SUSTAINABILITY OF COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN ZOMBA DISTRICT IN THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

MASTER OF ARTS (DEVELOPMENT STUDIES) THESIS

LEVIAK KACHAKA MHANGO

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
CHANCELLOR COLLEGE

MARCH 2010

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BY

LEVIAK KACHAKA MHANGO

B.Soc.Sc. (University of Malawi)

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UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI

CHANCELLOR COLLEGE

MARCH, 2010

DECLARATION

I the undersigned hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Where other people's work has been used acknowledgement have been made.
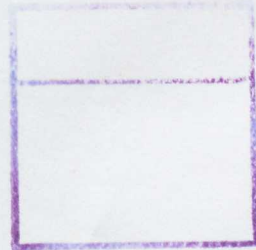
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**Date**

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

The undersigned certify that this thesis represents the student's own work and effort and has been submitted with our approval.

Signature: _____ Date: 13/05/10

Blessings Chinsinga, PhD (Associate Professor in Political and Administrative Studies)

Main Supervisor

Signature: _____ Date: 21/07/10

Asiyati Lorraine Chiweza, PhD (Senior Lecturer)

Member, Supervisory Committee

Signature: _____ Date: 13.5.10

Peter Mathias Mvula, PhD (Senior Research Fellow)

Member, Supervisory Committee

DEDICATION

To my family, relatives and dependents who persevered and supported me as we passed through financial doldrums and fixes, more especially when things seemed impossible and bleak. Your understanding and patience have paid dividends. Specifically the thesis is dedicated to these Mhangos: Ruth, Victoria, Joanna, Abigail, Deborah, David and Elijah.

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ABSTRACT

There is worldwide consensus and increased attention in Malawi to issues pertaining to sustainability of community-driven projects as policy makers and funders become increasingly concerned with allocating scarce resources effectively and efficiently. This is even more critical in Malawi now when the country has experienced unprecedented mushrooming of community-driven projects since the decentralised planning framework (LPS) was constituted. Therefore, the overall research argument is that most projects have failed to be sustainable because of the way community participation, local organisation capacity and linkages between LPS and community projects have been handled.

This case study investigated the potential of achieving sustainability of community-driven projects through both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect and analyse data. Data was collected from both the secondary and primary data sources. The findings are based on a comparative study of four projects from Zomba District which were divided into two groups: two income generating activities projects and two food security projects.

The study set out to achieve the following objectives: (1) To examine the extent to which project service delivery is responsive to people's needs; (2) To explore how local organisational capacity of the beneficiaries affect community project sustainability; (3) To establish how development partners have influenced the sustainability of community-driven projects; and (4) To investigate how linkages in the local planning structure affect sustainability of community-driven projects.

The findings reveal that there are higher levels of participation and considerable match between the projects' objectives and the people's needs which is associated with demand responsiveness and project sustainability. Secondly, the study has demonstrated that there is positive relationship between local organizational factors and project sustainability. Thirdly, the capacity of local planning structure is undermined by lack of adequate resources, particularly, financial resources which is exacerbated by the setting up of the parallel structures and usurpation of implementation responsibilities by the donors and government-sponsored projects. Finally, the quantitative data on the influence of linkages on project sustainability are not categorical given that there are many unexplained linkages that go into influencing the project sustainability. However, qualitative data provide overwhelming evidence that no community project can achieve project sustainability without being linked to the local planning structure.

In conclusion, the study recommends that all development partners need to work within the local development framework (LPS), especially District Development Planning System to increase the potential for project sustainability.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Area Development Committee
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Virus
AEC	Area Executive Committee
ADP	Area Development Project
CADECOM	Catholic Development Commission of Malawi
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDD	Community Driven Development
CDDP	Community-Driven Development Project
CMP	Community Management Project
CSA	Community Sectoral Approaches
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DA	District Assembly
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEC	District Executive Committee
DDF	District Development Fund
DDPS	District Development Planning System
DPF	Decentralisation Planning Framework
DPD	Director of Planning and Development
DSA	Decentralised Sectoral Approaches
EDO	Environmental District Officer
EU	European Union
EPA	Epicentre Project Assistant

ECD	Early Childhood Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FHIS	Honduras Social Investment Fund
GoM	Government of Malawi
GVH	Group Village Headman
HED	Hart Environment Data
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IHS	Integrated Household Survey
IGA	Income Generating Activities
IRLAD	Irrigation Rural Livelihood and Agriculture Development Projects
IGA	Income Generating Activities
IRD	Integrated Rural Development
LDF	Local Development Framework
LG	Local Government
LGA	Local Government Act
LGA	Local Government Approaches
LOC	Local Organisation Capacity
LPS	Local Planning Structure
LPP	Local Planning Process
MARDEF	Malawi Rural Development Fund
MASAF	Malawi Social Action Fund
MCDP	Macedonia Community Development Project
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MDP	Malawi Decentralisation Policy

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MGDS	Malawi Growth Development Strategy
NAC	National Aids Commission
NEPA	Nsondole Extension Planning Area
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NSO	National Statistical Office
OVC	Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children
PAC	Public Affairs Committee
PPB	Participatory Planning and Budgeting
SHDI	Self Help Development International
SSP	Social Support Project
SEP	Socio-Economic Profile
SPSS	Statistical package for Social Scientists
STA	Sub Traditional Authority
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
TA	Traditional Authority
TDIs	Transformational Development Indicators
THP	The Hunger Project
UDF	United Democratic Front
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee
WVI	World Vision International

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, and the subsequent fall of Communist regimes facilitated political change in parts of the world including Malawi. These winds of democratic change, combined with domestic and donor community pressure resulted in multiparty dispensation in Malawi after more than thirty years of autocratic rule under the leadership of Dr Banda. This culminated in the 1993 referendum and the 1994 second general elections that resulted in the United Democratic Front (UDF) party assuming power (Dzimbiri, 1998). The UDF ushered in the policy shift towards decentralised governance framework due to the pervasive disenchantment with top-down approach to empower and reduce poverty levels of the majority rural poor. The top-down and state-led approaches were therefore replaced by a strong advocacy for bottom-up and people-centred approaches. In the former approaches the state was the major player and in the latter approaches the communities took the centre stage in the development activities.

Many scholars have advocated for the benefits of the bottom-up or participatory approaches which include the potential to deliver benefits to the intended beneficiaries and also improve the chances of sustaining such interventions (Yoshimura, 2004) and, makes development to be more inclusive, strengthens governance and improves efficiency and effectiveness (Dongier et al., 2001). Similarly, Davids et al. assert that the people-centred development is basically 'based on public participation, social learning, empowerment and sustainability as the building blocks of development' (Davids, 2005, p.20). The most conspicuous aspects in advocating for participatory approaches include the enhancement of chances for meeting the needs of the beneficiaries which is

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associated with project ownership and which in turn culminates in project sustainability (Pomeroy et al., 2005, p.375). Malawi Government adopted the decentralization policy backed up by the 1998 Local Government Act to enhance participatory democracy and sustain community projects. The decentralization policy provides a platform for advocating for poverty reduction, good governance and the partnerships of various stakeholders in development activities. Furthermore, the government's vision as embodied in the decentralization policy and legal statutes (Local Government Act and the Constitution of Malawi) is to enhance the livelihoods of all Malawians through working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their life (Chinsinga 2007, p.166; GoM, 1998a; PAC, 2002).

Few appear to disagree about the value of sustainability as a general goal. However, there is less consensus about what is to be sustained (Shediac-Rizkallah & Bone, 1998, p.104). Despite the diverse views on the benefits of sustainability most scholars agree that there are three important reasons why the failure to sustain programs over the long term may present serious problems. Firstly, program termination is counterproductive when the problem for which a program was established to address remains or recurs; secondly, sustainability is a concern common to many community projects, having incurred significant start-up costs in human, fiscal and technical resources, many programs see their funds withdrawn before activities have reached full fruition. Thirdly, project sustainability may encounter diminished community support and trust in communities with a history of programs projects that were abruptly or inappropriately terminated (Shediac-Rizkallah and Bone 1998, p.88).

Community participation and sustainability of development interventions form the underlying motive for Malawi Social Action Fund (MASAF) and the decentralization policy that were launched in 1995 and 1998 respectively. The Policy and the Fund were advanced as development strategies for achieving poverty reduction while the institutionalisation of community participation and project sustainability were advocated to scale up the poverty reduction levels. However, the results do not show drastic improvements in poverty reduction levels since the launch of the decentralization policy and MASAF as the scale and depth of poverty show. The poverty level in Malawi was 60% in rural and 65% in urban areas in 1993 (GoM et al., 1993) and twelve years down the line the poverty level stood at 52.4% in 2005 (NSO, 2005) and currently it is at 40% (NSO, 2008). Meanwhile, Zomba as a district has the poverty level of 70% and is the third poorest district after Nsanje and Machinga (NSO, 2009). In that regard a study on project sustainability whose primary aim is to scale up poverty reduction is very crucial to find out how communities have accepted the project activities through their participation levels in project design and implementation; their levels of economic benefits received, and how equitably the economic benefits are distributed in the community (Pomeroy et al., 2005, p.361). In short, the study investigated how community-driven development projects could optimise on the factors that help to sustain projects and minimise the detracting factors (Marek & Mancin, 2004, p.1).

In addition the study looked at how projects could be sustained by being linked to the public bureaucracy [Local Planning Structure] which through the decentralization process is close to the community projects. While most community-driven projects mushroomed through the decentralization process and it was claimed that most of these projects

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incorporate factors of sustainability into their projects at the design and implementation stages with the view of making them sustainable, no serious research was done to establish the actual results of incorporating sustainability in these community projects. This study was undertaken to fill such academic gaps. The study has, thus, helped to create an understanding of the factors that influence project sustainability and contribute to improving the design of projects for more sustainable efforts (cf Pomeroy et al., 2005, p.360).

This study was based on the Local Development Framework (LDF) espoused by the World Bank as the theoretical basis in establishing sustainability of community-driven development projects in world[1]. In this case the LDF was applied to Zomba District to establish how Malawi has applied it to its unique situation. The framework was used to investigate how the partnerships and processes between the LPS and other stakeholders in the local development were utilized to achieve community project sustainability. Helling, et al. points out that LDF comprises three approaches to local development — decentralised sectoral, local government, and community support approaches. (Helling, et al., 2005) as fully explained in Chapter Two. The underlying principles common to the three approaches of the LDF include four core elements — empowerment, local governance, service provision, and private sector growth — and three enabling elements — a favourable policy and institutional environment, capacity enhancement, and resource transfers. In addition, the LDF aims to provide a simple conceptual basis and a common

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strategy for integrating the strategic elements and methods developed by the three complementary approaches (Ibid.).

The framework was applied to Zomba district in the study of four community-driven projects because the district is currently implementing the decentralization process in form of devolution in which the LDF is ideally contextualized. Additionally, Zomba District Assembly experienced unprecedented increase in community-driven projects after the multiparty dispensation and the policy shifts that were spearheaded by the UDF government but it has not tackled the challenge of sustaining such projects. The study was designed as a comparative case study; therefore the four projects were divided into two similar groups. One project from each of the two groups was strongly linked to the District Assembly, which is called the "local planning structure (LPS)" in this study, and was compared to the other project which was weakly linked to the LPS. In this study, *Sustainability'* was conceptualised as the 'the capacity of the community project to maintain output and benefits at an agreed level, even much better, greater levels, over a long term without depending on outside interventions and assistance'.

1.2   Problem Statement

Although Malawi has so far invested a lot of money in community-driven development projects with the view of sustaining poverty reduction endeavours, few studies have been carried out to explore how such projects can be sustained. For example, MK12.3 billion has been disbursed within the decentralized framework to community driven projects since the Government of Malawi started MASAF 1 in 1995 (Ntonya, 2007). There has been a marked increase in community-driven projects partly due to the decentralization

framework that was constituted in 1998 and K12.3 billion that was disbursed through the MASAF projects.

Furthermore, there is almost worldwide consensus on the importance of sustaining community-driven development projects as a way of improving people's livelihoods and well-being (Bamber & Cheema, 1990; Chambers, 1997; Chinsinga, 2005a, 2007; Chiweza, 2005b; Helling et al., 2005; Hussein, 2003a, 2003b; Pomeroy et al., 2005; Shediac-Rizkallh et al., 1998; Marek & Mancin, 2004; Sikwese, 2003.) and many others. However, despite this worldwide consensus and the interventions by Government of Malawi few studies have been done on why some projects are not sustainable. This outstanding academic gap and challenge is centred on the fact that even though there is almost worldwide consensus on the importance of sustaining projects as away of improving people's livelihoods; most projects have not been sustainable. Therefore, the overall research problem addressed in this study was that despite highlighting the centrality of sustainability of community-driven projects in the various development policies, strategies and frameworks (including LDF) as away of improving people's well-being, little was done to study the factors that led to the successes and failures of such interventions.

Currently, Zomba district has twenty-four MASAF sponsored maize mills, and eleven food security projects sponsored largely by the NGOs (GoM, 2006b). Interestingly, nearly all of them have sustainability as their main component in their project management. Yet no study was done to investigate the factors which hinder and encourage project sustainability so that projects can maximise on influential factors and

minimise the deterrent factors. This study, therefore, would help to widen the duration of the impact of such development interventions. The study would also help in scaling up in poverty reduction endeavours through linkages between LPS and community projects. Moreover, although the majority of projects incorporates the issues of sustainability in their project activities and management and yet invests very little in its implementation to avoid additional costs, the cost of operating unsustainable projects is even higher than the cost of maintaining the existing projects. This creates what Freire pointed out as 'even greater degrees of dependency and domination' (Freire, 1972, p. 149) of the poor who are supposed to be helped.

It is against this background that the study, set out to examine "the extent to which community project participation results in demand responsive services which are ultimately associated with project sustainability and, how the institutionalized linkages between the local planning structure and community projects influence the sustainability of community-driven projects in the context of Local Development Framework".

1.3   Motivation for the Research

The study was motivated by how decentralization, which is both an administrative reform and development strategy for Malawi, has affected authentic development which in turn enhances the sustainability of the community (Davids et al., 2005). The study, therefore, was inspired to look at how decentralization has helped to democratize development in the sense of making development to be people-centred. In other words, the study aimed at investigating how the local governance structures have helped in project sustainability

through improved public participation and institutionalized linkages between LPS and community projects.

The study was inspired by the desire to show that local development stakeholders have more to gain by working in an improved and integrated institutional arrangement rather than working in a project or relief approach to development which can be compounded by the fact that some stakeholders work as competitors in development. This institutional arrangement is based on the LDF which has many similarities with the decentralized planning framework (DPF) advocated by Chinsinga (2005a) and people-centred perspectives advanced by (Shah, 2006).

Another motivation closely linked to project sustainability had to do with keeping most development stakeholders from degenerating into dependency syndrome. The fact that most projects and development interventions are donor driven makes the ownership of such interventions and reforms problematic. That explains why most of these projects and interventions in development regress when donor support is withdrawn. With this in mind, the UNDP advises that 'local commitment, capacity and sustainability should be emphasized during project implementation to help avoid backsliding in the future'. (UNDP, 2006: Freire, 1972)

1.4   Significance and Justification of the Research

Currently there is limited research on sustainability of community-driven development projects despite being touted as the best way to scale up poverty reduction through sustainable development interventions.

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The few studies carried out so far have been restricted to water and sanitation (Kleemeir, 2000) and even less on community projects operating within the decentralized framework. Yet decentralization has led to the mushrooming of such community-driven development projects. Thus the importance of this study for understanding the potential of achieving project sustainability through community participation and partnership or linkages between the community projects and the LPS can not be underestimated. The findings can show how positive factors for project sustainability can be maximized and the negative factors minimized.

The study findings are intended to complement views already advanced on why some community-driven development projects fail to sustain themselves beyond the support of donors who partnered and sponsored the projects. In particular, the study would show whether or not community projects can sustain themselves without the assistance of the public sector or LPS. Furthermore, the findings of the study would help demonstrate whether it is important to create linkages or partnerships between community projects and the LPS before the withdrawal of the donors who sponsored the projects in the first place.

Equally important, the findings would help in the understanding of how LDF can be applicable to Zomba District after almost a decade since the decentralization policy was launched and the Local Government Act was enacted in 1998 respectively. In that way the study would add to the knowledge body on the importance of LPS towards the sustainability of Community-driven projects in the district in particular and Malawi in general.

1.5   Limitations of the Study

The study was limited, to a small extent, by the respondents' knowledge that the researcher works with the Zomba District Assembly which in a way influenced them to provide an optimistic and bright prospects for their projects with the aim of impressing the assembly. This challenge was circumvented by explaining to the respondents the main purpose of the study, and they responded accordingly. However, some elements of that attitude could not have been controlled altogether.

Given the high illiteracy levels and the general ignorance about the government machinery by some of the respondents, the researcher had taken considerable time in explaining issues and probing than was anticipated. Consequently, more time was spent on carrying out the field work. Furthermore, illiteracy levels constrained the amount of information that could otherwise have been solicited from the people due to their limited knowledge of the critical or technical issues of the study.

The other study limitation was apparent in linguistic barriers. The majority of the respondents were the Yao- and Mang'anja-speaking people and a Yao translation of the household survey and even the FGDs could have been ideal for the exercise. Otherwise, the validity of findings has, somehow, been reduced by that omission. Taking this limit into account and considering the constraints of time and finances, the research was successfully carried out with the Chichewa translation which, although not very ideal, was a good compromise.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

1.6.1 General Objectives

The overall objective of the research was 'to determine how community project participation and linkages between the local planning structure and projects at the district level affect sustainability of community-driven development projects in the context of Local Development Framework'.

1.6.2 Specific Objectives

In order to achieve the general objective, the study set out to:

- Examine the extent to which project service delivery is responsive to people's needs;

- Explore how local organizational capacity of the beneficiaries affects community project sustainability;

- Establish how development partners have influenced sustainability of community projects through the institutionalised local planning structure; and

- Investigate how linkages in the local planning structure affect the sustainability of community driven development projects.

1.7 Research Hypotheses

1. Demand responsiveness in service delivery significantly affects community project sustainability;

2. Local organizational capacity of the beneficiaries positively affects community project sustainability;

3. Project sustainability is largely dependent on the institutionalised local planning structure; and

4. The linkages in the local planning structures at the district level significantly affect community project sustainability.

1.8   Research Questions

1. How does participation and demand responsive service delivery influence project sustainability?

2. To what extent does the local organizational capacity influence community project sustainability?

3. In what ways do the development partners affect the institutionalization of the local planning structure and project sustainability?

4. How do the institutionalized linkages in local planning structures influence community project sustainability?

1.9   Chapter Organization

The current chapter has provided the scope of the study through its background, thesis problem, study objectives and hypotheses. Chapter Two presents the reviewed theoretical and empirical literature relating to community participation, demand responsiveness, institutionalised linkages, LPS, and project sustainability. Subsequently, the relationship of these terms is contextualised within the study framework. It also provides the conceptual framework in which the study on project sustainability is undertaken. Chapter Three presents the research methodology in terms of research design, sampling, data collection and data analysis.

Chapter Four presents a comparative analysis of the field findings from Tiwalele Orphan Care and Nsondole Cooperative Society maize mills as income generating activities (IGAs). The findings are categorized in five sub-sections, namely; project overview and socio-economic characteristics, the match between project's objectives and people's needs, organizational factors affecting sustainability, the institutionalization of LPS, and lastly, linkages and sustainability. While Chapter Four is a comparative analysis of two IGAs projects, Chapter Five presents a comparative analysis of Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project as two food security projects. Just like in Chapter Four the findings are also categorized in five sub-sections, namely; project overview and socio-economic characteristics, the match between project's objectives and people's needs, organizational factors affecting sustainability, the institutionalization of LPS, and lastly, linkages and sustainability. Chapter Six provides the summary of the research findings, recommendations and outlines areas for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0   Introduction

This chapter provides a critical review of literature which has mainly focused on the relationship of the following key concepts: community participation, demand responsiveness, LPS, linkages and project sustainability. The chapter also presents the theoretical and empirical bases of the LDF in relation to the focus of the study. Thereafter, the researchable conceptual framework of the study is presented and analysed in line with the scope of the study.

Section 2.1 explores the definitions of community participation, demand responsiveness and project sustainability. Section 2.2 examines the definitions of LPS and institutionalization of linkages as they relate to the overall project sustainability. Section 2.3.0 presents both the theoretical and empirical bases underlying the LDF as the analytical tool for the study. Lastly, Section 2.4.0 and Section 2.5.0 provides the conceptual framework for the study and chapter summary respectively.

2.1   Contextualization of Relevant concepts

Most of the terms in the study are as contested as they are popular because they do not only mean different things to different people and situations, but they are also ideologically-loaded and context-specific. The section, therefore, defines such key concepts and thus relates them to other concepts as well as to the focus of the study.

2.1.1 Community Participation

Community participation has gained currency through the bottom-up and participatory approaches to development, more especially within the decentralization framework which have replaced the failed top-down and statist approaches. Community participation is defined as "the active involvement of local communities in development initiatives, where specified group, sharing the same interests or living in a defined geographical area, actively pursue the identification of their needs and establish mechanisms to make their choice effective"(Dulani, 2003; Rifkin et al., 1988). This entails the ability of people to share, influence, or control design, decision making, and authority in development projects and programs that affect their lives and resources (Peters, 2000).

Specifically, Participation means dismantling the top-down, prescriptive and often arrogant knowledge transportation and communication styles which are imposed on communities by outsiders. It has also been argued that if stakeholders are included in decision making, they will become self-reliant (Chamber, 1997; Burkey, 1993). In this vein the argument that participation in collective decision making is necessary condition for equitable and sustainable development outcomes is also important (Alsop & Kurey, 2005, p.65). As much as most development practitioners are largely agreeable on the importance of community participation in development, they are not, however, as united in terms of the shortfalls of the concept. For instance the above definition portrays communities as if they are homogenous and have unity of direction in terms of their aspirations, values and felt needs. In addition, many writers have raised deficits of community participation and these include: exclusion and inclusion errors of the targeted

beneficiaries (Chinsinga, 2005b); the inclusion of some social groups at the expense of the others which leads to conflicts (Mehta, 2000; Dzingira, 2003); it engenders pathologies of disempowerment, inequality and inefficiency (Mehta, 2000); it results in antagonism as priorities and ideologies are contested (Hussein, 2003a, p.277; Narayan, 2000:20) and it is also time-consuming; increases demand on project managers and it is also perceived to be elitist (Davids et al., 2005, p.20).

Beyond that, Freire and Chambers argue that participation fails to be ideal and transformational because the poor and lowers are portrayed as incapable of learning anything, lazy, unproductive and inferior which hinders the poor from actual and active participation. It is the way the poor and the lowers have been indoctrinated and internalised that has made them to have a low opinion of themselves which in turn makes them unassertive about their real needs. They remain shy, passive and withdrawn (Chambers, 1997, p.162; Freire, 1972). According to Chambers this problem can be solved by putting the first [Bureaucrats, NGOs, LPS, donors] last and putting the last [beneficiaries, the poor, and community projects] first. For it means that those who are uppers and powerful step down, disempower themselves, and empower others. It means putting the first (oneself) last, or at least lower (Chambers, 1997, 2006). Apart from that Freire argues for the powerful to help the poor regain their confidence in themselves through problem solving education and conscientisation[2] rather than the imposition of the views of those in authority (Freire, 1972).

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2 Freire defined it the stimulation of self-reflected critical awareness in people of their social reality and of their ability to transform that reality by their conscious collective action

On the other hand proponents of participatory development, particularly of community participation, have outlined benefits of community participation. Davids et al. outlines the following benefits: "it gives people the feeling that they 'belong' to the project and vice versa thereby allowing people to develop a sense of ownership which can promote sustainable development; participation motivate people to accept responsibility for their own development, thus promoting self-reliance and participation also leads to capacity building and empowerment especially at an organizational level" (2005, p.20).

Similarly, community participation tends to have greater success in delivering benefits to the intended beneficiaries (Yoshimura, 2004). Community participation also has many benefits such as: making development plans and interventions more relevant, giving people more self-esteem and helping to legitimise the development planning process (Chinsinga, 2005a); and participation lowers cost, helps better target people's needs, it incorporates local knowledge and it ensures that benefits are equitably distributed" (Kleemeier, 2000). Furthermore, community participation enhances efficiency and effectiveness, sustainability of development interventions, and strengthens democratisation and empowerment (Cleaver, 2001 cited in Bloom, et al, 2005:92). Closely linked to sustainability is Bloom et al.'s assertion that "central to the concept of community participation is the extent to which communities are empowered to define project goals and objectives, formulate policies, and implement and manage project" (Bloom et al., 2005, p.92). In brief, the study attempted to show how participation enhances ownership and responsiveness which in turn leads to increased capacity for project sustainability.

2.1.2 Demand Responsive Services

Closely related to the concept of community participation is demand responsiveness. It refers to how local institutions respond to community felt needs in its service delivery (Bloom et al., 2005, World Bank, 2002; Dulani, 2003, p.9). In short, this is the process of matching public services with citizens' preferences (Crook & Manor, 1998, p.8; Shah, 2006, p.ii). Crook and Manor categorized responsiveness in three ways, namely; speed of response, in quality and quantity, and conformity of the responses (Crook & Manor, 1998). However, due to the scope of this study it only looked at the responses in terms of conformity and frequency rather than in terms of speed, quality and quantity of the responses. This concept is in line with the concept of responsive governance which urges governments to deliver services consistent with citizen preferences. Shah suggests that responsive governance can be achieved through subsidiarity and home rule; through direct democracy provisions and budget priorities consistent with citizens' preferences (Shah, 2006, pp.23-24).

The foregoing positive prospects, notwithstanding some scholars are pessimistic about the LPS's effectiveness and efficiency. The World Bank observes that "the Local Government [LPS] is a black box, non-transparent and unaccountable and they are susceptible to elite capture" (World Bank, 2005, p.9). Murombezi observes that "instead of achieving decentralization to the districts the LPS can create decentralized despotism as was the case in Zimbabwe" (Murombezi, 1999), thereby failing to be demand responsive. Williamson argues that the problem of withholding information by the bureaucrats makes the LPS to be unaccountable and unresponsive to the citizens as they have incomplete contracts (Williamson in Shah, 2005, p.19).

This argument could be crucial in Malawi especially now when the councilors are not in place. However, it is generally agreed that the benefits of demand responsive service delivery outweigh their demerits. For instance demand responsiveness helps to legitimize programs and increase their acceptance among local people because the services provided best serve the desired needs of the communities (Shediac-Rizkallah and Bone, 1998, p.99). There is also growing evidence that project effectiveness and not objective evidence that is critical for sustainability (Bossert, 1990:1019). Further, studies in Philippine have actually shown how local residents were unlikely to support project activities that did not have positive impact on their well-being (Pomeroy et al., 2005, p.361). In that regard this paper looked at how demand responsive projects have the potential of enhancing project sustainability.

2.1.3 Project Sustainability

The term 'sustainability' means different things to different people and situations depending on the dimensions or field of study being highlighted. The following definitions are illustrative of the point made. In the wake of environmental degradation outcry in the 1980s that was the direct result of maximizing and sustaining economic production, Brundt Commission defined sustainability as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (HED, 1998; Todaro & Smith, 2003). However, the commission's main emphasis then was on sustainability of the environment and, economic and social sustainability were somehow given the second place in the development discourse. On the contrary, in this study the economic and social aspects constituted the thrust of this investigation and the environmental aspects are not tackled. In this case the term can also

be conceptualised in this study as the creation of development choices and opportunities that meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

The underlying motive of sustainability of community-driven development projects is the achievement of sustainable development which is defined as 'the pattern of development that permits future generations to live at least as well as the current generation' (Todaro, 2003, p.811). In this regard the sustainable human development agenda espoused by the UNDP is equally relevant if situated in the context of project sustainability. Work argues that the challenge for all societies is to create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains human development to realize the highest potential of everyone and the well-being of all, thus eliminating poverty and all other forms of exclusion (Work, 1999, p.2). He adds that decentralized governance aims at enhancing service delivery to the local population in an equitable, cost-effective manner while observing the tenets of good governance and striving to reach sustainable human development (p.4). This line of thinking entails that project sustainability can be achieved by decentralizing power and responsibilities to the sub-national levels and incorporating the principles of good governance and sustainable human development.

However, the relevant definition of the study is adapted from the definitions of various scholars. For instance, Bebbington defines sustainability as "the capacity of a system to maintain output of a level approximately equal to or greater than its historic average' (Bebbington, 1993, p.9). The World Bank's definition in Bamberger and Cheema is that project sustainability is the capacity of a project to continue to deliver its intended

benefits over a long period of time (Bamberger & Cheema, 1990). Finally, USAID argue that a development program is sustainable when it is able to deliver an appropriate level of benefits for an extended period of time after major financial, managerial and technical assistance from an external donor is terminated (USAID, 1988 cited in Shediac-Rizkallah & Bone, 1998, p.91). Thus, project sustainability in this study was conceptualized as 'the capacity of the community projects to maintain output and benefits at an agreed level by beneficiaries, even much better, greater level, over a long term without depending on outside initial interventions and assistance'. In the context of this definition the study has, therefore, looked at how responsiveness of local governance institutions, internal local organizational capacity, institutionalization of LPS and institutionalized linkages affect sustainability of community-driven development projects.

2.1.4 Relationships among Community Participation, Demand Responsiveness and Project Sustainability

The relationship among community participation, demand responsive services and Project Sustainability is of central importance to the study because it forms the cornerstones in the achievement of sustainable human development and good governance which are also critical for democratizing development and project sustainability. Community participation is regarded important as the best way to address the felt needs of the local people and when these felt needs are met, people's commitment and confidence in the local governance institutions and their own capacity is enhanced. Chinsinga adds that for a project to be sustainable, it must address those problems and aspirations which are identified by the poor themselves (Chinsinga, 2003, p.132)

Dresner (2002) also argues that 'as with other development blocks, public participation should lead to sustainable development' (Davids et al., 2005, p.123). Public participation and sustainability also involve devolution of power. This means that to secure effective public participation in development efforts, the people, as local experts, should have access to decentralized institutions which will honour their priorities (Davids et al., 2005, p.123). These relationships have shown the need and importance of the linkages among the key concepts of the study.

Bloom et al. point out that 'beneficiary participation can lead to the design and implementation of projects that closely reflect the preferences and needs of the targeted communities' (Bloom et al., 2005, p.92). By the same token, Chiweza adds that 'participation in decentralized institutions is assumed to enhance the prospects of effective implementation of government programmes by making it more responsive to the needs of the poor' (Chiweza, 2005a, p.3). Similarly, it is postulated that sustainability in policy-making demands that those in power should disempower themselves (Chambers, 1997) and, thus, to achieve sustainable development change agents should critically reflect upon their intervention strategies and the lessons learned (Chambers 1997; Burkey, 1993).

Even the empirical evidence attests to the link between community participation, demand responsiveness and project sustainability. Helling et al. show how the Malawi NGO, CARE International, introduced the participatory accountability mechanisms to demonstrate the effectiveness of linking communities and sectoral service providers to improve the responsiveness and quality of service delivery at the Chileka and Nthondo

Health Centres. The mechanisms resulted in linking demand for better services with their supply by healthcare providers (Helling et al., 2005, p.20). To that extent, Narayan contend that 'decentralization moves the decision making closer to the people leading to public decisions that reflect local priorities' (Narayan, 2002, p.25).

In the same way, Helling et al. show that through the Honduras Social Investment Fund (FHIS) community participation had far-reaching consequences in altering the relationship between poor communities and public sector organizations at the local level. FHIS investment in community capacities to prioritise needs, deliberate over solutions to local problems, and contribute to local initiatives that address them led to communities increasing their influence over broader local affairs. More participatory approaches to planning suggested the need for more decentralized approaches to management (Helling et al., 2005, p.5). Thus, Work argues that 'decentralized governance is effectively strengthened and rendered more accountable when participation is encouraged, facilitated and institutionnalised' (Work, 1999, p.19).

Furthermore, the World Bank show that community participation underpinned by accountability structures and co-production mechanisms at the local levels provide more space for the communities to articulate their priorities and have quality services (World Bank, 2005, p.15). More specifically, when poor people can hold service providers accountable, control and power shift to them (Narayan, 2002, p.21). Naturally, demand responsive and quality services are more likely to lead to project ownership as well as project sustainability. In this regard Bloom et al. observes that "community participation is vital for the sustainability of social funds [community projects] and the assets they

create. Meaningful community participation enhances the sense of ownership and increases the likelihood of implementing projects perceived as beneficial to the community" (Bloom et al., 2005, p.94). Narayan thus argues that community-driven development can make poverty reduction efforts more demand-responsive, increase efficiency and effectiveness, and enhance sustainability (Narayan, 2002, p.210).

Mansuri and Rao outline studies that show that participation increase sustainability of projects (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p.18). In addition, studies on sustainability of rural water supply and community-based water services in Sri-lanka (Katz & Sarah, 1997) and India (Isham & Kahkohnen, 1999) also find strong association between participation and sustainability, although they do not establish causal direction. Similarly, the inclusive decision-making to improve local governance in the Macedonia Community Development Project (MCDP) is said to have resulted in Local Government representatives better understanding community priorities and communities better understand that resources are limited and setting priorities is a difficult but essential aspect of public management (World Bank, 2005, P.40). To that effect, Work contends 'effectively, well-coordinated and accountable institutional structures contribute significantly to improved service delivery at the local level' (Work, 1999, p.16). This study, therefore, looked at the various ways community-driven projects utilised these opportunity spaces to enhance the prospects of project sustainability.

2.2.0 Institutionalization of Local Planning Structure and Linkages

This sub-section defines key concepts such as local planning structure and linkages and relates them to each other as well as to the cross-cutting concept of project sustainability vis-à-vis focus of the study. The strides made towards the institutionalization of the two concepts are also analysed.

2.2.1 Local Planning Structure

In regard to this study 'Local Planning Structure' is defined as "decentralized political and administrative authorities with elected representatives of the people primarily entrusted with the tasks of democratizing state power and advancing participatory democracy and collective decision making at the grassroots. LPS is, thus, mandated to consolidate and promote local government development as a source of democratic and autonomous decision making at the district and local levels" (Chinsinga, 2005a, p.531; Chiweza, 1998; Mbeye, 1998). Chinsinga aptly pinpoints that the LPS as the main implementation agencies of the decentralization policy reforms is, thus, mandated to achieve the trinity of good governance, development and poverty reduction (Chinsinga, 2007, p.21). LPS is officially called the District Assembly in Malawi and is also referred to as the "integrated decentralized authorities which combine the strengths of deconcentrated line ministries with autonomy and revenue powers and functions of devolved democratic local government (Chiweza, 1998, p.102). This means that the LPS is constituted by 'an integrated system that was established by merging two parallel structures of district governance, namely the District Administration and the District Council (DANIDA, 1998, p.8; Hussein, 2003a, p.275).

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The merge of the District Administration and the District Council was necessitated by the desire to eliminate dual administration (field and local government) at the district level to make public services more efficient, more economic and cost effective (Chinsinga, 2007, p.88). The LPS is what Chinsinga calls the decentralized planning framework (DPF) which was created to improve synergies between stakeholders and provide a coordinated system of development planning at the sub-national level. Chinsinga also adds that the DPF in fact underpins a representative and downwardly accountable form of local governance which, if properly nurtured can at least effectively institutionalise sustainable forms of local participation. The appeal of the DPF hinges on the fact that only state-supported institutions can guarantee participation on a sustainable basis, not merely because they are adequately institutionalised but also because they are legally underpinned (Chinsinga, 2005, p.535).

However, foregoing does not discount the challenges that the LPS is facing. Malawi has a hybrid 'neopatrimonial' state, where there is a framework of formal law and administration but the state [LPS] is informally captured by patronage networks. The distribution of the spoils of office takes precedence over the formal functions of the state, severely limiting the ability of public officials to make policies in the general policies (Booth et al., 2006). There are various challenges due to a systematic failure to distinguish between private sector resources, state resources and the resources for the ruling party; the substitution of government in the policy function by the donors; the inconsistencies of policies by the donor fraternity; donor approaches are affected by short-termism, competitiveness and personality politics associated with state policy (Booth et al., 2006, p.7).

In addition Freire outline the following challenges for local development: first, the bureaucratic heavy handedness and their overcentralisation can stifle development. Secondly, lack of genuinely representative local government prevents the emergence of local initiatives. Lastly, government bureaucrats and politicians are said to be part of an elite who are uninterested in or, even worse, antagonistic to the real needs of the poor. Their formalism makes it impossible for them to communicate with the common man and woman (Freire, 1972).

2.2.2 Institutionalisation of Linkages

The term 'linkage' is used in different ways by different people to highlight the dimensions they want to undertake. However, most of the dimensions raised relate to partnerships and networks between two or more people and entities. The linkages have, therefore, been conceptualized in this study as 'a set of institutions, mechanisms and processes through which the various stakeholders in development form partnerships, networks and interfaces'. Most of the linkages at the district level facilitate the two-way flow of information between LPS and the communities with which they work. These linkages include upward partnerships to central government and downward partnerships to the people in the communities. On one hand the upward partnerships largely refer to the policy formulation and direction by the central government, the recruitment of the higher cadre personnel and the transfer of resources to the lower levels. On the other hand, the downward relationships include the existence of participatory or local governance institutions at the sub-national levels and this type of partnerships formed the main thrust of this study

The constitution of LPS also entails the creation and revitalization of the subsidiary committees of the DPF at the district level, namely: Area Development Committee (ADC), Area Executive Committee (AEC) and Village Development Committee (VDC) at area and village level respectively (Chinsinga, 2007, p.89). These grassroots participatory structures and local governance institutions offer officialised spaces or provide constitutional spaces for participation of the grassroots in decision-making process (Ibid). The LPS is, thus linked to the grassroots through these structures and institutions to participate in priority setting and policy formulation. For example, the VDC at the village level help in the identification of community needs which are then handed over to the ADC at the area level. The ADC review and integrate projects from VDC before submitting the results to DEC which is the advisory body of the District Assembly. The AEC at the area level also provide the technical back-up and help in mobilizing the communities (GoM, 2001).

The arguments advocated by Chinsinga are once again relevant as he states that 'the underlying objective of decentralization policy reforms in Malawi is to institutionalise participatory democracy and development anchored by well coordinated and decentralized planning framework' (Chinsinga, 2007, p.166), and that 'the vertical framework of the participatory structures was therefore intended to create spaces in which Malawians in rural areas can meaningfully engage with state actors in shaping decisions over their welfare in a regularized and predictable fashion in order to institutionalise and entrench responsive governance (Chinsinga, 2005, p.535).

There are more types of linkages other than the direct linkages illustrated above. While direct linkages occur when there is direct partnership between community project and LPS, indirect linkages happen when the partnership between LPS and community projects is through intermediaries such as NGOs and CBOs. For instance, three community projects in this study are linked to the LPS through NGOs as intermediaries while only one is linked directly to the LPS. Of importance and pertinence to the sampling process are the weak and strong linkages. Strong linkages occur when there is robust or even institutionalized partnership between LPS and community projects while weak linkages refer to a situation where there is no or little relationship between LPS and community projects determined by indicators such as control of budgets, reporting, accountability, participatory planning and budgeting and many more (See Table 3.1). These forms of linkages are not sustainable unless they are institutionalized. In fact, linkages are said to be institutionalized when they are operational and underpinned by functional legal and institutional frameworks.

2.2.3   Relationships among Institutionalized Local Planning Structure, Linkages and Project Sustainability

Institutionalisation is defined as "the process of growing external and internal stability as well as value-fusion" (GIGA Research Program, 2008). This entails that the LPS and Linkages in the study constitute the integral part of the system or the development framework after they are fully internalized in it. In this regard the study looked at how these variables become integrated in the decentralisation framework as they stride to achieve the sustainability of community projects. Similarly, the importance of integrated district development approach is illustrated by Bosert when he stated that 'Vertical' (that

stand alone or self-contained) programs are less likely to be sustained than programs that are well integrated with existing systems or into the standard operating practices of their host organisations (Bossert, 1990). 'Vertical' programs are privileged because they can focus resources and activities on well-defined goals and with little pressure to compromise; but they also tend to create institutional jealousy and are less likely to attract national sources of funding, making them vulnerable to demise when extended funding ends (Ibid). In addition, the relationships among institutionalised LPS, linkages and project sustainability are in line with the overarching goals of the decentralization process which include the achievement of good governance, development and poverty reduction. In short, the ultimate objective of the decentralization policy is to institutionalize real decision making powers and authority in local jurisdictions to such an extent that the great bulk of their activities in the spheres of poverty reduction, good governance and development would be substantially outside the direct control of central government (Chinsinga, 2007, p.87).

The UNDP asserts that although not sufficient on its own, good governance is indispensable for countries [projects] to sustain progress over the longer term and good governance comprises, inter alia, participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation and accountability. The achievement of most of these elements is dependent on partnerships, relationships and linkages of various kinds. Contrary to earlier views, the role of bureaucratic institutions (or LPS) has once again gained prominence. Over the past two decades or so, there has been a shift in conventional wisdom regarding development – from considering the state to be the problem (and markets the solution) to the current emphasis on the importance of state institutions for creating sustainable

development (UNDP, 2006, p.24). Furthermore the World Bank has shown that there is the newly emergent consensus that integrating rather than by-passing LPS is important for long term sustainability and ability to scale up community-driven development (CDD) (World Bank, 2005). This view thus underscores the importance of linkages between LPS and community-driven development projects. Likewise, Chinsinga pinpoints that ignoring DPF does not only weaken the capacity of LPS but compromises coordination and sustainability of interventions (Chinsinga, 2005a). More specifically, Davids et al. point out that "sustainable service delivery, the promotion of local economic development and addressing the basic needs of communities, in conjunction with promoting the principles of democracy, are what justify the existence of LPS" (Davids et al., 20005, p.59).

Many studies also provide empirical evidence of how LPS relate to project sustainability. The World Bank carried studies of four cases from Zambia, Tanzania, Philippines and Nicaragua that aimed at finding out how the linkages between community-driven projects and LPS helped to sustain and improve efficiency of the projects. It had hypothesized that the 'weaker the decentralization framework especially fiscal decentralization, the weaker the partnership possibilities' (World Bank, 2005). This hypothesis was upheld from the findings of the four cases, and it was striking that in the Zambia and Tanzania cases where the decentralisation frameworks are weak, the co-production[3] and accountability[4] relationships tended to be weaker than in the Philippines and Nicaragua where they had strong decentralization frameworks. Naturally, the co-production arrangements nearly

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3 Co-production refers to shared responsibility among multiple stakeholders for delivery of certain goods
  and services. It usually involves both joint financing and implementation (World Bank 2005b:17)

4 Accountability exist when an agent is made to answer for a set of deliverables by the intended
  beneficiaries (World Bank 2005b:2)

always include mutual accountability mechanisms. It would be unreasonable to require communities and citizens to cofinance services over which they have no influence. In fact the principal rationales for community contribution are ownership (reflecting genuine demand) and to empower CBOs [projects] to hold other stakeholders accountable (World Bank, 2005, P.17). Otherwise, participation without deep sense of responsibility through co-production would merely amount to beneficiary mobilization. These findings are vital because they show the importance of having not only robust LPS and well-organized collective action but also the necessary decentralization framework.

That is why the World Bank emphasizes that 'strongly democratic and participatory Local Government operating in highly decentralized fiscal systems may be well positioned both to articulate and respond to citizen demands' (World Bank, 2005, p.21). The World Bank findings provide deep insight into the importance of having a responsive LPS, and institutionalized linkages between LPS and the community projects. For instance, in Philippine, the KALAHI-CIDSS[5] use the memorandum of understanding between CBOs and LPS, and in terms of accountability, the KALAHI sub-projects are included into municipal development plans to ensure sustainability. These mechanisms help to provide the people or projects ways of articulating their interests, exercise their rights, meet their obligations and mediate their difference (World Bank, 2005).

Further, the World Bank provides more empirical evidence from Zambia, Tanzania and Nicaragua on how their Social Funds were carried out. First, it shows how ZAMSIF in

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5 KALAHI-CIDSS stand for Kapitbisig Laban Sa Kahirapan-Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of
  Social Services.

Zambia and TASAF II in Tanzania[6] used linkages to the LPS to help achieve project sustainability. While ZAMSIF put more stress on strengthening LPS in order to foster more sustainable impact and creating an exit strategy for the projects, the TASAF II tried to integrate the community-managed sub-projects into the district planning cycle. In Nicaragua, the INFORM and FISE[7] were institutionalized as the Municipal Planning System. Besides, projects in Nicaragua were cofinanced by Local Government and community associations and both were responsible for the project sustainability (World Bank, 2005, p.26-39).

The Government of Malawi through Malawi Growth Development Strategy (MGDS) recognizes the importance of decentralization and good governance through its sub theme on Decentralization which has the following medium term goal:

> "*making the local assemblies to be in full control of community planning at district level, to ensure effective accountability and good governance, vibrant monitoring and evaluation system, clear and strengthened linkages of various policy reforms, and reduced conflicts of roles among various stakeholders at the district level*" (GoM, 2006a, p.65).

In addition, Malawi Government recognizes that local governments are key to national development and good governance as enshrined in the Decentralization Policy (1998) and backed by the Local Government Act (1998) (GoM, 2006b, p.64). This realization entails that community participation, institutional responsiveness to the needs of the people, and institutionalization of LPS and its linkages need to be achieved within the good governance framework and popular democracy. More importantly, UNDP recognises that

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6 ZAMSIF stand for Zambia social Investment Fund and TASAF II stand for Tanzania Social Action Fund

7 INFORM stand for Nicaraguan Institute for Municipal Development and FISE stand for NiCaragua

  Emergency Social Investment Fund.

good governance is vital for eradication of poverty, progress toward achieving the MDGs and the attainment of sustainable human development (UNDP, 2006, p.20).

This goal is in line with what is advocated by the LDF, DPF and citizen-centred local governance perspectives. That is to say, it aims at integrating the efforts of various government agencies and aid-financed projects, civil society organizations and all players at the grassroots development by bringing all these players together in contributing to local governance and development at the local level. Rather than eliminating, merging, or subsuming the three approaches and the methods they employ under a single new approach, the LDF seeks to coordinate them more coherently based on a common underlying logic.

According to Section 3 of the Local Government Act of 1998, the role of District Assembly is "to further the constitutional order based on democratic principles, accountability, transparency and participation of the people in the decision making and development process" (GoM, 1998 a; Hussein, 2003a, p. 275). The achievement of such lofty goals will depend on improved capacity of LPS and revitalizing the linkages with the local governance structures. It is only by building an effective, strong and robust partnerships, perhaps through District Development Fund (DDF) or now Local Development Fund, Socio-Economic Profile (SEP), and District Development Planning System (DDPS) that are already institutionalized, that the much-talked dream of project sustainability can be attained.

2.3.0   The Local Development Framework

This study, as earlier on stated, is based on the LDF espoused by the World Bank and successfully applied in many countries such as Italy in Roma, India, Nicaragua, Tanzania and Zambia, just to mention a few. Helling et al. state that the LDF is based on three alternative approaches, namely; the Decentralized Sectoral, Local Government and Community Support Approaches. Firstly, decentralized sectoral approaches rely on functionally specialized organizations at the local level, with operational autonomy allocated through deconcentration or delegation policies which refers to the deconcentrated line ministries at the district level. Secondly, local government approaches promote territorially organized political and administrative institutions, with policy and operational autonomy allocated through devolution policies. This approach is usually enshrined with the Act of Parliament (as is the case in Malawi) which recognises its autonomy and territorial jurisdiction. Its autonomy is supported by the devolved authority and responsibilities. In Malawi, these are referred to as the devolved democratic local government. They are charged with responsibilities over the local authorities.

Lastly, community support approaches, such as those frequently associated with community-driven development, promote resource transfer and civil society empowerment strategies that emphasize community organizations as institutions of collective action and interlocutors between people and public service providers. These approaches are dominated by and associated with non-state actors who are mainly concerned with state-society relationships or it is the political side of the society (Helling et al, 2005). The linkage of the civil society organisations (CSOs) or NGOs to LPS is important because as Chirwa observes 'they lack institutional capacity to expand and

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replicate their innovations. Their planning and budgetary horizons are short and they may struggle to sustain activities because they lack funds.' (Chirwa, 2000, p.109; cf Chinsinga, 2005a; Magolowondo, 2002).

Putman argues that social capital in the form of civil society is a precondition for democracy and democratisation. These can as well be used to make public institutions accountable than before (Putman, 1995, p.16). The CSOs play a role of an operative strategy of helping the poor to secure their livelihoods, attempting social mobilisation with the aim of empowering the poor, and trying to influence the overall political process by playing an advocacy role on behalf of the poor (Chinsinga, 2005a). More importantly, the concept of civil society is important in promoting the good governance agenda widely perceived as the lever for entrenching democracy and achieving sustainable development. Furthermore, the role of the civil society in democratization process can be advanced 'as to reconnect the public to the elite-dominated, neopatrimonial state by reasserting public interests in the governing arena' (Booth, et al., 2006; Chinsinga, 2006, p.4). In conclusion, Heliing et al. sum up that 'community support approaches through increased links between local governments and CBOs can speed *scaling up* and improve sustainability' (Helling et al., 2005, p.v).
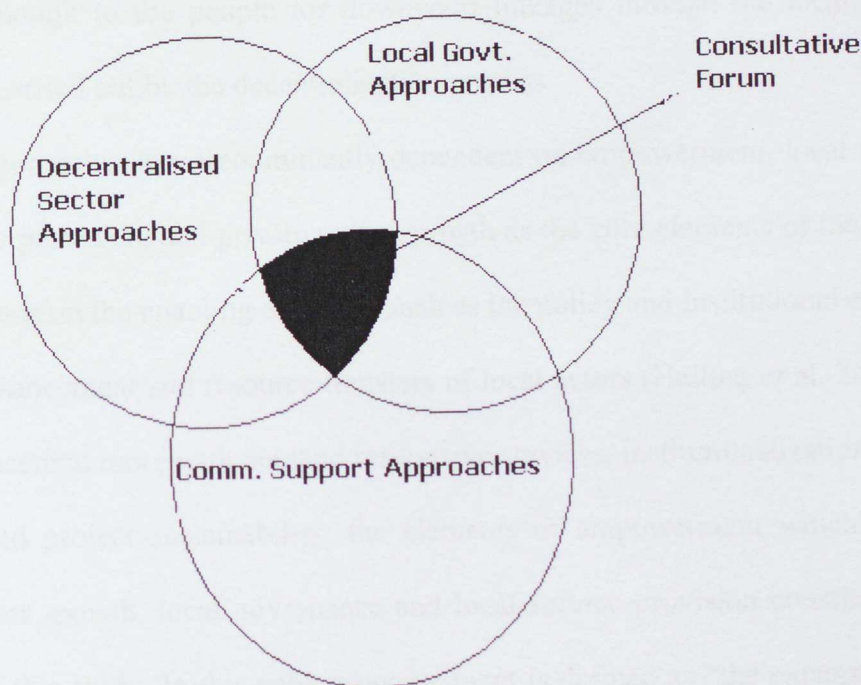
Figure 2.: The Local Development Framework

The source: Adapted from Helling et al (2005)

According to Helling et al. the LDF (Figure 2.1) illustrates graphically how the three main approaches can be integrated in analytical framework. The Figure shows that the three approaches can optimize on the advantages of each approach by working in an integrated way at the shaded part, that is, the consultative forum or the full assembly when ward councilors are in place, where all the three approaches overlap. The advocates of the framework have argued that working in an integrated part would help in emphasizing both upstream linkages to policies and fiscal arrangement and downstream linkages to governance and service delivery arrangement. That entails that the LPS is better placed linkage to the central government for policy guidance and financial transfers

and close enough to the people for downward linkages through the local governance institutions carried out by the decentralization process.

The three approaches are predominantly dependent on empowerment, local governance, local service provision, and private sector growth as the core elements of the framework. It also depends on the enabling elements such as the policy and institutional environment, capacity enhancement and resource transfers of local actors (Helling et al, 2005). As this study is concerned more with demand responsive services, institutionalization of LPS and linkages, and project sustainability, the elements of empowerment which include the private sector growth, local governance and local service provision constituted the key concepts of this study. In this case, empowerment is defined as "the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives" (Narayan, 2002, p.14).

Similarly, empowerment is used in this study in terms of the responsiveness of government institutions, and participation of the people at the local level in the affairs that directly impact on their lives. Narayan also shows that empowerment is an important key for: quality of life and human dignity; good governance; pro-poor growth; and project effectiveness and improved service delivery (Narayan, 2002, p.8). In order to be empowered individuals, households, and communities need both opportunity (the availability of options for meaningful decisions and actions) and capacity (the ability to make meaningful choices and act on them or express them through institutions open to popular 'voice'). The opportunity space has so far been provided by the decentralization policy and Local Government Act while the capacity of the people is provided by the community participation and linkages that are already put in place. In this context this

study looked at how such opportunities were used by the communities to achieve the sustainability of development interventions.

According to Helling et al. Local Governance is the way decisions are made and implemented by or on behalf of people in a local area. This describes the way authority is organised, legitimated and employed within the local space. In addition to Local Governments and other local public sector agencies, local governance encompasses a variety of civil society institutions, including resource users groups and citizen oversight bodies linked to public service delivery units or local service delivery networks. Local governance institutions also include community development committees, indigenous institutions and traditional authorities, voluntary associations, and nongovernmental self-help organizations (Helling et al, 2005, p.6). The UNDP state that local governance 'ensure that local people participate in, and benefit from their own governance institutions and development services. It brings policy formulation, service delivery and resource management within the purview of the people' (UNDP, 2006). Similarly, the UNDP Report indicate that local governance 'comprises a set of institutions, mechanisms and processes, through which citizens and their groups can articulate their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise their rights and obligations at the local level' (UNDP, 2004, p.4). In this perspective, the study examined how the local governance institutions encouraged participation and were thereby responsive to citizens' preferences and, looked at how such institutions helped in project sustainability as they partnered with the LPS.

The additional element is the Local Service Provision systems of the LDF which assume the deployment and management of resources – financial, human, technological, and

information – to produce public facilities or services under the direction of institutional ministries, quasi-autonomous public agencies of enterprises, local government contract to public agencies or local communities, nongovernmental organization (NGOs) financed by public sector grants, self-provision by service beneficiaries, and co-production by beneficiaries and publicly financed providers (Helling et al, 2005). In other words, local service provision includes the arrangements by which resources are mobilised and managed and by which service delivery is organised and managed. It is noteworthy that a local revenue base is an important foundation for sustainable empowerment and governance as well as service provision. In effect, the study looked at how the local revenue was used towards empowerment, community participation and sustainability of community projects.

Finally, there is the element of Private Sector Growth. This element shows that the setting up of mechanisms to encourage private sector growth can contribute significantly to people's empowerment by increasing their ability to meet their own needs and invest in their own future. All these elements are important because they in one way or another influence the process of local governance, participation and sustainable service delivery.

Just like the DPF and citizen-centred local governance perspectives, the LDF aim to achieve 'an integrative avenue for at least to systematically regulate the process of development at the district level' (Chinsinga, 2005a). The three frameworks provide an integrated analytical framework of the institutional arrangements by the LPS. In addition, the citizen-centred local governance perspectives advocate for principles of responsive, responsible and accountable governance through citizen empowerment, bottom-up

accountability and evaluation of government performance (Shah, 2006). Helling et al. outlines many advantages for using the LDF for the local space such as the one found in Zomba District. Firstly, LDF shows that a local revenue base is an important foundation for sustainable empowerment and governance as well as service provision which thereby encouraging people's sense of ownership and strengthens their demand for accountability. The people's demands and assertiveness also enhances the capacity for responsiveness by decision-makers and service providers. Secondly, the framework provides a more integrated approach to formulating context-appropriate strategies for local development. Developing institutional arrangements and capacities to improve empowerment, governance, and service delivery at the local level and linking this bottom-up approach with national efforts to improve the enabling environment and increase the resources available for local development, enhance the prospects for effectively promoting equitable and sustainable human, social, and economic development at the local level. In addition, the LDF helps to synergize the support for local development which is predominantly fragmented; the LDF helps to systematically describe how these efforts address cross-cutting issues – in various sectors, at various levels, and through various approaches – and how they can be organised to better fit together. Fourthly, the LDF provides a way to analyse local institutions and processes from a system perspective in order to identify strategies and methods to fill the gaps, solve the coordination problems, and improve the performance of weak elements that diminish the effectiveness of local development (Helling et al., 2005, p.4).

By the same logic Chinsinga cites the disadvantages of the NGOs and donors ignoring the DPF (or in this case the LDF): NGOs compete with other stakeholders who want to

mobilize their client groups instead of complementing each other; a large number of NGOs are susceptible to elite capture at the expense of the grassroots they proclaim to serve, and most of the NGOs fail to reach the majority of rural poor (Chinsinga, 2005a; cf. Chirwa 2000; Booth et al., 2006). Finally, LDF provides analytical tools to support a more integrated local development process that strengthens institutions and capacities at the local level to achieve these objectives: increasing local access to public infrastructure, public services, and economic opportunities as access requires proximity; increasing the empowerment of local actors in ways which support good governance, effective and equitable service provision, and broadly based livelihood improvements by strengthening citizen voice and choice in local decision-making and increasing accountability to local civil society and enhancing the sustainability of local development process by strengthening the institutions, capacities, and collective resources that constitute the capital stock[8] for local development.

2.4.0   Conceptual Framework of the Study

This study is based on the simple conceptual framework that is illustrated in Figure 2.2 below. The conceptual framework of the study indicate that sustainability of Community-driven projects is largely dependent on collective action or local organizational capacity whereby the like-minded people come together to identify, and work towards eliminating a common and shared problem as a community. When a group of like-minded people come together to solve their felt needs, of course with the help of development agents, they form what is referred to as collective action. The ability of the collective action to

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[8] Human and social capital are the foundation for effective and responsive local institutions that enable collective action, service delivery, and economic growth. Along with economic assets, natural resources, physical infrastructure, and financial reserves, they constitute capital available to support a virtuous cycle of investment sustaining improved access to public services and livelihood opportunities

achieve their goals is what constitutes the local organisational capacity which is also largely influenced by community participation, empowerment of the people, people's partnerships and social learning (Davids et al., 2005). Empirically, Putman found out that an efficient and well organised social capital[9] enhances the potential for establishing and securing efficient political institutions. In short, he showed that a functioning democracy requires a developed civic spirit. According to him participation in organisational life creates social capital, which enables interaction between citizens to be built on trust. That is to say, people choose to cooperate with their neighbours because they trust that the latter will cooperate too ((Putman, 1993).

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9 Social capital is defined as 'features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'(Putman, 1995, p.3).

Local Representatives

Deconcentrated line Ministries

Civil Society Organizations

Private Sector

Local Planning Structure

Social Learning

Participation

Local Organizational Capacity

Partnership

Empowerment

Community Project Sustainability

Sustained Capacity and Capabilities

Sustained Poverty Reduction

Sustainable Human Development
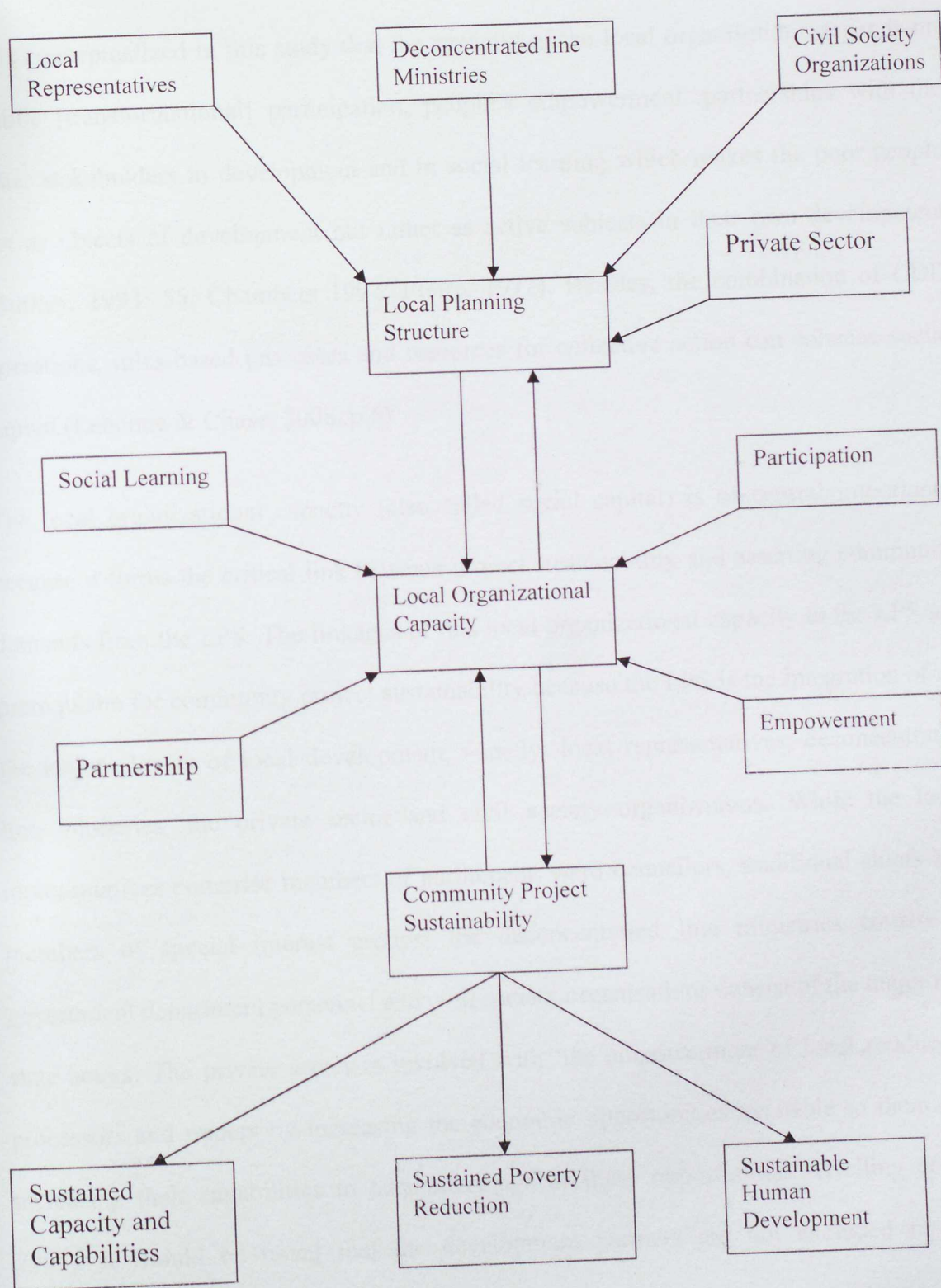
Figure 2.: A Conceptualised Framework of the Study

It is conceptualized in this study that the capacity of the local organisations depends on public [transformational] participation, people's empowerment, partnerships with the other stakeholders in development and in social learning which makes the poor people not as objects of development but rather as active subjects in their own development (Burkey, 1993: 55, Chambers 1997; Freire, 1972). Besides, the combination of CDD operations, rules-based processes and resources for collective action can enhance social capital (Labonne & Chase, 2008, p.6)

The local organizational capacity (also called social capital) is of central importance because it forms the critical link between project sustainability and asserting community demands from the LPS. The linkages of this local organizational capacity to the LPS are prerequisite for community project sustainability because the LPS is the integration of all the major players of local development, namely; local representatives, deconcentrated line ministries, the private sector and civil society organizations. While the local representatives comprise members of parliament, ward councilors, traditional chiefs and members of special interest groups; the deconcentrated line ministries consist of government department personnel and civil society organisations consist of the major non state actors. The private sector is involved with 'the empowerment of local producers, processors and traders by increasing the economic opportunities available to them and increasing their capabilities to take advantage of these opportunities' (Helling et al., 2005). It should be noted that the development partners are not excluded in this framework because they are supposed to work through or with Government Departments, Private Sectors and Civil Society Organisations.

The LPS plays a central role in local development because it is involved in development management of all the stakeholders in the local development as indicated above. The LPS was formed by the Local Government Act in 1998 which makes the LPS as "deliberative assemblies with legislative and executive powers recognised by and embedded in the constitution of Malawi" (GoM, 1998a; Chinsinga, 2007, p.88). That entails that the people in form of local organisations have the right to demand development and good governance which are enshrined in the Laws of Malawi as rights. Consequently, the linkages between the community projects and LPS are very crucial as the downward linkages show local service provision from LPS to the communities and upward linkages indicate the accountability and demand mechanisms from the community to the LPS. The underlying rationale for improving local organisational capacity is the empowerment of people through service delivery and access, poverty reduction through increased income and improved human development which is essential for improved life, good governance, pro-poor growth and project effectiveness (Narayan 2002). It is assumed that improved community capacity can positively affects project sustainability and vice versa.

However, the achievement of community project sustainability is not an end in itself but rather a means to sustained capacity building, sustained poverty reduction and sustainable human development. These achievements of project sustainability are reinforcing on one another while at the same time reinforcing community project sustainability. In other words, project sustainability promotes human development, capacity building and helps to reduce poverty and these achievements in turn also promotes project sustainability.

Despite that the study was set out within this conceptual framework with the aim of investigating the potential of project sustainability in Zomba District it does not forestall the possibilities of neopatrimonial, bureaucratic, institutional failures and the unperceived biases against the poor people (Booth, et al., 2006; Cammack, et al., 2007; Chambers, 1983, 1997, 2006; Freire, 1972; Leftwich, 2000). The conceptual framework helped to show how the study linked the main concepts of the study such as the stakeholders of the LPS, local organisational capacity as it was related to the overall project sustainability.

2.5.0   Chapter Summary

This chapter on the literature review has attempted to contextualize the key concepts of the study and has put focus of the study into proper perspective of the framework for the study. In that regard, concepts such as community participation and demand responsiveness as they affect each other have been defined, analysed and linked to project sustainability as the focus of the study. The other key concepts defined and analysed are the LPS and linkages as attempts are made to institutionalise them and the way they influence each other and, more importantly, as these concepts affect project sustainability. Basically, the literature reviewed has tried to identify the gaps that are there between the main study concepts and the challenges of project sustainability.

The chapter has also reviewed literature on LDF as the underlying theoretical basis of the study. The advocates of LDF have shown that the framework provides a more integrated approach to formulating context-appropriate strategies for local development and provides a way to analyse local institutions and processes from a system perspective in order to solve coordination problems. Lastly, the study has been contextualized within the

researchable conceptual framework which has demonstrated the relationship between LPS and local organisational capacity (also referred to as social capital) affect each other as well as how the two concepts have influenced sustainability of community-driven development projects in the study

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

3.0   Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the study sites in Zomba District. This is followed by the research design and sampling approach for the study that provides the strategic framework for the study. Subsequently, the data collection and data analysis methods, techniques and tools used in the study are explored.

3.1   Description of the Study Site

Zomba District is one of the twelve Districts in the Southern Region of Malawi. Currently the District has a population of 667,953 people, with 88,314 of them in the City and 579,639 in the rural area (NSO, 2009). The poverty levels for the district stand at 70% which is the third poorest district in the Southern Region after Nsanje (76.0%) and Machinga (73.7%) (NSO, 2005, p.142). The rural areas (hereinafter referred to as Zomba District as opposed to Zomba City) are under the jurisdiction of Zomba District Assembly which was established under the Local Government Act of 1998 (GoM, 2006b). This study focused on four projects and all of them are located in Zomba District. The four projects were divided into two similar projects in which one project of each group was weakly linked and the other was strongly linked (see Section 3.2 and Table 3.1 for the definitions).

Guided by the foregoing, two income generating activities (IGAs) projects, in the form of maize mills were chosen to comprise the first group. In that regard, Tiwalele Orphan Care Maize Mill (hereinafter referred to as 'Tiwalele Maize Mill') and the women-only IGA group called Nsondole Producers and Marketing Cooperative Society Ltd Maize Mill

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(hereinafter referred to as 'Nsondole Cooperative Society') were selected for comparison. While Tiwalele Maize Mill targets the orphans and other vulnerable children (OVCs), the Nsondole Cooperative Society targets the marginalized and vulnerable women. Tiwalele Maize Mill is in TA Malemia and Group Village Headman Chopi while the Nsondole Cooperative Society is in TA Kuntumanje and in Group Village Headman Bimbi. The Tiwalele Maize Mill is a social support project from MASAF III and the Nsondole Cooperative Society is a loan from the Self Help Development International to the women's group.

The second group comprises the World Vision Namachete Area Development Project (ADP) (hereinafter referred to as 'Namachete ADP') which is largely involved in food security was also selected. This project is located in TA Mwambo and Group Village Headman Chingondo. The Namachete ADP was compared with another food security project called The Hunger Project Nsondole Epicentre (hereinafter referred to as 'The Hunger Project'). The Hunger Project is located in TA Kuntumanje and Group Village Headman Kumbwani. (For more information see the Map of Zomba District showing study sites in Appendix 5)

3.2   Research Design and Sampling Approach

Zomba District was selected as a study site through purposive sampling because it has many characteristics that border on poverty levels and community-driven development projects whose aspects for sustainability were not looked at critically and systematically. For instance, Zomba District was the third poorest district in the Southern Region as earlier on indicated and yet it had the third largest numbers of community-driven

development projects sponsored by MASAF in the Southern Region by 2005. The other two districts were Blantyre and Machinga Districts. Additionally, Zomba is the third most populous district (with 667,953 people) in the Southern Region after Mangochi (797,061 people) and Thyolo (587,053 people) (NSO, 2009, p24). The outlined characteristics were ideal for the study on project sustainability that was problematised.

The research design used in this study was descriptive survey design and was based on both quantitative and qualitative paradigms because the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative approaches potentially complement each other. Combining both methods provided more comprehensive and insightful findings than either approach could produce on its own (Adam, 2006, p.15; Babbie, 1992, p.106). In this case, quantitative paradigm used structured questionnaire and qualitative paradigm used focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews to gather data. The study aimed at collecting information from respondents on their attitudes and opinions in relation to community-driven development projects. The researcher used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using questionnaires while secondary data was gathered from project documents, the internet, journals and books.

This study is a comparative case study of four projects which were divided in two groups of community-driven development projects. Each group had two similar projects one of which was weakly linked and the other was strongly linked to the LPS. The projects were categorized into weakly and strongly linked projects by analyzing the linkage indicators that are outlined in the Table 3.1 below. The linkage indicators in the Table were used to determine whether the linkages between the community project and LPS were weak or

strong in the sampled projects. Strong linkages were created when many indicators between LPS and community projects were found to be regular than they were irregular while weak linkages are formed when there are many irregular and nonexistent linkages between LPS and community projects. In fact if the majority of linkages were nonexistent no linkage situation could be created.

Table 3.1: Linkage Indicators

#	Indicators of Linkages	Nonexistent	Irregularly	*Regularly*
A	**Technical Dimensions**			
1	Control of Budgets & Funds			
2	Procurement Process			
3	Financial Management			
4	Number of Financial Reports			
5	Number of Progress Reports			
6	General Supervision of Activities			
7	Project Capacity Building			
8	Technical Assistance			
9	Advisory Role			
10	DEC Meeting Attendance			
B	**Political Dimensions**			
1	Accountability Relationships			
2	Flow of Funds (from Government)			
3	Flow of Funds (from donors)			
4	Co-sharing Activities e.g. Co-production			
C	**Institutional Dimensions**			
1	Participatory Budgeting and Planning			
2	Local Participatory Development			
3	VDC/ADC Participation			
4	Knowledge Level of Local Authority Policies etc			
5	Flow of Information			

Source: Developed by the researcher.

Based on the criteria in Table 3.1 the study came up with a list of NGOs involved in food security as indicated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: NGOs involved in Food Security in Zomba

#	Name of the NGO	Type of Linkages	Location	Specific Areas
1	Hunger Project	Weak	TA Kuntumanje and TA Mwambo	Food security
2	Blantyre Synod	Strong	TA Mlumbe	Food security
3	Bwalo Initiative	Strong	TAs Chikowi, Mlumbe & Mwambo	Food security
4	CISP	Weak	TAs Mwambo, Malemia & Mlumbe	Food security
5	Emmanuuel International	Weak	TAs Chikowi & Mlumbe	Food security
6	Self Help Development International	Weak	TA Kuntumanje & STA Nkagula	Food security
7	UNDP (Model Village Programme)	Strong	TA Mlumbe	Food security
8	World Vision International	Strong	TAs Mwambo & Mlumbe	Food security
9	Zam Zam	Weak	TA Malemia & STA Nkagula	Food security
10	DAPP TCE	Strong	TA Mwambo	Food security
11	CADECOM	Weak	Zomba District	Food security

Source: Adapted from GoM (2006b)

As illustrated with the criteria provided in Table 3.1, Tiwalele and Nsondole Cooperative Society Maize Mills formed the first group for comparative study. In this case Tiwalele maize mill was strongly linked and Nsondole Cooperative Society was weakly linked to the Zomba LPS. There are twenty four MASAF maize mills in Zomba (GoM, 2006b) and a simple random sample was used to select Tiwalele Maize Mill project for the study. The Nsondole Cooperative Society was selected through the purposive sampling method because this maize mill is one of the maize mills that were officially known by the District Assembly. This is the case because some NGOs work in the District but they do not communicate to the LPS about everything they do in the District, and even less their financial standing in their projects.

The second group comprises Namachete ADP which is strongly linked and The Hunger Project which is weakly linked as food security projects. These were randomly selected from the eleven NGOs involved in food security projects as outlined in Table 3.2 above. The selection of the food security projects is based on the Zomba District Socio-Economic Profile (SEP) which has eleven NGOs which are directly involved in food security projects (2006b). In addition, linkages can occur in various forms as when there is direct partnership or relationship between community project and LPS it is called Direct Linkage in this study; whereas if the partnership between LPS and community projects is through intermediaries such as NGOs and CBOs it is called Indirect Linkages. However, a directly or indirectly linked project can be weakly or strongly linked depending on the number of indicators that link the interacting parties.

The farming or participating households form the unit of analysis of the study because the study aimed at soliciting views of the people who actually participated in the community-driven development projects and how they felt about its impact on all the other stakeholders. The study, therefore, sampled 160 households for the survey research using a probability systematic sampling method from the sample frame that was provided by the project officers. The sample was based on the advice by Kombo and Tromp, and Somekh who contend that the rule of thumb for a sample size in descriptive research should be a minimum of 30 (Kombo & Tromp, 2006; Somekh. 2005, p.226).

Table 3.1 below show how the respondents were distributed across the four projects after the sample:

Table 3.: The Proportion of the Sample Sizes and Samples

#	Project's Name	Sample Frame	Sample Size	Percentage (%)	GENDER			
					Male		Female	
1	Tiwalele Mill	85	30	32.3	3	10%	27	90%
2	Nsondole Mill	146	40	27.4	-	-	40	100%
3	Namachete ADP	160	40	25.0	21	52.5%	19	47.5%
4	The Hunger Project	167	50	29.9	34	68%	16	32%
5	TOTAL	558	160	28.67	58	36.25%	102	63.75%

Source: Fieldwork (September, 2007)

3.3 Data Collection Methods, Techniques and Tools

3.3.1 Introduction

Data was collected through the interview method where the questionnaire was used to get quantitative data and the FGDs and Key Informants were used to get qualitative data. Besides, both the primary and secondary sources of data were used. The critical documentary analysis was used to collect secondary data from the library, Internet, newspaper articles, government documents, literature reviews and from project records. However, the most important data came from the field research which was used to acquire the primary data. The household survey was used to acquire quantitative data while focus group discussions and key informant interviews were used to collect qualitative data. The subsequent sections provide more information on each of the research methods used.

3.3.2 Household Survey

The study used the structured interview method by administering the household survey to 160 systematically chosen respondents as illustrated in Figure 3.1 above. The survey was

conducted through the face-to-face technique in order to reduce nonresponse rates and encourage more probing on the issues not properly articulated and adequately understood. The questionnaire as a research instrument contained both closed-ended and open-ended questions (See Appendix 1) in order to maximize the merits of both types of questions. For instance, while closed-ended questions are easy to ask and quick to answer; require no writing by either respondent or interviewer, and their analysis straightforward, the closed-ended questions may be biased by either forcing the respondent to select alternatives that might not have otherwise come to mind (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1994, p.243). In addition, open-ended questions have these merits: it does not force respondents to adapt to preconceived answers and it provides opportunities for the respondents to ascertain lack of information (Ibid, p.243). In addition, Likert and Rating scales were used to collect and record responses from respondents and the questionnaire was translated in Chichewa language to increase the validity and reliability of the findings by encouraging the way the respondents articulated about the relevant issues of the study.

3.3.3 Focus Group Discussions

To complement data collected by the survey some members of the community projects were selected purposively for focus group discussions (FGDs) to respond to a semi-structured guide. The FDG participants included the people who were involved in the activities of the community projects, thereby; more able to articulate the issues that affected project sustainability. Because the village headmen play a critical and pivotal role in community mobilization, participation and project ownership, they constituted the majority of the participants. The importance of FGDs is aptly advocated by Denzin and

Lincoln who points out that "groups create their own structure and meaning and a group interview provides access to their level of meaning, in addition to clarifying arguments and revealing diversity in views and opinions. It can also serve to assist the respondent to re-evaluate a previous position or statement that is in need to 'amplification', qualification, amendment or contradiction" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Put differently, it acts as an additional avenue to solicit more information. More importantly, FGDs also helped in triangulating the earlier data of the survey as 'triangulation entails collecting material in as many and from as many diverse sources as possible' (Blanche & Durrheim, 1994, p.128).

There were four FGDs in total, that is, each project had one FGD. For every FGD there were 8 to 12 participants purposefully chosen. The FGD as an instrument used in-depth group interviews techniques which were achieved through the semi-structured questionnaire checklist as its tool (See Appendix 2).

3.3.4 Key Informant Interviews

Further information was solicited from key informants who included Group Village Headman, Project Managers and Project Officers, Field Officers and Government Officials (see Appendix 4 for the list of Key Informants). Key informants were selected primarily for their know-how of the subject matter under study. In that regard the key informants were selected through purposive or snowball methods, that is, they were either hand-picked for a specific reason or a few key informants identified additional informants. This interview method used the semi-structured questionnaire checklist (see Appendix 3).

3.4 Data Analysis Methods, Techniques and Tools

3.4.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Both inferential and descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected by the household survey. The descriptive statistics was used to show distribution, mean, standard deviation, range, and frequencies of the gathered data. On the other hand, the inferential statistics was used to draw conclusions about population parameters from the sample selected for the study. Just after the survey data was collected, in particular the open-ended questionnaires were coded for data analysis. Again, the closed-ended questionnaires were entered in computer software package called Statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS) version 11.55 for data analysis.

3.4.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data was analysed by sorting and coding the findings into themes and sub-themes emerging from the discussions to identify similarities and differences of opinion between participants, within and among groups. The FGD method had its emerging themes coded into themes and sub-themes. The Microsoft Excel was used to come up with the themes and sub-themes.

Chapter Four: Research Results and Discussions for Income Generating Activities (IGA) Projects

4.0   Introduction

The chapter provides a comparative analysis of the field findings from Tiwalele Maize Mill and Nsondole Cooperative Society. While this chapter provides a comparative analysis for Tiwalele and Nsondole Maize Mills as IGA projects, Chapter Five presents a comparative analysis of Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project as food security projects. The findings are categorized in six sub-sections, namely; project overview (Section 4.1) and socio-economic characteristics (Section 4.2); the match between project's objectives to people's needs (Section 4.3); organizational factors affecting sustainability (Section 4.4); the institutionalization of LPS and project sustainability (Section 4.5); and lastly, linkages and sustainability (Section 4.6). Consequently, the comparative analysis of the projects is also done according to the outlined sub-sections to come up with their similarities and differences. Finally, the summary concludes the findings of the chapter.

4.1   Overview of Income Generating Activities Projects

4.1.1   Tiwalele Community Based Maize Mill

Tiwalele Maize Mill is a MASAF 3 Social Support Project (SSP) and MASAF 3 was started in 2003. MASAF was created by Malawi Government as a people's fund for community empowerment in order to reduce poverty. MASAF employs the Community-Driven Development approach to community development as the programme is demand-driven. The main objective for the Social Support Projects is to strengthen the capacities

of vulnerable persons and communities to reduce or cope with social risks. MASAF III is based on the following guiding principles: the projects have to be demand driven, projects should promote accountability and transparency, projects should promote community empowerment through direct financing and participatory project management, and finally, to enhance capacities of local development structures.

The launch of MASAF 1 in 1995 by Malawi Government was in line with the global development discourse which advocated for community participation in development through social funds. The World Bank has advocated for social funds throughout the world for the past twenty years. Meanwhile, the scope and scale of the social fund portfolio has heightened interest in community-driven development (CDD) as part of the bank's core poverty reduction strategy (Adam, 2006, p.4). Tiwalele Maize Mill is a good case in point for a social fund intervention that caters for the orphans and other vulnerable children (OVC), the disabled, the elderlies and other vulnerable and marginalized groups. MASAF contributed MK1, 134,668.87 towards the cost of the maize mill while the community contributed 20 per cent of MK1, 134,668.87 contributed (in form of labour, bricks and sand) as token of commitment and willingness to own the project.

4.1.2   Nsondole Cooperative Society Maize Mill

Tiwalele Maize Mill and Nsondole Cooperative Society are both membership organisations made up of a group of individuals in a self-defined community who have joined together to further common interests (Dongier et al., 2001, p.5). However, unlike the Tiwalele Maize Mill which is community based organisation (CBO) which is directly

linked to the LPS, the Nsondole Maize Mill is a CBO in form of a registered co-operative society and is also indirectly linked to the LPS. This co-operative was registered with the Ministry of Trade and Industry Development in 2004. The cooperative society was created to enhance the women's bargaining powers for their farm produce at the market and avoid farm price fluctuations due to private traders' exploitative buying styles. The maize mill was bought at the price of MK242, 000.00 by the cooperative as a source of capital for their revolving funds. Including the cost of the maize mill, Self Help Development International provided the co-operative with a total of MK2.3 million as a revolving loan for the women group to be repaid at 20% interest. All members had to pay MK1, 000.00 to buy shares and MK200.00 for normal membership subscriptions. The executive committee of the co-operative is charged with the responsibility of managing the daily activities of the maize mill and they ensure that the mill is properly maintained. The committee has additional responsibilities such as the responsibility of debt collection and timely repayment of loans. Furthermore, the committee has the responsibility of creating a motivated team in order to achieve the set goals of the cooperative society.

4.2   Socio-Economic Characteristics

This section focuses on relevant socio-economic characteristics of the study which in this case are: respondents' sex, age, marital status, education, occupation and the household types of the respondents.

4.2.1 Sex, Age and Marital Status of Respondents

4.2.1.1 Sex of Respondents by Projects

The study showed that the respondents were dominated by women in both projects: Tiwalele (90 %,) and Nsondole Maize Mill (100%). The dominance of women is not surprising in Tiwalele Maize Mill's case as women are the most affected group with vulnerability in regard to marginalization, poverty, female-headed family and they are mostly custodians of the orphans and other vulnerable children (Government of Malawi, 2006b, 1993). The Nsondole Maize Mill is wholly run and managed by women's group. It is noteworthy that the disproportional large numbers of women for both projects was not purposeful but rather an emerging finding while in the field.

4.2.1.2 Age of Respondents by Projects

In terms of age, the respondents were largely economically active group because Tiwalele had the mean age of 44.8 and Nsondole Maize Mill was 42.0. The age range for both projects was between 30 to 53 years. The standard deviation for Tiwalele was 15.3 years and Nsondole Maize Mill was11.7 years. The dominance of the economically active and middle-aged group suggests the availability of a strong and youthful human resource which, if meaningfully and effectively used, can enhance the potential for project sustainability.

4.2.1.3 Marital Status by Projects

Figure 4.1 below show the marital status findings for the respondents of Tiwalele and Nsondole Maize Mill.
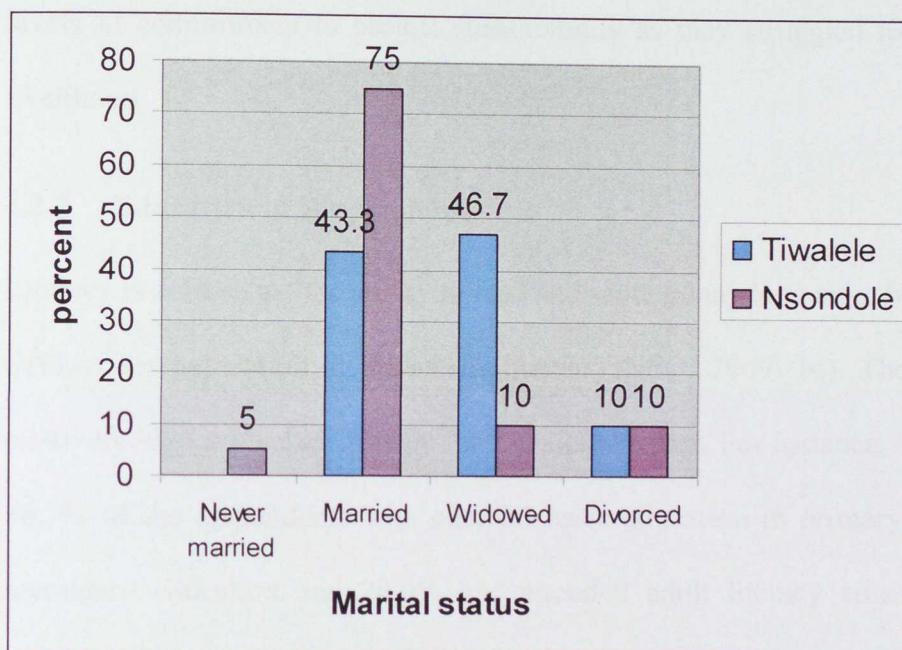
Figure 4.1: Marital Status by Projects

In regard to marital status most of the respondents in Nsondole were married (75%) and the project had fewer women who were widowed (10%), divorced (10%), or who had never been married (5%). Principally, the marital status analysed implies that the majority of these women lived a married life which could have a positive influence on project sustainability due to lack of mobility and availability of human and social capital in the project area. In contrast, the respondents from Tiwalele Maize Mill indicated that less than half were then married (43.3%) and almost half were widowed (46.7%) and just like Nsondole 10 percent were divorced. These figures imply that the majority of these respondents (56.7%) were not married and single parents. The number of respondents widowed (46.7%) due largely to AIDS was very high and constituted mainly of women. This entails that the majority of the respondents were female-headed households and therefore, poor and vulnerable. This level of poverty and vulnerability could affect their

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levels of commitment to project sustainability as they struggled to survive and earn a livelihood.

4.2.2 Education of Respondents

Literacy is defined as 'the ability to read and write in any language. In that regard close to 64% of the population in Malawi is literate' (NSO, 2009: 14). The findings showed a relatively higher level of literacy for Tiwalele Project. For instance, Tiwalele project had 66.7% of the respondents who attained basic education in primary school, 13.4% had secondary education and 20.0% had attended adult literacy education. The findings indicated that the majority of respondents were literate therefore more able to articulate their needs as they participated in community projects. On the other hand, Nsondole project had 80% of the respondents who attained basic primary education, 10.0% and 2.5% had secondary education and adult literacy education respectively. The rest (7.5%) had no formal education at all. In this case almost 92.5% of the respondents were literate (see Figure 4.2 below).
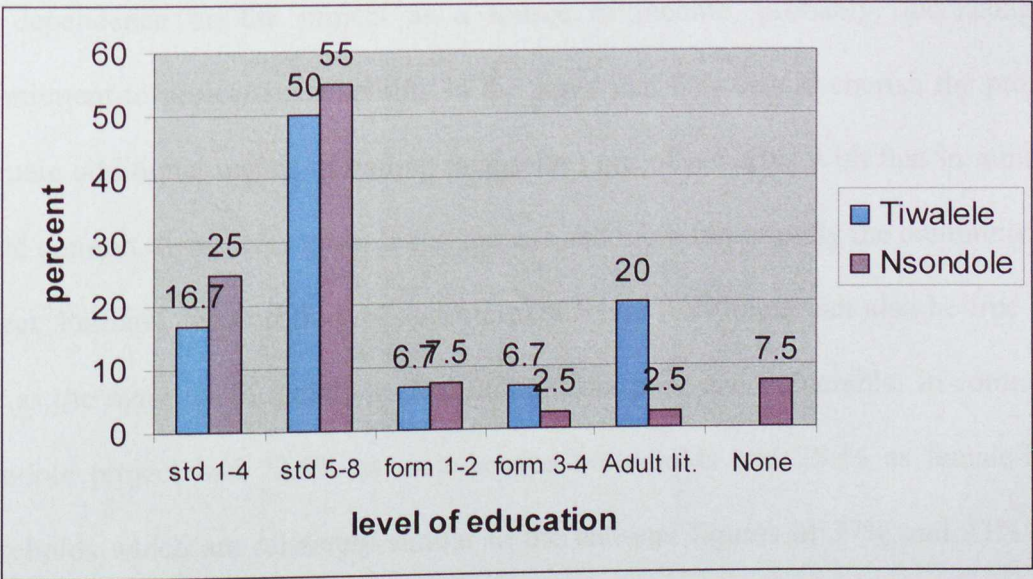
Figure 4.2: Level of Respondents' Education

4.2.3 Occupation of Respondents

Tiwalele was mainly engaged in farming (66.7%) as the mainstay of most respondents while Nsondole had somewhat higher percentages of 90%. The rest of respondents from Tiwalele project were distributed in manual labour (3.3%), self-employment (23.3%) formal employment (3.3%) and the rest had other types of occupations. In contrast, Nsondole only had rest of respondents in self-employment (10.0%) as a way of livelihood diversification. As the majority of respondents were farmers, the maize mills provided them with supplementary source for income and capital for enhancing farming.

4.2.4 Respondent's Type of Household

Tiwalele had 56.7% of the respondents from female-headed households which was comparatively higher than the national 23% (NSO, 2005, p.14) and the male-headed household constituted 43.3% which was lower than the national figure (77%) of households headed by men (Ibid, p.14). The findings connote high levels of vulnerability and dependence on the project as a source of income, probably, increasing their commitment to project sustainability in the sense that they would cherish the project as the main additional means of bailing themselves out of poverty. With that in mind, they would commit themselves towards the success and more importantly the continuity of the project. Perhaps, the corollary of short-term survival fulfillment can also be true in this case as the majority of female-headed families are poor and vulnerable. In contrast, the Nsondole project had 72.5% as male-headed households and 25 % as female-headed households which are relatively similar to the national figures of 77% and 23% (NSO, 2005) respectively.

4.3 Participation, Demand Responsiveness and Project Sustainability

This sub-section provides findings on community participation in the various project activities and how such participation relates to project sustainability (Section 4.3.1). The congruence between the community felt needs and what is actually done by the projects is also analysed (Section 4.3.2). Lastly, Section 4.3.3 presents the findings on how community participation affects responsiveness of service delivery which is a linchpin for project sustainability.

4.3.1 Community Participation and Project Sustainability

Table 4.1 below shows the field results of the household survey on community participation in project activities from Tiwalele and Nsondole Maize Mills. The findings of the Table indicate that Nsondole Maize Mill had higher participation (which does not necessarily imply authentic participation) in project identification, project design, project cost contribution, project objective formulation, monitoring and evaluation, financial management, electing the committee and project sustenance and maintenance than Tiwalele Maize Mill. The higher levels of participation by the Nsondole Maize Mill in the stages of the project cycle entail that the people were involved in the project. This can be attributed to the fact that Nsondole is a project that was formed largely as a self-mobilised group. It can also be argued that self-mobilisation result in more authentic participation than projects started through consultation and mere involvement. The views by the project manager echo the same sentiments:

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"This cooperative was the women's idea and they willingly contributed towards the shares and subscription fee before they had requested for this maize mill"[10].

Table 4.1: Community Participation in Project Activities

The Community Participation in...	TIWALELE MAIZE MILL (n=30)				NSONDOLE MILL (n=40)			
	AGREE		DISAGREE		AGREE		DISAGREE	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Identifying projects	18	60.0	11	36.6	40	100		
Design of Project	19	63.3	11	36.6	39	97.5	1	2.5
Project cost contribution	20	66.7	10	33.4	34	85.0	6	15.0
Project implementation	27	90.0	3	10.0	35	87.5	5	12.5
Formulation of project objectives	26	86.7	4	13.3	40	100.0		
Benefit distribution	28	93.3	2	6.7	35	87.5	5	12.5
Monitoring and Evaluation	24	80.0	6	20.0	39	92.5	3	7.5
Procurement process	18	60.0	11	36.7	33	82.5	7	17.5
Financial Management	20	66.6	9	30.0	33	82.5	7	17.5
Electing the Committee	25	83.3	4	13.3	40	100.0		
Project sustenance and maintenance	25	83.3	5	16.7	38	95.0	2	5.0

Note: 'F stands for Frequency. Agree incorporate both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' percentages while Disagree represent both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' columns

In contrast, Tiwalele Maize Mill was initiated by the former councilor who actually did community mobilization of the people. The FGD participants pointed out that most people came to know about the project in the implementation stage when the community was mobilised to mould bricks, ferry sand and stones:

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10 C. Kalaiza, Personal Communication, July 21, 2007.

"Most people came to know about this project because they were required to contribute bricks and sand by MASAF. Otherwise they could not have known about the project activities"[11].

Unsurprisingly, the survey shows that Tiwalele had 90 percent of respondents who agreed that they participated in project implementation compared to Nsondole's 87.5 per cent. This can be explained by the fact that Nsondole bought the building where the maize mill was planted unlike Tiwalele which had to start with the moulding of bricks. Furthermore, in terms of benefit distribution, Tiwalele with 93.3 percent score higher than Nsondole's 87.5 per cent because their turnover in benefit distribution was small but higher compared to Nsondole. More interestingly, Tiwalele had 66.6 percent in terms of respondents' participation in financial management against 82.5 per cent of Nsondole group and yet Tiwalele has exclusive control over the finances whereas Nsondole's finances are mainly controlled by Self Help Development International (SHDI)'s book-keeper by way of training people. The variance is ascribed to lack of transparency and flow of information between the management committee and the beneficiaries as this Group Village Headman put it:

"We know very little about how they manage their finances"[12].

In this case, Tiwalele is failing to uphold the prerequisites of good local governance which UNDP advocates by stating 'that the essential "building blocks" of any good local governance must comprise of: citizen participation, partnerships among key actors at the local level, capacity of local actors across all sectors, multiple flows of information, institutions of accountability, and a pro-poor orientation' (UNDP, 2004, p.4). Tiwalele

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11 Village Headman Tsutsa, Views by one of the FDG participants, September 22, 2007.

12 GVH Chopi, Personal Communication, September 23, 2007.

being one of the MASAF SSP projects, the findings can as well concur with the conclusions by Bloom et al. that 'community participation in the project process can, at best, be described as nominal and, at worst, exploitative. At most sites, the community was not empowered. It was mostly used to provide labour and local materials but not local expertise and knowledge. There were very few cases where communities were involved in *de facto* decision-making' (Bloom et al., 2005, p.112). On the other hand, higher levels of participation in Nsondole project were manifested in relatively higher percentages for project sustainability compared to Tiwalele project. This implies that it is essential that participation in any project should be initiated from the early stages of the project cycle because it enables local people to own their ideas and control the decision making process thereafter. This also shows that participation in a project can have impacts no matter how linked it is to the LPS. However, participation without linkages can not sustain community-driven projects.

4.3.2 The Match between Project Objectives and Community Priority Needs

The Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below compares the frequently mentioned problems by the communities against the outlined objectives of the two projects under study and this data was derived from the coded views from the respondents. The study only looked at responsiveness in terms of the frequency and conformity and not in terms of speed, quality and quantity as outlined by Crook and Manor (1998) due to the scope of the study.

Table 4.2: The Match of Tiwalele Project's Objectives to People's Needs

Community felt needs (n=30)	Frequency	Project Primary Objectives (n=30)	Frequency
Water Supply	21	Provision of basic needs to the OVC	20
Food Security	17	Reduce problems of OVC & Elderlies	15
Reduce high poverty [13] levels	15	Provision of maize milling services	10
Increased number of OVC	12	To help OVC guardians economically	6
Health facilities	5	To look after the sick e.g. PLWAs[14]	5
Capital for businesses	5	To provide for ECD centre[15]	2

The respondent's views from Tiwalele Maize Mill show that there was inadequate congruency or match between what was viewed as people's felt needs and what the project actually provided. For example, while the people felt that water supply, hunger and food security were the major problems, the maize mill only provided support to the vulnerable groups such as orphans, elderlies (i.e. the aged) and the sick which is only fourth in the hierarchy of needs of the communities. Two factors explain why this might be the case. First, the maize mill was provided to the community at the initiation of the former councilor who wanted to stand again as a councilor but, unfortunately, he passed away in a car accident. It was also confided in the researcher that the late councilor was related to some members of staff at the Zomba District Assembly. This is a typical a case of elite capture and neopatrimonial tendencies. Second, the standardized project menu that is provided by MASAF at a specific time does not provide many options to choose from. The findings concurs with Dulani's conclusion that 'by placing special emphasis on

13 Poverty is defined as 'lack of income, clothes and good houses' by the people in the study.

14 PLWAs stand for 'People living with HIV/AIDS'.

15 ECDC stand for 'Early Childhood Development Centre'

a set projects menu and strict eligibility criteria, MASAF was also criticized for promoting a specific set of projects. Where the priorities and needs of the poor did not fit into such categories, they were not funded, raising further questions about their demand-driven nature' (Dulani, 2003, p.2). In terms of frequency, the FGD participants observed that in spite of the benefits trickling down to the vulnerable groups, the benefits were far from being adequate and the frequency was basically sporadic[16]. The views of GVH Chopi make this assertion more clear:

> "There are many orphans in my area here but the committee invites a limited number of the orphans to receive the benefits. In a house of five orphans headed by an old grandmother, the committee only invites one orphan per household and gives him/her a packet of sugar, salt and beans. How can that help a household of six vulnerable members? That is by far inadequate. What about clothes, blankets, maize flour, soap and other basic things? That is nothing!"[17]

However, most respondents were happy with the services provided by the mill as it tried respond to the problem of high poverty levels and vulnerability of the excluded and marginalized groups despite its inadequacy.

The results show that when there is elite capture and patron-client relationship when starting a project, chances of the projects responding the real needs of the community are reduced as is the case with Tiwalele Maize Mill. This case is worsened by the fact that MASAF only provides an already set menu from which communities can choose. Therefore it reduces the choice options for the people. The practical and policy implications are that pro-poor development strategies should as much as possible be based on the articulated views and aspirations of the poor themselves. Such policies and

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16 Views of the FGD participants from Tiwalele project on September 22, 2007.

17 GVH Chopi, Personal Communication, September 23, 2007.

strategies are more likely to be owned and sustained by the poor themselves because they would be integral part of the development process.

Table 4.3: The Match of Nsondole Project's Objectives to People's Needs

Community felt needs (n=40)	Frequency	Project Primary Objectives (n=40)	Frequency
Water supply	32	To reduce women's poverty	43
Produce Markets	23	To buy another mill for IGAs	20
Reduce high poverty rates	18	To raise capital for the loans	20
Food Security	15	To access market as a group	9
Good Roads and Bridges	14	To access fertilizer on loan	7

Just like Tiwalele project, the Nsondole Cooperative Society had water supply problem as its first community felt need followed by lack of produce market but the project's first objective was the reduction of women's poverty followed by the need for an IGAs maize mill, capital for members and accessing markets. While the situation of Tiwalele project on water problem was due to lack of such provision, the Nsondole Cooperative Society's predicament was somewhat different. Nsondole Cooperative Society had the water and sanitation programme but it seems their contribution was just a drop in the ocean. No wonder the problem of water still features highly. The other reason is that the project covered two ADCs which are large areas to be implemented by a donor-driven NGO. The main motive for Self Help Development International (SHDI) was articulated by the project manager:

"SHDI went to Nsondole to uplift the women's welfare because they were, to a large extent, marginalized and lacked IGA capital. Accordingly, before funds for business capital could be disbursed to the women group they were advised to

form Producers and Marketing Cooperative Society Limited so that they could have increased bargaining power after they produce their crops[18].

However, the cooperative had limited impact as only 276 women had benefited from the group. The rest either failed to pay K1, 000.00 for shares and K200.00 subscription fee or the amount of loan was inadequate to go round to all women members.

In light of the foregoing the cooperative lacked the capacity to deal with the water problem as well as the capacity to meet the loan demand from the women. However, the other problems such as produce market, poverty, and hunger and food security are to a great extent dealt with. Principally, there is considerable congruency between the community felt needs and the cooperative main objectives and this is ascribed to women's effective and meaningful participation. The chair lady explained why participation was not a big problem with them:

> *"We wanted to have a revolving capital for our small-scale businesses therefore we approached SHDI to help us with a maize mill. Fortunately for us they accepted to give us the maize mill. That is how we got this maize mill and that is why I say the mill was our brain-child not that of the creditors"*[19].

The Nsondole project is in stark contrast to the situation of Tiwalele Maize Mill because the former mill was acquired through the groups' own initiative and decision, and the latter mill was subjected to elite capture in the name of the former councilor who had personal connections. In Nsondole Cooperative Society's regard participation can be viewed as 'an active process in which the participants took initiatives or action that was stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they could exert

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18 C. Kalaiza, Personal Communication, September 21, 2007

19 C. Magesi-Matiki, Personal Communication, August 30, 2007

effective control' (cf Davids et al., 2005, p.113). This implies that transformational participation can take place if the rural people are made integral to the development process by being active members of their own development. In short, development can be effective if the people are made the drivers and controllers of their own development. It is in the same regard that it can be argued that if people are committed to identify their problems and take strides towards addressing them that they could be committed to the sustainability of their solutions or in this case their projects.

4.3.3 Participation and Responsiveness of Service Delivery

Table 4.4 below provides the findings of the study and compares how people relate participation to responsive service delivery. There were similar response rates in both projects in regard to participation resulting in meeting people's felt needs (93%); and both had 100% scores for project ownership, capacity building and project sustainability. The respondents claimed that participation is very important because it resulted in meeting their felt needs, project ownership, capacity building and more importantly, to project sustainability. This was evidenced by the words of one of the participants of the FGDs at Nsondole Cooperative Society:

'the sense of ownership of the maize mill is evident by the way the members work hard in unison everyday'[20].

On the one hand Tiwalele had high percentages in beneficiary service (100%) against Nsondole's (95%); improved targeting of the poor was Tiwalele (100%) and Nsondole (95%) and in transparency and accountability Tiwalele was at 100% while Nsondole was at 97.5%. Tiwalele showed high percentages in these three activities because of the

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20 Views of the FGD participant from Nsondole project, 31 August 2007

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nature of their work which involved helping the vulnerable people in contrast to what the women group was involved in.

Table 4.4: Project Participation and Responsive Service Delivery

Community participation result in…	TIWALELE MAIZE MILL (n=30)				NSONDOLE MILL (n=40)			
	AGREE		DISAGREE		AGREE		DISAGREE	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Meeting people's felt needs	28	93.3	2	6.7	37	92.5	3	3.5
Beneficiary service satisfaction	30	100.0			38	95.0	2	5.0
Increased participant motivation	28	93.3	2	6.6	39	97.5	1	2.5
Strong & stable committee	29	96.6	1	3.3	40	100.0		
Improved targeting of the poor	30	100.0			38	95.0	2	2.5
Enhanced utilization of projects	29	96.6	1	3.3	40	100.0		
Increased project ownership	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Transparency & accountability	30	100.0			39	97.5	1	2.5
Improved local governance	29	96.7	1	3.3	40	100.0		
Improved capacity building	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Project sustainability	30	100.0			40	100.0		

Note: F stands for Frequency. Agree incorporate both 'strongly agree and 'agree' percentages while Disagree represent both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Despite Tiwalele showing high percentages in terms of beneficiary service, improved targeting of the poor, and transparency and accountability, the FGD and key informants had argued otherwise. The respondents argued that the quantity of benefits is inadequate

and that one vulnerable child is helped per household overlooking the number of needy children in that household[21] as earlier on alluded to. One key informant said that

"there is very little we know about the executive committee on how they distribute the benefits and how they use the money that they get everyday from the maize mill"[22].

These views show that despite having responsive service delivery, there are still problems in regard to distribution of benefits to the beneficiaries, transparency and accountability which are central for local governance and project sustainability.

On the other hand, Nsondole showed high percentages relating participation to participant motivation (97.5%) against Tiwalele's (93.3%); while Nsondole had 100% in stable and strong committee, project utilization and improved local governance and Tiwalele had approximately 97%. By and large, Nsondole illustrated high percentages in mainly organizational activities such as committee, project utilization, local governance and motivation due to their self mobilization into the women's group. On the whole, the data has shown that community participation result in responsive service delivery in both weakly and strongly linked projects. This implies that the type of linkages does not determine the level of service responsiveness. Generally, when stakeholders become included in decision making (which often result in demand responsiveness) they make themselves to become self-reliant (cf Chambers, 1997)

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21 Views of the FGD participant from Tiwalele project on 22 September, 2007
22 Views of the Village Headmen on 22 September, 2007.

4.4 Organizational Factors that Determine Project Sustainability

Many factors affect community project sustainability but this sub-section has concentrated on the local organizational factors because they have considerable influence on the building blocks of development, namely; public participation, social learning, empowerment and sustainability (Davids et al., 2005, p.119) as it comprises the human and social capital of development. Besides, the local organisational capacity (LOC) is another important building block of the conceptual framework in terms of being a link to both the LPS and the community which also influence community project sustainability.

Table 4.5: Organisational Factors Determining Project Sustainability

The extent to which sustainability is determined by…	TIWALELE MAIZE MILL (n=30)				NSONDOLE MILL (n=40)			
	AGREE		DISAGREE		AGREE		DISAGREE	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Quality of service provision	29	96.6	1	3.3	40	100.0		
Quantity of service provision	29	96.6	1	3.3	40	100.0		
The Collective Action	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Local ownership of the project	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Project capacity	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Project management committee	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Efficient Record Keeping	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Financial management	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Amount of money saved	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Transparency & Accountability	30	100.0			40	100.0		
The Leadership styles	30	100.0			38	95.0	2	5.0
Group Conflicts			30	100.0	2	5.0	38	95.0
Gender equality	30	100.0			9	22.5	30	75.0
Political Intolerance			30	100.0	1	2.5	39	97.5

Note: F stands for Frequency. Agree incorporate both 'strongly agree and 'agree' percentages while Disagree represent both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'

Table 4.5 above shows the findings of the household survey about respondent's views on how the chosen variables determine project sustainability. In both projects there was 100% agreement that project sustainability was determined by collective action, local ownership of the project, project capacity, project management committee, efficient record keeping, financial management, amount of money saved and transparency and accountability. In this context, the elements of LDF such as empowerment are clearly fulfilled through collective action, local ownership of the project, project capacity and project management committee. As empowerment in form of capacity building is associated with project maintenance and sustainability it can be argued that project sustainability is assured by such activities. In addition, good governance in form of record keeping, financial management and saving of money, and transparency and accountability are positive indications for project sustainability.

While there was 100% agreement from Nsondole that both quality and quantity of services determine project sustainability, Tiwalele project had 96.6% respectively. Tiwalele results did not come as a surprise because FGD participants alluded to the problem of inadequacy and irregularity of the services that were provided to the beneficiaries. Although Tiwalele project had 100% for leadership as a determinant of project sustainability, the majority of participants of the FGD had contrary ideas. The participants stated that:

"the management does not involve the chiefs. In fact, the chiefs are only involved when the orphans are required from the villages to receive something, and worse still, they are sidelined in the actual distribution of the benefits"[23].

The whole situation smacks of problems in financial transparency and accountability particularly in regard to the chiefs who are critical players in the local development process. The Nsondole Cooperative Society's case was somehow different in that they were more accountable to their creditors: SHDI, than they were to the people they served thereby compromising on downward accountability[24] which is very crucial for local governance of the LDF.

Both projects showed that group conflicts and political intolerance had a negative influence on project sustainability: Tiwalele scored 100% for both variables and Nsondole Co-operative had 95% and 97.5% respectively. Participants from both projects came up with many reasons why they thought political interference could inhibit project sustainability, namely; politics result in members distrusting each other; politics bring about confusion and politics exclude those who are apolitical from participating in development activities. However, the most interesting finding was on gender equality. Nsondole co-operative which comprised only women respondents showed that 22.5% would like to have gender equality which simply means "having the same status, rights and responsibilities for women and men" (GoM 2002, p.14). In contrast, Tiwalele which comprised almost 70% women and 30% men wished they had 100% gender equality. On

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23 Views of the FGD participants from Tiwalele project on 22 September, 2007.

24 GVH Bimbi. Personal Communication, August 31, 2007.

the one hand the respondents of the two projects[25] argued for gender equality for these reasons: women need men to do technical work; there is power in diversity, women-only groups discriminate against other women and women love to gossip and backbiting. On the other hand, other respondents argued for gender inequality or gender imbalance on the following grounds: women are cooperative and trustworthy, women's group is more united, men are prone to corruption and theft and men are full of pride and they always want to dominate. The findings have shown that there was considerable relationship between the local organisational capacity and project sustainability whether a project was weakly and strongly linked. The majority of these respondents argued for improved Local organisational capacity (also referred to as social capital by other scholars) through enhanced group cohesion which is the bedrock for project sustainability.

4.4.1   The Influence of Management Committee on Sustainability

The community management committee articulates the community's interests, participates in planning for sub-projects, and manages sub-project finances and operational needs (cf World Bank, 2005, p.65). This subsection looks at how communities participate in development activities in a well organized way and to forcefully articulate their demands.

On the question of 'the extent of respondents' satisfaction with their committee', Tiwalele CBO showed 90% respondents were satisfied with their committee while Nsondole had 87.5%. Besides, Tiwalele had 93.3% and Nsondole Cooperative Society had 97.5% of their respondents showing that their respective committees influenced project sustainability. However, the views of key informants and FGDs showed that the

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25 Views of FGD participants from both Tiwalele and Nsondole projects

committee at Tiwalele was not democratic enough in choosing the new office bearers which account for reduced accountability and transparency. Similar challenges also affected the Nsondole Cooperative Society. Much as the project manager underscored the central role the chiefs had to play in the management of the maize mill, specifically after the exit of the SHDI, the chiefs in the FGD regretted that they knew very little about what was done at the mill and that their involvement was minimal. The minimal involvement of the chiefs could greatly compromise the sustainability attempts already set up due to lack of community legitimacy, ownership and commitment as they weird a lot of respect in the village community settings. The other challenge had to do with self-seeking behaviour by some committee members who even refused to step down during the annual election of new office bearers as they used their positions to siphon money from the mill.

Overall, most people had high regard for their committee in the two projects as illustrated by the general views from FGDs. The majority of participants said that the committee did a commendable job in regard to repairing the maize mills on time, creating a cooperative team which worked hard to achieve their set goals; that the committee members were dedicated and hard working; and that they helped to create unity and mutual understanding. The findings, notwithstanding the outlined shortfalls, have attempted to highlight the importance of local organisational capacity towards the achievement of project sustainability. It has, therefore, confirmed what Davids et al. argued on that "development is about involvement and growing empowerment. Empowerment is collective action in the sense that individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have made alone" (Davids et al., 2005:21). This is what is

advocated in the LDF as one of the important elements apart from local governance and local service provision.

4.4.2   The Capacity of Communities to influence the Local planning structure

This sub-section looks at how community capacity was used to influence partnerships between community projects and LPS. Apart from playing a key role in project sustainability, the community is supposed to spearhead the role of linking their projects to the LPS so that benefits from such projects can be sustained for a long period of time. In terms of project ownership both Tiwalele CBO and Nsondole Cooperative Society maize mills showed 100% project ownership by the communities. Surprisingly, Tiwalele Maize Mill which is strongly linked to the LPS only had 63.3% against 90% respondents from Nsondole Cooperative Society who knew about what the LPS was. The majority of respondents knew about the LPS through the radio. For example, the respondents' knowledge about the LPS show that Tiwalele had 56.7% and Nsondole Cooperative Society had 72.5% of their respondents who learned about LPS through the radio and only 6.7% and 10% from the local leaders.

On the question of community influence on the local planning structures: Tiwalele, showed that they had 96.7% influence and Nsondole Cooperative Society had only 75%. While Tiwalele largely relied on chiefs (70%) and only 13.3% on politicians as ways of influencing the LPS, Nsondole Cooperative Society was predominated by their committee (37.5%) and only 10% by politicians. The influence of Tiwalele Maize Mill was higher than the Nsondole Cooperative Society for the obvious reason that it was

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strongly linked to the LPS. This implies that the influence of projects on LPS is dependent on the strength of the linkages between community capacity and LPS.

4.4.3   Respondents' Views on Project Sustainability

This sub-section presents respondents' views on three questions, namely; 'what did they understand by project sustainability?' 'What positive results would accrue to people if the project was sustainable?' and 'how would the community make projects sustainable without the help of LPS?' Tiwalele Maize Mill being a MASAF project is based on the principles of MASAF project completion and post project activities on the issue of project sustainability. As the chairman for the project explains:

> "We were taught that completion of a project does not mean the end of everything but rather that the community should benefit from its services. Therefore, the community was requested to put in place measures that would ensure that the project continues to provide the desired services for the intended beneficiaries"[26].

Ideally, that entailed that the community set up the maintenance committee to take over the management and maintenance responsibilities from the project management committee which was charged with the responsibilities of constructing the maize mill. Surprisingly, findings indicated that Tiwalele Maize Mill had not yet constituted this committee due to the founder syndrome at the project.

Similarly, the Bookkeeper for Nsondole Cooperative explained that project sustainability in terms of what should be done in order to achieve it:

> "the Nsondole Cooperative is registered and a legal entity and all its members are shareholders. Share ownership means that the women members own the

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26 B. Kapita, Personal Communication, September 24, 2007

Cooperative, which in turn creates a sense of ownership. This enhances the prospects that it will be properly run and managed. The underlying basis is the fact that the cooperative approach to credit and savings is much more sustainable than other approaches to microfinance. Furthermore, members are provided with training to run and manage their cooperative well beyond the lifespan of SHDI in the impact area"[27].

In respect to the positive results that can be derived from projects being sustained into the long-term, respondents from both projects had come up with many benefits that could accrue to the participants. On the question: 'should the community projects be sustained into the long run', 100% of the respondents from both projects said 'yes'. Respondents of Tiwalele stated that project sustainability would help many vulnerable groups, help reduce people's poverty levels, help acquire additional mill for IGAs and would help scale up help to the OVC and elderlies. In addition to the above facts, Nsondole Cooperative Society intimated that rural women's well being would be improved, their business ventures and families would be improved, more women would access loans and more people would join the cooperative. On the whole, these views have shown that the communities attached great importance to project sustainability because they were able to see the benefits that accrued to them as participants. The findings confirm what Pomeroy et al. asserted that sustainability is also influenced by economic benefits and sharing of benefits in the community (Pomeroy et al., 2005).

On the question of ways the community projects can be made sustainable the respondents from these two projects provided the following answers. Respondents from Tiwalele Maize Mill outlined the following ways of achieving project sustainability: by saving

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27 C. Nundwe, Personal Communication, September 3, 2007

more money in the bank for future investments and as a precautionary measure; by working hard in unity and with dedication, by following the prudent financial management procedures and by practicing proper and efficient record keeping. On the same question Nsondole Cooperative Society said that they would do the following: unite and work as a team, choose a strong and visionary committee, by abiding by the set rules and regulations, and by employing their own book-keeper to look into the issues of financial management. All in all, it was evident that most of the local organisational factors had a positive bearing on enhancing the potential for project sustainability as stated in the LDF elements.

4.5 The Institutionalization of Local planning structure and Project Sustainability

This subsection discusses the views of key informants on the importance of institutionalizing the LPS and how it affects project sustainability. The Director for Development and Planning stated that:

"the institutionalization of local planning structure is important because it provides the consistent and systematic bureaucratic framework essential for development as well as sustainability of community projects. Zomba as an assembly was thus mandated as the highest deliberative assembly at the District level after the Decentralization Policy and Local Government Act were launched and enacted in 1998 respectively[28].

The District Commissioners echoed the same views when he observed that:

"The Institutionalisation of LPS ensures that local development has institutionalised local governance structures which are responsive and sustainability. It also helps to provide a comprehensive resource profile of the

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28 T. Harawa, Personal Communication, October 8, 2007.

district through Socio-Economic Profile (SEP) to enable orderly planning, implementation and management of local development"[29].

In addition the Environmental District Officer, the long serving member in the Zomba District Executive Committee contextualised the institutionalisation of the LPS within the District Development Planning System by saying that:

"The District Development Planning System (DDPS) provides institutionalised opportunities for citizen-state interaction. DDPS helps synchronise the activities of community, civil societies and public sectors at the district level, thereby achieving principle of subsidiarity"[30].

Finally, the Principal Trade Promotion Officer suggested that:

"The institutionalisation of LPS provides an integrated approach to development whereby all stakeholders in local development are incorporated to work within the decentralised framework. This improves the implementation, coordination and monitoring of the development interventions in the district as the Assembly is able to know who is investing where and how much is invested in the district and for what purpose"[31].

The DPD's views suggested that development and project sustainability was more achievable within the decentralisation framework because this framework is anchored by the decentralization policy and the Local Government Act. In addition, the views by the District Commissioner seemed to look at the institutionalisation in terms of the existence of local governance structures such as the VDCs and ADCs which helped to identify and prioritise community needs which, ultimately constituted the District Socio-Economic Profile. Thirdly, the views by the Environmental Officer showed how the

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29 A. Chibwana, Personal Communication, February 13, 2008

30 S. Gondwe, Personal Communication, November 6, 2007

31 W. Phiri, Personal Communication, October 12, 2007

institutionalisation of LPS helped to include all development activities from all development stakeholders into a booklet form known as the District Development Planning System. Similarly, a coordinated approach to district development was advanced by the Principal Trade Officer who looked at how the institutionalised LPS helped in coordinating implementation and the monitoring of most district activities. These views by the Trade Officer are important because most NGOs felt that after they were accepted to work in the district that was the end of their responsibilities to the LPS. They forgot that it was the responsibility of the LPS to monitor what was done and consolidate the impact of all activities by the CSOs in the District. All these views seemed to underscore the fact that development and project sustainability was more likely to be achieved through the regulatory and legal framework of the District Assembly and seemed to disregard the challenges the framework could face in the development process. Nevertheless, one respondent doubted the importance of institutionalising LPS as it has so far been compromised due to the absence of councilors since 2005:

"The consolidation and promotion of local democratic institutions and democratic participation has so far been compromised by the absence of the councilors although their absence is currently being filled by the Chiefs, Members of Parliament and Civil Society Organisations"[32].

Most of the views were positive with what the LPS could achieve and ignored the challenges of poor performance, ineffective public institutions, and neopatrimonial tendencies which could also hinder the potential for project sustainability. The study findings showed that most respondents had heard and knew the local governance structures but they were not using them for their own benefit. The absence of Ward

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32 R. Kaunda, Personal Communication, November 12, 2007

Councilors had worsened the situation because most respondents thought that local development was the responsibility of Chiefs and Members of Parliament.

4.5.1 The Capacity of Local planning structure to sustain Projects

The selected key informants, especially Government officials, were asked whether the LPS had the capacity to sustain community projects or not given that it was facing a number of challenges. Most of the key informants provided affirmative views as outlined below:

"The LPS is in control of all community development and planning because most of the key positions such as the Directorates of Development and Planning, Administration, Finance and Public Works and those of frontline staff are already filled. To that extent this has helped in the setting up a systematic bottom-up development planning which aim to achieve sustainable local development"[33].

"The decentralisation structures are already in place such as DEC, ADC, VDC and AEC. These participatory committees help to institutionalise sub-national participation. In the participatory structures local leaders are largely involved in the mobilising the communities and they provide advice to the committees"[34].

"The local planning structure has the capacity to provide technical services through the District Executive Committee (DEC) and District Team of Trainers (DTT) who provide trainings in Business Management, Orphan Care, Early Childhood Development, Youth development, HIV and AIDS prevention and mitigation, Home Based Care and many others"[35].

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33 A. Chibwana, Personal Communication, December 14, 2007

34 T. Harawa, Personal Communication, October 8, 2007

35 O.M. Msyamboza, Personal Communication, December 12, 2007

"Before they start their work, CSOs and all development partners are urged to introduce themselves to DEC on whatever they intend to do in the district and, if accepted, they are required to sign Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the District Assembly. DEC decides where these interventions are needed most by using the District Development Plans. Besides, all CSOs and Development Partners are encouraged to work with VDCs in their impact areas"[36].

When the DPD was asked why the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was important he was categorical in saying that:

"The MOU is important because it sets out the responsibilities of the District Assembly and the Development Partners in working together to support the Assembly and communities in development programs. It also ensures effective transfer of the programmes to the Assembly and, where possible, hand over tools and other equipment, at the end of their work in the District as a clear exit strategy"[37].

When it was leant that some NGOs were reluctant to come to DEC to inform the committee on whatever they were doing the District Commissioner warned them by stating that:

"NGOs should know that there period of honeymoon in the District is over. They should know that the District Assembly as the highest deliberative assembly at the district level has the mandate to refuse the services of some of the NGOs if their services are not required or just duplicating what is already done in the District. To put it bluntly, such NGOs can be stopped from working in the District if they do not follow the consolidated aspirations as made up in the DDPS of the District"[38].

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36 C. Mwazambumba, Personal Communication, November 23, 2007

37 T. Harawa, Personal Communication, December 17, 2007

38 A. Chibwana, A speech to the Consultative Forum, January 12, 2008

These outlined views showed that the LPS had the capacity to control the development activities of the district. All Development Partners were thus required by DEC to align their activities to the District Socio-Economic Profile (SEP) and District Development Plans. The findings of the study also confirmed that most of the development partners involve the LPS at the local level, especially in the technical know-how. For example, Tiwalele was handed over to the LPS after MASAF had finished their construction work. On the other hand, the Nsondole Cooperative depended on the LPS for training of its members in business management and marketing.

The capacity of the LPS was reduced by the following challenges: lack of consistency and continuity of projects started by different donors who follow different procedures; reluctance by some sectors to completely devolve by creating the proxies of the Regional Offices in the name of Divisions or Zonal Offices; and the LPS had more functions and responsibilities devolved under its control and yet its revenue base was not only very narrow and small but also centralised. The narrow revenue base resulted in limited number of activities that were eventually carried out in the various communities in the District.

In addition, the field findings indicated that almost half of the respondents had scanty knowledge about the participatory structures, let alone the LPS, and yet these structures were there to provide the rural people with a formal platform for articulating and asserting their aspirations and views. The absence of the political wing comprising councilors was also a drawback in the sense that there were no checks and balances in the financial management of funds which led to reduced levels of accountability and

transparency by LPS. Furthermore, the respondents argued that the routine monitoring and evaluations by the LPS were sporadic and not systematic. This seems to uphold what was hypothesized by the World Bank that the 'weaker the decentralization framework especially fiscal decentralization, the weaker the partnership possibilities' (World Bank, 2005).

4.5.2   The Influence of Development Partners in the Local planning structure and project sustainability

This subsection discusses how development partners have affected the institutionalization of the LPS and sustainability of IGA projects. It looks at how their aid and their actual work influenced both the LPS and sustainability of IGA projects. Overall, the influence of Development Partners could be termed as being double-edged sword in the sense that they have both positive and negative aspects in regard to project sustainability. On the positive aspects, many donors provided finances to improve as well as consolidate the democratization and decentralization processes in Zomba District. As earlier on stated, MK12.3 billion was disbursed within the decentralized framework to community driven projects since the Government of Malawi started MASAF 1 in 1995 (Ntonya, 2007). The main donor for MASAF 1, 2 and MASAF 3 was the World Bank and Zomba District also benefited from all the three MASAF phases.

In addition, the Global Fund and other donors have provided pooled fund to Malawi in general and, Zomba District in particular, with a lot of money through National Aids Commission (NAC). The money was primarily meant to deal with HIV and AIDS-related issues but to achieve that NAC had capacity building of the LPS as one of the priority pillars. Both MASAF and NAC were based on bottom-up approach to development and

funds were disbursed through community-driven projects. When asked on how the Development Partners had influenced LPS and project sustainability the key informants outlined the following as the positive aspects:

"The assembly has benefited a lot from the funds MASAF and NAC have so far provided to the Assembly through vehicles, computers, capacity building in form of trainings and some funds for administrative costs. However, their impact should have been greater than it is now had it been that they were using the existing bureaucratic structures and not waste resources in creating new structures with all the human and financial resources and other costs all that entails"[39].

"Our records show that GTZ has provided and continues to provide capacity building and resources for the initiation, implementation and consolidation of the decentralization process. Many international NGOs such as World Vision International, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace(CCJP), Catholic Development Commission of Malawi(CADECOM), Millennium Village Project, Emmanuel International and Dignitas and many others have contributed in various ways to the local planning structure in the activities that are carried out jointly. In addition, MASAF and NAC have helped to strengthen linkages between local governments with communities and have strengthened the participatory dimension of public sector decentralisation. In this case the communities are empowered to request any project that would actually address their felt needs in the beneficiary areas and local government only comes in to provide the technical know-how"[40].

A good case of strengthened linkages in the study is Tiwalele Maize Mill. When a MASAF project was completed it was handed over to the LPS who in turn handed it over to the community but supervision, monitoring and evaluation continued to be

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39 T. Harawa, Personal Communication, October 8, 2007

40 A. Chibwana, Personal Communication, December 14, 2007

under the control of the LPS. The case of Nsondole Maize Mill also depended on the technical services of the extension officers of the LPS, especially through the Nsondole Extension Planning Area (NEPA) despite being weakly linked to the LPS. On the negative influence by the development partners the key informants said that:

"Both MASAF and NAC prefer to set up parallel structures to those already created by government under the pretext of improving the capacity of LPS. Such parallel structures are not only expensive but short-sighted and counter productive toward the achievement of project sustainability"[41].

"The parallel structures created by some donors result in mistrust and uncertainty between the LPS and donors on the underlying motives for creating such structures. Often the donors have argued that they create parallel structures due to lack of LPS capacity. In the process the same capacity that is supposed to be built is not only undermined but also debilitated. Such approaches affect both the sustainable poverty reduction and development"[42].

"All CSOs are encouraged to work within the DDPS. The CSOs are urged to choose their activities from the DDPS but quite often the CSOs depend on what is prescribed by their donors and therefore they fail to align their activities with the needs of the community. Strangely enough, government also fails to produce the DDPS on time due to the lack of resources which gives the CSOs leeway on what they can do"[43].

"Unfortunately, some development partners are both donors and implementers such as European Union. Such development partners have injected a lot of money into the District's projects but their challenge, once again, is to do with their desire to be both donors as well as implementers. Some donors follow

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41 Eric Kenam, Personal Communication, December, 12, 2007

42 W. Phiri, Personal Communication, October 21, 2007

43 C. Kalaiza, Personal Communication, September 21, 2007

procedures and budget cycles which are basically different from the other donors who further complicate the workloads for LPS"[44].

Instead of leaving the responsibilities of formulating, approving and implementing development work at the District level to the LPS (as enshrined in Local Government Act, Section 6(1c)), some donors usurped such responsibilities for themselves. The cases of creating parallel structures and taking over the implementation responsibilities raised questions about how the donors could be accountable to themselves and how they planned to sustain their projects once they exited. In this regard the capacity building component for the LPS and community projects was, to large extent, undermined. Apart from working against the spirit of integrative analytical framework of LDF it was argued by some key informants that:

> *"basically all stakeholders aim to serve the same people with the same motive of improving their way of life and it is unbelievable that such partners should appear to compete with each other instead of working together"[45].*

On the whole, this section on institutionalisation of LPS has illustrated how capacity enhancement and resource transfer of local development is central in synergizing local development which, could otherwise be fragmented at local level and, thereby compromising the efforts towards project sustainability.

4.6.0   The Linkages and Project Sustainability

As indicated earlier on, linkages between community projects and LPS can be ignored at the expense of project sustainability. The last section demonstrated that the DDPS

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44 H. Msatilomo, Personal Communication, December 15, 2007

45 Eric Kenam, Personal Communication, December, 12, 2007

together with the creation of local governance structures present opportunity structures for participation, linkages and sustainability of community-driven projects. These opportunity windows are even more important now that the ward councilors are absent. In this vein, this section answers the question: 'how are available linkages helping to influence project sustainability?'

4.6.1   The Linkages to the Local Planning Structure

Table 4.6 below shows the household survey results for Tiwalele Maize Mill and Nsondole Cooperative Society. Table 4.6 illustrates that although Nsondole Cooperative Society was weakly linked to the LPS it had certain basic activities for which the cooperative depended on the LPS. The Table, therefore, shows that Nsondole Cooperative Society was dependent on the LPS in regard to supervisory work, VDC and ADC participation, local authority policies, information flow, financial management and technical assistance. In this regard it was more linked in terms of local service provision of the LDF. Most of these activities were largely related to technical know-how, government set-up structures and policy guidance. More strikingly, Nsondole had 100% linkage levels in ADC and VDC participation, local authority policies, information flow and financial management, while Tiwalele which prides itself of being strongly linked only had 93.4%, 93.3%, 96.6% and 96.7% respectively. Probably, this was because the outlined activities did not require a project to be strongly linked. For instance, the LPS could even supervise the activities of private undertakings dependent on the issue at hand then. In addition, any project could use the local governance institutions, access policies, and be trained through the field officers whether a project was strongly linked or not. The findings further showed that both Tiwalele and Nsondole Cooperative Society had 100%

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linkages in supervisory work which was also indicative of the importance that was attached to routine monitoring by the LPS whether the project was strongly or weakly linked. Nsondole displayed weaknesses in terms of control for budget and funds (15%), progress report (2.5%), Flow of donor funds, cost sharing (12.5%) and procurement (5%), because most these activities were largely done with SHDI and not directly with LPS.

Table 4.6: Linkages to the Local Planning Structure

The extent to which projects are linked to the Local Planning Structure…	TIWALELE MAIZE MILL (n=30)				NSONDOLE MAIZE MILL (n=40)			
	Strongly Linked		Weakly Linked		Strongly Linked		Weakly Linked	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Control of budget & funds	30	100.0			6	15.0	33	82.5
Supervisory work	30	100.0			40	100.0		
Number of progress report	30	100.0			1	2.5	39	97.5
Accountability to Local Planning Structure	29	96.7	1	3.3			40	100.0
Flow of government funds	29	96.6	1	3.3			40	100.0
Flow of donor funds	30	100.0			1	2.5	39	97.5
Project capacity building	29	96.7	1	3.3	18	45.0	22	55.0
Local Planning & Budget process	29	96.7	1	3.3			40	100.0
VDC & ADC participation	25	83.3	5	16.6	38	95.0	2	5.0
Local authority policies	28	93.3	2	6.7	40	100.0		
Information flow	29	96.6	1	3.3	40	100.0		
Cost sharing activities	27	90.0	2	6.6	5	12.5	35	87.5
Procurement process	30	100.0			2	5.0	38	93.0
Project capacity building	29	96.7	1	3.3	18	45.0	22	55.0
Financial management	29	96.7	1	3.3	40	100.0		
Technical assistance	28	93.3	2	6.6	38	95.0	2	5.0

Note: weakly linked column was formed by collapsing together 'not at all linked' and 'weakly linked' data and strongly linked column was formed by collapsing 'fairly linked' and 'strongly linked' columns. F stands for Frequency.

The Table also shows that for those indicators that required the project to be at least strongly linked Tiwalele had high percentages compared to Nsondole. Tiwalele had 100% for control of funds, number of progress reports, flow of funds and procurement process whereas Nsondole was weakly linked by 82.5%, 97.5%, 97.5%, 97.5% and 93% in that same order. In addition, Tiwalele Maize Mill was also strongly linked to LPS in accountability to LPS (96.7%), flow of government funds (96.6%) and project capacity building (96.7%). In this regard Nsondole Cooperative Society was weakly linked by respectively: 100%, 100% and 55%. In can be concluded that perhaps the strongly linked project showed linkages more in form the empowerment and local governance of the LDF than the weakly linked. The data analysed in this section begs another question: did the data show that linkages led to project sustainability or not? This is the question that is dealt with in the Section 4.6.3 below.

4.6.2   The Exit Strategies for Achieving Community Project Sustainability.

Most of the development agencies have a lifespan in the impact area which, therefore, calls for putting in place exit mechanisms in order to achieve project sustainability beyond the withdrawal of the development agencies. For Tiwalele Maize Mill which is a MASAF supported project, the government key informants said that it was formally handed over to the LPS after the project was completed and LPS handed over the project to the community. This process implies that linkages to the LPS are ideally important as far as project sustainability is concerned. However, the field findings as earlier on stated indicated that the post-implementation committee was not yet chosen because those volunteers who mooted the idea of the maize mill felt they were the owners and initiators of the project. Therefore, they felt they could not be questioned let alone removed from

the project management committee. It was found out that the founding members wielded enormous powers than anyone else in the community, thereby impacting on the levels of participation by the community. Basically, that is how local elite capture stifles wide, deep and meaningful participation of the general public which in turn lead to compromises on project sustainability.

On the other hand, the Nsondole Cooperative Society was implemented based on what the project manager called 'the partnership approach' which involved the Self Help Development International, local communities and government line ministries. Even before that the participants were provided with various trainings for them to sustain the cooperative after the SHDI withdrawal which was planned for 2008 as it was their last year in the impact area[46]. During the study, the project manager argued that:

"the exit strategies have already been mapped out to ensure smooth hand over. The goal of these exit strategies is to ensure sustainability of project impacts after the project has ended"[47].

In this case the Nsondole Cooperative Society officially handed over their programmes to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security and to the Ministry of Trade and Private Sector Development which are part of the LPS. Maybe, further studies can be done to find out how the LPS would sustain such programmes. Otherwise, the field findings showed that was once more a good case of community project linkage to the LPS with the aim of achieving project sustainability. It is noteworthy that most community projects

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46 The study was done in August 2007, that is, a year before the phase out. In fact the hand over was accordingly done in July 2008 as I write now.

47 C.Kalaiza, Personal Communication, July 21, 2007

eventually come back to the LPS whether they were in the first place linked or not in order to achieve project sustainability.

4.6.3 Relating Linkages to Project Sustainability

From the foregoing findings on linkages, it is clear that there were core activities that were carried out between LPS and the community projects whether the projects were linked or not. The linkages were also problematic in the sense that they did not always occur at the District level but also at other local participatory structures such as the linkages at ADC and VDC levels. Even more problematic could be the linkages that occurred between NGO or community projects and LPS but in private capacity due to financial incentives. Whether the activity or interaction is known at the District level or not does not matter as long as the required services are provided. No wonder Nsondole Cooperative Society had 100% value in the flow of information and local authority policies against 96.6 and 93.3% respectively of Tiwalele Maize mill.

The other problem related to the ignorance of the government machinery by the majority of respondents, which was worsened by low educational levels. Some respondents confused the work done by faith-based and NGOs as agents of government in local development. They, thus, felt that the work that was done by these organisations was work done by the Government of Malawi. This was worsened even further by politicians who used such ignorance to their advantage by confusing the people to believe that any work done in their constituency was the work of their hands. For instance, the Members of Parliament (MPs) from the ruling parties usurped whatever was done in their

constituency as their development work even when it was done by Ward Councilor, NGOs or any other Civil Society Organisation.

However, despite the confusion of the data that is coming out of the findings, all the FGD participants and key informants for Tiwalele Maize Mill and Nsondole Cooperative Society were unanimous that there was no way their projects could achieve project sustainability without being linked to the LPS. In fact most participants asked for improved linkages between LPS and the community projects in order to achieve project sustainability. They argued that linkages could be improved through increased supervision and training of project participants and enhanced two-way information flow between LPS and community projects. One FGD participant who was also a committee member for the Tiwalele Maize Mill requested that:

> "government should have big ears to listen and be sensitive enough to respond to the plight of the poor and the vulnerable to bail them from poverty, and that government should be a partner in development with the community projects so that they complement one another and not just bulldoze what it thinks on the helpless people"[48].

In addition to the above sentiments, respondents from Nsondole Cooperative Society requested government to train them in how to run and manage their projects as one way of building member's capacity. They urged their executive committee to be strong and well organized to demand more services from the LPS. In addition, the people argued for engaging the services of the MPs and Chiefs to strengthen the linkages with government. Finally, the participants urged government to provide infrastructural development such as

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48 B. Kapita, Views of the FGD Participant, September 22, 2007

roads and bridges in the impact area. Although the quantitative data had failed to provide a clear-cut demarcation on what indicators of the linkages could influence project sustainability and to what degree, due to many confounding factors, the qualitative data provided overwhelming evidence that many projects could not achieve project sustainability without the bureaucratic framework called local planning structure in this study. These confounding factors can include linkages that occur at the lower level of the LPS which are not recognised by the higher level authority.

4.7.0   Chapter Summary

Chapter Four has looked at the findings on the two IGAs projects: Tiwalele Maize Mill and Nsondole Cooperative Society in terms of socio-economic characteristics, participation and demand responsiveness, organizational factors affecting project sustainability, the institutionalization of LPS and, finally linkages and project sustainability. The findings have shown that there were high levels of participation which were associated with demand responsiveness. Generally, demand responsiveness was related with project sustainability. There were also considerable matches between the projects' objectives and the people's needs although the water problem remained the unresolved need. Secondly, it has discussed how the organizational factors had influenced project sustainability. The findings have shown that the local organizational capacity had a significant bearing on project sustainability. Principally, there was a positive association between most variables and project sustainability. Thirdly, the study established that although various development partners were playing vital roles in institutionalizing and building capacity of LPS; they undermined the same causes by creating parallel structures besides the already existing ones and worse still, some

development partners chose to be both donors and implementers under the pretext that the LPS had inadequate capacity. In addition, the LPS was faced with the problem of inadequate resources especially financial resources due to the narrow revenue base which curtailed the LPS' capacity to do what was planned and requested by the communities. All these challenges had direct impact on project sustainability in the District. Finally, the quantitative data on the influence of linkages on project sustainability were not categorical given that there were many unexplained linkages that go into influencing the project sustainability. However, qualitative data provided overwhelming evidence that most respondents argued that it was somewhat difficult that community projects could achieve project sustainability without being linked to the LPS and its services such as infrastructural development and capacity strengthening that it was providing.

Chapter Five: Research Results and Discussions for Food Security Projects

5.0   Introduction

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of the findings from Namachete ADP and

The Hunger food security projects. The findings are specifically analysed in six sections

of the chapter. Section 5.1 presents the overview of the two food security projects and

Section 5.2 provides a summary of socio-economic characteristics of the projects which

introduces the background information and Section 5.3 looks at findings that relate to

participation, demand responsiveness vis-à-vis project sustainability. Section 5.4 shows

how project sustainability is affected by local organisational factors. While Section 5.5

presents how development partners have influenced the two food security projects,

Section 5.6 presents the linkages of the LPS as they relate to sustainability of the two

projects. Finally Section 5.7 summarises the overall findings of the chapter.

5.1   Overview of Food Security Projects

This sub-section provides a brief overview of Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project

as the two food security projects on which the comparative analysis of the chapter is

based.

5.1.1   Namachete Food Security Project (Namachete ADP)

Namachete ADP is one of the two food security programmes run and managed by World

Vision International (Malawi) (WVI) in Zomba District and it was started in 1999. It is

involved in what WVI term as transformational development by focusing on food

security, health, water and sanitation, education and gender development among the major activities. The food security is further categorized into crop production, livestock production, food processing and seed multiplication. This ADP is located in Traditional Authority Mwambo and largely work with the Group Village Headmen and village headmen. The impact area was identified after WVI had carried out the needs assessment of the area in conjunction with the District Assembly. Therefore, their main objective was to ensure that communities and households were able to meet their felt needs such as food security, good health, water and sanitation and education.

5.1.2 The Hunger and Food Security Project (THP)

While the Namachete ADP identified Traditional Authority Mwambo through the District Assembly Socio-Economic Profile (SEP) and they had further done the Needs assessment of the area, The Hunger Project (Nsondole Epicentre) was started after the people of Traditional Authority Kuntumanji had requested them. The Hunger Project (Malawi) has two epicentres in Zomba District, namely; the Jali and Nsondole Epicentres. The people of Traditional Authority Kuntumanji had requested for the epicentre, which was accordingly started in 2003, in the Nsondole area after they saw the commendable work that was done at the Jali Epicentre. The epicentre was defined as 'an approach that empowers rural Africans to meet their basic needs on a sustainable basis. It is a unified, people-centred approach that has proven effective in Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Senegal and Uganda' (The Hunger Project, 2005).

According to the Epicentre Project Assistant (EPA)[49] the epicentre is supposed to have the following: 30 villages and it should have 1,500 households, a food bank, rural bank, food processing, dispensary, nursery school, library and an epicentre hall. On the other hand, a sub-epicentre does not have a dispensary, library and nursery school. However, the primary objective of the epicentre is to achieve food security through: Livestock, Rice and Maize production and food processing. In Nsondole Epicentre case, the people contributed land, they moulded bricks and provided fire wood and the rest was done by THP. The Hunger Project is predicated on the epicentre strategy which empowers the rural communities to meet their basic needs on a sustainable basis by advocating change of mind-set, leadership, community vision, commitment and action as its core tenets.

5.2   Socio-Economic Characteristics

This section focuses on a brief description of the following socio-economic characteristics: respondents' sex, age, marital status, education, occupation and the household types of respondents.

5.2.1   Sex, Age and Marital Status of respondents

5.2.1.1   Sex of Respondents by Projects

The findings show that the respondents were dominated by men in both projects: Namachete ADP had (52.5%) and The Hunger Project had (68%) while the rest were women. The FGDs carried out at the two projects attributed this gender difference to the fact that most women are mainly house keepers and they depend on their husband's permission to take loans or not[50]. The former chairman for the Hunger Project stated that:

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49 T. Kalinde, Personal communication, September 3, 2007.

50 Views of some participants from Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project on August 2, 2007 and

"The men are arguably in majority because they are risk takers in regard to getting the project loans which have to be repaid to the respective projects"[51].

5.2.1.2 Age of Respondents by Projects

Namachete had the mean age of 42 and the standard deviation of 11.22 years. The age range was between 32 to 52 years. THP had the mean age of 37.14 and the standard deviation of 11.07 years while the age range was between 26 to 48 years. The findings revealed that most of the respondents were in the age range of 26 to 48 years which was dominated by the economically active, energetic and youthful group purporting the existence of the readily available human resource for project sustainability.

5.2.1.3 Marital Status by Project

The marital status of most of the respondents in Namachete ADP show that they were married (80%) and the project had fewer women who were widowed (12.5%), divorced (5%) and those who had never been married (5%). On the other hand, the respondents from The Hunger Project indicated that 84% were married and the rest were widowed (4.0%), divorced (10%) and never married (2%) as Figure 5.1 below shows. Overall, the marital status of respondents suggest that the majority of these respondents had settled lives in marriages which could provide an important guarantee of permanent residents in the project area who in turn would provide the required human capital if meaningfully harnessed towards project sustainability.

September 3, 2007 respectively.

51 B. Chiwanda, Personal communication, August 1, 2007
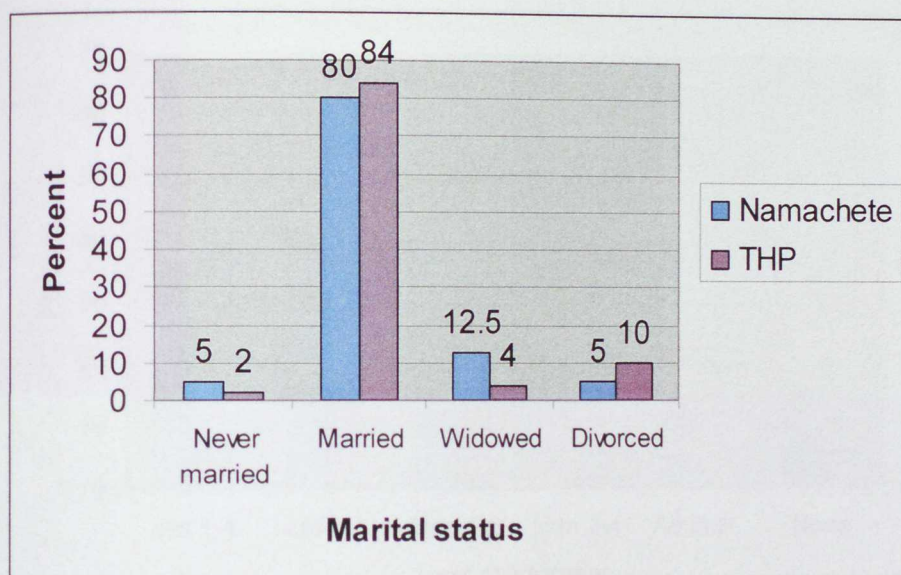
Figure 5.1: Marital Status by Project

5.2.2   Education of Respondents

The findings show relatively high literacy levels of the respondents basing on NSO definition of literacy as 'the ability to read and write in any language' (NSO, 2009, p.14) and Malawi's literacy rate is 64 %. Namachete had 72.5% of the respondents who had done their primary school education, 12.5% had done secondary education, whereas 5% and 10% had attended adult literacy and had no education respectively. On the other hand, THP had 70% of the respondents who attained basic primary education, 24% and 6.0% had secondary education and no formal education respectively (Figure 5.2 below). These findings indicate that the majority of respondents were able to read and write thereby increasing their potential to articulate their needs and aspirations as participants in community projects.
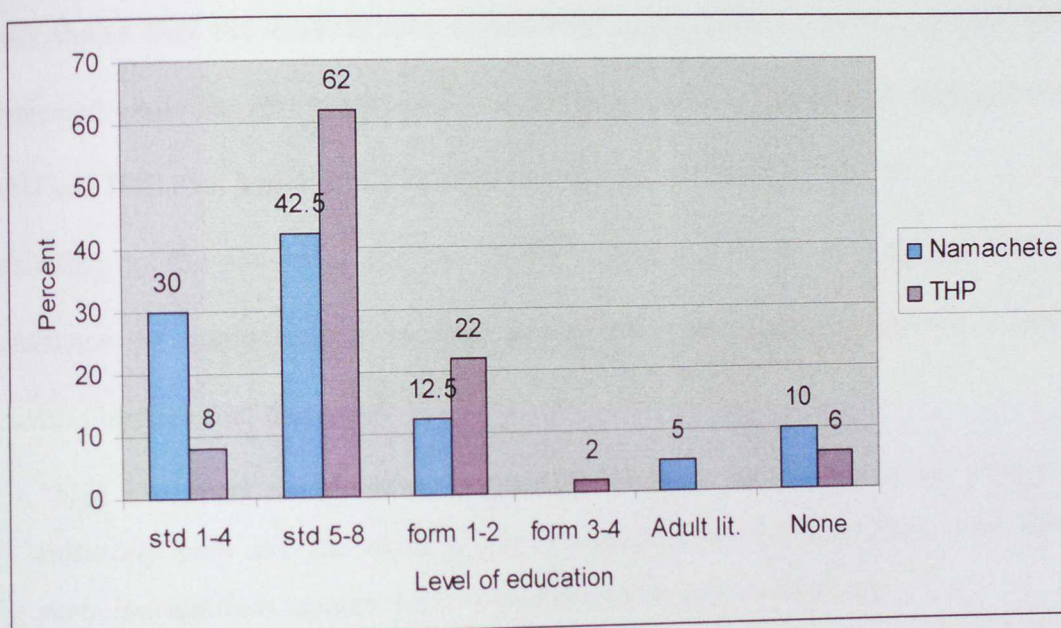
Figure 5.2 : Respondents' Education

5.2.3 Occupation of Respondents

Farming is the predominant occupation of the respondents for both Namachete ADP (72.5%) and THP (82%) as the mainstay of the majority of respondents. The rest of the respondents from Namachete were distributed as labourer (7.5%) and self-employment (20%). In contrast, THP had the rest of respondents in self-employment (14%), labourers (2%) and formal employment (2%). This suggests that there was congruence between what was the major preoccupation of the area and the development interventions by the two projects thereby increasing the potential for project ownership and commitment which are essential for project sustainability.

5.2.4 Respondent's Type of Household

Just as expected of the food security projects in Malawi, the male-headed households dominated in these projects. The NSO indicates that 'most of the crops are dominated by male-headed households in Malawi except pulses' (NSO, 2005, p.97). Similarly this

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study shows that the male-headed respondents in Namachete (85%) and THP (86%) dominated while the rest were female-headed households (Namachete – 15% and THP - 10%) and THP also had 4% of respondents in the child-headed households.

According to the views of the two FGDs carried out in the two project areas the dominance of male-headed farming households who generally control economic activities implies that there are:

"high prospects for project sustainability because naturally men are strong, culturally men are the head of the household and men have more time for participation than women who are kept busy with household chores"[52].

5.3 Participation, Demand Responsiveness and Project Sustainability

This sub-section analyses the findings that relate community participation and demand responsiveness to project sustainability. In that regard Section 5.3.1 provides the results on community participation in the various project activities and how such participation affects project sustainability. Section 5.3.2 presents how the community felt needs are matched to the objectives of the two projects and how such alignment contributes towards project sustainability. Lastly, Section 5.3.3 presents the findings on how community participation affects responsiveness of service delivery which is critical for project sustainability.

5.3.1 Community Participation and Project Sustainability

Table 5.1 below shows the results on how community participation at different levels of the project cycle affects project sustainability. The Table shows a comparative analysis of the findings from Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project.

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52 Views of some participants from Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project on August 2, 2007 and
September 3, 2007 respectively.

Table 5.1: Community Participation in Project Activities

Levels of project Participation in:...	Namachete (n=40)				The Hunger Project (n=50)			
	AGREE		DISAGREE		AGREE		DISAGREE	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Identifying projects	38	95.0	2	5.0	46	92.0	4	8.0
Design of Project	36	90.0	4	10.0	46	92.0	4	8.0
Project cost contribution	39	97.5			48	98.0	2	4.0
Project implementation	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Formulation of project objectives	39	97.5	1	2.5	50	100.0		
Benefit distribution	31	77.5	4	10.0	50	100.0		
Monitoring and Evaluation	31	77.5	9	22.5	50	100.0		
Procurement process	28	70.0	7	17.5	48	96.0	2	4.0
Financial Management	35	87.5	3	7.5	48	96.0	1	2.0
Electing the Committee	39	97.5			50	100.0		
Project sustenance and maintenance	40	100.0			50	100.0		

Note: F stand for Frequency. Agree incorporate both 'strongly agree and 'agree' percentages while Disagree represent both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Table 5.1 indicates that the findings were the same between the two projects in regard to project cost contribution, project implementation and project sustainability and maintenance which had similar percentages of 98%, 100% and 100% respectively. These figures imply high levels of participation in the implementation stages. In terms of cost contributions, the respondents from Namachete ADP said that they paid membership subscriptions and THP provides fertilizers in return for bags of maize in kind. The only activity where Namachete ADP had higher percentages (although with minor differences) was in the project identification where it had 95% against 92% of THP. Probably this was due to the fact that club members continued to do activities in which they had been

specialized for a long time. In contrast, THP had high percentages of 100% in each of the following: project objectives formulation, benefit distribution, monitoring and evaluation and electing committees. Namachete ADP, on the other hand, had 97.5%, 77.5%, 77.5% and 97.5% respectively.

The high percentages of THP could be attributed to the almost transformational participation that was ideally encouraged in the project cycle compared to the instrumental participation that characterized the Namachete ADP. For example all the above activities were carried out in consultation among THP staff representative (EPA), the board, the chiefs, the epicentre committee, loans committee, food bank committee and the participants. In contrast the ADP relied on farm clubs and on what was provided on the table by the donors or well-wishers. As expected on the question 'how the project objectives meet the community problems' THP had 80% and Namachete ADP had only 55%. THP's type of participation was also empowering because the NGO based their work on what affected people wanted and demanded. The results from the Table show that, by and large, the participation levels were higher with THP compared to Namachete ADP whose participation could be described as instrumental rather than transformational. However the activities of the Namachete ADP could be more sustainable than the THP because Namachete ADP is largely linked from the communities to LPS (assuming LPS structures have the potential to sustain the projects) while the THP activities are basically based at the Nsondole epicentre. That is in terms of participation the THP is better but could be more sustainable if it was properly linked to LPS.

5.3.2   The Match between Project Objectives and People's felt Needs

Makumbe cited in Chinsinga contends that 'need to reorient grassroots development strategy is largely based on the perception that, for a project to be sustainable, it must address those problems and aspirations which are identified by the poor themselves and it must have a management structure in which they have confidence' (Chinsinga, 2003, p.132). In that context, this section attempts to analyse people's coded views on how the project objectives were matched to people's felt needs which forms the cornerstone of project ownership and eventual sustainability. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 below compare the frequently mentioned problems in the communities against the objectives of the two projects in the perspective of the respondents themselves.

The results from the Table 5.2 below indicate that the major challenge of the people was water supply which is ranked the highest followed by poverty, hunger and food security, and health facilities. In contrast, it is apparent that the project objectives did not show that the water supply problem was among the agreed objectives of the project. Instead, Namachete had concentrated on the reduction of poverty, hunger and food security. These findings came as a surprise given that Namachete ADP had carried out the needs assessment of the area. It seems the ADP had already preconceived idea of exactly what they had to do. In fact, just like the case of MASAF they had a predetermined menu of what they could do which begs the question of how they really tried to respond to people's preferences. The situation was compounded by the nature of the project. It was involved in providing agricultural inputs as loans which required repayments at an agreed interest. Therefore, their main focus could have shifted to repayment and turnover rates rather than meeting people's preferences. However, all in all, the ADP did a

commendable job in responding to the major challenges of poverty reduction, hunger and food security. This suggests that when NGOs come with predetermined agenda it becomes a big challenge to change it to suit the requirements of those on the ground. This lack of flexibility in the local service provision entails that the potential for project sustainability may somehow be compromised.

Table 5.2: The Match between Namachete ADP's Objectives to People's Needs

Community felt needs (n=40)	Frequency	Project Primary Objectives (n=40)	Frequency
Water Supply	30	To reduce high levels of poverty	24
Reduce high Poverty[53] levels	21	To improve family welfare	17
Food Security	18	To access farm inputs & achieve food security	13
Healthy Facilities	14	To help sell farm produce as a group	12
Adequate Rains and Flood Control	11	To improve farming as a source of livelihood for the club members	5
Farm Inputs e.g. Fertilizers	7	To learn modern farming methods	5
Good Roads and Bridges	6	To create role models for other farmers	4

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53 Poverty is generally defined as 'lack of income, clothes and poor houses' by the respondents in the study.

Table 5.3: The Match between The Hunger Project's Objectives to People's Needs

Community felt needs (n=50)	Frequency	Project Primary Objectives (n=50)	Frequency
Water Supply	41	To reduce hunger & food insecurity	35
Good Roads & Bridges	22	To reduce poverty by improving people's income	22
Food Security	17	To access fertilizers & seeds	18
Reduce High Poverty levels	14	To access loans for farming & IGAs[54]	16
Mitigate OVC[55] Problems	13	To learn modern methods of farming & to teach others	10
Farm Input Loans	12	To change people's attitude & vision	8
Produce Markets	11	To access animals to rear	5

Table 5.3 indicates that some objectives were not matched with the community's felt needs. In this case water supply problems, poor roads and bridges were high in the priority list and yet the project's priority centred on hunger and food security which was the third community priority, and poverty alleviation as their second priority which is the third community priority. However, THP could not be blamed for the mismatch on two important grounds. First, it was the people who had asked the project to do exactly what it was doing and, in that sense, the project responded to the people's request. Second, the project had already bought the water pipes and taps by August 2006 to maintain and rehabilitate what still remained of the water pipes and taps of the MCP era that were vandalized in the wake of multiparty democracy.

To that extent, it can it be argued that THP attempted to respond to the needs of the people. The mismatch also demonstrated that the outsiders need to listen to the owners of

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54 IGAs refer to income generating activities

55 OVC stand for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children

development and be flexible to accommodate new development insights on the ground. The findings have shown that unless development agents are flexible enough to accommodate local knowledge, aspirations and wishes of the beneficiaries their development interventions would not be congruent to what the people value and want, thereby affecting their commitment and willingness to sustain such projects.

5.3.3   Participation and Responsiveness of Service Delivery

Davids et al. argues that, 'development is about people, therefore, development should focus on the aspirations and needs of the people as defined by themselves' (Davids et al., 2005, p.204). In other words, if development is to be effective, meaningful and sustainable it has to be responsive to the needs of the people that it wants to serve. The study findings indicate that the high levels of participation in Table 5.4 below were associated with high percentages in service delivery responsiveness. Both projects showed that community participation resulted in 100% increased participation, strong and stable committee, enhanced project utilization, project ownership, transparency and accountability and finally, in project sustainability. All these activities are important in regard to LDF's empowerment, local governance and local service provision. While THP had 100% responsiveness in the rest of the activities, Namachete had 95% in meeting people's felt needs; 97.5% in beneficiary service delivery; 85% in targeting the poor; and 97.5% for local governance and capacity building each. The findings show a general trend towards the responsive service delivery.

Table 5.4: Project Participation and Responsive Service Delivery

Community participation result in...	Namachete ADP (n=40)				The Hunger Project (n=50)			
	AGREE		DISAGREE		AGREE		DISAGREE	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Meeting people's felt needs	38	95.0	2	5.0	50	100.0		
Beneficiary service satisfaction	39	97.5	1	2.5	50	100.0		
Increased participant motivation	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Strong & stable committee	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Improved targeting of the poor	34	85.0	5	12.5	50	100.0		
Enhanced utilization of projects	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Increased project ownership	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Transparency & accountability	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Improved local governance	39	97.5	1	2.5	50	100.0		
Improved capacity building	39	97.5	1	2.5	50	100.0		
Project sustainability	40	100.0			50	100.0		

Note: F stand for Frequency. Agree incorporate both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' percentages while Disagree represent both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Although both projects' primary aim was to reduce hunger through provision of agricultural inputs and both projects had scarce resources to go round to all farmers. THP had 100% and Namachete had only 85% in targeting the poor. Interestingly, when asked 'if the people were satisfied with the way the project had operated in the past' Namachete had 82.5% and THP had 98%. Generally, the findings show that THP had higher percentages in terms of meeting and satisfying people's needs, targeting the poor and project ownership compared to Namachete ADP through its indicated greater performance.

The views from FGD and key informants from the two projects showed that participation by THP was empowering in the sense that the people were given control of every activity at the epicentre which was not the case with Namachete ADP. The ADP deployed their staff on the ground who controlled nearly every aspect of the people's activities. In this case people's participation was largely instrumental and not empowering. This amounted to controlled participation which is far from being authentic.

The findings confirm the argument that 'the strong interpretation of participation equates participation with empowerment. Public participation as empowerment implies decentralization of decision-making and empowerment also entails self-mobilisation and public control of the development process (Davids et al., 2005, p.117). In this case there was more decentralized decision making in The Hunger Project than in Namachete ADP which was characterized by centralized policies from their headquarters and their donors. In terms of the empowerment, local governance and local service provision of LDF it can be argued that THP is doing better than the ADP.

5.4   Organizational Factors affecting Project Sustainability

As organized communities are more likely to have their voices heard and their demands met than communities with little organization (Narayan, 2002, p.22) this section analyses the organisational factors that affect project sustainability. Organisational factors are important because they have crucial influence on the building blocks of development, namely; public participation, social learning, empowerment and sustainability (Davids et

al., 2005; Chambers, 1997). Table 5.5 shows the findings of the household survey about respondent's views on how the chosen activities determine project sustainability.

Table 5.5: Organisational Factors Determining Project Sustainability

The extent to which sustainability is determined by…	Namachete ADP (n=40)				The Hunger Project (n=50)			
	AGREE		DISAGREE		AGREE		DISAGREE	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Quality of service provision	39	97.5	1	2.5	50	100.0		
Quantity of service provision	40	100.0			50	100.0		
The Collective Action	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Local ownership of the project	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Project capacity	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Project management committee	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Efficient Record Keeping	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Financial management	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Amount of money saved	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Transparency & Accountability	40	100.0			50	100.0		
The Leadership styles	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Group Conflicts			40	100.0	1	2.0	49	98.0
Gender equality	37	92.5	3	7.5	50	100.0		
Political Intolerance	1	2.5	39	97.5			50	100.0

Note: F stand for Frequency. Agree incorporate both 'strongly agree and 'agree' percentages while Disagree represent both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

The two projects show that 100% respondents agreed that project sustainability is determined by quantity of service provision, collective action, local ownership of the project, project capacity, project management committee, efficient record keeping, financial management, amount of money saved, transparency and accountability and leadership. These figures entail that there was general agreement that the mentioned organisational activities have influence on project sustainability. Generally, the studied activities embody the elements of empowerment through social capital, prudent financial

management and local governance of LDF. The FGD participants from the two projects add the following organisation-related activities: proper and efficient use of funds, honesty in repayment of loans, creation of a united team and abiding by the group rules and regulations. While there was 100% agreement from THP that quality of service provision and gender equality determined project sustainability, Namachete had 97.5% and 92.5% agreement levels respectively. This also highlights the importance of local service provision which is one of the important elements of the LDF in the context of which this study was undertaken.

The Namachete ADP and The Hunger Project revealed differences, although their differences were insignificant, in terms of group conflicts and political intolerance. On the whole, the two projects had roughly the same performance except in group conflicts, gender equality and political intolerance. In this case, the respondents from Namachete disagreed that group conflicts (100%) and political intolerance (97.5%) could positively influence project sustainability. Similarly, THP showed that group conflicts (98%) and political intolerance (100%) negatively influenced project sustainability.

The THP 100% result on political intolerance comes about not only because the respondents had been frustrated with their absent representatives but also because the THP had, among its enshrined principles, political non-interference. This is the case because politicians look at short-term concrete achievements whereas THP aims at long-term project sustainability. Some of the views why project sustainability is negatively

affected by politics from the FGDs and coded household survey are included in the Box 5.1 below.

Box 5.1 Political Views from the Respondents and FGDs

 ➢ Politics hinder project sustainability because it is divisive.
 ➢ Politics encourage hatred and non-co-operation.
 ➢ Diverse political views lead to confusion and disputes
 ➢ Politics deter nonpartisan members from participating
 ➢ Politics is basically about lies and persuasive arguments not truths
 ➢ Politics is about votes and winning not about development
 ➢ Politics is segregative and encourage favouritism
 ➢ Politics is about competition and violence

Although the household surveys from both projects showed satisfactory service provision, the FGD participants had problems with the amount of fertilizer and the time the farm inputs were actually delivered. Problems of financial management and lack of transparency and accountability were some of the critical challenges with these two projects. For example, 70% of the respondents from Namachete ADP said that keeping money in the account is not applicable to their clubs as everything is controlled by the Namachete ADP management. In addition all respondents (100%) said that they did not have a food security-specific bank account. This situation could undermine the project sustainability prospects. Overall, there was adequate data that indicated that local organisational factors had positive influence on project sustainability. To underline the importance of local organisation capacity both projects had put in place mechanisms to

organise the people in groups. Namachete requested communities to be well organized in clubs which acted as collateral for loans they received; the club members were required to clearly state their objectives that suited their local setting. Above that, the consent of a chief was a prerequisite before the club could be registered with the ADP. It was argued by the key informants that these arrangements were put in place to help improve the repayment rates.

Likewise, the club members of The Hunger Project were required to, first and foremost, subscribe to THP principles which included the change of mindset from dependency to self-sufficiency, to have leadership potential, community-specific vision, and commitment to the principles and put those principles to action. Moreover, the club members and THP were required to have a cost-sharing arrangement. In the first year THP was supposed to contribute 100% of the whole cost; in the second year THP was supposed to contribute 75% while the community 25%; in the third year both THP and the community were require to contribute 50% each; in the fourth year, THP was required to contribute 25% and the community 75% and in the last year of the project, the community was required to contribute the whole 100%. This arrangement aims at achieving project sustainability after the THP exits. This cost-sharing approach is more empowering because it teaches how the rural people could be self-sufficient after the development agents exits. The approach is empowering because as has been argued by Dongier et al. that 'experience has demonstrated that demand is better articulated when communities contribute to investment choices' (Dongier et al., 2001, p.5). Despite that the scope of the study could not determine whether the project had achieved

sustainability or not, the findings demonstrate that THP has great potential for Project sustainability than Namachete ADP.

5.4.1 The Influence of Management Committee on Sustainability

This sub-section presents views by respondents on how the management committee helped influence project sustainability. On the question of 'the extent of respondents' satisfaction with their committee', the two projects had almost similar values: Namachete ADP indicated that 97.5% respondents were satisfied with the committee while THP had 98%. In terms of the committee influencing project sustainability, both projects had 100% of their respondents agreeing to that proposition. The findings only confirm that multi-layered committee system is more accountable and transparent. For example, Namachete ADP had the club committee from which representatives were sent to the ADP Committee where the Group Village Headmen, committee members and Programme Manager met to discuss the implementation of activities in the clubs. The direct link between the chiefs and the Programme Manager meant that the oversight role of the chiefs was strengthened as they reported something whenever they had a meeting with the manager. One FGD participant agreed with this argument by saying that:

> *"meeting the Programme Manager directly is better than getting information through the staff of Namachete ADP because they distort the real gist of information for their own benefit"[56].*

This arrangement entails that there is direct flow of information from people's representatives to the decision makers, and vice versa, which is critical for empowerment, local governance and local service provision.

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[56] Views of the FGD participants from Namachete ADP on August 2, 2007.

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Similarly, THP had the same multi-layered committee system. THP had the club committees at the village level. The two village clubs, in conjunction with the chiefs, sent one representative to the epicentre committee which, together with the EPA, report to the THP Board. In this arrangement there was nothing that the THP could do without the knowledge and endorsement of the epicentre committee and vice versa. Even if the epicentre committee was the main committee here, each component over which they had jurisdiction also had a separate committee. The EPA had this to clarify his arguments:

"The food bank, loans and rural bank have distinct committees who in turn report to the epicentre (superior) committee. Besides, the epicentre committee consists of the activity-specific committees. The checks and balances thus set up are watertight against corruption, theft and financial mismanagement, hence, achieving the accountability and transparency, proper targeting of beneficiaries, empowerment and project sustainability[57].

The FGDs also talked highly of their committee that they helped influence project sustainability by encouraging members to work hard and that they strategized about the future plans of the project. Generally, there was consensus from the two projects about the influence of management committees on the project sustainability.

5.4.2 The Capacity of Communities to influence the Local planning structure

This sub-section shows how sustainable projects can be achieved through the efforts of the affected communities. On the question of project ownership Namachete ADP had 92.5% of respondents saying the project was owned by the community and THP indicated 92% in that regard. The sense of project ownership is very critical for the sustainability of community projects. In respect to the knowledge of the LPS by the

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57 T. Kalinde, Personal Communication, September 3, 2007

community Namachete had 87.5% and THP had 88%. These findings are remarkable given that Namachete was strongly linked to LPS and THP was weakly linked to it.

In fact the findings showed that the intermediaries between the community and LPS such as NGOs and CBOs did not pass on the information to the people they represented in the rural areas. Furthermore, the majority of respondents knew about the LPS through the radio. For example, Namachete had 85% and THP had 74% of their respondents who learned about LPS through the radio and only 10% and 6% did so from the local leaders. As well as playing a key role in project sustainability, the community is supposed to spearhead the role of linking their projects to the LPS so that benefits from such projects can be sustained for a long period of time.

On the question of community influence on the LPS the findings were rather striking. The respondents (75%) from Namachete showed that their community was able to influence decision making of LPS in their favour and THP indicated a surprising figure of 98% and yet it was weakly linked project. While Namachete relied on chiefs (42.5%) and only 7.5% on politicians as ways of influencing the LPS, THP largely depended on chiefs (70%) and only 18% on politicians to influence the LPS. These findings further imply that although the study developed its indicators for weakly and strongly linked projects there are more channels that people use other than the ones commonly known to the LPS. For instance THP was able to influence LPS decisions through chiefs and local politicians rather than the formal channels that were widely known and used.

5.4.3   Respondents' Views on Project Sustainability

This sub-section presents respondents' views on three questions, namely; 'what did they understand by project sustainability?' 'How beneficial was project sustainability to the community?' And, 'How could the community make projects sustainable without the help of LPS?' Both Namachete ADP and THP had incorporated variables of sustainability in their projects despite having different perspectives on the issue. For instance, the Program Manager for World Vision International (Malawi) explained that:

> *"Namachete ADP measures project sustainability by using the twelve transformational development indicators (TDIs). Through these indicators which include community participation in development, social sustainability, household resilience and primary education, the ADP is able to measure progress or lack of it. In this case, social sustainability refers to 'the capacity of local community organizations to sustain the long-term viability and impact of development processes"*[58].

However, the study found out that it was apparent that the ideal of transformational development was not yet close to its fulfillment due to the large impact area of the project. In spite of this, there was considerable work that was done towards achieving their development transformational indicators.

Similarly, the EPA for THP indicated that sustainability for THP is based on:

> *"the epicentre strategy which incorporate, inter alia, securing high-level support of state and communities, works to overcome the mind-set of resignation and dependency, building social and physical infrastructures, creating strong linkages with Local Government and build sustainability through self-reliance.*

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58 H. Wala, Personal Communication, August 14, 2007

This is because traditional development projects never succeeded in making the transition from donor dependency to sustainability but the epicentre strategy is different in that sustainability is established from the start [59].

The EPA also indicated that their activities were measured against the eight MDGs which include: cutting hunger and poverty by half by 2015, empowering women, cutting child mortality by two-thirds, stopping HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases and the other four MDGs. The study findings established that there was some evidence that people's mind set was somewhat positively changed, linkages with LPS were evident at the local participatory levels and not with the district level, self-reliance was evident in food security and not in other components. In terms of the MDGs there was evidence of food security but not in poverty reduction, women were empowered through IGAs and food processing. There was reduction in child mortality and other diseases but the evidence for HIV and AIDS was beyond the scope of this study.

On the question: 'should the community projects be sustained into the long run?' 100% of the respondents from both projects provided affirmative answers. In respect to the benefits that could be derived from projects being sustained into the long-term, respondents from both projects had come up with many benefits that could accrue to the participants. Respondents of Namachete ADP said that project sustainability would increase benefits to many members of the project, thereby ultimately reducing members' poverty levels. The group could help them sell their farm produce as a group not as individuals as they were then doing because such arrangements were exploitative. The poor were exploited because they lacked produce markets and good roads to the markets

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[59] T. Kalinde, Personal Communication, September 3, 2007

and in the process they became desperate sellers who easily fell prey to the private traders who bought from them at exploitative prices. Moreover, most respondents argued that many members would learn modern methods of farming from the group which eventually would translate into increased output and income.

In addition to the above facts, respondents from THP indicated that project sustainability would enable more participants taking part in the activities of the epicentre, thereby scaling up the poverty reduction process. While some said sustainability of the epicentre would help many people access loans in both the farm inputs and in cash for IGAs, others argued that if that trend continued the problem of hunger and food security could be a thing of the past. More significantly, they argued that sustainability of the epicentre would help in the change of mind-set which could culminate in people being self-reliant and transformed in terms of development. However, this could depend on their organisational capacity and their partnership with the LPS in the early stages of development before they can graduate into another level.

On the question of ways to make the community projects sustainable without the help of LPS, the two projects provided many answers. Respondents from Namachete presented the following ways of achieving project sustainability: by maintaining the capital that was provided to the participants, by improving on the capacity that had already been provided to the people, by working as a united community and by diversifying in their farming and income generating activities. On the same question the respondents from THP came up with the following answers: by working hard and being dedicated, by saving more money in the bank for future use, by improving the linkages with the communities and the local

leaders and by improving on the food bank which was a strong base for future loans. On the whole, these views try to show that the communities attached great importance to project sustainability because they were able to see the benefits that accrued to them as participants as well as the benefits that would accrue to them in the long run.

5.5.0 The Influence of Development Partners and Local Planning Structure on the sustainability of Food Security Projects

The discussion on the Institutionalisation of LPS and project sustainability (Section 4.5) and the capacity of LPS to sustain projects (Section 4.5.1) and the influence of Development Partners on LPS (Section 4.5.2) in Chapter Four also apply to this Section. However, differences arose because of the different ways the IGA and Food Security projects were influenced. Therefore, this section only looks at how Development Partners and LPS affected the food security projects in the study sites. For instance, a committee treasurer for Namachete ADP appreciated the services done by the LPS by saying:

"The extension workers provide us with important agricultural services. They teach us modern methods of farming in our clubs. They also provide vertinary services for those engaged in animal farming. The main challenge with them, however, is that the extension workers are inadequate in the impact area and that the majority of them are lazy as they love to drink Kachasu (local brew)"[60].

"Some of us have benefited in development work through chiefs and village development committees and not from politicians. In addition, most people in this area have benefited from MASAF Public Works where they got K200 per

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60 K. Mbulilo, Personal Communication with Committee member, July 29, 2007

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day for twelve days to maintain local roads. We also benefit from the boreholes that are drilled in some villages in the area"[61].

"Together with World Vision International the LPS staff train us in orphan care, HIV and AIDS, ECD and many others. However they don't train us in how to write good proposals. They rarely visit and monitor our clubs. We are just left like orphans without parents and when we harvest the crops we have nowhere to sell it as government does not facilitate our accessibility to the produce market"[62].

The study findings revealed that indeed the visits by the extension workers were rather periodic and even less from the LPS. The District Agricultural Development Officer also confirmed that the number of extension officers was by far inadequate[63]. The participation by the chiefs in Namachete ADP and the VDC and ADC formed an important link between the local participatory structures and ADP. The challenges relating to extension workers could negatively affect project sustainability while participation in the local participatory structures could positively affect sustainability of the projects.

On the other hand, the findings from THP demonstrated almost similar views from the Key Informants but by way of addition they said:

"LPS provide us with extension workers such as vertinary assistants, medical personnel from District Health Office. However we would request Government to provide loans to farmers through Malawi Rural Development Fund (MARDEF) and extend the subsidised fertilizers the project members"[64].

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61 S. Namachotsa, Personal Communication with Committee member, July, 30, 2007

62 Views of the FGD participants from Namachete ADP, August 3, 2007

63 H.Msatilomo, Personal Communication, December 15, 2007

64 M. Chimbalanga, Personal Communication with Epicentre Committee Chairman, September 5, 2007

"The LPS has played a central role in the infrastructural and economic development through provision of water supply, good roads and bridges and construction of Local Education Area (LEA) Schools"[65].

The findings show the important role the LPS played in development work despite that some NGOs were not formally linked to it. It also showed the need for the provision of public goods as well as services that could not be provided by NGOs such as roads, bridges and technical know-how. Furthermore, the study revealed that some NGOs that were not formally linked to the LPS eventually fell in the trap of duplicating activities that were done by other development partners. The fact that the same people from Group Village Headman Bimbi and Kumbwani were members of both THP and Nsondole Cooperative Society is a classic case in point. These are some of the challenges that the District Development Planning System attempts to avoid.

5.6.0   The Linkages and Project Sustainability

Just like Section 4.6.0 in Chapter Four this section looks at how the various linkages between LPS and community projects relate to the sustainability of food security projects. The decentralization process provides the communities with an opportunity window for community participation through linkages which are conceived as an interface between grassroots communities and LPS. The District Development Planning System offers possibilities for new processes of participatory planning and dialogue between citizens and their local leaders in order to influence priorities of LPS. In that

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[65] Views of the FGD participants from THP, September 3, 2007

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regard, this section answers the question: 'how are available linkages helping to influence sustainability of the food security projects?'

5.6.1 The Project Linkages to the Local Planning Structure

This section analyses the findings on the various linkages between the LPS and the community-driven development projects as well as relate those linkages to project sustainability. The section is premised on the hypothesis that linkages in the LPS significantly leads to project sustainability. Table 5.6 below provides the findings of the household survey.

Table 5.6: Project linkages to the Local Planning Structure

The extent to which projects are linked to the Local Planning Structure...	Namachete ADP (n=40) Strongly Linked		Weakly Linked		The Hunger Project (n=50) Strongly Linked		Weakly Linked	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Control of budget & funds	4	10.0	35	87.5			50	100.0
Supervisory work	4	10.0	36	90.0	2	4.0	48	96.0
Number of progress report	1	2.5	39	97.5	4	8.0	46	92.0
Accountability to LPS	1	2.5	39	97.5	1	2.0	49	98.0
Flow of government funds			40	100.0	1	2.0	49	98.0
Flow of donor funds			40	100.0	1	2.0	49	98.0
Local Planning & Budget process	30	75.0	10	25.0	42	84.0	8	16.0
Local Participatory development	40	100.0			49	98.0	1	2.0
VDC & ADC participation	39	97.5	1	2.5	46	92.0	2	4.0
Local authority policies	30	75.0	10	25.0	50	100.0		
Information flow	40	100.0			49	98.0	1	2.0
Cost sharing activities	40	100.0			50	100.0		
Procurement process	5	12.5	34	85.0	27	54.0	23	46.0
Project capacity building	13	32.5	27	67.5	40	80.0	10	20.0
Financial management	12	30.0	28	70.0	33	66.0	17	34.0
Technical assistance	17	42.5	23	57.5	40	80.0	9	18.0

Note: weakly linked column was formed by collapsing together 'not at all linked' and 'weakly linked' data and strongly linked column was formed by collapsing 'fairly linked' and 'strongly linked' columns. F stands for Frequency.

The Table illustrates that Namachete ADP and THP had no linkages to the LPS in the following: control of budgets and funds (Namachete had 87.5% against THP's 100%); supervisory work (Namachete had 90% and THP had 96%); number of progress reports (Namachete had 97.5% and THP had 92%); accountability to LPS (Namachete had 97.5% against THP's 98%); flow of government funds (Namachete had 100% and THP had 98%) and flow of donor funds (Namachete had 100% and THP 98%). These findings did not come as a surprise given that Namachete ADP was a strongly linked project to the LPS and yet it was showing not linked just as the THP which was weakly linked. These two projects were both NGO-initiated projects and the data that came out in terms of flow of government funds, accountability to LPS could have been influenced by some respondents' ignorance on what was basically for government and what was specifically for the NGOs. For example, some respondents confused what was done by NGOs as delegated government responsibilities. For them, every development activity is a government sponsored activity. For other respondents the work that was done by government in conjunction with the NGO was credited only as NGO work and not to both partners. Besides, it was difficult for them to demarcate exactly where government stops and where NGOs starts. In that way this data has to be used with caution.

Namachete ADP is an example of the indirect linkage where the club committees were linked to an NGO (World Vision Malawi) and the NGO was in turn strongly linked to the LPS. What actually happened in this case was that the NGO consolidated all its project activities and sent periodic consolidated reports to the LPS. However, it is true as indicated above that LPS had little or no control over budgets and funds, flow of any

funds as most of their funds went direct to the implementing agencies. In addition, it is also true that in most activities in the table, LPS had no control over THP. In fact, they reported direct to their donors through their country director.

For the fact that both Namachete ADP and THP work with rural and agricultural farming households accounts for high percentages of the respondents who said that they were strongly linked to local planning structure's local developmental activities. These activities included: local planning & budget process (Namachete had 75% and THP had 84%) and for local participatory development, VDC and ADC participation, local authority policies, information flow and cost sharing activities, Namachete ADP had 100%, 97.5%, 75%, 100% and 100% against THP's 98%, 92%, 100%, 98%, and 100% respectively. THP had high percentages for procurement processes, capacity building, financial management and technical assistance due to their dependency on government experts for their trainings. In this case the financial management did not refer to the actual handling of finances but referred to the knowledge that a certain amount of money was disbursed in the District for the agreed activities. Surprisingly, the Namachete, who relied on their own trainers reported lower percentages on the above activities.

These findings indicated that the linkages involved complicated processes which were not, as earlier on alluded to, conclusively established. Many factors could help explain this predicament. First, it was impossible to record all the linkages that occurred between government and community projects. Second, some field workers formed their own lower level linkages which were not visible at the District [LPS] level. Third, to isolate

one factor such as linkages from a package of factors that influenced project sustainability was also problematic. Worse still, the project managers of the two NGOs agreed to the fact that linkages were as complicated as they were numerous but underscored its importance by adding:

"No matter what mechanisms we set up it is totally impossible to pinpoint all the processes that go in the linkages as some are formal and many more are at personal, brotherly and in private capacity. However, there is no way the NGO fraternity can be divorced from the services of LPS in terms of policy guidance, provision of public goods and technical expertise"[66].

5.6.2   The Exit Strategies for achieving Community Project Sustainability

Most of the development agencies have a lifespan in the impact area which, therefore, calls for putting in place exit mechanisms in order to achieve project sustainability beyond the withdrawal of the development agencies. In that regard, this sub-section looks at how the projects under study had planned to achieve project sustainability after the exit of their sponsors and what was done in that regard. Namachete ADP attempted to make development interventions sustainable by focusing on people's transformation in the impact area through the twelve Transformational Development Indicators (TDIs).

The TDIs included the indicators on the following thematic areas: nutrition, water, primary education, household resilience, poorest households, community participation and social sustainability. The participants were empowered to make sure that they were able to identify their potential, shortfalls and be able to look for external assistance to

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[66] H. Wala and T. Kalinde, Personal Communication, August 14, 2007 and September 3, 2007 respectively.

manage their projects. The people were also provided with capacity to improve the management of the projects even after the exit of the ADP. Besides that Namachete ADP implemented activities that would ideally meet people's felt needs and they encouraged the people to have the vision of their area. More importantly, they worked in partnership with the LPS which chiefly provided the coordinating role and technical guidance. The study findings also confirmed some of these strides on the ground especially in terms of transformational development indicators. However, the main challenge was with the size of the impact area which was too big for immediate and concrete impacts.

On the other hand, THP predetermined that sustainability was established from the start. In this regard, epicenters generated sufficient funds to maintain their facilities from proceeds from the community farm, off-farm income-generating projects, interest payments to the bank, usage fees from food processing equipments, and rentals from the main community hall. In fact, club members of THP were required to, first and foremost, subscribe to THP principles which included the change of mindset from dependency to self-sufficiency, leadership, community-specific vision, commitment to the principles and putting those principles into action.

Moreover, the club members and THP were required to have a cost-sharing arrangement as illustrated earlier on (Section 5.4 on page124). This arrangement ensured that the community achieved project sustainability after the THP finished their work after the five-year period. In addition, the arrangement included a crucial aspect of the financial sustainability which is often overlooked. THP showed that the donors provided the supply side and THP provided the demand side. The THP plan confirmed that

beneficiaries' willingness and ability to pay for services is central issue for the demand side of sustainability (Shediac-Rizkallah & Bone, 1998, p.101). However, the experience on the ground show that a commendable job was done in terms of changing people's way of thinking which was largely based on dependency thinking to the level of being creative. Creativity and assertiveness are important steps towards changing the mindset in relation to self-sufficiency.

The FGD participants[67] argued that they were now able to diversify in their IGAs and commercial farming. They added that they were able to understand the importance of team work and visionary leadership in their community. Lastly, the participants argued that the cost-sharing arrangements enabled them to articulate their aspirations and views more forcefully and effectively due to their increased sense of responsibility and ownership of the project activities. Generally speaking, Namachete ADP's key informants argued that the ADP would always be strongly linked to the LPS for the sake of project sustainability[68] by working within the DDPS of the LPS while THP's management[69] was determined to empower the community to the self-sufficiency but they did not discount partnerships [linkages] to the LPS because they depended on the LPS for technical work, policy regulatory issues and local governance structures.

5.6.3   Relating Linkages to Project Sustainability

While the importance of linkages between community projects and LPS can not be discounted, the quantitative findings of the study are not able to provide conclusive results about the actual relationship between linkages and project sustainability. When

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[67] Views of the FGD participants from THP on September 19, 2007

[68] P. Chiwaya, Personal Communication with The Development Facilitator, August 14, 2007

[69] Views of the EPA of Nsondole epicentre on September 3, 2007

some linkage indicators apply to a project because it is strongly linked project, it might as well apply to the weakly linked project because the LPS is dealing with them in the local participatory structures and not necessarily because the projects work with an NGO. Government [LPS] is like a pool of experts who provide major technical know-how to most service providers at different levels and at different times. What is more problematic is the fact that such linkages are not documented in such a way that the study can isolate linkages that can be used and which ones can be controlled.

Although quantitative data show inconclusive results on the relationship between linkages and project sustainability, qualitative data provide overwhelming evidence that project sustainability is largely dependent on the linkages between community project and LPS. In this context one FGD participant from Namachete ADP concurred by this by saying:

> *"there is no way we can succeed without the services of government officials. We cannot do away with their partnership. We need vertinary services, health personnel, community workers, social workers and many field assistants to help us in various ways"*[70].

The other participants from Namachete ADP requested that government should continue with their regular supervisory visits and should also provide feedback to people's requests and proposals in order to reinforce the linkages. In addition, participants requested government to hold frequent meetings with the communities as away of getting to know about their needs and simultaneously, civic educating the masses on government policies and procedures. The other FGD participants requested LPS in this way:

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70 Views of the FGD participants from Namachete ADP on August 2, 2007

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"The LPS should provide us with public goods such as infrastructures to improve access to social services. Further, government has to link us to produce markets so that we can benefit from our hard-earned produce. Otherwise, the private traders can continue to buy from the farmers but government should fix minimum prices based on the prevailing prices on the market to avoid their exploitation"[71].

On the other hand, THP participants[72] had their own views on the factors that could strengthen linkages between LPS and community projects. Some participants argued that government should work with communities as responsive partners and not as neutral observers of development who are merely enticed by the love of allowances. In other words, government officials should be part of the development process and not be uninterested people forced by the wish to get the allowances and go. On their part, participants agreed that poor choices of local representatives should be avoided because they were choosing either absent or irresponsible representatives since 1994 who did not link them to the right government officials, let alone help them in any development activity. The participants blamed themselves by affirming that:

"local representatives take advantage of us because we are not united in both voting in and voting out any representative and worse still, make local representatives accountable in the post-election period. They give us a packet of sugar and buy us over their support but when they win they are never seen until the next election time"[73].

Government was also requested to provide capacity building so that the people could be self-reliant in the long run. Finally, the respondents said that communities should make

71 Views of the FGD participants from Namachete ADP on August 2, 2007
72 Views of the FGD participants from THP on September 19, 2007
73 Views of the FGD participants from THP on September 19, 2007

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initiatives to be linked to the LPS and the elderly participant encapsulated everything in the words: 'womva mmimba ndiye atsekula chitseko' (meaning: 'one who suffers from stomachache is the one who opens the door'). This means that those who have a problem should be the first to take the responsibility of identifying it and taking effective steps towards its address.

In general, Namachete ADP and THP approach to the type of government relationship with them is somewhat based on different premises. Namachete would wish to have a paternalistic relationship whereby government as an authority takes the lead and the others follow. This is basically based on unequal power partnership. On their part, THP would wish to have complementary partnership in the sense that the community should work towards self-reliance by their own initiatives at first and government should come in only when their technical expertise is needed and not otherwise. In a way it can be argued that the study has illustrated how an integrated approach to development enhances the sustainability of local development process by strengthening the institutions, capacities, and collective resources that constitute the capital stock for local development the is espoused

5.7.0   Chapter Summary

Chapter Five has looked at overview of food security projects: Namachete ADP and THP, their socio-economic characteristics, participation and demand responsiveness, organizational factors affecting project sustainability and, linkages and project sustainability. The findings have shown that there were higher levels of participation which were associated with demand responsiveness. There was also considerable match between the projects' objectives and the people's needs, although the water problem

remained the unresolved need. The findings entail significant project responsiveness to people's needs. The high percentages of The Hunger Project could be attributed to the almost transformational participation that occurs in the project cycle compared to the instrumental participation that characterizes the Namachete ADP. In terms of the empowerment, local governance and local service provision of LDF it can be argued that THP is doing better than the ADP.

Secondly, the chapter has discussed how the local organizational factors influenced project sustainability. It has shown that the local organizational capacity had a significant bearing on project sustainability. The importance of service provision which is one of the elements of the LDF was also highlighted. The findings demonstrated that the communities attached great importance to project sustainability because they were able to see the benefits that accrued to them as participants as well as the benefits that would accrue to them in the long run.

Thirdly, the influence of the development partners on LPS and sustainability of food security projects was demonstrated. Despite having many challenges to do with inadequate staff, community projects depend on the LPS for the extension services, technical training and guidance and more significantly, on the infrastructural and economic development. It was also indicated that the failure by some NGOs to align their activities to LPS resulted in the duplication of some activities in the impact area for THP and Nsondole Cooperative Society.

Finally, the quantitative findings on the influence of linkages on project sustainability are not categorical given the many unexplained factors that go into influencing project

sustainability. This is the case because it is difficult to record all linkages occurring in the District, be it formal and informal. However, project managers, government officials and the participants are unanimous that community projects can not operate without being linked to the LPS in one way or another. Therefore, the qualitative data provide overwhelming evidence that most community projects can not achieve project sustainability without being linked to the LPS whether the project is weakly and strongly linked to the LPS.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

6.0   Introduction

This chapter provides the major findings and conclusions of the study, followed by recommendations based on them. Finally, the study gaps are presented for further and future research.

6.1   Conclusions

The study has shown that community-driven projects can achieve optimum allocation and utilisation of resources by maximising the influential factors and minimise the deterrent factors of sustaining any project investments. It has established that this is achievable through community project participation, local organisational capacity, institutionalisation of LPS and linkages between the LPS and community projects within the context of LDF. The findings are based on a comparative study of four projects divided into two groups: two IGAs projects and two food security projects.

In this context, the study has found that the response of projects to people's needs was considerably high although development partners and their programmes had a standardized menu about what exactly they could and what they could not provide. This was compounded by the elite capture which did not involve the communities in the choice of what they needed. This implies that the opportunity space and choice options for the rural people were reduced thereby hindering their commitment and empowerment which are integral to project sustainability.

Secondly, the study established that there was a positive relationship between organizational factors and project sustainability. This was shown in the capacity of

communities to organise themselves in groups and being more able to articulate their needs and aspirations through their management committees and local leaders. As local organisation capacity (or social capital) is about empowerment, an empowered community has more capability to improve linkages between community projects and LPS which are essential for project sustainability.

Thirdly, the findings revealed that development partners played a significant role in institutionalising the LPS which in turn affected sustainability of community projects. However, this important role was undermined by some donors who created parallel structures besides the already existing ones and worse still, some development partners chose to be both donors and implementers under the pretext that the LPS had inadequate capacity. In addition, the LPS was faced with problems of inadequate resources especially financial resources due to the narrow revenue base which curtailed the LPS' capacity to do what was planned and requested by the communities. All these challenges had direct impact on project sustainability in the District. Despite having the challenges outlined above, community projects depended on the LPS for the extension services, technical training and guidance and more importantly, on the infrastructural and economic development.

Finally, the quantitative data on the influence of linkages on project sustainability was not categorical given that there were many unexplained linkages that go into influencing the project sustainability, particularly linkages based on informal arrangements and those that occur below the LPS. However, qualitative data from the key informants and FGDs provided overwhelming evidence to the extent that most respondents argued that it was

somewhat difficult that community projects could achieve project sustainability without being linked to the LPS specifically in terms of infrastructural development and capacity strengthening that the LPS provided. The findings confirmed the studies that claim that projects that by-pass the LPS would not achieve the project sustainability because the LPS is the only legal and regulatory framework that is found in all places and it is legally underpinned. It can also be argued that the study has illustrated how an integrated approach to development enhances the sustainability of local development process by strengthening the institutions, capacities, and collective resources that constitute the capital stock for local development the is espoused

6.2   Recommendations

Taking into consideration the field findings and the above conclusions, the study recommends that:

(a) To avoid unscrupulous development agencies all development activities should be managed and controlled by the institutionalized LPS as there are many loopholes that NGOs currently use. The LPS should provide the regulatory and legal framework for all stakeholders in the grassroots development. This can be achieved by aligning all the development activities in the district to the district development plans and the socio-economic profile. In addition, all stakeholders in grassroots development have to use the existing structures such as the local participatory structures below the LPS.

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(b) There is need for intensive civic education about the working machinery of the LPS or public sector in general as this is a new phenomenon of the multiparty dispensation. In this case, civic education is imperative because most people do not know the purpose and roles of local participatory structures such as Area Development Committee and yet they were set up to institutionalise people's participation. Furthermore, the majority of people do not know the responsibilities of various local representatives such as councilors and their chiefs. In a way, the lack of civic education closes the opportunity space for which the decentralization policy was launched to open for the rural people.

(c) In order to strengthen the linkages between the community projects and LPS, all district projects should be part of the District Development Planning System (DDPS) and the District Socio-Economic Profile (SEP).

(d) There is need to reorient all development interventions strategies so that they help address the problems and aspirations of the people for which development is intended and thus make community projects sustainable.

(e) The aspects of project sustainability should be incorporated at the design and planning stages of the project cycle management partly by making people's participation transformational, meaningful and effective.

6.3   Areas for Future Research

This study has identified gaps for future and further research. These areas include:

(a) Further research study can investigate if at all the partnerships between the local planning structure and communities result in improved service delivery in terms of speed, quantity and quality of services delivered.

(b) A comparative case study can be done to compare government-initiated projects and NGO-initiated projects in regard to project sustainability.

(c) Further studies can be done to establish how the MASAF-sponsored projects are sustainable since they were launched in 1995.

(d) Further comparative research can be done on how project sustainability is achievable between those projects that plan for sustainability in the planning and design stage and those projects that do not plan for such interventions at all.

(e) Further studies can look at how the LDF has been used in Malawi's Decentralization process and community-driven development projects.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION)

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI

CHANCELLOR COLLEGE

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER:

"SUSTAINABILITY OF COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT

PROJECTS IN ZOMBA (2007) QUESTIONNAIRE"

Project Name_____ Village_____

GVH_____ TA_____

The Interviewer_____ DATE_____

Date of Data Entry_____ BY:_____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

NO.	QUESTION		ANSWER
1	Name of Household head		
2	Name of Respondent		
3	Age of Respondent		
4	Sex of Respondent	1	Male
		2	Female
5	Relationship to household head	1	Head
		2	Wife
		3	Child
		4	Grand Child
		5	Other (Specify)
6	The type of Household of the respondent	1	Male-headed household
		2	Female-headed household
		3	Child-headed household
		4	Other (Specify)
7	Marital status of the Respondent	1	Never married
		2	Married
		3	Widowed
		4	Divorced
		5	Separated
8	Highest education of the Respondent	1	Primary lower (Std 1-4)
		2	Primary upper (Std 5-8)
		3	Secondary lower (Form 1-2)
		4	Secondary upper (Form 3-4)
		5	Tertiary
		6	Adult literacy
		7	No formal education
9	How many people are in the household		
10	What is your major occupation in the household	1	Farming
		2	Labourer
		3	Self-employment
		4	Formal employment
		5	Other (Specify)

B.	PROJECT ALIGNMENT TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS						
NO.	**QUESTION**		**ANSWER**				
1	Who initiated your project	1	The community				
		2	The local leaders				
		3	District Assembly				
		4	Central government				
		5	Development partners				
		6	Other (Specify)				
2	Outline the first four problems in your community	1					
		2					
		3					
		4					
3	What are the four primary objectives of the project	1					
		2					
		3					
		4					
		5	Don't Know				
4.1	Do the project objectives meet the community priority needs?	1	Yes (if yes go to B4.2)				
		2	No (if No go to B4.3)				
4.2	Which community problems are met by the existence of the project?	1					
		2					
		3					
		4	Don't Know				
4.3	Why are the felt needs not met?						
5	What is the level of participation in the project by the community?	1	Strongly Agree (SA)				
		2	Agree (A)				
	For each of the following variable select whether you agree with it or not.	3	Disagree (D)				
		4	Strongly Disagree (SD)				
	Most people participated in…	5	Don't know (DK)				
			SA	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**DK**
5.1	Identification of the project						
5.2	Design of the project						
5.3	Implementation of the project						
5.4	Cost contributions to the project						
5.5	Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E)						
5.6	Benefit distribution						
5.7	Financial Management						
5.8	Procurement process						
5.9	Formulating project objectives						
5.10	Electing the committee						

B	PROJECT ALIGNMENT TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS (Continued)						
NO.	**QUESTION**		**ANSWER**				
6	Does community project participation result in responsive service delivery? Use the provided answer matrix to show whether you agree or not. **Community participation result in…**	1	Strongly Agree (SA)				
		2	Agree (A)				
		3	Disagree (D)				
		4	Strongly Disagree (SD)				
		5	Don't Know (DK)				
			SA	A	D	SD	DK
6.1	Meeting people's felt needs						
6.2	Beneficiary service satisfaction						
6.3	Increased participant motivation						
6.4	Stable committee						
6.5	Improved targeting of the poor						
6.6	Enhanced utilisation of projects						
6.7	High levels of project ownership						
6.8	Transparency and Accountability						
6.9	Improved local governance						
6.10	Improved capacity building						
6.11	Sustainability of the project						
7.1	Who selected the project management committee?						
		1	By the Community				
		2	By the Local leaders				
		3	By development partners				
		4	By Government officials				
		5	Other (Specify)				
7.2	How is the committee changed?	1	By the community				
		2	By the local leaders				
		3	After term of office expires				
		4	Don't Know				
		5	Other (Specify)				
7.3	How often do you have committee meetings?	1	Once a month				
		2	Twice a month				
		3	Once in six months				
		4	When need arises				
		5	Other (Specify)				
		6	Don't Know				

C	ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS OF PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY		
NO.	QUESTION		ANSWER
1	How long has the project been in operation?	1	Less than two years
		2	2-5 years
		3	6-10 years
		4	More than 10 years
		5	Don't know
2	Do you want the project to operate for more years to come?	1	Yes (Explain
		2	No (Explain)
3	Are you satisfied with the way the project has operated in the past?	1	Yes (Explain)
		2	No (Explain)
4	Has your project failed in the past 12 months?	1	Yes (Explain, how often)
		2	No (Explain why)
5.1	How long did it take you to rectify the problem in C4?	1	Less than a week
		2	Less than a month
		3	Within six months
		4	Within a year
		5	More than a year
		6	Not applicable
5.2	Explain your answer in C5.1		
6	Are you pleased with the way your committee managed your project	1	Yes (In what way)
		2	No (Explain)
7	In what ways does the management committee influence project sustainability	1	They manage the project well
		2	They mismanage the project
		3	They feel they are the owners
		4	Other (Specify)
8	What are the positive effects of sustaining your project?	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	Don't Know
9	How are project funds kept?	1	At the bank
		2	At the treasurer's house
		3	At project office
		4	Don't Know
		5	Not applicable

C	ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS OF PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY (Cont..)		
10.1	Do you have a project bank account?	1	Yes (if yes go to C10.2)
		2	No (Explain why)
10.2	How much money do you have in the project bank account?	1	Less than K5,000
		2	From K5,000 to K29,000
		3	From K30,000 to K100,000
		4	More than K100,000
		5	Don't Know
10.3	How are project funds used?	1	Efficiently & Effectively
		2	Used Secretively
		3	Used extravagantly
		4	Used on the leaders themselves
		5	Other (Specify)
11	To what extent is project Sustainability determined by the factors outlined below? Choose the answer from the Answer matrix provided **Sustainability is determined by…**	1	Strongly Agree (SA)
		2	Agree (A)
		3	Disagree (D)
		4	Strongly Disagree (SD)
		5	Don't know (DK)

		SA	A	D	SD	DK
11.1	Quality of service provision					
11.2	Quantity of service provision					
11.3	The collective action					
11.4	Local ownership of the project					
11.5	Project capacity					
11.6	Management committee					
11.7	Efficient record keeping					
11.8	Financial management					
11.9	Amount of money saved					
11.10	Transparency and accountability					
11.11	Leadership					
11.12	Group conflicts					
11.13	GENDER equality					
11.14	Political interference					

12	Who owns your project?	1	The local leaders
		2	The community
		3	The District Assembly
		4	The Development Partners

D			
NO.	QUESTION		ANSWER
1.1	Have you ever heard of the District Assembly?	1	Yes (if yes go to D1.2)
		2	No (Explain)
1.2	How did you come to know about the District Assembly? **[Choose the main type of method used]**	1	Through the radio
		2	Through the local leaders
		3	Through the leaflets
		4	Through the project
		5	Through the Government staff
		6	Not applicable
2.1	Do you think the Zomba District Assembly has capacity for community project sustainability?	1	Yes (Explain)
		2	No (Explain)
2.2	As a community, do you influence decisions of the District Assembly?	1	Yes (if yes go D2.3)
		2	No (Explain)
2.3	In what ways are you able to influence the District Assembly	1	Through the politicians
		2	Through the project committee
		3	Through the Assembly Staff
		4	Through the Chiefs
		5	Other (Specify)
		6	Not applicable
3	Is the community able to alter the District Assembly administration to meet local priorities?	1	Yes (explain)
		2	No (Explain)
4.1	Have you ever heard of Decentralisation (Mphamvu ku anthu)?	1	Yes (what does it mean?)
		2	No
4.2	In what ways have the various development partners improved the decentralisation process	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	Don't Know
5	Have you benefited from development partners through the District Assembly?	1	Yes (If yes, state them)
		2	No
6	What are the main sources of funding for your project?	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	Don't Know

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF LOCAL PLANNING PROCESS

E	LINKAGES AND PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY		
NO.	QUESTION		ANSWER
1.1	Do you deal with the District Assembly in regard to your project?	1	Yes (If yes, go to E1.2)
		2	No (If no, go to E1.3 & E1.4)
1.2	In what ways are you linked to the Local Planning Structure (District Assembly)	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	Don't Know
1.3	Outline the reasons why you are not yet linked to the District Assembly.	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	Don't Know
1.4	How do you achieve project sustainability without being linked to the District Assembly?	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	Don't Know

NO.	QUESTION		ANSWER				
2	What is the strength of linkages in the outlined activities between the project and Local Planning Process? (Choose the answers from matrix provided)	1	Strongly linked (S)				
		2	Fairly linked (F)				
		3	Weakly linked (W)				
		4	Not at all linked (NA)				
		5	Don't Know (DK)				
			VS	S	W	NA	DK
2.1	Control of budget & funds						
2.2	General supervision of activities						
2.3	Number of progress reports						
2.4	Number of Financial reports						
2.5	Accountability to the DEC						
2.6	Flow of funds (from Government)						
2.7	Flow of funds (from donors)						
2.8	LG planning & budget process						
2.9	Local participatory development						
2.10	VDC & ADC participation						
2.11	Local Authority policies						
2.12	Flow of information						
2.13	Cost sharing activities						
2.14	Procurement process						
2.15	Project capacity building						
2.16	Financial Management						
2.17	Technical assistance						
2.18	Advisory role						

E	LINKAGES AND PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY (Continued)		
3	In addition to the District Assembly, where else is your project linked?	1	To Government agencies
		2	To the NGOs
		3	To the development partners
		4	Not yet linked to any organisation
		5	Don't Know
4	What can be done to improve Linkages between District Assembly and your project?	1	
		2	
		3	
		4	
		5	Don't Know
Before I conclude the interview, do you have anything else to say that you feel I have not asked or said?			
That is the End of the Interview. Thank you for your time and thank you once again for your cooperation. May God bless you abundantly!!			

APPENDIX 2: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Name of Project:_____

Name of GVH:_____

Name of TA:_____

Moderator:_____ Date:_____

A	PROJECT ALIGNMENT TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS
I	CHOICE OF THE PROJECT
1	Initiation & identification of the project
2	Procedures of meeting community felt needs
3	The meeting of the felt needs
4	Contributions towards the project (sponsors, community & Government)
II	PARTICIPATION
1	The merits & demerits of community participation in the projects
2	The role of local leaders (Chiefs, local representatives, elites)
3	Involvement in identification, design, implementation, Monitoring & Evaluation
4	Community participation and project sustainability
B	LOCAL ORGANISATION AND PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY
1	Knowledge of project sustainability
2	Measures of sustaining community projects
3	Factors affecting project sustainability (Positive & Negative)
4	Organisational challenges to sustainability
5	Election and responsibilities of project management committee
6	How project management committee affect project sustainability
7	Management of project funds
8	The relationship between gender and project sustainability
9	Management and maintenance of community projects
10	Future expectations from the project
C	LINKAGES AND PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY
1	Community participation in local governance structures e.g. VDC, ADC etc
2	Benefits from District Assembly in terms of project sustainability
3	Community collective action and government responsiveness
4	Factors affecting Linkages (Positive and Negative)

APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

NAME	SEX	TITLE	ORGANIZATION	LOCATION

A	PROJECT ALIGNMENT TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS
I	CHOICE OF THE PROJECT
1	Procedures of project initiation, request and implementation
2	The role and responsibilities of authority to the community projects
3	Contributors to the community project
II	PARTICIPATION
1	Methods of encouraging community participation
2	The importance of community participation
3	The involvement in identification, request, design, implementation and maintenance
B	LOCAL ORGANISATION AND PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY
1	Factors affecting project sustainability
2	Measures of improving community project sustainability
3	Management of project finances
4	Knowledge of community driven development projects
5	The relationship between gender and project sustainability
6	The assessment of project sustainability
7	Main sources of funding
C	THE INSTITUTIONALISATIION OF LOCAL PLANNIING PROCESS
1	Capacity of the Assembly to sustain community projects
2	The capacity building of the District Assembly
3	The major sponsors of the community projects in the district
4	Methods of institutionalising community participation
5	Ways of achieving project sustainability
D	LINKAGES AND PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY
1	The various linkages that exist between the Assembly and community projects
2	The effects of linkages between community projects and District assembly
3	Factors affecting the linkages (Positive & Negative)
4	Measures of achieving project sustainability
5	Exit strategies set up in regard to community projects
6	Bureaucratic mechanisms for achieving transparency and accountability, empowerment, local governance and responsiveness

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Chibwana, Anastazio, District Commissioner, Zomba District Assembly

Chiwaya, Patrick, Development Facilitator, Namachete ADP. Zomba

Chiwanda, Brown, Chairman for The Hunger Project Epicentre (2004-2007). Zomba

Gondwe, Suzgo, Environmental District Officer, Zomba

Group Village Headman (GVH) Chingondo, TA Mwambo, Zomba

Group Village Headman (GVH) Bimbi, TA Nkuntumanje, Zomba.

Group Village Headmen (GVH) Kumbwani, TA Nkuntumanje, Zomba

Group Village Headmen (GVH) Chopi, TA Malemia, Zomba

Harawa, Tamanya, Director of Planning and Development (DPD), Zomba District.

Kalaiza, Charles, Project Manager, Self Help Development International. Zomba

Kalinde Tony, Epicentre Project Assistant (EPA), The Hunger Project (THP). Zomba

Msatilomo, Henry, District Agricultural Development Officer (DADO), Zomba.

Kaunda, Rogers, Project Manager, Bwalo Initiative, Zomba

Kenam, Eric, monitoring and Evaluation Officer, Zomba.

Magesi-Makiyi, Charity, Chair Lady, Nsondole Cooperative Society – Zomba.

Msyamboza. Olive, District Social Welfare Officer, Zomba

Mtamba, Joseph, Chairman of Tiwalele Community Based Organization, Zomba

Mwazambumba, Clememnt, District AIDS Coordinator, Zomba

Nundwe, Clement, Book-keeper, Nsondole Cooperative Society Limited. Zomba

Phiri, William, Trade Promotion Officer, Zomba

Wala, Harry, Programme Manager, World Vision Malawi. Zomba

APPENDIX 5: MAP OF ZOMBA DISTRICT

ZOMBA DISTRICT SHOWING STUDY SITES

TA Kuntumanji

TA Malemia

M'bawa

TA Mlumbe

Masambuka

Khaziko

Masambuka

Jambo

Mbwani · Romani

Sopwe · Bimbi · Lipholo

Namadingo · SC Mkumbira

Chipengule

Mlenga · Mgwalangwa

Khaziko · Maulana

Mangwengwe

Chikabwereza

SC Mkumbira

LAKE CHILWA

Msusa

TA Chikowi

Chilumpha

Maulana

Maulana

Chapola · Chapola

Masambuka

SC Mbiza

Nazombe

Mphatama

Bwanali

Bwanali

Muuwa

TA Mwambo

Mulula

Mulula · Nankhuni

Chingondo

Chilumpha

Salti (A) · Mwapasa

Mgwalangwa

N

8 4 0   8   16   24
Kilometers

Legend

Villages under study
District boundary
Main Road
Secondary Road
Tertiary Road
District Road
Traditional Authority boundary
River
Forest reserve
Lake

Projection Parametres

Grid	UTM Zone 36
Projection	Transverse Mercator
Spheroid	Clarke 1880 (Modified)
Unit of Measurement	Metre
Meridian of Origin	33 00 East of Greenwich
Latitude of Origin	Equator
Scale Factor at Origin	0.9996
False Eastings	500,000m East
False Northings	10,000,000m North
Datum	New(1950) Arc

MALAWI

Tanzania

Zambia

Mozambique

Mozambique

Zomba

Mozambique

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