down to it. Africans have to be sure that they understand the continent's problems in terms of oversupply or demand for labour.

There is a mismatch between the absorptive capacity of the economy and the number of school leavers coming out of the formal school system. The value of education comes into question if school leavers are predestined to join the unemployment queue or if the type of education offered is viewed as irrelevant to the economic and social needs of the community. It is clear that the education system is not responding to the economy and must be reviewed. It is also clear that policy makers and researchers need to come together and think about new types of schools and education.

Research focus: The focus of research should be on the role of schools, qualities needed and inputs to be made that will allow students to impact on development.

4.4 Poverty Reduction Forum: Its Role in Strengthening Local Participation in Governance in Zimbabwe

Donald P. Chimanikire

The Poverty Reduction Forum (PRF), based at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Zimbabwe, is a civil society grouping of academics, NGOs, civil society groups, rural communities, the private sector, donors and government. The Forum was set up in 1996 to influence policies for poverty reduction by engaging in dialogue with policy makers, carrying out research, and through lobbying and advocacy work around poverty issues. The PRF is run by a management committee that sets out its broad objectives and oversees programs agreed upon by the general membership at its annual general meetings. Day to day program implementation is carried out by a full-time project coordinator, assisted by a documentalist and a secretary.

The PRF was set up to increase the effectiveness of initiatives to monitor and reduce poverty; debate and analyse issues that will reduce poverty and improve monitoring; and provide critical support and complement existing work on poverty reduction. The Forum now has 33 provincial and district chapters in the rural areas where the majority of the poor live. The Forum regards the input of the rural constituency as central, to inform the debate and research on poverty.

To date, the PRF's major achievement has been to create the space the poor need to effectively participate in poverty reduction by influencing policies both at the local and national level through dialogue and advocacy. The Forum has provided a catalyst to allow civil society both to make an input into policies and to critically examine issues of governance and how they relate to the poverty crisis facing the country.

The Forum is an alliance of different groups, bound together by their interest in poverty reduction. But within this diverse grouping, the Forum is creating partnerships to achieve specific objectives. In the past the Forum commissioned and produced a report on what the national budget should focus on to reduce poverty, but last year it teamed with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce, the Zimbabwe Council of Churches and consulted rural communities widely to come up with alternative budget proposals that were presented to the government. Consolidating the different inputs into one report has created a common platform by different groups around issues of poverty. This has in turn presented a more united front to the government and facilitated advocacy work by different groups.

Three factors which account for the success of the Forum:

- Broad-based membership, including grassroots participation in activities;
- Relevance of the Forum's debates and research agenda; and

- Ability to forge partnerships and create synergies and linkages with organisations involved in similar activities.

Main Constraints

The major challenge has been for the Forum to find a common ground and language that is acceptable to all of the parties and at the same time remains focussed on poverty issues. This has been achieved by operating the Forum at different levels, all feeding into each other. Thus, rural communities, engage locally in policy debate through their chapters. Issues from these meetings are passed on to the national committee through reports. The national committee then sifts through the reports and separates issues of national relevance from those relevant only at the local level. Follow up action is carried out at the two levels, with chapters following up on local issues, while the broader issues are brought forward for debate at the national level. However, experience has already shown that most issues that may appear local can be traced to the national level, e.g. the collapse of health services at the local level reflect the situation at the national level.

The other major challenge facing the PRF is how to keep the interest of its membership focussed and ensure participation in its programs. To a large extent this is a reflection of the low capacity of civil society groups and NGOs in the country and can only be tackled by increasing their capacity, both in terms of organisational structure skills and human and material resources.

Best Practices that have Emerged From the Forum's Experience

Part of the PRF's mandate is to collaborate with other organisations doing similar work. The Forum was set up primarily to co-ordinate various initiatives on poverty reduction. The number of initiatives in which it is involved with various partners is growing rapidly and is a clear indication that the Forum is achieving its objective. The PRF has also been selected by civil society to co-ordinate the Decentralised Cooperation Program, a new poverty reduction initiative involving civil society, the European Union and the government, which will allow communities to identify their own priorities for development. The PRF's primary role is to facilitate by fostering linkages and synergies and helping to co-ordinate the activities of various players. Decentralised Cooperation is a new concept in development which, if successful, will be applied throughout the country and involve more donors.

Research Contribution

The PRF has established mechanisms and programs for regular research on socio-economic and political issues. The Forum produced the first National Human Development Report (HDR) for Zimbabwe, launched in January 1999. The theme of the HDR, poverty in Zimbabwe, was intended to focus attention on various aspects of the problem and to reiterate the need for a multi-dimensional policy approach. The

HDR will be produced on a regular basis on issues affecting human development in Zimbabwe. It will be distributed widely to policy makers, to multi and bilateral donor agencies, NGOs, the private sector, and civil society.

Conclusion

The PRF is becoming increasingly important in the governance debate in Zimbabwe. Although its programs focus primarily on poverty reduction, their link with policy has given prominence to governance issues. However, it is inevitable that donor fatigue will occur eventually and the PRF must begin to give attention to the issue of sustainability. In this context, the current location and institutional arrangements, do provide some hope for a stable future. The location at the University of Zimbabwe had led to credibility, support from donors, wider contacts with all stake-holders, enrichment from the academic community, etc.

Plenary Discussion

Main findings in the Human Development Report: The findings presented a disturbing picture of the level of poverty in the country. Poverty in Zimbabwe has increased since independence. The health care system has almost collapsed and unemployment is rising. The education system has been ineffective in addressing rising unemployment.

Sustainability: Although the current support from donors such as UNDP, UNESCO and others seems assured for the next several years, such support will ultimately cease. One reason for anchoring the project in the university was for the provision and use of established facilities and a system of regular budgetary allocations. Hopefully this will create an element of sustainability when donor support comes to an end.

Impact: Impact is not easy to measure in social issues. The PRF is pleased that policymakers have accepted invitations to public seminars. It is also expected that seminars and relevant reports will produce an impact on MPs. Since the PRF has only been in existence for two years, the question of impact still has to be addressed in a systematic manner.

Communication: The PRF uses local languages where appropriate to ensure full participation and effective communication. The local population has proved to be quite vocal, and sometimes even more forceful than urban people. Their level of perception is high on issues that directly affect them. To maximize resources the PRF uses structures of Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and local government to reach populations outside the urban areas.

4.5 Natural Resources Management: The Campfire Experience in Zimbabwe

Calvin Nhira

The Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) began in the late 1980s as an initiative by the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management (DNPWLM) to deal specifically with problems of poaching of wild life from national parks, safari areas and communal areas by communal area residents. The program has now spread to 36 of Zimbabwe's 56 districts, which constitutes more than half the total land area of the country. Recruitment into the program is voluntary: the district has to apply to DNPWLM which in turn accepts or rejects applications based on its assessment of the scope of natural resources (broadly defined) that could be beneficially exploited and of the financial and managerial capacity of the local authorities to handle the program. To ensure that local authorities maintain an emphasis on contributing to local livelihoods, DNPWLM has established guidelines on how the collected revenue should be shared between local authorities and the communities, with the intention that 65 percent or more of the revenue should go directly to the communities. Activities directly associated with the CAMPFIRE program such as hunting concessions, local income generating projects, eco-tourism facilities and infrastructure development activities have all substantially increased local employment.

The CAMPFIRE program has attracted substantial donor funding. Beginning with small grants which were channelled into organizations that had been allocated responsibilities by DNPWLM, the program has attracted hundreds of thousands of US dollars, the largest amount from USAID.

The program has attracted additional government and NGO partners anxious to make a contribution to its evolution. Thus, from an initial emphasis on wildlife and the government department and line ministry associated with wildlife, the program has drawn in the Forestry Commission (FC); the Agricultural, Technical and Extension Department (Agritex); and the Department of Natural Resources (DNR).

Key Success Factors

The initiative for the program came from DNPWLM which then brought in other Zimbabwean partners such as the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Zimbabwe (socio-economic research and monitoring), Zimbabwe Trust (program support and institution building), and WWF (ecological and economic research and monitoring). Zimbabwe Trust (ZimTrust) grew to include Africa Resources Trust (ART) (international lobbying) and Action Magazine (environmental education). These and other organizations have helped to develop a critical mass comprising central government, quasi-government bodies and community institutions which has provided leadership for the program. These organizations also contained the requisite mix of human resources at the required skill levels. However ownership of the program has always resided with local authorities and local communities.

The general approach taken in orchestrating the program has been experimental and incremental. It was recognized that decisions would have to be taken with scanty information but it was anticipated that during implementation a strong monitoring system would be built which would permit timely feed-back of information for management purposes.

Much use has been made of the demonstration effect of look and learn visits to assist communities to plan their programs. These visits were predicated on the existence of "model programs" especially in some of the pioneer districts. In general, the model programs are cases where:

- the community leadership is enthusiastic, open and accountable;
- the community has planned land use thus allowing for the setting aside of land for wildlife;
- natural resource use activities are controlled through some formal mechanisms;
- there exists some form of monitoring mechanism for wildlife damages;
- compensation is offered to those suffering such damages;
- the community takes an active part in the safari operations; and
- credible investments have been made from wildlife proceeds.

Such communities tend to be found in the remoter districts where the communities are isolated and human population is sparse.

There is a great deal of variation with respect to both revenue sharing and the sharing of management decisions between councils and their lower tier structures. In general, decision-making on revenues has contributed towards community building, indeed even towards boundary determination, i.e. who is and is not a community member. A lot of interest is exhibited about how to prioritize needs, about how much money is to be allocated for what, and about the performance of these investments. These processes have also heightened the communities' appreciation of wildlife, leading to substantial decreases in poaching countrywide.

The CAMPFIRE program is attractive in locations where human population is low and wildlife numbers are high. These also tend to be locations where conventional agriculture is not attractive because of the semi-arid conditions. In such circumstances, the revenues generated can match or even surpass the value of proceeds from conventional agriculture.

The drive to increase revenues has led to revenue diversification as a key strategy. This has led to the exploitation of other resource types such as forests, fisheries and small-scale mining activities being brought under the program. With the boom in tourism, eco-tourism is also being brought into the program.

Constraints

The large capital injections of USAID produced some concerns. First, the program expanded rapidly, which tested the capacity of support agencies to deliver. Second, such expansion was often in wildlife-poor locations where success is more difficult to achieve. Third, since USAID annual allocations to grantees were based on ability to spend money, some element of competition was introduced between grantee organizations. This did not always work in the interests of the program. The picture is likely to change substantially with the withdrawal of USAID funding in 2000. As a result, NGO support activities are likely to be drastically reduced. The tradition of collaboration and complementarity that had been established will thus be compromised. Second, state agencies are likely to play a more critical role at both the central and district levels. Third, funding has spawned relatively large bureaucracies in the local authorities which are unlikely to be sustained merely from the revenues generated by the program.

Many of the districts where the program has taken root were the most underdeveloped parts of the country, characterized by the absence of any infrastructure. Having been excluded from national life for so long, these communities have tended to produce weak representation, are more gullible to corruption by appointed executives or their own representatives and/or elite capture of the "developmental goods" that come along with the CAMPFIRE program. At the same time, local institutions have suffered from fragmentation and competition between a number of power centres, e.g. between traditional and "modern" political authorities. The priorities and interests of these institutions, let alone the local authority, and those of the people rarely coincide.

Private operators (and the tourism industry in general) are not transparent and accountable in terms of their earnings. Suspicions therefore abound about secret dealings they may enter into with local authorities in order to secure and maintain concessions even when they may not have offered the most attractive prices. Additionally, since hunting and tourism tend to be white-dominated, the mushrooming of these ventures allows whites to gain access to communal area resources in a country which wishes to redress the racial imbalances in land holding.

In situations of land scarcity, even resident communities tend to see forests, parks, safari areas, etc. as land that can potentially be available for settlement and agriculture. This has been the case in the Eastern Highlands and Matebeleland where the CAMPFIRE program has been greatly compromised with communities making claims on forest-lands and safari areas with a measure of success. The Forestry Commission is currently experimenting with "resource sharing" schemes in

an attempt to ensure that forest reserves are not used for settlement yet acknowledging their legitimate use by surrounding communities.

Future Research Areas

- **Devolution of Power:** Applied research needs to continue into the evolution of community involvement, capabilities, rights and responsibilities, and the implications for policy and legislative changes. The development of business analysis and marketing skills at community level is key in future if local groups are to optimize the value of their resources.
- **Value Estimation, Addition and Entrepreneurship:** Some work on value estimation, especially of forest products, has already begun. This should be broadened to include other resource types and activities such as fishing, mining and eco-tourism ventures. The organization and management of such enterprises, their linkages with the broader national economy, their marketing strategies and their socio-economic impact should all be important issues for the research agenda.
- **Utilization of Protected Areas:** The legal position of some protected areas still has to be clarified. Local authorities have contended that some of these protected areas are legally under their jurisdiction, yet they are not allowed to utilize them. The mechanisms of using national parks, botanical reserves, forest reserves and safari areas without compromising their conservation functions, need to be investigated further.
- **Impacts of Macro-economic Changes on NRM sector:** Macro-economic changes either can promote entrepreneurship around the use of natural resources thus making the resource much more relevant to people's livelihoods, or they can lead to further degradation of the resource due to factors pointed out above. This needs further study.
- **Implications of Land Redistribution, Tenure, Use Arrangements for NRM:** Research needs to continue into the implications of land redistribution, tenure and use arrangements and the institutional forms that will arise from these reforms for the management of natural resources. Research needs to emphasize the importance of group-based forms of tenure in NRM.
- **Analysis of "Stakeholder" Interests:** More holistic analysis should be undertaken of "stakeholder" interests, incorporating the private sector, donors, NGOs and government actors especially in terms of resource flows and their perspectives in light of their projected contributions. Previously, research has tended to have a "community" emphasis to the total neglect of the other institutional actors who have had a profound impact on the program.

- **International Trends:** International trends need to be monitored on a on-going basis especially in terms of the threats they pose or the opportunities they provide for sustainable use and management of natural resources.

Plenary Discussions

Institutional arrangements for CAMPFIRE: The institutional arrangements and the links between central government, communities and donors were discussed. While local authorities are experiencing a leadership crisis, it is difficult for any program to avoid quasi-government or government units in its operations, because these levels possess enough power to derail any initiatives not involving them. The approach used in CAMPFIRE has been to exert a lot of influence on local authorities thus leading to their responding to local situations. CAMPFIRE funds have been managed quite separately from local authority funds.

Sustainability: The question as to what will happen when the donors pull out of CAMPFIRE was raised. It was observed that the emphasis on community involvement and the linkages of all stakeholders might contribute to some form of sustainability.

Land tenure: With regard to land tenure, the common position for smallholders in Zimbabwe is that there is no need to modify the communal tenure system in rural areas. A recent review of the tenure system recommended moves towards privatization. This was however, found to be risky in light of the welfare function in communal areas. Zambia is already moving in the direction of privatization. The game parks are being leased out to private operators. It was generally agreed that research needs to be done on -best forms of tenure, as this is central to CAMPFIRE.

4.6 Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

Rose J. Barmasai

Since the beginning of multi-party era in Kenya in the late 1991, more and more communities who once lived together have been engaged in warfare. In 1993, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) established a Peace Task Force (PTF), composed of 18 members drawn from all churches. This became part of an NCCK-Peace and Rehabilitation Project. During Phase I of its activities, the PTF gathered knowledge of the conflicts and undertook capacity building in conflict resolution and reconciliation. The task force visited key community opinion leaders to get their views on how to go about reconciling the communities involved in ethnic clashes. An important lesson learned was the importance of giving people opportunity to talk and express their feelings concerning the restoration of peace and reconciliation.

Phase II began with intensive field visits. Members operated within their own locality, where they knew the surroundings and follow-up work could easily be done, reducing operational costs. In November 1994, a questionnaire was administered to government, victims, non-victims (the so-called aggressors), the churches and NGOs. This was to provide valuable input into planning and organization of later peace and reconciliation activities. In December, the PTF concentrated on sensitizing the entire Christian community in the pilot centres about ongoing peace and reconciliation efforts. It was agreed that every December, churches would organize conventions, women's conferences and youth camps/rallies.

Factors that have led to success of the project

Inclusiveness

'Good Neighbourliness' (GN) is a term used by the project to address issues related to peace and reconciliation and offer a forum to discuss the democratization process. This term is neither threatening nor exclusive and includes all communities. In collaboration with District Officers, who became conveners, the project organized seminars on Good Neighbourliness to encourage and assist conflicting communities to co-exist and respect each other. Communities were encouraged to acknowledge their own diversities and limitations and accept conflict as part of life. The workshops provided fora where the warring communities discussed the root causes of their conflicts and developed joint action plans. Follow-up workshops focused on the impact of the previous GN seminars, assessed the change of attitudes of previous workshop participants and identified further constraints as well as strategies for overcoming them.

Women: Several workshops were held exclusively for women, who play an important role in the peace process but in some communities do not participate freely in the presence of men. The main emphasis was to review the consequences of conflict for women; their responses; their roles in peace making and peace building; and their potential to persuade men to change their own attitudes towards conflict.

Youth: Youth were also targeted with special GN seminars. The emphasis was on their role as peace makers and peace builders and on their potential to help to change the attitudes of their peers. Many football teams grew out of these workshops. The games encouraged inter-ethnic interaction among the youths and gave the administration opportunity to speak about the role of youth.

Church leaders: The project held workshops for church leaders, including both clergy and church elders, aiming to challenge the church on its daily role in processes of peace and reconciliation. The workshops reflected on how the churches responded to the clashes; what more could have been done; and how recurrences can be prevented.

Provincial administration: District Officers became the conveners of the GN meetings because their invitations to target groups would not be ignored and to dispel the fear that the workshops were political fora. Their involvement meant that the communities felt safe to participate, which in itself was a beginning of the reconciliation process and the administration was glad to be recognized as being in charge of their areas.

Chiefs: The chiefs were targeted because they are direct representatives of the government while at the same time they are part of the community. The main focus was on their terms of reference, which include providing security; solving community problems; playing a conciliatory role; and acting as impartial mediators.

Peace animators: About 12 community peace makers per village were identified during the GN seminars. They were given training to enable them solve conflicts and to carry on peace activities and messages within the community.

Public barazas: Most were very successful due to good cooperation from provincial administrators. This also shows the commitment of the administrators who were involved with GN workshops and the importance they attached to peace issues.

Peace posters: Peace posters were used as teaching aids and distributed in all workshops. The posters were developed from ideas of the participants which are then translated into pictorial form.

Legislator workshops: GN workshop participants expressed the need for legislator seminars for decision-makers at the highest levels. NCKK organized these workshops with the ultimate aim of pushing the conflict issues onto the agenda of the National Assembly.

Local Approaches for Peace Process

This began in 1995 with an effort to gather and review experiences from a variety of field sites and all sectors of the population in the conflict areas, to re-strategize how assistance could be given to help local communities end the conflicts. In all sites it appeared that even where assistance had reached the majority of the population, it caused tensions, reinforcing suspicions, and thereby exacerbating conflict. External assistance sometimes was stolen or diverted by the conflicting parties to enhance their own power. Moreover, the systems through which the assistance was provided often carried implicit ethical messages regarding power and violence. When provincial security was used to safeguard the intervention, the distribution was prone to manipulation. Phase III of the project therefore tried to develop better ways of providing assistance. GN seminar participants identified pressing needs facing both victims and receiving communities. The project assisted those ready to return to their farms with building materials and farm in-puts. This was done after several meetings with both the returnees and the receiving communities, to ensure that no new violence would erupt.

Traditional Modes of Peace Making

There have been three major causes of conflict: political pluralism/ethnicity, land, and cattle rustling. In Pokot/Marakwet conflicts, the involvement of the traditional peace makers is central to the success of the peace process among the communities. The place of elders is highly respected and they have the authority to declare or stop war. The project identified these elders and brought them together for four days to understand how they operate, their methods of peace making, and to find ways of incorporating the elders into the search for solutions.

Mediation

In cases where there has been a violent conflict between two communities and peace animators have not been able to gain access, the project has organized Mediation Workshops. Opinion leaders are identified in consultation with community elders, chiefs and members of parliament, and then they are taken to a safe and neutral place where both groups can discuss freely. During the Workshops, project personnel act as mediators, moderating discussions and helping participants to be objective.

Successes

The project chose a low-key approach, to avoid politicizing the process. Moreover, as conflict involves human dignity and emotions, victims would not be helped by being exposed, and offenders would need some protection if they were to enter into the peace process. Secondly, the project involved both the perceived aggressors and victims. In the end they are all victims of different kinds. The project also developed an early warning system in which communities can assess situations and provide quick feedback even while the peace animators are holding seminars and barazas to address the perceived conflicts. This has helped abort many planned attacks which could have been bloody.

Conflicts have their causes, history and dynamics. Before intervention the project ensures that there is an understanding of the kinds of conflict involved, how it started, the issues involved, who is involved, and how the conflict has developed over a period of time, especially at the community level. The communities themselves have their style of operation with traditions, values, and principles. An understanding of the communities and how they want their messages communicated is very crucial.

Constraints

Impartiality tends to be a problem and the process of peace and reconciliation is often fraught with frustrations when new conflicts erupt just when reconciliation appeared possible. It is difficult to measure impact although there is demand for information about impact from both government, the general population and donors. Donors need justification for funding, yet it is very difficult to say how much peace has been achieved among communities. Indicators such as resettlement, intermarriages,

interactions can only be pointed out but not quantified. Attitudes and relationships, behaviour and cultural values, need time to change.

Financial sustainability is a major issue especially in view of donor fatigue. However, sustainability in terms of ownership of the process, though slow, is gradually taking root among communities. There is a real need of providing alternative livelihoods to those who have been involved in violent conflict, especially in cattle rustling. The only source of income is livestock. Moreover, firearms are costly and there is a need to get back profits from them.

Lessons Learned

Conflicts in Kenya are not just a Kenyan problem. Much harm has been caused by external forces, including the influx of arms. Division of countries which sometimes separates communities has been a primary cause of conflict. Material support usually has restrictions, e.g. it is focused on women with no concern for the implications, or it is focused on democratization with no proper education on the means, the positive and negative impacts. Interventions that are intended to help victims of conflict should not cause additional harm. The intervention should provide support that contributes to local peace building processes. It should discourage the beneficiaries from engaging in violent and destructive conflicts and begin to develop alternative strategies to solve their problems. Some useful interventions could include the following:

- Exploring the folk media and traditional techniques of conflict resolution and peace building. The use of folk dances to pass peace messages has been effective among the communities;
- Application of a participatory approach into the process and if possible inclusion of all stakeholders; and
- Empower different target groups within the society, including politicians, administrators, business community, religious sector, etc.

Areas For Further Research

- Research on how to minimize causes of conflict is necessary. How do we create a democratic frameworks for our own society? Unbiased analysis of the real causes of conflict is necessary. There is need for research on traditional structures of every ethnic group, especially those involved in conflicts. There has never been a careful analysis of the values that promote peace and those that fuel conflicts.

- Research on sustainability of a peaceful environment will bring a lasting solution. This can only be achieved through documentation of activities and strategies that have worked. Different peace processes should be analyzed and catalogued by researchers.
- Theories and practice of peace and conflict resolution should be catalogued.
- Traditional models should be recorded in written form.

Plenary Discussion

Causes for escalation of conflicts into violence: Ethnicity and questions on land were used to incite people to fight. There was almost always a politician involved in instigating the violence. In the case of cattle raiders, these normally came from outside the communities concerned. However the raiders were helped to identify their victims by some members of the communities. There were divisions even in places of worship.

Threats to mediators: Involvement in the peace process was considered risky. There were occasional threats from all sides. Mediators were sometimes seen as traitors by one side and as spies by the other. The project involved frequent travel and staying long periods away from one's family – this holds threats of destruction for personal family relationships.

Approaches used by the PTF: The overall aim of the peace process was to restore relationships and ensure that the development of conflicts into violence is avoided. In addition to seminars and meetings, the PTF found it useful to employ drama and song to transmit messages concerning conflict resolution and peace.

Challenges to the Peace process: Major challenges identified during the discussions (which in a sense indicate possible research areas) included:

- The low level of knowledge of the causes and the types of interventions for averting the escalation of conflicts into violence;
- The part played by violent programs in the media; and
- The process of restoring belief in the value of life.

4.7 Skills Development for Enterprise and Employment

Harun Baiya

Strengthening Informal Sector Enterprise and Training (SITE) is a private development organization established in 1996. It provides expert training, information and other technical services for the sustainable development of small and micro

enterprises (SMEs) in order to reduce poverty and create employment. The focus of the work of SITE is to upgrade SMEs' technical and business management skills aimed at improving productivity; facilitate SMEs' access to commercially proven technologies; provide marketing support services; and development of products and services required in the market.

The organization focuses its activities in four program areas. These include:

- Skill upgrading for SMEs - productivity and product improvement;
- Technology upgrading - development and dissemination;
- Marketing support services; and
- Vocational training for self-employment - design and implementation support.

In addition, SITE is involved in testing, documenting and disseminating good practices in non-formal vocational training and small enterprise development.

In executing its mandate, SITE provides services directly to SMEs and works with innovative partners who provide non-formal vocational training. The experience presented in this paper is drawn from years of work with over 2000 entrepreneurs and vocational training work undertaken in three countries in the Eastern Africa region with over 10 vocational training partners.

Successes

An over-riding factor in SITE's success can be attributed to its business-like approach to development work. Four inter-related success factors are outlined as having contributed, in a significant way, to the success of SITE's work. These include:

Quality Staff: SITE has recruited, developed and retained committed and capable staff with strong entrepreneurial, technical and business skills. This ensures quality processes, outputs/results and productive partnerships which have resulted in effective approaches to skills training for the SMEs.

The development sector is not often the best reputed for applying staff development and competency improvements - staff development and upgrading plans often do not exist. It should be pointed out that human resource development for many NGOs is not easy - it requires funds and donors have increasingly made institutional development funds less available.

Strategic Partnerships: In pursuit of providing carefully targeted skills for upgrading services and products, strategic partnerships have been forged with the private sector, local markets, like-minded organizations and in particular, clients. This has resulted in enhanced efficiency; reduced learning curves; increased outreach; distributed risks; expanded ownership and "added value" to the services offered. A significant effect has been a general reduction in the cost of providing assistance.

In development, as in business, it is crucial to identify 'merger' opportunities or strategic partnerships at donor, implementor and client levels. This is particularly well exemplified in strategic linkages with industry which facilitates skills and technology transfer. Vocational Training Institutions (VTIs) that have developed partnerships with local markets, industry and communities have attracted major contributions to the success of their programs.

Application of Learning and Flexibility in Operation: The work of SITE has required constant learning, innovation and testing new approaches to skills development. This has called for constant review and learning in the process, while maintaining a clear focus on stated outputs and results.

This requires significant self-evaluation and constant review, based on clear criteria and commitments to returns. Providing services which meet real needs of people and being able to quantify the benefits and track how they are translated into their well-being is important. This is in the form of enterprise development and skills improvement of owners, particularly practical and business skills that can be directly applied for more competitive products or employment and higher incomes.

Sustainability: An important principle adopted by SITE is to charge for its services. It is widely acknowledged that provision of skills training in general is an expensive investment. It has also been demonstrated that if trainees, particularly those in the informal sector and SMEs, pay for the training, they take it more seriously and get value for money. SITE has been able to demonstrate, to an extent, that this is possible and therefore, it has become an important principle in all of the organization's activities.

Development organizations have often been accused of paternalistic tendencies which need to be overcome. Cost sharing approaches for example a water society charging fees for community water supply; a community based artificial insemination services where farmers pay a fee; and even the health management initiatives like the Bamako initiatives for drug supply among poor communities are important. These approaches make beneficiaries appreciate their capacity and need to pay for services as a strategy for ensuring that they have those services indefinitely.

Constraints

In view of SITE's learning approach, the constraints outlined below are considered to be challenges rather than constraints. However, for the purposes of this paper four major constraints have been identified in the course of SITE's work. These include:

- The innovation and learning approach poses a challenge of managing changes and patterns of change in light of definite project outputs. This has translated into limitations of time to fully learn, apply and replicate, bearing in mind that learning has a cost which is not always easy to predict within a project planning framework that tends to have limited periods of time and budgets.

- Lack of known experiences from which to learn;
- Some of the approaches tested and applied have often involved significant changes in the concepts and provision of training. This has called for considerable investment in raising awareness and educating the relevant stakeholders, particularly the communities in order to demonstrate potential results. It is also a complex process if ownership has to be cultivated. This increases the load and burden of delivering a service and promoting alternative approaches. A subtle angle here is the fact that the benefits are not readily quantifiable in financial terms yet they add significant costs to the development process;
- The approach SITE adopted depended on creating win-win arrangements and striking mutual partnerships with other implementing organizations. This sometimes has negative implications because one party gets affected by efficiency or inefficiency of the other and the tendency of transferring some of the unwanted benefits does occur. Significant resources and time are invested in cultivating such arrangements - they do not simply happen and require patience and on-going negotiations; and
- There are major technical and conceptual constraints which are beyond the scope of SITE. These relate to the wider issues on SME and vocational training, in aspects of theory, policy and practice.

Further Research Areas

- There is need to study and promote systems of skills acquisition and up-skilling for the large masses of youth and informal sector players in particular; noting the dynamics of globalization discourse and its effect on the SMEs. This should be contextualized around the livelihood paradigm, since the unemployment and underemployment of youth in Africa is simply not a factor of skills and economics only.
- Research on how skills upgrading can be provided efficiently and rapidly, particularly on how modern information and communication technologies can be applied to facilitate outreach, efficiency, retain currency and relevance of skills training programs is crucial to the scale breakthrough.
- There are various forms and modes of non-formal skills training which have been tried in various countries in the recent past. However, it is not known to what extent such programs are enabling their clients and beneficiaries to cope with modernization and the limitations thereof. This would be important in identifying the weakness of such non-formal training and perhaps suggesting how the challenge of modernization could be tackled within the principles of non-formal training approaches. This is particularly so in light of increased donor emphasis on non-formal vocational training policies and programs.

- Examination of policy, practice and theory of training and education and especially within the sphere of globalization.
- Exploring how governments can play a supportive and facilitative role in skills upgrading for SMEs and the informal sector.

Plenary Discussion

National training strategies: There is a need for national training strategies that are agile and capable of coping with the emerging issues of globalization.

Linkages with other sectors: Idea of training on demand is in itself a problem. There is need to link training with skills, education and the labour market. Research must be carried out to determine how skills are utilized. Related to this is the fact that schooling offers opportunities for individuals to choose which labour force to join. It was also noted that World Bank and UNDP projects on youth and employment creation, lack linkages to other sector training for self reliance. Such isolation was seen as undesirable.

Technology: It was emphasized that technology can play a big role in SMEs. The best technology is that which will facilitate development and is not only versatile but also accessible, and replicable. It was agreed that in the face of globalization, the domestic market must be able to compete and thus there must be acquisition of new technologies that allow improved returns, efficient processing, mix of specializations and variety of products.

SMEs and employment: SMEs play a crucial role in educating, developing and promoting a system of skills acquisition and skill upgrading for the large masses of youth, informal sector players in particular. There are many models of good practices and there was the need to look into how they can be marketed. SITE believes that it is a formidable challenge to increase employment opportunities, especially for youths. Society must begin to understand that user training and focused training works and should not be limited to small enterprises as it has been found that even larger agricultural enterprises are struggling to survive.

4.8 Case Study of ZAMNET: An Internet Service Provider in Zambia

Shuller T. Habeenzu

In 1994, Zambia became the fifth country in Africa with full Internet connectivity. The establishment of a national gateway in Zambia followed three years of experimentation with electronic mail by the Computer Centre at the University of Zambia. In 1991, as a result of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC)-funded ESANET (Eastern and Southern African Universities Network) project, Zambia was given a microcomputer and a modem to provide the hub or "host" of the first University of Zambia (UNZA) email system. The rapid growth and development

of what was then known as UNZANET (was assisted by an arrangement with Rhodes University of Grahamstown, South Africa which, in November 1991, began providing a link with Internet via a thrice-daily, computer-to-computer telephone calls.

The original users were the various schools and departments of the University. However, from very early in the development of UNZANET, it appeared to be inevitable and even desirable that initiatives in academic networking would lead to collaborations with other sectors. The development of a non-academic user base was encouraged. However, with UNZANET's dependence upon donor support in mind, emphasis was always non-commercial applications (i.e. education, health, etc). Following the success of email at the university, there was widespread growth in use of email among NGOs, health institutions, and aid or development agencies. One of the reasons for the rapid growth of UNZANET was the fact that it was provided as a free service.

The technical success of UNZANET had demonstrated that email was viable in ZAMBIA. By early 1993, users were transmitting large volumes of international messages to and from the Internet, and there was a strong desire among users of UNZANET to expand the horizons of the system. To accommodate this growth and change in direction, the basic infrastructure of the UNZANET system and the way it was funded needed to be reviewed.. At the beginning of 1994, the university decided to establish an Internet gateway and sell access to its services. The World Bank agreed to fund 80 percent of the first year capital expenditure and operating costs of the new company.

ZAMNET Communications Systems was incorporated in May 1994 with the following objectives:

- To provide a computer-based electronic communication network in Zambia, available for access on a subscriber basis;
- To provide that network with access to the worldwide Internet and the resources thereon;
- To cover the full running costs of the network from user subscriptions;
- To promote research and development into the expansion of networking in Zambia; and
- To provide support to the development of infrastructure building at the University of Zambia Computer Centre.

ZAMNET started commercial operations in March 1995 with three staff and 30 customers. The access to the Internet was through a terrestrial leased-line to UUNET Africa in Capetown, South Africa providing on average a link of 14.4kbps links. This arrangement continued until January 1997 when ZAMNET commissioned its own direct satellite link to one of the major US backbones using a 2.4m VSAT connection through the PanAmSat PAS-3 satellite. Following the rapid growth the

customer base; in May 1997 Zamnet established a local POP in Kitwe providing local dial-up service for customers on the Copperbelt with 20 access lines. In October 1999, a VSAT was installed in Kitwe providing direct connection to the Internet backbone in the United Kingdom. ZAMNET has more than 500 customers, ranging from individuals, NGOs, schools, small and large businesses, government agencies, diplomatic missions, and hospitals.

Successes

Enabling environment: The 1991-1994 period, which coincided with ZAMNET's pilot phase, was characterized by wide social and political reform. The reform movement created a demand for information and freedom of expression and the academic and NGO community at the forefront of the movement were able to use the electronic network to pursue their objectives.

Telecommunications reform: The political reform movement was followed by a fast-paced economic reform program focused on liberalization and privatization of the economy. In the telecommunications sector, there was deregulation and the end of the state monopoly in telecommunications, dismantling of the postal and telecommunications services corporation (PTC) into separate entities, and the establishment of the telecommunications regulatory authority. This provided an enabling environment for new entrants in communications unhindered by monopoly regulations that had previously acted as barriers to the private sector participation. Since 1993, the government has also liberalized telecommunications end equipment, passed the Telecommunications and Radio Acts (1994), established the telecommunications regulatory framework, licensed three cellular service providers, etc. Recently, the Communications Authority has also licensed two parastatals and one private company to provide Internet services.

Market and unique competitive opportunity: The progression from UNZANET to ZAMNET was driven by a real market demand of NGOs and academicians who were no longer satisfied with the e-mail only service provided by the university computer centre. The new company was able to draw on a clientele that already appreciated electronic networking and cost reductions it offered.

Human factor - committed individuals: The strong and active support of the principal officers of the university and their appreciation of the role and value of the Internet to an underfunded university was a critical factor in driving the project and establishing ZAMNET. Perhaps most significant was the common visions shared by university authorities and the director of the computer centre who was responsible for planning, implementation and management of the project.

Partnerships and applications: UNZANET was active in the HealthNet project, which introduced e-mail service in the health sector. A partnership between the health sector, the University Medical School and the University Computer Centre was instrumental in creating new content and enabled the networking of health institutions in the country. The partnership helped to demonstrate the potential link between

information technology and economic development. Further, ZAMNET has developed a partnership with all public and private media in Zambia.

Operational Challenges and Constraints

Poor telecommunications infrastructure: Zambia has a relatively poorly developed telecommunications infrastructure. There are several constraints to raising teledensity in Zambia, the primary one being affordability. Low population densities, especially in rural areas, also create barriers to increase telephone service penetration due to high infrastructure development costs.

Dial-in access lines: Initially when ZAMNET was established, to provide access to the Internet service to as many people as possible simultaneously, 20 dial-up lines configured as a hunting group were installed by the Zambia PPT ZAMTEL with appropriate terminal access server equipment. Subsequently we experienced delays in obtaining additional dial-in lines. All our lines are organized into a single "hunting group". However, the frequent line faults "punches holes" in the hunting group, thereby making unavailable some of the lines in the hunting group. This creates congestion on the dial-up line and makes access difficult for our customers.

Bandwidth: ZAMNET commenced operations with a data communication link between Lusaka and Cape Town in South Africa. A leased line was made available only in October 1994. Due to rapid growth in the customer base and increasing use of bandwidth hugging applications on the Internet, by early 1996 ZAMNET started to experience significant and noticeable deterioration in leased circuit availability. It was only after deregulation in the telecommunications sector, that ZAMNET could bypass the PTT (Zamtel) and deal with any other service provider. ZAMNET has now established another POP using VSAT satellite and is in the process of establishing a third POP. Based on early experience, in the current case, they we opted for a turnkey system from a satellite network service provider, to avoid logistical problems.

High cost of Internet access: In light of deepening poverty, the current costs of Internet access act as barriers to widespread use. To reduce the cost of Internet access, ZAMNET has provided local call access by establishing POPs outside Lusaka. Second, they have reduced the cost of the satellite segment.

Low computer penetration: Gaining access to a working computer capable of connecting to the Internet is a significant constraint in Zambia. An analysis of ZAMNET customer profiles and usage patterns reveals that the majority of the customers are corporate organizations and that most people in Zambia access the Internet during working hours, presumably from their work places. To facilitate Internet access to the public, ZAMNET has established multipurpose public Internet access centres at its POPs where individuals can use the Internet for a fee.

Shortage of trained personnel: The revolution in information technology creates a demand for computer literate and skilled personnel. ZAMNET has been meticulous in its recruitment policy. In addition to proven technical skills, great emphasis is

placed on inter personal skills. Staff have a choice to be paid in any currency equivalent to the US dollar salary amount on the day of payment. ZAMNET has encouraged staff to improve their skills through the purchase of technical training materials and sponsorship to workshops and seminars or short-term training programs.

Lack of awareness of IT: Lack of awareness by policy and decision-makers of the power of information networks in the economic and industrial development of the country has proved to be a larger problem than the technical problems. ZAMNET has provided free web hosting services for State House (President), free Internet services at regional meetings such as SADC, and participation in the various public forums.

The Internet is not a socially neutral technology: It is being assimilated based on long-standing traditions, organizational and individual behaviour. Access to the Internet requires not a phone and regular payment of telephone costs, the ability to use a computer, but also the ability to read and write in English which is the main medium of communication on the Internet. To address this issue, ZAMNET is considering the hosting of content in local languages as part of an archival process for indigenous knowledge.

Towards an agenda for research

Today, the University of Zambia is only one of the select few out of 250 public universities in Africa that have full access to the Internet with individual e-mail access for all staff. The Internet facilities have been extended to students via the Library network, which enables them to access the vast amount of electronic journals, libraries in other countries.

Internet access to schools: Recently ZAMNET started experiments with the provision of free Internet access to public schools. This effort is on an experimental basis to determine usage patterns, technology uptake and impact on the school system before extending it to other beneficiaries.

Rural and remote areas: The development of rural telecommunications services in Zambia will not happen by chance. The Government must take very deliberate steps and actions to ensure the rural population is not left out in the current wave of sector restructuring and privatization. Private sector investments are likely to be directed towards the more profitable urban areas. Research is required on the feasibility of rural communications. What specific policy initiatives and incentives are required to promote rural telecom investments? One feasible option is the promotion of telecentres in rural and remote areas. There is need for national governments to encourage local entrepreneurs to establish telecentres, as part of an integrated community development program. Research on the feasibility of rural telecentres is required to highlight the essential policy ingredients and how existing resources and infrastructure can be leveraged to ensure sustainability.

Improving rural communication networks to support Internet: Internet technology can be effectively use to reduce the distance and other disadvantages that rural community's faces in Zambia. The role of the Internet can be of increasing importance particularly in the support of extension workers, decision and policy makers in agriculture, farmers, agriculture training institutions, agri-business, co-operatives, etc. The Internet without a tribal or language barrier can be used to provide a platform for rapid data and knowledge dissemination.

Plenary Discussion

Technology: While ICTs like the Internet can augment local resources by providing powerful tools for teaching and research, attention must be paid to acquiring the right technology, at prices affordable to the communities, so as not to make the Internet the domain of only the elite.

Socio-economic and cultural information and access: The Internet is not a socially neutral technology. Concern was expressed about the need to provide access to groups like women and university students as this would be effective in the micro enterprise sector. It was noted that the challenge in Africa is to get an adequate number of people who can input relevant information on development. In Zambia, a number of organizations provide packages for organizations in the micro-enterprise sector and agencies such as IDRC are supporting efforts to design packages suitable for the sector. This however, has yet to reach the rural areas and there is a need to develop policies which will ensure that ICTs benefit marginalised groups.

Information policies: The issue of policy was discussed in the context of the necessity of developing communication and information policies which would support good governance practices. Most African countries, it was stated have no such policies. The market is thus driven by the needs of the users.

4.9 Kenya Women Finance Trust: A Micro-finance Institution

Jennifer Riria

Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) is a not for profit company, established in 1982 to provide access for women entrepreneurs to financial and non-financial services to enable them improve their own status and that of their families. The company exists for the service of low income women entrepreneurs to advance and promote their direct to sustainable financial and non-financial services. For a decade KWFT made modest progress, inaugurating women's groups and providing individual entrepreneurs with training, information and more technical assistance. However, the organization was fragile and independent assessments and evaluations noted that sweeping changes would be required if the organization was to achieve its worthwhile goals and objectives.

With support from UNDP and the Ford Foundation capacity building began in August 1991. A technically qualified and committed management team headed by a professional Board of Directors is now in place ensuring that all policies and procedures have been revamped to ensure that loans are collectible and made on sound basis. The roles of the Board and that of management have been completely separated and complementary between the two roles has been maintained.

Computerized MIS both for finance and credit have been developed. This makes possible to effectively manage loans disbursements and development. Over the last five years, branches have been re-organized into four regions with a network of units under regional offices. This has enhanced out reach to larger numbers of women entrepreneurs more than ever before. KWFT has increased technically qualified staff from 4 in 1991 to 73 in 1998. KWFT has reached more than 16,000 women entrepreneurs and disbursed more than Ksh.309,560,500 (US.\$5,159,341) over the last seven years.

Until 1997, KWFT operations were managed centrally from Nairobi through a network of Branch offices. However this centralized management approach did not facilitate outreach and limited planned growth. In 1997 the Board of Directors approved a decentralized management approach with Regional offices that had devolution of authority on financial, and non financial decision making. The regions play the role of strict monitoring, evaluation and building capacity for the clients.

KWFT Products and Services

Solidarity Groups Credit Scheme: The aim of this scheme is to access credit to women through solidarity groups. These groups are identified in different ways. The Trust recognizes that there exist strong self help groups which are involved in some informal lending among the members.

The Barclays Bank of Kenya (BBK)/KWFT Credit Line: The BBK/KWFT Credit Line was launched in 1994 and caters for all women entrepreneurs. Those requiring over Kshs. 51,000 currently are recommended by the Trust to the bank. The ceiling for loans under the credit line is Kshs. 4 million.

Village Banking: The approach enhances community ownership of the lending activities. The current KWFT financial products are centrally managed by the institution. The cost of managing credit delivery remains constantly high. KWFT therefore plans to pilot this methodology because it is expected to have a greater outreach cost effectively. Experiences from all over the world indicated that there has been good results in this respect. The main feature in the approach is that the community is stimulated to organize village groups which would comprise of 25 or 30 members.

KWFT's Target Group: 95% of KWFT's clients are engaged in survival income generating activities, mostly trade. 95% of them trade in food stuffs with only a negligible 5% in service (small Food Kiosks, and very few with anything that can be termed as manufacturing.) Low income women are yet to venture into the manufacturing world. The other characteristic of KWFT clients is that they lack access to resources in general.

Successes

Mission, Vision, Commitment: clear vision by board and management with commitment to have significant reach and impact through responsive, substantial services to low income women entrepreneurs in the country.

Strategy and Business Plan: Clear road map on how to reach objectives over the next three to five years, and clear understanding of the strategy needed to get to the next stage. The strategy is measured in terms of significance numbers of low income women clients.

Board and Management: Effective board and management structure that facilitates program implementation. A transparent board and management that ensures prudent financial management.

Capacity To Mobilize Concessional and Commercial Funds: The Institution needs to have the following:

- Capacity to provide track record with content and form that justifies additional funding;
- Clear, written funding strategy and business plan;
- Knowledge of which external funders are interested in funding for this sector, stage, country ways that support affiliate's objectives;
- Good relationships with existing concessional and commercial funding partners that are interested in expanding funding in ways that support affiliate objectives;
- Track record and/or positioning to mobilize domestic commercial funds through savings, credit lines, etc.; and
- Affiliate board and management includes people with the credibility, contacts and capabilities to negotiate for concessional and commercial funds at attractive terms.

Capacity to Recruit and Maintain High Calibre Program Staff: Key elements here demand that the Institution: establish personnel policies and procedures; establish a clear path; review salaries often in line with market dictates; expose and train staff in step with the rate of institutional growth; motivate staff; and instill professionalism in staff.

Best Practice Measures

KWFT has been able to provide direct and efficient service to low-income women both in rural and urban areas by putting in place:

- Standardized procedures;
- Managing overheads in relation to loan portfolio;
- Measuring number of loans per business development officer;
- Getting high percentage of repeat customers;
- Ensuring connectedness with our clients;
- Involving clients in program management.- Clients manage their groups with support from KWFT Officers. This has resulted in empowerment of women in real terms;
- Providing short-term loans that are available when the clients need them;
- Encouraging savings; and
- Making follow-up in person to women clients and through groups hence good loan officer/Client relationship.

Constraints

Current economic crisis in Kenya and world economic recession: Poor people and especially women suffer most in the event of economic crisis. In working with women, KWFT has improved its client connectedness to ensure that efficiency in credit delivery is achieved; hence unnecessary costs are not transferred to the clients. Client connectedness has been improved by establishing regional offices making it possible for clients to get services at their door step.

Civil strife that disrupts and destroys operations for KWFT: KWFT has put in place a policy that allows the putting aside of 2% of the outstanding loan portfolio as a disaster fund. This fund is not to be confused with provision or bad loan loss. The disaster fund will be used only in the event of civil strife, or natural disasters that the institution has not contributed to. The authority of the Board to utilize the funds will be pre-requisite ensure that a non performing management does not abuse it.

Defaults on loans: KWFT clients cannot raise traditional collateral. This at times could lead to problems when defaults of uncollateralized loans occur. KWFT uses group lending approaches that have in-built social-collateral, and hence defaults are few. Client connectedness through a network of local offices that clients identify with, and staff that have earned their respect working with them on daily basis has proved very useful.

Depleting international development support for the African region: Less finances are available for women's empowerment these days. Women's activities are at times treated as "cute little gender projects" attracting minimum support. KWFT as a financial intermediary has worked out a strategic plan with a clear vision of achieving institutional self sufficiency by the year 2000. In addition to that KWFT source of funds is not only grants, but loans from other development institutions, donors and banks. This will enable KWFT to build up its equity to a level where it can revenge finances with local banks. Local mobilization of resources is therefore a key strategy.

Attracting and retaining qualified and motivated staff: The success of any institution will depend largely on its staff. KWFT has put in place personnel policies and procedures and guide the institution in the management of staff. In addition to that, a motivation package has evolved for all staff, and has been institutionalized. Staff are also made to feel that they matter in the institution by involving them in all the planning processes.

Development of new financial products: Group lending is adequate to KWFT's current clients. However, the vision of the year 2000 is that there will be need for different financial products that will cater for the growth of clients more rapid expansion to take care of increased poor rural communities etc. The Institution has in its strategy for 1999, to experiment a village banking lending model, and review what other lending institutions are doing regionally and internationally with a view of adapting any new appropriating lending approaches that have the capacity for greater impact.

Research Agenda

IDRC, as a research and knowledge broker should:

- Position itself to support research that directly serves the industry. The industry for example requires research into: Impact monitoring and to developing instruments that could assist micro-finance institutions in monitoring impact of their programs as an on-going concern;
- Develop and test new financial products that have the potential for major outreach and are sensitive to local conditions in Kenya;
- Develop training modules for the loan staff in the micro-finance sector;
- Develop learning agendas for Boards in the industry; and
- Carry out research that would feed into the policy agenda i.e, research that would convince Central Bank that there is need for special regulatory framework for MFIs that would make it possible for them to mobilize savings. (Savings mobilization and usage enhances the sustainability of an institution. Most Micro-finance institutions accept that non-financial services are crucial to the success of any micro-finance institutions. However, none has been able to provide these cost effectively. Supporting innovations in this respect (eg. The KWFT's enterprise learning and Network initiative) would facilitate replication elsewhere in the country and regionally. IDRC can only succeed in this by working in concert with MFIs through associations in Kenya. The association of Micro-finance institutions AMFI would be a willing ally in this respect.

4.10 Partnerships

4.10.1 OSSREA's Experiences and Partnerships

Abdel A. Ghaffar

OSSREA was founded in 1980 by scholars from Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia. OSSREA is a partnership between individual researchers and research institutions focusing on social science. OSSREA promotes collaborative efforts in training in social science and the provision of opportunities for young researchers.

OSSREA has partnerships at various levels:

- With individual researchers working in their own countries;
- With users, OSSREA has liaison officers and chapters based at universities

to link with policymakers and hold one workshop each year bringing policymakers and researchers together, to discuss various issues;

- With local communities through NGOs and government bodies, especially in national resource management. A dryland project in the Horn of Africa, originally a project of IGADD, has involved local communities. OSSREA works with natural scientists on this project (e.g. veterinarians, range management); and
- With institutions and donors from the North. OSSREA has project activities with institutions that facilitate funding: e.g. dryland husbandry program at the Institute of Environmental Policy in the University of Lindsberg in Sweden. In Norway, OSSREA has links with the Centre for Development in the University of Bergen; the Institute for Social Studies in the Netherlands and the University of Wisconsin. OSSREA also collaborates with the University of Illinois and the IDRC.

Successes

The fact that OSSREA has survived since 1980 is itself a form of success given the harsh economic environment under which organizations in Africa operate. A further success can be seen in the increasing numbers of young African researchers who have been afforded opportunities to undertake various investigations in the social sciences.

Constraints

OSSREA is strongly dependent on donors and those who have supported the organization include: Ford Foundation, IDRC, NORAD, SIDA, the Netherlands government and the World Bank. The major constituencies are universities which use the research findings for teaching.

Key Issues

The state in Africa is in disarray and there has been widespread failure of development models implemented. Apart from the dimension of the leadership responsibility, academicians have so far failed to provide home-grown models for development, and this had widened the rift between the state and research institutions.

In addition, two main recommendations were offered by the presenter:

Advice to donors: there are many examples of institutions which need donor strengthening. The donors should be cautious about establishing new institutions; they should seek to strengthen those which are already operating. They should also consider setting up institutions of excellence. There is the need to shift from the

Instead, donors should take the lead in assisting African institutions in establishing Trust Funds and thereafter leave these institutions to determine their own agenda and priorities.

Advice to scholars: There is a need to compromise with policymakers to enable some form of dialogue. Mutual criticism is not productive.

4.10.2 The Experiences of the Family Support Institute Shanyisa Khasiani

The Family Support Institute (FASI) has partnerships at grassroots level in the context of the implementation of the project "Women and Governance", in two rural districts in Kenya. Partnership is a co-strategy in the project. Women were generally not participating effectively in the whole democratic process. Further, they were geographically isolated and unable to talk to each other. This meant that it was difficult for women to understand and formulate common agendas. The Family Support Institute (FASI) came up with a project based on the need for something that would help women bridge the geographical gap. ICTs could be used to help women access peer support, and discuss issues that are common to them.

The project's objectives are to: increase awareness on civic issues; increase participation in decision-making; to increase awareness on virtues of accountability; increase the number of informed women who can undertake civic awareness activities; and offer opportunities for the uplifting of women's economic status.

Successes

The Family Support Institute is using partnerships as a co-strategy and recognizes the importance of the government as a partner. FASI is pursuing partnerships with civil organizations such as Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), League of Kenya Women Voters, IED, NCCK and the Catholic Church.

FASI has established partnerships with the private sector, particularly ICT service providers and involves them in activities. At a meeting convened recently, some of them volunteered to conduct demonstrations on the Internet. Other partnerships have been with development experts who include specialists on women and development, information and communication hardware, information education and communication (IEC) practices, curriculum development, civic education and fine art. Women themselves are partners and the entry points for the project are womens' groups. Women leaders are a target group because they will be the community-based civic educators. In one community, space for the project has been offered in a building, which shows the seriousness of their partnership. IDRC is a partner as it is supporting the project.

In some of the activities organized by the FASI strong supporters and participants have included ministers and MPs. This is a major success, given the initial suspicions from government.

Constraints

In Kenya, multiparty politics was introduced in 1992 and with great expectations in the potential for change of leadership and access to resources. At the end of the 1992 and 1997 elections, more serious concerns arose related to the fact that elections were seriously flawed and this had an effect on the wider population. More serious in some quarters was the way that elections affected women, who had been excluded from accessing key resources.

On the whole, the civic education process has been viewed as an attempt to destabilize government and it has been a major challenge to convince government otherwise.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Action should be undertaken within the thematic areas identified by the participants:

- Governance, peace building and conflict resolution;
- Relevant education and training aimed at development and poverty alleviation;
- The informal sector and employment creation;
- Globalization;
- Development policies, particularly in respect to agriculture, water and industrialization; and
- Environment / natural resource management; and Gender and youth.

The following research approaches and strategies were proposed:

- Increased efforts should be put into the **dissemination** of research findings and development success stories, making use of ICTs where appropriate;
- More and structured use must be made of various **partnerships** such as:
 - ▶ Government and NGOs,
 - ▶ Private sector and research institutions,

- ▶ Northern institutions and African institutions, and
- ▶ Networks among African institutions and researchers.
- More emphasis must be placed on **participatory approaches**;
- Increased efforts must be made in working out **African solutions to African problems**, making use of proven traditional practices and indigenous knowledge where appropriate;
- Increased **public awareness** and government involvement in tackling **HIV/AIDS**;
- Increased **public accountability** and the promotion of stronger and more effective civil society;
- Development of **interventions** for poverty eradication with strong bases in the informal sector;
- Support for **institutions** rather than simply 'projects' whenever possible;
- Maximum use of **local resources**;
- Explicitly define **roles for various development agencies**;
- Adopt well-defined policies that are informed by **research** findings;
- Direct research efforts at issues and **needs** of the people; and
- Make full use of experiences and '**small scale**' **successes** already achieved in the region;

Overall it is recommended that IDRC consider increasing support for:

- Collaborative research initiatives, with multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary focus at national, regional and inter-regional levels;
- Strengthening and utilising the research capabilities in the Eastern and Southern Africa region;
- Dissemination of research findings to key players through the wide use of multi-media strategies, especially ICTs; and
- Developing projects to address questions related to the relationships and impacts on African development inherent in the thematic areas identified.

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Through support for research, Canada's **International Development Research Centre (IDRC)** assists scientists in developing countries to identify long-term, workable solutions to pressing development problems. Support is given directly to scientists working in universities, private enterprise, government, and nonprofit organizations.

Priority is given to research aimed at achieving equitable and sustainable development worldwide. Projects are designed to maximize the use of local materials and to strengthen human and institutional capacity.

Led by the dedication and innovative approach of Third World scientists — often in collaboration with Canadian partners — IDRC-supported research is using science and technology to respond to a wide range of complex issues in the developing world.

IDRC is directed by an international Board of Governors and is funded by the Government of Canada. At the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), IDRC's mandate was broadened to emphasize sustainable development issues. IDRC's international network and expertise will be used to help the world move toward implementation of UNCED's Agenda 21 program of action.

Le Centre de recherches pour le développement international (CRDI) soutient des travaux et des activités de recherche dans les pays en développement de manière à assurer un développement durable et équitable à l'échelle mondiale.

Les recherches sont menées par des scientifiques affiliés à des institutions, à des entreprises, à des gouvernements ou à des organismes de développement. Des partenaires canadiens y contribuent régulièrement.

Les projets soutenus financièrement ou techniquement par le CRDI privilégient le recours aux ressources locales et s'appuient sur le génie, l'intelligence et le sens de l'innovation des chercheurs des pays en développement.

Le CRDI contribue au renforcement des connaissances et des capacités de recherche des pays en développement pour lutter contre la pauvreté et pour améliorer les conditions de vie et l'environnement des populations affectées.

Le CRDI est dirigé par un Conseil des gouverneurs international. Ses fonds proviennent du gouvernement du Canada. La Conférence des Nations unies sur l'environnement et le développement (CNUED) a choisi le CRDI pour participer à la mise en oeuvre du développement durable à l'échelle planétaire. Le CRDI verra à concrétiser le programme Action 21 élaboré lors du Sommet de la Terre.

Con el fin de asegurar un desarrollo sostenible y equitativo a escala mundial, el **Centro Internacional de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo (CIID)** financia trabajos y actividades de investigación en los países en desarrollo. Las investigaciones están a cargo de científicos que trabajan en instituciones, empresas, gobiernos u organismos dedicados al desarrollo. Estos científicos reciben regularmente la colaboración de sus colegas canadienses.

Los proyectos apoyados financieramente o técnicamente por el CIID favorecen el uso de recursos locales y se apoyan en el talento, la inteligencia y el sentido de innovación de los investigadores de los países en desarrollo.

El CIID contribuye al fortalecimiento de los conocimientos y a la capacidad investigativa de los países en desarrollo para luchar contra la pobreza y mejorar las condiciones de vida y el medio ambiente de las poblaciones afectadas.

Un Consejo de Gobernadores Internacional tiene a su cargo la dirección del CIID, cuyos fondos provienen del Gobierno de Canadá. La Conferencia de Naciones Unidas sobre el Medio Ambiente y el Desarrollo (CNUED) ha seleccionado al CIID para participar en la realización del desarrollo sostenible a escala mundial. El CIID se encargará de hacer realidad el programa Agenda 21, elaborado durante la Cumbre de la Tierra.

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