



Graduate School of Development Studies

Citizen Participation in Local Governance: The cases of the  
Bangalore Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme and the  
Angolan Citizens' Participation Initiative

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## List of Acronyms

ADF	-	American Development Foundation
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCC	-	Bangalore City Corporation
BDA	-	Bangalore Development Authority
BUPP	-	Bangalore Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme
CBOs	-	Community Based Organizations
CCs	-	Cluster Committees
CDGs	-	Community Development Groups
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	-	Gross National Income
HUDCO	-	Housing and Urban Development Co-operation
IDPs	-	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IPCA/ACPI	-	Angolan Citizens' Participation Initiative
KSCB	-	Karnataka Slum Clearance Board
MPLA	-	Movement Popular for the Liberation of Angola
NGOs	-	Non Governmental Organizations
OMA	-	Organization of Angolan Women
PSU	-	Programme Support Unit
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programme
SC	-	Steering Committee
SCF	-	Save the Children Fund
SDPs	-	Slum Development Plans
SDTs	-	Slum Development Teams
UN	-	United Nations
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children Fund
UNITA	-	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
US	-	United States
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	-	World Health Organization

## **Abstract**

The concept and practices of citizen participation as an important aspect of development strategy is discussed in this paper by considering two projects from India and Angola. The paper highlights the concepts and various aspects of participation as a development tool and analyses citizen involvement in the design, planning and implementation of policies and programmes that affect their lives. Actors within the participation arena included opinion leaders, local officials, Non Governmental Organizations, politicians and members of the community. The main objective of these projects was to improve the lives of people and meet their specific needs such as creating credit schemes, construction of schools, hospitals and expansion of electrification. Nonetheless, there were challenges such as low level of capacity of citizens and local bodies, inability to raise local resources, pre-conceived ideas of donors and lack of coordination of institutional actors. Accordingly, this paper argues that despite the merits of participation it is sometimes a complete waste of time and resources as such it must be used selectively. Finally, the role of local government in community development is significant and it ought to be equipped with the human and financial resources to perform creditably.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

The significance of participation as part of the development agenda cannot be over emphasized due to its importance in current discourses and the fact that it brings development partners in league to decide what is crucial to them, rather than what local leaders or institutions decide is appropriate. Consequently, contemporary development strategies often require citizen participation to achieve set objectives within communities. Lastly, despite the benefits, there are challenges and it is on the wheels of studies and analyses like this that one may hope to make the difference in proposing guidelines for viable participatory approaches to development.

## **Keywords**

Actors, Accountability, Decentralization, Empowerment, Governance, Local Government and Participation

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview

The notion of citizen or community participation has become an important and popular aspect of development strategy both at the formal and informal levels of designing or implementing programmes for the people. The present research will review citizen participation using two case studies from India and Angola, which were implemented with participatory strategies. The paper assesses the significance of citizen participation at the local governance level. A wide variety of actors who were involved include opinion leaders, local officials, chiefs, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), politicians and community members. Although there were challenges these projects resulted in helping to improve the lives of people by providing them with basic infrastructure among other things.

Participation is basically citizens taking part in decision making, planning and implementation within a jurisdiction. According to Cornwall and Brock (2005: 1046) participation has long association with social movements, and with the struggle for citizenship rights and voice. Besides, ideas about its benefits have been part of mainstream development discourse since the early 1970s, and in the past decade have become part of attempts to shape the way in which development is done (Cornwall and Brock 2005: 1046). Furthermore, there are citizen participation friendly regulations as mentioned by Gaventa and Valderrama (1999: 5). They cite laws which help create enabling environments and institutional channels for citizen partaking in development in countries such as Philippines: Local Government Code (1991), Uganda: Local Government Act (1997) and Bolivia: Popular Participation Law (1992). Other examples of institutional arrangements are Uganda's Resistance Councils and Committees, India's Gram Sabhas and Colombia's Overseeing Committees (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999: 5).

Participation as a policy proposition is a bottom up approach to development where citizens have control and are actively involved in the development process, unlike a top down approach where citizens are less involved. Writers like Loewenson (2000: 15) present the bottom up approach on a participatory ladder where seven levels are identified namely citizens having control, delegated power, ability to plan jointly with policy makers, advice, consulted, receive information and finally may not have any role at all. Participation may also be seen in two spheres first as a means in terms of efficiency, ownership, sustainability, cost saving, efficiency and effectiveness of projects and policies such as election of representatives, representation on advisory boards, inputs in decision making and offering labour services in development projects. Secondly, as an end in itself linking to matters such as empowerment, democracy, accountability, poverty reduction and development. This latter view is advocated by authors such as Hickey and Mohan (2005) and



Cleaver (1999). In my perspective, participation could be direct such as partaking in a building project or indirect as in voting to elect a governor or mayor in a community.

An advantage associated with participation is the sense of ownership and belongingness to the development agenda by citizens, because projects may have their inputs. Also, Kulshreshtha (2003: 188-190) stresses the fact that it develops accountability towards programmes because it gives special status to participants in the society. Nevertheless there are challenges and Korten (1981: 191) tabulates community level issues such as lack of appropriate community organization, lack of organizational skills, poor communication facilities, corruption, factionalism and differing economic interests in communities. Again, planners sometimes go to communities with preconceived ideas or some lack of understanding of what participation is. A classic case is cited by Cornwall and Brock (2005: 1053-1054) in a sub-county planning meeting in Uganda where participants were not allowed to ask questions, and are told what to do. Ownership is created through witnessing an inaudible rendition of problems and meeting is in English instead of local language (Cornwall and Brock 2005: 1053-1054).

In the light of the above challenges, it is important to improve citizen participation in development planning and to address them for enhanced participation of citizens in development projects. Porter and Onyach-Olaa (1999: 66) suggest the need for special arrangements to be made to ensure the voices of marginal sections of the community to be heard. Botes and Rensburg (2000: 53-54) add that the community's indigenous contribution as manifested in their knowledge, skills and potential ought to be respected. Besides, listening to community members, especially the less vocal and marginalized groups is essential, as well as the involvement of a cross-section of interest groups to collaborate as partners in jointly defining development needs, goals, and designing appropriate processes to reach these objectives (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 53-54).

## **1.2 Background and Research Problem**

The research is based on two case studies from India and Angola. The first is the Bangalore Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme (BUPP) in India which was supported by the Dutch Government between 1993 and 1999. This participatory project aimed at implementing prioritized needs of the communities to empower the poor. The implementing team comprised a Programme Support Unit (PSU) and Slum Development Teams (SDTs) which were responsible for identifying local needs and drafting action plans. Projects financed included physical infrastructure improvement, health care, training and the publication of a newsletter for the slum people (de Wit 2002b: 3935). The second project is the Angolan Citizens' Participation Initiative (ACPI) from February 2005 to September 2006 in Angola designed by America's Development Foundation (ADF) and funded under the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Cooperative Agreement 690-04-

00025 in developing effective approaches to citizen based local development (ADF 2009: 1). Projects supported included the construction of health posts, bridges, schools, teachers' residences and expansion of electricity. The three key components of the programme are reproduced below;

- Citizens' meetings to define local priorities and elect representative Community Development Groups (CDGs), which were trained as effective interlocutors with government and project managers;
- Promoting dialogue and partnerships between communities and local government; and
- Implementing local development projects responding to priorities identified by participating communities (ADF 2009).

Accordingly, the above projects target the disadvantaged in the selected communities with proposals in assisting them to identify a need and to participate in the process of achieving the desired goals. This approach in recent times has become a conditionality or requirement for governments by donors as a means of achieving development goals. It links to discourses of decentralization, where, according to Gershberg (1999: 11), decentralization theory requires participatory decision making and increased local sources of finance. Consequently, participation of citizens and institutions like NGOs have informally become a requisite to make contributions to policies and programmes to advance development within a locality. This proposition has materialized in building projects such as schools, community health centres, palace for the chief and police posts. It thus demonstrates a sense of responsibility, accountability and improvement in the lives of the local people.

However, participation has not always yielded the maximum results due to varying factors such as ignorance by participants, inadequate information for actors, inappropriate timing for consultations, dominance by some particular section(s) and being coerced to accept some decisions. Specifically, the World Bank (2000: 121) reports that the process of voting as a participatory tool to elect governors, mayors, and members of the assembly results in accountability but such means of participation according to the same report does not mean that the local government would be responsive to the needs and wants of local citizens.

Besides, citizen participation has often become window dressing by local agents to fulfil donor, central government, constitutional and some other requirements. On the other hand there is capture by local elites and some other actors who have become cliques serving their own interests to achieve personal political ambitions or some similar purposes. Sometimes decisions may have been finalized before formal consultations and the appropriate people may not be consulted on important issues. It is in this light that I would like to examine citizen participation using two case studies from India and Angola to highlight the benefits, challenges and possibly propose measures to improve this development model.

### **1.3 Research Objective and Questions**

#### **Objective**

Assessing the benefits and challenges of citizen participation at the local governance level in two participatory and donor funded programmes.

#### **Main Question**

What were the benefits and challenges of participation in projects in India and Angola based on participatory strategies?

#### **Sub Questions**

- What comprises participation as applied in India and Angola?
- What are the overall objectives of these projects and the nature of institutional design?
- Who are the actors in the participation process in the above two programmes in India and Angola?
- How do constituents partake in the process of decision making under these projects?
- What have been the benefits and challenges of these projects in the two countries?
- How could development programmes be improved in future development objectives?

### **1.4 Research Methodology**

The source of information for the research was primary and secondary sources. These included articles, journals, books, reports, various policy documents, and appropriate websites. In addition, specific reports and programmes on citizen participation, especially various documents on the two projects, were employed to enrich the research. Data collection involved contact with The Institute's library and other libraries within the Netherlands, which served as valuable resources. Information from NGOs, their websites and other related agencies were also used in the study. These sources were significant in generating the required data in the selected area of work. Finally, these diverse data was reviewed and examined to verify its value so as to make this research piece a point of reference to all especially academia and policy makers.

The study analysed the benefits and challenges of citizen participation and it is in this light that two case studies from India and Angola were examined to assist in answering the research questions. The two projects served as appropriate examples of citizen involvement covering the main areas of the study such as participatory strategies, actors, significance, challenges and recommendations on improving citizen participation.

## **Overview of Case Studies**

The study used various reports on BUPP Project in India aimed at empowering the poor and reducing poverty and the Final Report by ADF (2009) which worked with 14 communities to develop effective approaches to citizen based local development in Angola. Accordingly, the case studies were on a poverty alleviation programme (1993-1999) supported by the Netherlands in India and ADF's Project (2005-2006) supported by USAID in Angola.

## **1.5 Research Limitations**

The fact that data was collected and compiled by others did not enable me to examine the projects directly and maybe select appropriate data for my specific purposes. Additionally, the nature of participation of men and women was difficult to uncover in the case studies used. Also, data was not coordinated in a manner of my preference. Finally, there were other cases I wanted to review but this was not possible because the NGO which had the reports was unable to deliver it. These challenges were curtailed by focussing the research on particular areas and use of diverse data sources appropriately.

## **1.6 Conclusion**

The above section has discussed a general introduction on participation, presentation of the background and research problem, and tabled research questions. Also, a methodology explaining how the research was carried out has been vividly described including the limitations of the study.

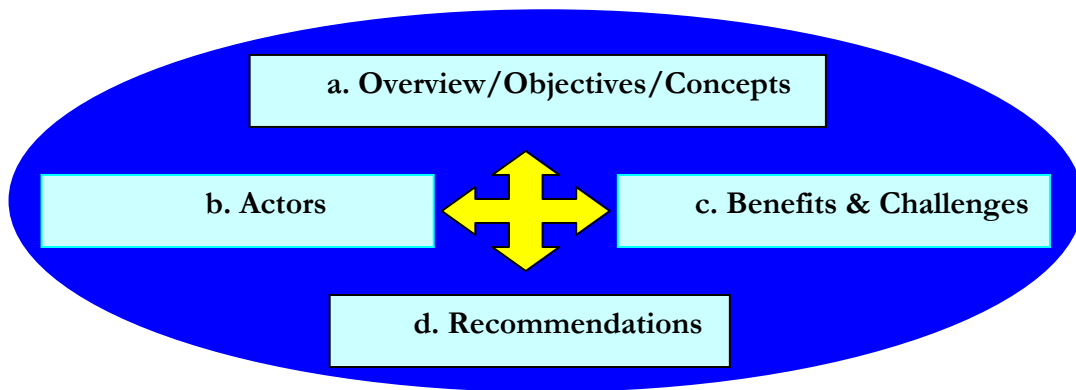
# Chapter 2

## ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Theories and Concepts

The framework that the research would be undertaken, discussed and analysed is presented in the figure below;

Figure 1: Overview of Analytical Framework and Research



Source: Author's Creation

### Conceptual Framework

The four main concepts to be used in investigating the topic for the research are empowerment, governance, decentralization and participation. Institutions and human actors will also be discussed as well as merits, demerits and guidelines on improving participation. These would provide insight that would help analyse the projects of the urban poverty alleviation programme in India and citizen centred approach to selecting projects in Angola. These concepts are significant in the area being studied, for instance almost all participatory projects seek to empower the people, especially women and the poor. The issue of governance is also very important as every project falls within a certain framework or governance structure whether at the local level or the NGO setting. The attributes of decentralization are well known and most government or donor agencies prefer to implement programmes at the district level which also requires the participation of the citizenry. Accordingly, the theories of empowerment, governance, decentralization and participation are central to any participatory project. Additionally, they are issues which are highlighted in the two projects in India and Angola.

### Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework in discussing the concept of citizen participation would comprise the following theories.

## **Empowerment**

Academics like Hickey and Mahan view empowerment as a political process while actors like the World Bank perceive it as a non-political process. Nevertheless, empowerment, whether political or non-political, is another concept related to citizen participation which is believed to enhance the power and empowering capabilities of members of the community in deciding what happens or does not happen in their environs. Empowerment is thus a central piece of any participatory manual (Lopes 2002: 128). Cornwall and Brock (2005: 1055) argue that participation and empowerment are words that speak of the laudable aim of enabling poor people to have voice and choice that now symbolises the legitimacy to pursue today's generation of development blueprints, under the rubric of poverty reduction. According to Cleaver (1999: 598-599), the process enhances the capacity of individuals to improve their own lives and facilitates social change to the advantage of disadvantaged or marginalized groups. But in the same light, such power in relation to place and space works to put boundaries on participation and to exclude certain actors or views from entering the arena of participation (Gaventa 2004: 37).

There are various aspects of empowerment and de Wit (2009) discusses four types namely economic, legal, political and social. He also gives the following meanings; economic empowerment where there is a change in employment, wages and property owned etc. Legal empowerment involves enforcement of human rights, laws, and court judgements. Political empowerment could be the allocation of seats in certain institutions. Social empowerment is seen as the number of people as members in local organizations.

The value of empowerment is significant in any participatory project and would undoubtedly be needed in analysing the provision of a community's needs as well as structures for community members who need improved facilities. Despite the values of the two similar concepts of empowerment and power it does have some negatives which need to be taken into consideration in any study. For instance it may just be a slogan for leadership or the NGO community to enable them achieve their objectives. In some situations decisions may already have been made and citizens are just contacted to affirm it. Accordingly, the power of community members to decide whether to assist in project implementation and the assistance of NGOs and district agents cannot be over emphasized.

## **Governance**

Governance is now fashionable, but the concept is as old as human history (Weiss 2000: 795-796). Accordingly, any aspect or type of participation does involve governance be it from the NGO, an Advisory Board as well as the local government structure. Governance is thus another concept which is a broad overview under which participation operates using its guiding principles. It is the way in which the public, private sector and civil society work as

partners in building a stronger economy and a better society (Stöhr 2001: 4) which is how citizen participation in development works.

A definition of Governance by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) quoted from Weiss (2000: 797) is reproduced below;

Governance is viewed as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences (Weiss 2000: 797).

Another definition from the Commission on Global Governance is quoted by Weiss (2000: 795-796).

the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is the continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken (Weiss 2000: 795-796).

Kishore (2003: 23-24) quoting from World Bank's document entitled *Governance and Development* (1992) gives us the following meaning "governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development". According to Kishore effective governance depends on factors of transparency, clarity in roles of public servants, minimum delay in public transactions and accountability. Additionally, it ensures accountability and responsiveness through changes in institutional design and a focus on structures of good governance as well as its relation to rights of citizenship and to democratic governance (Gaventa 2004: 25-27).

Governance is thus key in guiding the overall structure and implementation of any project. The value and cooperation of all development agents such the NGOs, district councils or administration and community members all assist in the initiation, design and implementation of programmes in the environs to be discussed and analysed. Governance is thus essential not just in these case studies but any stage of the development process.

### **Decentralization**

According to Tordoff (1994: 555-556) many countries in the third world experienced some form of decentralization before becoming independent. In many parts of Africa, for example, authority was delegated from the centre to administrative officers in the field who enjoyed wide discretionary powers. Starting from the 1920s, power was given to native authorities operating under a system of indirect rule and then from the 1940s, to representative local authorities comprising an increasing number of elected members (Tordoff 1994: 555-556). Independent Anglophone and Francophone states sought to build upon the local government systems which they had inherited (Tordoff 1994: 555-556). Until the late 1980s, decentralisation experiments in sub-

Saharan Africa tended in the majority of states to reinforce central control rather than enhance local autonomy. However, recent moves towards political pluralism have brought a switch in emphasis to more meaningful types of local participation (Tordoff 1994: 555-556).

Citizen participation occurs at all levels of governance but especially at the local level ensuring that members of community within the local governance set up are involved in the decision making process and sometimes its implementation. Three or four forms of decentralization have been identified depending on individual views namely devolution, deconcentration, privatization and delegation. According to Ribot (2000: 30) decentralization is the devolution of central state assets and powers to local or private decision making bodies; when it is to local branches of the central state it may be called deconcentration, to non-state bodies like NGOs or other private interests it is called privatization. Deconcentration is also defined as the transfer of employees to the local level. The fourth type, delegation, is where powers are delegated to the local level (World Bank 2001: 106).

The assumed benefits according to Smith (2002: 390) include responsiveness to local needs, decongestion, unity and stability, mobilization of resources. It is an indirect strategy of supporting public sector capacity, build people's commitment and political leaders' support for a programme or organization (Hilderbrand 2002: 327). Also, decentralisation in its neoliberal guise treats the local as a functional, economic space with policies designed to increase the efficiency of service delivery (Mohan and Stokke 2000: 251). Additionally, decentralization can serve as a source of empowerment of the deprived and an ability to participate in political affairs. However, there are challenges which include capture by the elite to promote their interests, corruption, inefficiency and lack of administrative capacity at the local level. Decentralization is definitely a key concept in analysing these two case studies because participation and specifically these projects happened at the local level. The case of India and Angola was implemented at the district level and showcases the roles of various actors within these communities.

## **Participation**

The idea of participation and inclusion of citizens in development is a popular concept and has become significant in the development agenda of governments as well as donor agencies. According to Porter and Onyach-Olaa (1999: 56) to achieve this many donors are supporting networks, developing training programmes, manuals, and guides to help install participation in routine planning practices in developing countries

Kulshreshtha (2003: 188-190) traces the concept of public participation to ancient Greece where there was a tradition of taking administrative and political decisions by bodies of citizens. While according to Hickey and Mohan (2004: 5-20) the concept of participation has an eighty year old history but was mainstreamed in the 1990s. Moreover, on the development stage, participation



emerged in the 1960s (Kulshreshtha 2003: 189 and Francis 2002: 400) and largely originated from practice of NGO at the community level (Francis 2002: 401). The emergence of participation has been attributed to the era of state failure, panic over top-down modernization approaches and a measure of post colonial guilt. In addition, the concept of participation is characterized and compared on four approaches namely the locus and level of engagement, ideological/political project, conception of citizenship and links to development theory (Hickey and Mohan 2004: 9).

The main goal of participation is decision making by all major actors which is defined by Rabin (2003: 317), as the process of choosing from alternative courses of action. According to him this is both an objective and subjective process. In terms of defining participation, Kulshreshtha (2003: 188-190) gives us the following from International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1984;

Participation is voluntary contribution by the public to achieve the prescribed programme for national development.

In development, public participation means to participate in that process of decision making which influences them.

According to Peters (2000: 6), participation ideally connotes the ability of people to share, influence or control design, decision making, and authority in development projects and programmes that affect their lives and resources. Public participation may also be defined at a general level as the practice of consulting and involving members of the public in the agenda-setting, decision-making, and policy-forming activities of organizations or institutions responsible for policy development (Rowe and Frewer 2004: 512).

Also, two types of participation could be discussed such as community participation and general participation. Community here refers to people within a specific geographical space such as inhabitants of a village in Malawi. Secondly community can be explained in terms of an identity of a social or group feeling of people within a geographical space or not such as christian or muslim inhabitants of the same village in Malawi. Community participation also brings to light issues such as free rider problems where some do not participate but yet benefit from the fruits of the project. A case in point is where a section of the citizens does not participate in a school building project but this tends to benefit all when project is completed and in use. The other mode of citizen participation is general participation such as voting in an election, attending meetings and being part of Advisory Boards to make inputs in decision making.

According to de Wit (2009) assumptions behind participation include the following; Communities are well informed – people know better their problems and needs than professionals. Communities are competent – being survival experts, people will make the right decisions to improve their well-being. Communities are capable – people have time and resources at their

disposal Communities are reliable – people have a sense of fairness and will make sure that all of them will benefit. Moreover, Hickey and Mohan (2005: 238) stress that mainstream participatory approaches are voluntaristic in that any form of participation is seen as an improvement but such approaches have been co-opted within disempowering agendas. Also, the underlying politics of underdevelopment and exclusion and development interventions themselves have been neglected (Hickey and Mohan 2005: 241)

The issue of participation by all stakeholders would certainly be highlighted by the two case studies illustrating especially the contribution of NGOs, local government set up and the people in improving their lives to enhance better economic and social wellbeing for these communities.

### **2.1.2 Actors, levels and Forms of Citizen Participation**

According to Cleaver (1999: 598-599), actors within the participation terrain include the individual, community, or categories of people such as women, poor and socially excluded.

Other actors identified may include the following;

- Chiefs
- Advisory Bodies
- NGOs
- Local Government Units and Officials
- Administrative Cadres
- Opinion Leaders
- Politicians and
- Ordinary members of the community

Actors or stakeholders in the case studies include the following; NGOs like ADF, USAID and other institutional stakeholders like SDTs, PSU, Dutch Government, local authorities in Angola, citizens of various villages, community leaders, women and the youth. Consequently, they are individuals or institutions benefitting or participating in the design, implementation and funding of a development project.

## Levels of Participation

There are about seven levels and forms of citizen participation which has been highlighted by Loewenson (2000: 15) and is reproduced in the table below;

**Table 1: Levels and Forms of Community Participation**

<b>Degree</b>	<b>Community Participation</b>	<b>Example</b>
High	Has Control	Organization asks community to identify the problem and make all key decisions on goals and means. Willing to help community at each step to accomplish goals.
	Has Delegated Power	Organisation identifies and presents a problem to the community, defines the limits and asks community to make a series of decisions which can be embodied in a plan which it will accept.
	Plans Jointly	Organisation presents tentative plans subject to change and open to change from those affected. Expect to change plan at least slightly and perhaps more, subsequently.
	Advises	Organisation presents a plan and invites questions. Prepared to modify plan only if absolutely necessary.
	Is Consulted	Organisation tries to promote a plan. Seeks to develop support or facilitate acceptance or give sufficient sanction to plan so that administrative compliance can be expected.
	Receives Information	Organisation makes a plan and announces it. Community is convened for informational purposes. Compliance is expected.
Low	None	Community told nothing

**Source: 'Community participation for health for all.' London, Community Participation Group of the United Kingdom for All Network, 1991**

### 2.1.3 Merits of Participation

Citizen participation is seen to have numerous benefits for both members of the community and leaders or administrators of the community. This is due to the fact that it enables citizens to decide on their needs as well as allow planners to implement programmes that citizens' desire and not what they

think the populace would prefer. For instance citizens would prefer a micro finance scheme than capacity building programmes. It thus brings a match between citizen needs and demands as well as what administrators should be engaged in.

Participation is sometimes seen as a means of consulting community members to present their needs so as to address them. Inhabitants are asked to participate such as spending some of their time in deliberations, making inputs in project development and cost sharing for example volunteering labour services. The use of local knowledge has thus become key in development thinking and according to Mosse (2008: 385) it provides the key to the reversal of hierarchies of power in development planning, reduces dominance and empowers the poorest.

Besides, it strengthens the process in which poor people exercise a voice through new forms of inclusion, consultation and mobilization designed to inform and influence institutions and policies (Gaventa 2004: 27). The development of accountability towards programmes cannot be overemphasized as it may give special status to the participant in the society (Kulshreshtha 2003: 188-190)

Furthermore, citizen participation has become an important policy because among other things is assumed to ensure efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability, ownership, accountability and responsibility to citizens as well as efficient use of resources while improving the lives of local people who require urgent development. The World Bank (2000: 121) stresses this in the following sentence. 'The degree to which local officials are accountable to their constituents determine whether decentralization produces the intended benefits – that is more efficient and responsive services, and greater local self determination.'

Additionally, The World Bank Report (2000) stresses other values of participation such as improved democratic governance and poverty reduction an area which would uplift the lives of the poor. Consequently, the voice it gives to citizens on issues that affect them cannot be over emphasized. Members of the community do get access to information, informed on issues and able to decide on what is best or not best for them. Consequently citizens are able to vote out non performing leaders and express their views on development issues.

The fact that it brings partners in development to plan and implement programmes makes it an almost ideal arrangement which brings some colour and success to the agenda of development. Accordingly, growth and development moves at a faster pace and takes into account the views of all stakeholders.

Lastly, participation brings into focus the feel good factor by community members being part of the decision making process and demonstrates the importance and respect planners and leaders show to the community as credible partners. Hence community members can opt for a road instead of a market or the other way round.

#### **2.1.4 Demerits of Participation**

As with all concepts its does have some challenges and has been criticized by stakeholders. Hickey and Mohan (2004: 11) cites its obsession with the 'local' as opposed to wider structures of injustice and oppression (Mohan and Stokke 2000). There is also the issue of dominance and divisions within the community or institutional leaders as to who participates to what ought to be the right path to achieving goals and objectives.

Korten (1981) summarises the challenges of participation at three levels namely community, agency and societal. According to him community problems include dominant leaders, divisions in groups and factions, gender divisions and the poor. Agency problems include the top down culture and fixed procedures, fear of slowness and unpredictable outcomes. Society problems include laws, values and norms (Korten 1981). Accordingly, women are sometimes unable to participate due to such societal norms and in some cases although they are represented women are unable to perform active or required roles mostly due to these same reasons.

Furthermore, I would highlight the challenges or negatives using the work of Botes and Rensburg (2000) in the following paragraphs and in their words they call it the nine plagues. The first plague is the paternalistic role of development professionals who initiate most of the development projects. Also professional experts tend to dominate decision-making and manipulate, instead of facilitate, development processes. Thus they know best and ought to transfer knowledge while the local community know less. This has contributed to professionals regarding themselves as the sole owners of development wisdom and having the monopoly of solutions. Hence, participation processes often begin after projects have already been designed and only to sell preconceived ideas (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 42-43). This confirms the notion that participation is sometimes used as window dressing for development partners or agents to achieve their own objectives.

The second plague is the inhibiting and prescriptive role of the state which often use community participation to legitimize the political system and as a form of social control (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 43-45). The level of commitment by many governments has often been dubious or extremely limited (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 43-45). There are therefore varying objectives as well as governments using it to achieve their own purposes and not necessarily meeting the appropriate needs of citizens in the community.

The third plague is the over-reporting of development successes. Initiatives are quantified, documented and communicated to a greater extent than failures. There is therefore a lack of understanding of lessons learned, and development experts will readily agree that failures are an important part of the learning process. Yet, when considering their own projects, development experts at all levels in the process have an interest in presenting a picture of success (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 45-46). Such successes are reported at inaugural address, programme launches and the various modes of mass medium communication are also employed. Most often these successes are trumpeted to get more funds.

The fourth plague is selective participation as in most cases it is the most visible and vocal, wealthier, more articulated and educated groups that are allowed to be partners in development without serious and ongoing attempts to identify less obvious partners. A worst form of manifestations of selective participation occurs when the development agency 'buys' the goodwill and support of key interest groups in the community, which is also referred to as 'community-renting' and use of community partners, instead of the community themselves (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 45-46). This brings into focus issues of corruption, abuse of the theoretical perspective or values of participation and that of cliques capturing the decision making process and to a large extent working in their own interests.

The fifth plague is hard-issue bias which is explained by Botes and Rensburg (2000: 46-47) below;

In many development projects the so-called 'hard' issues (technological, financial, physical and material) are perceived as being more important for the successful implementation of these projects than the 'soft' issues (such as community involvement, decision making procedures, the establishment of efficient social compacts, organizational development capacity building and empowerment).

The majority of professional organizations for development (i.e. engineering firms, town and regional planners, quantity surveyors, contractors) involved in urban development are also more oriented towards 'product related hard issues' rather than 'process-related soft issues'. Participation is not a value or a norm for these professions, but it is a matter of convenience (Botes and Rensburg, 2000: 46-47).

The sixth plague is the conflicting interest groups within end-beneficiary communities because development is always the result of decisions which require choices and often, some interests can be accommodated only at the expense of others. A logical consequence of this is the likelihood that conflict can develop among different interest groups or segments of the community. There are also issues of neglect felt by a section of a community on decisions affecting their lives. Competition among community based organizations and other popular movements for access to scarce development resources and power is a major constraint preventing proper participation. Also, being in the same development drive brings conflict among different stakeholders (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 47-49). So it appears that conflict could rise at any stage of

the development process from within the community to that of implementing agencies.

The seventh plague is gate-keeping by local elites. In cases where the community leadership favours a project the chances of success are far greater than where leaders are opposed to it. Thus, local elites may be able to effectively thwart attempts to engage directly with beneficiaries, because this threatens their control (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 49-50). It does leave powerless folks no room to actively participate or to partake in the process of needs identification as well as project implementation.

The eighth plague is the excessive pressures for immediate results with emphasis on product at the expense of process. These pressures for accruing from the products and services delivered, often undermine attention to institution-building and make it difficult not to address poverty and poverty reduction from a relief and welfare approach (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 50-51).

The ninth plague is the lack of public interest in becoming involved by members of the public is alleged and this could be the result from past experiences of involvement where expectations were not fulfilled (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 51) Thus despite the ideals of participation there is the need to realize whatever agreement has been concluded, monitor purposely to give concrete and give regular feedback on a timely basis.

Korten (1981: 191) gives the following challenges and possible solutions in addressing participatory issues;

**Table: 2                      Exhibit 11-2**

<b>COMMUNITY LEVEL OBSTACLES AND POSSIBLE MECHANISMS FOR OVERCOMING THEM</b>	
<b>Community Level Obstacle Possible</b>	<b>Mechanisms for Overcoming the Obstacle</b>
Lack of appropriate Community Organization	Community organizer works to spread awareness of program and to develop needed organization or strengthen existing organization
Lack of Organization skills	Informal training by organizers helping leaders plan meetings, bring issues to membership etc. Formal training in some specific skills such as record keeping.
Poor Communication Facilities	Local organization builds communication networks within its membership and breaks down some tasks and discussions to smaller groups that can meet more easily
Factionalism and Differing Economic Interests	Program or project structured to minimize need for cooperation among strong conflicting groups; incentives designed to strengthen local organization; community organizers support processes unifying people who must cooperate.
Corruption	Procedures developed for system checks; Broad understanding developed among members regarding nature of programs and members' roles; member access to decision-making and organization records encouraged.

**Source: Korten 1981: 191**

### **2.1.5 Guidelines on Citizen Participation**

According to Botes and Rensburg (2000: 53-54) factors such as culture, history, government policy and social, political and economic structures influence community participation. Additionally, individual and group are not universally definable but appear to be context-specific and locality-bound (Botes and Rensburg 2000: 53-54). They therefore left us with the following guidelines which they call twelve commandments and which I find useful in addition to Korten's suggestions in the practical implementation of any participatory project.

- Demonstrate an awareness of their status as outsiders to the beneficiary community and the potential impact of their involvement.
- Respect the community's indigenous contribution as manifested in their knowledge, skills and potential.



- Become good facilitators and catalysts of development that assist and stimulate community based initiatives and challenge practices which hinders people releasing their own initiatives and realize their own ideals.
- Promote co-decision-making in defining needs, goal-setting, and formulating policies and plans in the implementation of these decisions. Selective participatory practices can be avoided when development workers seek out various sets of interest, rather than listening only to a few community leaders and prominent figures.
- Communicate both programme/project successes and failures – sometimes failures are more informative.
- Believe in the spirit of ‘Ubuntu’ – a South African concept encompassing key values such as solidarity, conformity, compassion, respect, human dignity and collective unity.
- Listen to community members, especially the more vulnerable, less vocal and marginalized groups.
- Guard against the domination of some interest groups or a small unrepresentative leadership clique. This article pleads for a co-operative spirit and for a watch for oligarchic tendencies among community leadership.
- Involve a cross-section of interest groups to collaborate as partners in jointly defining development needs and goals, and designing appropriate processes to reach these goals.
- Acknowledge that process-related soft issues are as important as product related hard issues. Any investment in shelter for the poor should involve an appropriate mix of technological and social factors, where both hardware and software are developed together. In this regard many scholars recognize the importance of a multi-disciplinary approach to project planning and development. The inclusion of a social scientist and someone with the appropriate skills from within the community, to work together with planners, architects and engineers is very important. A multi-disciplinary approach will only succeed if technical professionals recognize and include the contributions of their social scientist partners in the planning process.
- Aim at releasing the energy within a community without exploiting or exhausting them.
- Empower communities to share equitably in the fruits of development through active processes whereby beneficiaries influence the direction of development initiatives rather than merely receive a share of benefits in a passive manner.

Loewenson (2000: 24-27) also discusses six phases of community participation in programme implementation which are useful in any practical participatory approach namely needs identification, planning, coordination, implementation, advocacy and training as well as monitoring and evaluation.

### **Conceptualizing Theories and Concepts**

The above theories or concepts would be appropriate for the research and definitions or explanations are acceptable to me in defining the scope of the study. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to conceptualize some of the terms which will be used in the study. Community and citizen here refer to people within a specific geographical space. Also, citizen and community would be used interchangeably in this piece. Participation in this study would mean citizens taking part in the decision making, planning and implementation of programmes or projects within a jurisdiction. Empowerment would refer to an improvement in the economic or social wellbeing of an individual(s) or community. On governance I adopt the UNDP’s definition quoted by Weiss (2000: 797) which includes the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. Additionally, governance would

particularly refer to decentralized activities, NGOs and people within the local level. Decentralization would mean the transfer of power and resources from the central government to the local government or administrative unit. Additionally, it would denote the delegation of power to agents such as CBOs, NGOs, donor agencies, local government units and community members to perform specified tasks.

## **2.2 Conclusion**

The above analytical framework has highlighted views from different authors on the theories used in this research namely participation, governance, empowerment and decentralization. The challenges and benefits of citizen participation have been discussed, actors in community involvement as well as levels of community participation presented. The views of Botes and Rensburg (2000) have been reproduced to assist in better and enhanced citizen participation. All these would be a guide in the following chapters giving a better understanding of the framework of citizen participation as well as its practicalities and specifically that of the two case studies to be used.

## Chapter 3

# CASE STUDY OF INDIA

### 3.1 Political and Socio-Economic Context

The Republic of India is a former British colony which gained independence on 15th August 1947 with a population of 1,166,079,217 billion (July 2009 estimate) (World Fact Book 2009). India was under British colonial rule for over hundred years who introduced the federal system currently in practice. According to the following information I picked from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) website, its capital is New Delhi and the major languages are Hindi, English and at least 16 other official languages, The life expectancy is 63 years (men), 66 years (women) (United Nations, (UN). Its main exports are agricultural products, textile goods, gems and jewellery, software services and technology, engineering goods, chemicals, leather products with a Gross National Income (GNI) per capita: US \$950 (World Bank, 2007) The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (purchasing power parity) is US \$3.065 trillion (2007) and the estimated real growth rate for 2008 is expected to be 6.6% (World Fact Book 2009).

According to the India Report (2009) the country today has a quasi-federal structure. Apart from the Government of India in New Delhi, there are 28 states and seven unions with their own state governments (India Report 2009: 1, World Fact Book 2009). Karnataka is one of the states and its capital is Bangalore which is the sixth largest city in India (Krishnamurthy and Kumar 1983: 15). To cite Benjamin and Bhuvaneshari (1999: 1-2) Karnataka has 29% of the population as urban with Bangalore having 65% of the state's urban population. Additionally, the India Report (2009: 1) states that life expectancy at birth for women is 58.7 years and 57.7 percent for men. The overall literacy rate is 52.2 percent; literacy among men is 64.1 percent and 39.3 percent for women. Women make up about 28 percent of the labour force (India Report 2009: 1). These overall figures show considerable disparities between men and women, which arise from traditional views of men being superior to women (India Report 2009: 1).

India has institutional channels for citizen participation in its sub national government such as the Gram Sabhas (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999: 5). The local government law that is the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India stipulates that one-third of the wards for women candidates and only women candidates can contest elections from these wards (India Report 2009: 6) There is also a one-third reservation for women as Chairpersons of these local bodies (India Report 2009: 10-11). After 1993, women's participation in local governments increased quite radically, with the enactment of the legislation providing 33 percent reservation of seats for women in local bodies (India Report 2009: 10-11).

According to Rao, et al. (2004: 9-10) the early initiatives of decentralization in Karnataka is the establishment of a 'local fund' in 1862 in each of the districts to construct roads and other works. Currently the Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act of 1993 provides for a three tier structure of rural governments namely the zilla (district), taluk (block) and gram (village) levels. This forms a hierarchical structure with the taluk supervising the gram and the gram supervising the zilla (Rao et al. 2004: 9-10). Representation to these bodies is made on the basis of elections every five years (Rao et al. 2004: 9-10). Karnataka has a population of about 52 million people, 5,870 rural local governments with 27 zilla parishads (districts), 175 block panchayats, and 5,659 Gram panchayats (World Bank 2004: 2). Averagely, population of the gram panchayat is 5,000 and the total number of elected politicians in rural governments is 84,886 (World Bank 2004: 2). Of these, 44 percent are women, more than the 33 percent mandated by the Constitution in the reservation system (World Bank 2004: 2).

The project took place in Bangalore in India which is capital of the Indian State of Karnataka, with approximately five million inhabitants (de Wit 2002a). According to Nair (2005: 26) Bangalore is a tale of two cities a western part that dates back to about five centuries referred to as Bengaluru and the eastern part or Cantonment referred to as Bangalore which is no more than two centuries old. In 1949 these two cities were brought together under the same municipal administration (Nair 2005: 26). Between 1941 and 2001 the city's population grew from a little over 400,000 to more than 5.5 million (Nair 2005: 79). According to Nair (2005: 81) during the first part of the twentieth century Bangalore was a centre of textile production. By the 1940's and 1950's it attracted the establishment of big four public sector units namely an aircraft factory, telephone companies, machine tools and electronics manufacturing (Nair 2005: 81). Other units which followed in later years include watch factory, defence and electronic research, dairy production etc (Nair 2005: 81).

By Indian standards it is a relatively prosperous city, yet about one million people live in mostly small slums scattered throughout the Bangalore metropolitan area (de Wit 2002a). It is India's third largest city, fifth largest metropolitan area and after independence, Bangalore has evolved into a manufacturing hub for heavy industries such as Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and Indian Space Research Organization ([www.thisismyindia.com](http://www.thisismyindia.com) 2009). According to Benjamin and Bhuvaneshari (1999: 1-2), Bangalore is a cosmopolitan city with a heterogeneous economic structure in the area such as hi-tech work environments closely linked to international corporate circuits, shopping malls, entertainment facilities rivalling the best in India. There are also traditional trading centres and wholesale retail commerce (Benjamin and Bhuvaneshari 1999: 1-2). Besides, trade and commerce accounts for about 60% dominating employment in the city with manufacturing contributing about 37% (Benjamin and Bhuvaneshari 1999: 5). Also, Krishnamurthy and Kumar (1983: 20-21) stress that Bangalore shows a sharp disparity between lower and higher income classes which also relates to the density and structure of the city in terms of residential areas. Bangalore is also characterised by an increasing

divide between rich and poor groups who compete for investments and productive urban locations (Benjamin and Bhuvaneshari 1999: 1-2). Other challenges mentioned by Letsch (2001: 136) include the poor living conditions in the urban slums characterised by poverty of the inhabitants, inequality on the basis of caste and the backward position of women.

To address these there are three agencies in Bangalore that are directly involved in slum policy namely The Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB), Bangalore City Corporation (BCC) established in 1948 (Schenk 2001: 39) and Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) while the Housing and Urban Development Co-operation (HUDCO) is indirectly involved with the main objective to provide long term finance for the construction of houses (Mertens 1996: 19-20). The BCC normally deals with slums located within the corporation's limit, the BDA with slums located in between corporation and metropolitan limits and the KSCB with slums located on both private and government's lands (Krishnamurthy and Kumar 1983: 20-21). According to Mertens (1996: 15) in 1994 there were about 472 slums in Bangalore comprising 295 unrecognized slums and 117 legally recognized slums.

Finally, the issue of caste in India is cited by Mertens (1996: 10) explaining that it is the feature of the social structure. Additionally, the division of labour in society is divided into haves and have not (Mertens 1996: 10). According to her, this is backed by religious, legal and cultural sanctions although things have changed such social divisions still exist. Most slum dwellers belong to the lower caste facing challenges such as educational, economic and social backwardness and as such lack skills needed for upward mobility (Mertens 1996: 10).

### **3.2 Overview of BUPP**

The project which was known as the Bangalore Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme was implemented in Bangalore in India over a six year period between 1993 and 1999 by the Dutch Government with an overall goal of reducing poverty reduction by employing the services of key stakeholders using the participatory mode of development. The main stakeholders or participants included the local government units, local and international NGOs who developed various programmes and projects with the beneficiaries who were mainly slum dwellers (de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2001, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, Philips, et al. 1997a).

The programme implementation plan employed a bottom up approach especially the utilization of participatory approaches where slum residents in Bangalore were requested to bring up their most pressing needs and were involved in developing implementation plans as well as bringing these programmes to life. An independent Steering Committee, Slum Development Teams (SDTs) and Programme Support Unit (PSU) were set up which was gender balanced and comprised all stakeholders. NGOs were specifically given

responsibilities both on the programme management teams and at the slum levels (de Wit 2002a, Philips, et al. 1997b and Vasudevan 1997).

### **3.3 Objectives and Institutional Design**

The main objective main was to create wealth aimed at reducing poverty by empowering the poor especially women and children. It therefore recognized Indian's caste system, patronage tendencies, vested interests, functioning vote banks, elite and political influences. As such empowerment of the people was essential to the success of the project (de Wit 2002a and Vasudevan 1997). The second objective was to introduce innovative approaches to development as well as to develop and experiment with sustainable urban poverty alleviation modes of improving the lives of the poor (de Wit 2002a).

Additional sub goals of BUPP as stated by (de Wit 2002a) included the following practical strategies;

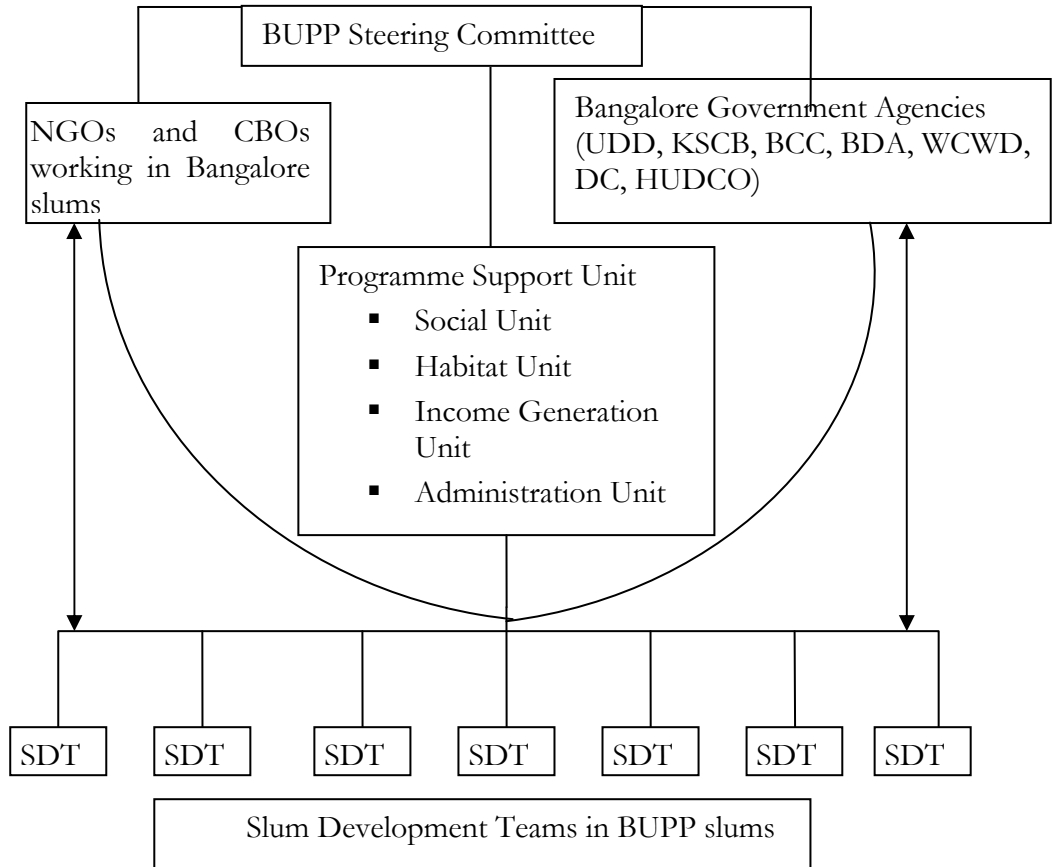
- To establish an institutional structure comprising a SC, PSU and SDTs with guidelines, procedures and monitoring systems;
- To develop close co-operation between governmental units, non-governmental organisations and slum communities;
- To ensure 'convergence' of various urban poverty reduction programmes and funds, both from various governmental agencies and NGOs, and
- To assist all agencies and organisations involved in poverty reduction to fulfil their roles more adequately, to facilitate continued improved functioning without external assistance.

Accordingly, BUPP was to develop sustainable poverty alleviation programme based on popular participation and to address the challenges of the urban poor specifically women and children (de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000 and Vasudevan 1997).

### Institutional Design

The figure below displays the structure of BUPP and how it worked during actual implementation.

**Figure 2: Structure of BUPP**



Source: de Wit 2002a

### 3.4 Actors in the Participatory Arena

There were various actors or stakeholders from diverse backgrounds including a wide variety of institutions. The individual actors comprised slum dwellers, slum communities and leaders, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development of Karnataka State, high level representatives of the city level Government agencies, a member from HUDCO and a nominee of the Royal Netherlands Embassy New Delhi. All other institutional actors mentioned below also had representation of individual members working in various aspects to ensure the success of BUPP (de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000 and Philips, et al 1997a).

Institutional actors included the following (de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, Philips, et al. 1997a and Philips, et al. 1997b,).

- Local governments and its agencies

- The Government of the Netherlands, the Government of India and the Government of Karnataka
- Royal Netherlands Embassy, New Delhi
- Local and international NGOs
- Bangalore agencies working in the field of urban poverty
- Steering Committee
- Programme Support Unit
- Slum Development Teams
- Department of Housing and Urban Development of Karnataka State
- Community Based Organizations
- India Housing and Urban Development Co-operation
- Bangalore City Corporation
- United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF)

### **3.5 Project Outcomes: Institutional Design**

Initially there was a budget of US \$500, 000 for activities which was to be developed and implemented under the project. The project created three important bodies namely the Steering Committee, Slum Development Teams (SDTs) and Programme Support Unit (PSU) which had various roles in ensuring the success of the projects for slum dwellers who needed assistance to improve their standards of living (de Wit 2002a, Philips, et al. 1997a and Vasudevan 1997). The PSU served as the Executive Wing of BUPP comprising three experienced professionals. They were assisted by three Programme Coordinators and there were four support staff. The PSU performed duties in line with achieving BUPP objectives. These included policy implementation, helping to improve the work of government agencies, monitoring the programme, identifying constraints, assisting to set up SDTs in league with NGOs and proposing programme adjustments (de Wit 2002a).

A Steering Committee (SC) implemented the programme taking all relevant decisions independently including the use of project funds and such Dutch Government funds were channelled through its bank account. Among other responsibilities of the SC was the appointment of staff, selection of slums as well as administrative and financial decisions. The SC appointed all PSU staff members and received feedback on the progress of the programmes being implemented. There were twelve members including a Chairperson, who was Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development of Karnataka State, five high level representatives of city level government bureaus, four members from NGOs nominated by a forum of NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs), one member from HUDCO and one nominated by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in New Delhi (de Wit 2002a and Philips, et al. 1997a).



Also, there were SDTs which consisted of elected local groups with an almost equal representation of men and women by slum people and who were key agents to implement activities under BUPP. SDTs identified the urgent needs of the communities and drafted implementation plans known as Slum Development Plans (SDPs) who implemented these programmes or supervised it. The Action Plans were approved by the SC which then transferred needed funds to the SDT bank account. These bank accounts were jointly operated by the SDT and PSU (de Wit 2002a). The SC at the same time made arrangements for other agencies like KSCB and BCC to also start work on the BUPP slums (convergence). The SC and the PSU selected about 15 slums with an approximately 10,000 citizens within the local government set-up as proposed in the project document. There were also developed criteria on expenditure to be used per slum, slum household and per programme activity.

### **3.6 Additional Outcomes**

BUPP funded activities such as improvement of physical infrastructure, health care, training, (non-formal) education, income generation activities and publication of a newsletter for actors (de Wit 2002a, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000 and Vasudevan 1997). Moreover, BUPP was an innovative programme purposely aimed at using emerging development paradigms at that time which included participation, decentralization and empowerment which is believed to assist the poor out of their predicament or challenges as well as contribute to poverty reduction. As a result such concepts were employed in the implementation of BUPP hopeful of generating productive results (de Wit 2002a and de Wit Krishnamurthy 2000). Implementation of BUPP was slow because so much time was spent establishing new institutions and managing it as well as employing new and lengthy participatory and empowerment approaches to development.

Lastly, spending project funds was slow leading to several extensions of BUPP which was initially a two year pilot programme. At the time of termination, BUPP was operationalized in 14 slums and reached about 13,000 inhabitants and seven slums were legalized through the intervention of the programme (de Wit 2001, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, Philips, et al. 1997a and Vasudevan 1997).

### **3.7 Conclusion**

The above presented the political and socio-economic context of Bangalore, an overview of the BUPP in India. The objective and institutional design has been discussed as well as stakeholders of the programme. Finally, project outcomes have been presented on the processes of realizing the goals of the project and to understand what happened.

# Chapter 4

## CASE STUDY OF ANGOLA

### 4.1 Political and Socio-Economic Context

The Republic of Angola in Southern Africa is a former Portuguese colony which gained independence on 11th November 1975 (World Fact Book 2009). Information from the BBC (2009) website puts the population at 17.5 million (UN 2008). The capital is Luanda and the major languages are Portuguese (official), Umbundu, Kimbundu and Kikongo (BBC 2009). The life expectancy is 41 years (men) and 44 years (women) (UN) and its main exports are oil, diamonds, minerals, coffee, fish and timber with a GNI per capita of US \$2,560 (World Bank 2007) (BBC 2009). The GDP (purchasing power parity) is US \$97.43 billion (2007) and the estimated real growth rate for 2008 is expected to be 13.2% (World Fact Book 2009). There was long civil war mainly between the Movement Popular the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) lasting until the death of UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, in 2002 and as many as one million Angolans were killed (USAID Angola 2005: 2). There are 18 provinces (World Fact Book 2009), 163 Municipal Administrations (Mac Dowell, et al. 2006: 5) and 532 Communes (UNDP 2009). The Government has enacted the Local Administration Decree in 1999 (Law 17/99), which provide detailed framework for deconcentration (UNDP 2009).

Collelo (1989) reports that despite fertile land, large deposits of oil, gas, and great mineral wealth it achieved neither prosperity nor peace due to the civil war which continued after independence. Specifically, on the eve of independence, UNITA controlled many of the rich, food-producing central and southern provinces that is the Planalto region and was therefore able to regulate the flow of food to the rest of the country (Collelo 1989). The war caused massive dislocation of people with as much as four million people displaced or a third of the population internally displaced or refugees (Allen, et al. 2003: 1).

The Planalto was the region most affected by the country's 27 years of civil war, which ended in 2002 (Chevron 2009). Prior to the war, the Planalto was Angola's bread basket and a net food exporter (Chevron 2009). In addition, the central highlands which is the Planalto area like other regions in Angola has three levels of governance namely the provincial, municipal and the communes (ADF 2009). There are also traditional leaders known as the Soba who have jurisdiction over their people in specified localities (ADF 2009). According to Mac Dowell, et al. (2006: 5-6) more than half of Angola's population is aged below or 20 years and 80% of the people are unemployed. More than half the population, nearly 58%, is illiterate and the enrolment rate in primary education reaches just 74% of school age children (Mac Dowell, et al. 2006: 5-6). The access by the population to basic services is precarious: 59%

of the people do not have access to potable water, 60% do not have sanitation and 76% do not have access to healthcare (Mac Dowell, et al. 2006: 5-6). The portion of the population that needs some degree of food aid stands at 22% of the total population whereas 13% of the people suffer from malnutrition (Mac Dowell, et al. 2006: 5-6). Additionally, according to Allen, et al. (2003: 1) over two thirds of Angolans live in poverty while almost one in three is extremely poor.

Angola was a former food exporter but currently produces 50% of its food needs and relies on imports to meet the rest of it (Allen, et al. (2003: 5). Particularly, ‘in the Planalto, given the lack of electricity, petroleum/oil provides the main source of lighting for 83 percent of the households’ (USAID Angola 2005: 12). ‘Households in the Planalto rely on the environment for drinking water, with rivers being the main source of water for 50 percent of households’ (USAID Angola 2005: 12). ‘For instance, in the Planalto, due to unreliable access to electricity, firewood is used for cooking in 93 percent of the households, contributing to environmental degradation in densely populated areas’ (USAID Angola 2005: 12). ‘Not surprisingly, the unavailability of social services and utilities has serious consequences for national productivity’ (USAID Angola 2005: 4).

According to Holness (1982: 40) under colonial rule women were subjugated under the capitalist system aggravated by the domination and submission suffered by them owing to the patriarchal family structure, in which women are regarded as a mere instrument of pleasure, reproduction and labour. The socialist government which took over after independence granted women equal rights but this may not have been exercised in reality (Holness 1982:40). This was the use of women’s labour, illiteracy of women because boys could only go to school and the utilization of the church which promoted their roles as that of procreation (Holness 1982: 28-29). According to USAID Angola (2005: 10), the war had a profound effect on the gender balance, in 2001 there were only 91 men for every 100 women. Over a quarter of all households are headed by females (USAID Angola 2005: 10). ‘In the Planalto, this level rises to approximately 36 percent of all households’ (USAID Angola 2005: 10). ‘Despite the increased responsibility and expanded roles of women this entails, traditional Angolan culture assigns women very low status, generally excluding them from positions of influence’ (USAID Angola 2005: 10). ‘The low status of women shows up clearly in various social indicators’ (USAID Angola 2005: 10).

## **4.2 Overview of ACPI**

The end of hostilities provided a window of opportunity to start rebuilding infrastructure, developing economic activity and commencing a transition to democracy and good governance. Accordingly, development of an active and engaged citizenry who exercise control over their lives through participation in the decisions that affect them individually and collectively was very significant. Among the partners in this development process was USAID who funded a

\$1.25 million Citizens Participation Initiative in Angola which was designed by ADF (ADF 2009).

The Initiative took place in 14 communities of the Planalto region in three municipalities namely Caála (province of Huambo mostly rural), Lubango (mostly peri-urban) and Cacula (province of Huila mostly rural). The project lasted from February 2005 to September 2006. Within this period twenty-one (21) projects were developed and implemented by these communities with a population of about 39000 which included schools, health posts, water points and agricultural investments and improvements. CDGs were established to develop and implement these selected community projects. Members were elected; broadly representative and actively involved previously marginalized groups such as women, youth, ethnic minorities and ex-combatants. There was collaboration with other communities through the creation of five Cluster Committees (CCs) to pursue shared goals. CDGs and CCs learned to engage local government as a partner in improving local conditions (ADF 2009).

### **4.3 Objectives and Institutional Design**

The ACPI programme was tasked with specific objectives so as to track its progress for a successful implementation of the project based on participatory strategies. The following paragraphs comprise the five distinct specific goals which were closely monitored (ADF 2009);

- Introduce new methodologies for community mobilization which utilize local level dialogue, consultation and cooperation to build civic engagement, community-local authority collaboration, and citizen participation (ADF 2009).
- Create improved socio-economic conditions in 30 communities through community based self-help projects (ADF 2009).
- Expand local level understanding of the concepts of democratic governance and the role of citizens, grassroots organizations and local authorities in this process (ADF 2009).
- Contribute to reintegration of returning populations and reconciliation through processes that assist community members in recognizing common problems and addressing these needs together for the benefit of all (ADF 2009).
- Enhance citizen participation and local government-community cooperation in planning for and implementing self-help activities that respond to local priorities (ADF 2009).

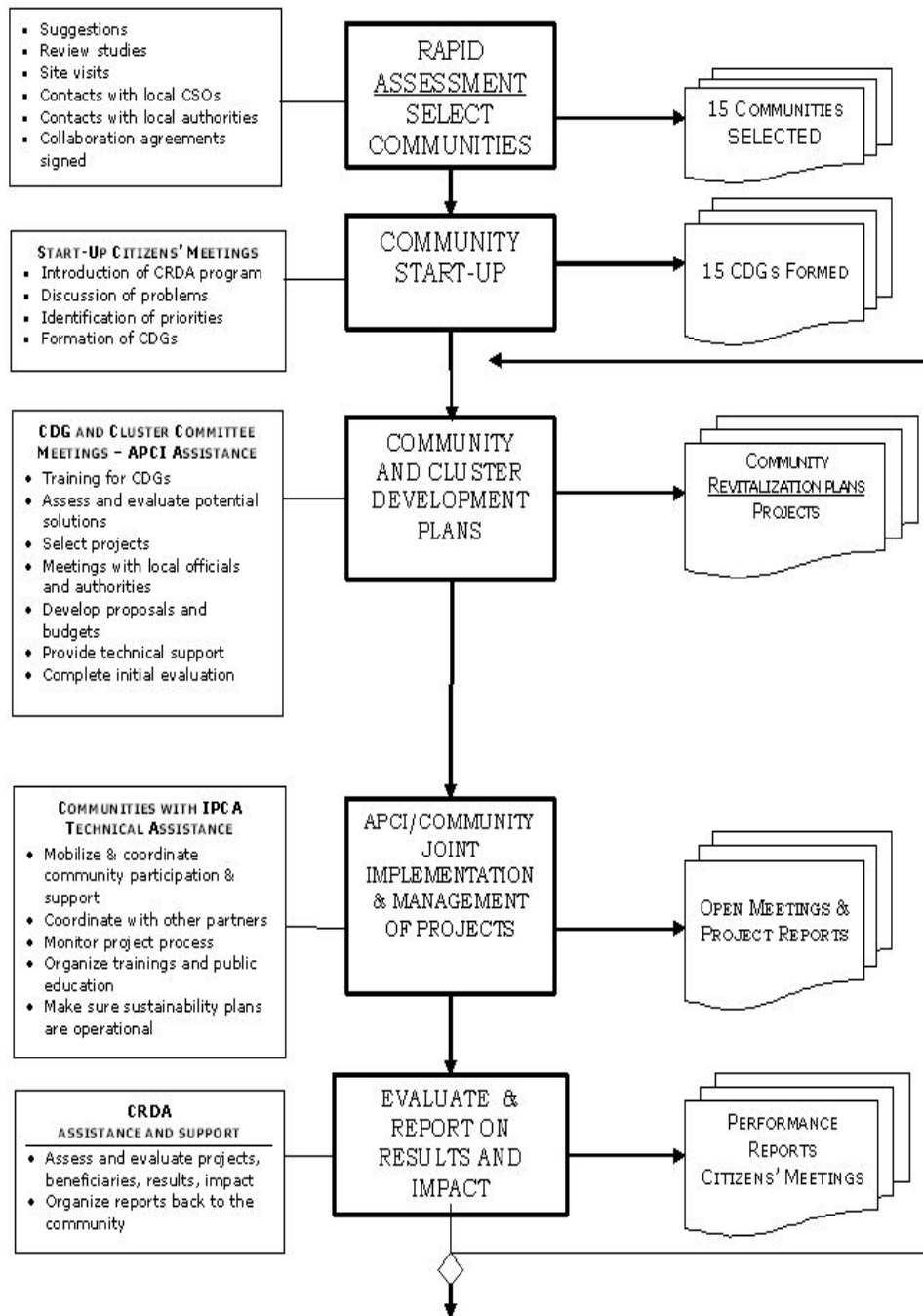
Consequently, ACPI was to use democratic processes, specifically participation of citizens who would select their own projects for implementation in league with specific institutional actors for improved socio-economic development. Additionally, community reconciliation was key as members have to be re-integrated after the prolonged civil war to ensure peace and prosperity for all. The goal was therefore to foster citizen empowerment and to build citizen participation at the grassroots level to better equip

Angolans to actively involve in rebuilding their war-torn country (ADF 2009: 3-6).

### Institutional Design

The figure below shows the programme framework of ACPI and how the process of implementation happened (ADF 2009: 2).

**Figure 3: Structure of ACPI**



Source: ACPI Final Report

#### **4.4 Actors in the Participatory Arena**

Actors in the implementation of ACPI were diverse involving both individual and institutional actors. Individual actors comprise people such as inhabitants from 14 communities, representatives of CDGs, community representatives (women, youth, people with various ethnic and religious groups), returning populations, ex-combatants, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), traditional leaders, school and clinic directors, representatives of the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA), commune administrators, provincial directors, local government officials and persons working in various institutions that gave expert advice or worked during the implementation of the various projects. Some Institutional actors mentioned below also worked in other areas of the project to ensure the success of ACPI (ADF 2009).

ACPI had institutional actors which included the following (ADF 2009);

- Local Government Municipalities and its agencies specifically Caala, Lubango and Cacula
- Provincial Government Bodies
- ADF
- USAID
- NGOs
- Organization of Angolan Women (OMA)
- Churches
- Provincial Health Directorate
- Provincial Water Directorate
- Provincial Education Directorate
- Provincial Water Department
- Municipal Veterinary Services
- Municipal Administration
- Commune Administration
- National Electricity Company and
- Moçamedes Railroad Company (state-owned)

#### **4.5 Project Outcomes**

The project outcomes are presented in the following paragraphs. The programme was implemented in 14 out of 15 communities in the Planalto region who regularly met to select priorities and took actions on them. Also, the CDGs that were established was broadly representative of all social and marginalized groups namely ethnic, religious, women, the youth and ex-combatants (ADF 2009).

The programme had three components namely;

*Establishing and Training Accountable CDGs*

The process began with identification of communities (selection criteria is in the appendix) and municipalities that were willing to collaborate with ACPI, citizens meetings to inform them of programme objective, categorizing local development priorities and elections of members of CDGs by citizens who were required to report back on progress of work. This enabled changes to be made on development plans and new members of CDGs were sometimes elected. Some members were illiterate so training programmes or workshops were held to improve their capacity. These fell into two areas particularly operational training and governance-related capacity building (ADF 2009: 6-10).

*Promoting local-level Dialogue with Government and others*

This was mainly between communities and government bodies. Initially CDGs were reluctant because they felt government bodies were unapproachable, uninterested and at times fearful but it improved, and local governments cooperated and assisted localities to address their needs. These contacts resulted in improvements such as local government authorizing construction of health posts and schools, guaranteed placement of teachers, community mobilization, provision of technical expertise to develop a project proposal and materials for community-led garbage collection campaign (ADF 2009: 10-12).

*Implementing Community Projects*

This last step was also led by CDGs like all the other components but ADF provided assistance and it did strengthen citizen participation in the implementation of community projects. Some communities achieved less than others mainly due to low capacities, low participation, type of proposed projects and lack of responsiveness by government institutions (see appendix for list of projects per community). In the end some could implement two or three projects while most localities completed only a project (ADF 2009: 12-15).

In addition, there were 268 contacts, meetings and conversations between citizens and local government. Furthermore, 270 people were elected as members of CDGs by citizens in 14 communities during citizen meetings by those who attended. Capacities of members of the CDGs were regularly developed specifically on democratic governance and the role of civil society. Others also received similar benefits such as community members, government partners like provincial directors and commune administrators who gained first hand experience dealing with organized communities in productive relationships (ADF 2009).

Local cost-sharing contributed 40% of the total cost for community projects, including both resources raised within the community and from development partners. Communities mobilized \$198,017 in local resources

more than the targeted \$75,000. About 21 projects were implemented in the communities which benefited more than 40,000 people. The implemented projects demonstrated success in mobilizing communities and local governments to create partnerships and provided vital socio-economic benefits that were a direct result of democratic and highly participatory processes. For instance there was improved education, provision of safe drinking water within short distances as well as better health services (ADF 2009). (see appendix for all projects implemented)

Finally, there was an unparalleled increase in levels of local government community consultation and collaboration through quarterly evaluations and number of contacts. Even the perceptions of citizens towards the local government changed significantly and vice versa. Citizens also discovered that such bodies responded to their needs and requests (ADF 2009).

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

The above has presented the political and socio-economic context in the Planalto region, discussed and produced an overview of ACPI in Angola which highlighted an outline of the pilot project. This included the project objectives and institutional design as well as stakeholders of the programme. Finally, project outcomes were presented comprising how and what happened under the programme.



## Chapter 5

### ANALYSIS

#### 5.1 Benefits

An analysis of the benefits of the two projects are discussed and presented in the table below. The data is taken from various reports on BUPP and ACPI. This brings to light the merits of participation earlier discussed in the analytical framework.

**Table 3: Benefits of BUPP and ACPI**

<b>BUPP India</b>	<b>ACPI Angola</b>
<p><b>Infrastructure</b></p> <p>Basic infrastructure such as drinking water taps, public toilets, construction or rehabilitation of community halls, pavement of feeder roads, drainage paths, clinics, subsidized electricity and individual self-help and participatory housing projects were constructed (de Wit 2001, de Wit 2002a, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000 and Philips, et al. 1997a).</p>	<p><b>Resource Mobilization</b></p> <p>ADF was successful in mobilizing local resources more than targeted although it was initially difficult to raise. This resulted in improved socio economic condition of beneficiaries such as rehabilitation of a natural spring, water fountains and construction of schools, bore holes, bridges and health posts (ADF 2009).</p>
<p><b>Financial Scheme</b></p> <p>There was an establishment and management of a successful savings and credit scheme called BEMBALA. It had over a thousand members with women comprising about 73% with savings of 500,000 rupees and one million rupees re-lent as loans to members. This resulted in employment and income generation activities for the urban poor and it is still operational ((de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b and Philips, et al. 1997a).</p>	<p><b>Capacity</b></p> <p>Communities improved their capacity for democratic self-organization. They became more assertive and it was evident in how CDGs interacted with their constituents towards the end of the Initiative, compared to the first months after they were set up. There was significantly increased dialogue, greater demand for information and clarifications and more collective efforts. A case in point was when Ferrovia's citizens met with local health officials and presented a clear and consensual plan to tackle a cholera epidemic (ADF 2009: 27).</p>
<p><b>Empowerment</b></p> <p>There were standardized indicators to measure empowerment but in 1997 the Review Mission had some kind of</p>	<p><b>Community Participation</b></p> <p>Communities and local authorities became effective development partners. There was increased</p>

<p>measurements which showed that BUPP had resulted in enhancing empowerment among SDT members but this did not tally with the views of individual SDT members. Nonetheless, the workshops, exposure visits, contacts between people from different slums raised awareness on legal issues, programmes relevant to slum poor etc. Also, the credit scheme contributed to increased confidence in people (de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, de Wit, 2001, de Wit, 2002a, Philips et al. 1997a and Vasudevan 1997).</p>	<p>dialogue and productive collaboration between local governments and their constituents. Citizens no longer felt restrained to contact local authorities and have become eager to engage with them in open and productive dialogue. Besides, authorities improved instances of community consultation (ADF 2009: 27).</p>
<p><b>Institutional Structure</b></p> <p>BUPP established and experimented with a new and ambitious institutional structure namely the SC, PSU and the SDTs. Besides it succeeded in learning by doing approach and gradually developed an institutional structure in enabling all stakeholders to relate well. But, these units could not function as expected by the end of the project. For example the SC could not continue to play its intended policy role while the PSU was unable to play its facilitating role between governmental agencies and NGOs due to lack of capacity (de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, de Wit 2001, de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b and Vasudevan 1997).</p>	<p><b>Democratization</b></p> <p>The democratic selection of CDGs allowed citizens to gain direct experience in the election of these representatives and hold them accountable to transparently serve the interests of the communities. Additionally, communities recognized that the solution to some of their problems was most effectively met by collaborating with other communities and especially local authorities (ADF 2009).</p>
	<p><b>Community Mobilization</b></p> <p>Citizens in the target communities also became more effective at mobilizing their communities in an inclusive manner. This was evident in how CDGs interacted with their constituents towards the end of the Initiative, compared to the months after they were first established. There was a significant increase in dialogue, greater demand for information and clarifications and more collective efforts on the part of both CDG members and citizens (ADF 2009).</p>

## 5.2 Constraints

An analysis of the constraints of the two projects are discussed and produced in the table below. Information is from the various BUPP and ACPI reports and undoubtedly stresses some of the demerits of participation which was discussed in the analytical framework in chapter two of this paper.

**Table 4: Constraints of BUPP and ACPI**

<b>BUPP India</b>	<b>ACPI Angola</b>
<p><b>Implementing Model</b></p> <p>The issue of participatory development, bottom up planning and task transfer to communities proved difficult as officials and agencies were used to a top down approach to development. Initially this approach proved challenging as well as the key role which was given to NGOs ((de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b and Philips, et al. 1997a).</p>	<p><b>Culture Shock</b></p> <p>The project presented a new methodology of promoting local development such as citizens initiating contacts with external partners, particularly state institutions which they were not familiar with and fearful of such interactions as well. Accordingly, meetings were initially sporadic and inconclusive, as CDG members lacked the confidence to negotiate proactively for assistance, Secondly, after years of conflict most communities developed a passive culture because it was perceived that NGOs fully finance and implement projects (ADF 2009: 15).</p>
<p><b>Social Conditions</b></p> <p>The behavioural and cultural factors influenced the programme. An example is the India caste system where clear divisions existed between each group as they all had their own perceptions, customs and group culture. The issue of patronage relationships between rich and poor, politicians, slum leaders and slum inhabitants also resurfaced (de Wit 2001 and de Wit 2002a).</p>	<p><b>Capacity</b></p> <p>The municipal, communal authorities appreciated increased activeness of communities and their representatives in seeing local challenges addressed. However, local government has very limited powers and has poor professional capacity. Moreover, in a centralized governance structure, funds to the local level were inadequate. The local governments were very helpful in facilitating support from provincial bodies, but would have done a lot more if they had had the resources to do so (ADF 2009: 16).</p>
<p><b>Slum Policy</b></p> <p>In Bangalore under its Slum Act some slums were legalized while others were not. BUPP selected slums in both</p>	<p><b>Bureaucratic Challenges</b></p> <p>Bureaucratic delays not only caused some setbacks in project implementation, but in some cases</p>

<p>categories but the illegal ones had to be legalized which delayed the programme and frustrated especially slum dwellers, NGOs and government agencies (de Wit 2002a and de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000).</p>	<p>even prevented proposed projects from ever becoming a reality. Authorizations to build, letters of commitment and other documentation necessary for project approval were mostly slow. For example, on 7th July 2006 the Vice Governor of Huila province agreed that the state would equip schools being built, and issued a memo requesting the Office of Planning to include this activity in the provincial budget. A month after the programme closed, the memo had still not been answered (ADF 2009: 16).</p>
<p><b>PSU Staff Turnover</b></p> <p>There were difficulties in employing well qualified PSU staff specifically at the senior and management level. This could be attributed to a lack of specialists in a new field such as urban poverty alleviation in India. Another crucial reason was the low level of salaries of PSU employees contrary to the proposition of the project document. The argument was that salaries ought to be moderate so the programme would be sustainable if Dutch Government funds were to cease (de Wit 2001, de Wit 2002a, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000, Philips, et al. 1997a and Vasudevan 1997).</p>	<p><b>Time Span</b></p> <p>The project duration was so short, although ADF managed to meet its overall objectives, ensuring that the target communities develop continuous participatory practices and progressively productive relations with local government. More years of regular support would be required to achieve desired results (ADF 2009: 16).</p>
<p><b>Convergence</b></p> <p>BUPP was not within an institutional agency which was perhaps useful initially to be able to experiment freely. However, after a few years this became a problem and PSU became rather isolated from the key urban poverty agencies. Hence it was prevented from working from within. It was expected to facilitate and help in the convergence of various governmental agencies and NGOs but this did not work effectively so it had to step up the implementing</p>	

<p>activities itself such as helping to establish and guide SDTs as well as setting up savings and credit schemes (de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000 and Vasudevan, 1997).</p>	
<p><b>Role Shift</b></p> <p>The SC, government agencies and NGOs failed to fully perform their assigned roles. For example the SC failed to perform its policy making role while the government agencies, NGOs failed to converge their programme and finance. Slum leaders known as mediators between the poor and government or service agencies took control of the SDTs hindering progress. For instance such brokers who turned out to be money lenders frustrated the establishment of savings groups in their communities. Although in some instances these leaders proved helpful and ensured the success of BUPP in their areas. Such leaders were drivers of opinion in their communities and projects could succeed or fail depending on their opinions (de Wit 2002a, de Wit 2002b, Philips, et al. 1997a and Vasudevan, 1997).</p>	
<p><b>Role of Women</b></p> <p>Moreover, women were the focus of BUPP as a means of empowering and improving their wellbeing but evidence is mixed as to whether they took active part in SDTs. Although some took positions their role was marginal as they sometimes could not participate in meetings, decision making and as such SDPs did not fully represent their urgent needs (de Wit 2001 and de Wit 2002a).</p>	
<p><b>Local Context</b></p> <p>Finally, there are issues of divisions such as political factionalism, vertical patronage relations, ethnic differences and domination of men over women in communities which BUPP was not</p>	

spared. Leaders sometimes gave priority to their self interests such as provision of water, electricity, public toilets and when this proved difficult to achieve their support waned. Also, community contribution such as payment for services was challenging as the poor in India rarely paid for services or would not trust paying to collectors (de Wit 2001, de Wit 2002a, de Wit and Krishnamurthy 2000 and Vasudevan 1997).

### **5.3 Analytical View of Theory and Concepts**

The theories of participation, empowerment, governance and decentralization have proved important in this study. It re-surfaced in every step of the process, from the beginning of the study, the case studies, the benefits to the constraints that were encountered by the programmes implemented in India and Angola. Fact is, these concepts were part of the thought process, the design and implementation of these projects. Although these theories have existed over a long period of time, it has become part of contemporary development thinking specifically in the 1980s and 1990s and as such development partners would want to experiment with it in practical terms to measure its viability.

Participation of citizens was the very objective of the design and implementation of these two projects. This brought to light the merits and demerits of participation earlier discussed. Particularly, it was to ensure the involvement of various actors especially the poor including women and children. In the case of ACPI the project included the youth and ex-combatants. There was some level of participation of these groups within the institutions established such as the SDTs and CDGs. Citizens were able to select their own projects, mobilized resources and provided labour to build up infrastructure under the two projects. In addition to providing labour, the ACPI was able to mobilize \$198,017 in local resources more than the targeted \$75,000 (ADF 2009) unlike BUPP which could not match counterpart funding that should have been generated. Yet, there was also participation of other individual and institutional actors such as local government officials and the agencies they worked under, NGOs and other development partners and agencies within and outside the localities offered expertise, funding and services during implementation of both projects. Besides, the framework of implementation of these two projects raised the level of accountability, responsibility, ownership and efficiency which are merits of participation. On issues of improved democratic governance and poverty reduction, these two projects operated a governance programme along this line resulting in better socio-economic conditions. On the whole the merits of participation already analysed can be identified such as meeting the specific needs of citizens,

mobilization of local resources, sustainability, accountability, local ownership, efficiency, inputs in decision making, democratic governance and poverty reduction during the design and implementation of both projects. For instance both projects employed democratic processes to elect members of CDGs and SDTs.

Nevertheless, the demerits of participation also came to light especially issues raised by Botes and Rensburg (2000). The first plague which criticizes the paternalistic role of development professionals manifested under these projects influencing the kind of projects implemented, programme governance or structure but to a large extent they played facilitating roles to ensure the design and implementation of the programmes. Citizens had a voice but it ought to have been within the framework of the project design. The second plague on the prescriptive role of the state was not experienced under the projects. It was rather ADF as an NGO which was prescriptive in what was possible or not and in the long term promoting United States (US) government's interest of democracy promotion. While BUPP promoted Dutch government's interest in reducing poverty and corruption. The third plague on over reporting of development success came to light under ACPI. The final project document seemed too superficial taking into consideration the short time of the project. It however reports some challenges and how to curtail them in future programmes. In the case of BUPP there was some balance on both merits and demerits of project to the extent that it was terminated before the proposed end after several extensions. The fourth on local elite capture was very visible as they were influential and got elected as members and leaders of the SDTs and CDGs. Particularly BUPP experienced challenges such as opposition where projects affected their interests and there was success when they supported projects to be implemented.

Furthermore, the fifth plague on hard issue bias was not entirely true because both hard and soft issues were part of these two projects. Both issues were significant in the planning, design and project implementation. For instance BUPP and ACPI involved the community and sought to empower the people. Also, both projects organized capacity building programmes to equip the people to improve their economic status as well as in the performance of their duties as members of the SDTs and CDGs. The sixth plague on conflicting interests was a challenge under BUPP for instance among the various stakeholders who could liaise to achieve desired results. The seventh plague on gate keeping by local elite which the ACPI report was silent on apart from mentioning that these leaders were mostly represented by them. In the case of BUPP such gate keepers were highly active as described by Botes and Rensburg (2000: 49-50). For instance they frustrated the attempts to establish savings and loans scheme in communities where it affected their interests as money lenders. In the same vein their support ensured success of projects in their communities. The eighth plague on pushing for immediate results was pushed by local people. Particularly the delay in legalizing slums in India affected the morale of the people. Finally, the ninth plague on lack of interest was not the case of the two programmes because the people actively

participated under both projects. Although ACPI initially experienced some difficulties because such level of participation was new to the people and they were fearful of collaborating with governmental agencies.

Empowerment was essential to the extent that it was part of the goals and objectives of BUPP and ACPI. Beneficiaries mainly the poor, women and marginalized groups were least empowered and as such needed to be equipped. They were therefore part of the decision making process in identifying priorities and ensuring that these projects were realized. It was in this light that projects like schools, health posts, safe drinking water, and expansion of electricity were provided to aid in the empowerment process. Moreover, there were capacity building programmes as a means of empowerment under these projects. Additionally capacity development was part of the programme to guarantee that communities are fully empowered. Both projects politically empowered the people especially women but there were challenges due to societal norms or values. Women thus could not play active roles as expected under these programmes. The inhabitants of these beneficiary communities were elected as members of CDGs and SDTs to collaborate and lead the process of development. There was equal allocation of representation of women under BUPP which was not fully achieved in all cases. Economic empowerment resulted in the construction of infrastructure and savings and loans schemes under both projects. Accordingly, both projects worked in equipping citizens with some level of empowerment.

Governance proved useful to understand the framework and the multi-stakeholder process of the two projects and served as a significant guiding principle. The projects had governance structures such as municipalities, PSU, CDGs, SDTs and various NGOs that played active roles in the design and implementation of the two projects as already stated. There would have been no project without governance as a regulating mechanism and the management of the two projects by all stakeholders. Appropriate governance by the designers and funders of the project resulted in decisions on the processes of implementation. The establishment of administrative units to provision of facilities of the projects needed an act of governance to achieve desired goals. Also, CDGs and SDTs would not have functioned without any guidelines or governance to develop community plans and implementation mechanisms. The local government agencies and other implementing agencies also operated under a governance structure so did other agencies such as NGOs, CBOs, women's groups and other civil society actors.

Lastly, decentralization added to complete the menu during project implementation. Specifically both projects were implemented at the local level that is within decentralized bodies and agencies such as provinces, districts and municipalities which are all agents of the decentralization framework. This explains the importance donor and development partners place on decentralization as a policy. Also, it has been argued that decentralization results in development, reduce poverty, and improves efficiency and political



stability. In this particular setting local level units delegated some of the decision making and developmental roles to NGOs and the people who employed participatory strategies to implement various projects. It could therefore be concluded that decentralization provided the mechanism for these two programmes to be designed and implemented within a specific space. The decentralized vicinities of Bangalore and the Planalto region played this role in bringing improved socio-economic conditions to beneficiaries of these communities. The local institutions and individual actors within these establishments collaborated with development partners and the members of the communities to design and implement prioritized projects. In effect power was delegated to development actors and the people to actualize the goals of these projects.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This section has analysed the benefits and constraints of BUPP in India and ACPI in Angola. It has also examined the theory and concepts used in designing and implementing the two pilot projects.

## Chapter 6

# CONCLUSION

### 6.1 Reviewing the Case Studies in India and Angola

The two case studies are based on the use of participatory strategies to improve the lives of the people within the localities where the programmes were implemented. This involved inhabitants selecting their own priority projects within their communities and playing active roles to ensure its success. In terms of geographical setting, Bangalore appears to be more modern with large industrial establishments and Information Technology infrastructure than the Planalto region which is a rural setting mainly based on an agricultural economy and where people had just come out of a brutal civil war. Both projects were pilot projects which though laudable, makes it seem like a try and error process.

In addition, issues discussed in the analytical framework also dominated the two case studies. Also, the two views on participation already discussed that is as a means or an end in itself played out during the design and implementation process of both projects. Participation as a means ensured local ownership of projects, inputs in decision making, cost saving through the mobilization of local resources including the provision labour. Both projects also guaranteed the election of representatives that served on the CDGs and SDTs. On the issue of participation as an end in itself this was not fully achieved but it resulted in some minimal level of accountability, empowerment, democracy and poverty reduction. Besides, for example under ACPI CDG members were directly accountable to their people because they needed to be voted for and could be ousted for non performance. Both cases demonstrated the coming together of development partners and beneficiaries to plan and implement the projects. The views on merits and demerits of participation especially by Botes and Rensburg (2000) earlier stated is brought to light. For instance the issue of beneficiaries having a voice in their development is expressed in the two cases as well as that of democratization. Structures such as schools, clinics, water and electrification projects were the result of the options most citizens preferred. However local elites tend to be leaders of CDGs and SDTs which brings into focus the inability of all sections of the community to be represented.

Capacity building was an important aspect of the two case studies. In the case of Angola illiterate members of the CDGs were taken through training programmes or workshops to improve their capacities to actively perform the assigned roles while the India programme provided non-formal education to members of the community. Besides, both projects highlighted the election of local leaders or opinion leaders as members of the SDTs and CDGs bringing to light issues of elite capture. Slum leaders in India sometimes hindered progress of the project because they were opposed to it or could not be part

while the issue of patronage was visible especially in the India case. Such leaders contributed to the success or failure in their localities depending on whether they supported it or not. These are issues discussed by writers like de Wit (2001) and Botes and Rensburg (2000).

Furthermore, the issue of local counterpart funding as an aspect of development projects yielded mixed results as could be seen in the cases of BUPP and ACPI. In the case of BUPP citizens and the local governments who benefitted from the project were unwilling to contribute their part unlike ACPI where locally committed resources even exceeded its target. This brings into focus issues of ownership because although on paper citizens of both projects are owners of the programmes because it was a result of their choices. Selected projects had to be within defined priorities of donors which limit their powers. Although local counterpart funding guarantees commitment of local partners it puts a burden on local resources and even affect local development priorities. Fact is, if locals had the means to fund projects they would not request foreign funding for basic needs such as schools, hospitals and provision of safe drinking water. In my view donors should either drink deep or drink not that is they should fully fund projects or not initiate projects at all. It is also essential for local actors to provide their own funds to build these basic needs which are to their own benefit and not development partners who deepen their challenges by insisting on various conditions to be met because they provide some sort of funding.

Both cases were implemented under decentralized settings highlighting the essence of decentralization as well as the challenges of local authorities. This brought to the fore the experiences of local people and the views of various writers on the subject matter which had been discussed earlier. It also highlighted the value donor partners place on promoting the policy of decentralization. Consequently, local governments played visible roles to the success of the projects despite inadequate funds and capacities to support the projects to the optimum. I must affirm that their roles were laudable and it is important that central government equip them with the needed resources and possibly donors to directly support them because they are closer to the people and as such are in a position to contribute more. In the two cases, they provided help and support such as technical expertise, mobilization of local people and authorization permits to actualize the projects. The role of NGOs cannot be over-emphasized in assisting in the development and implementation of various projects under BUPP and ACPI. They also served as a link between local administrators and the development agencies. However, there was mixed NGO performance under BUPP.

Besides, initiatives such as BUPP and ACPI did bring some benefits to the people who contributed to the success of these programmes. In terms of all citizens benefitting it would be difficult to assess as projects were implemented based on the support of the majority. In some cases local leaders were influential on the choice of projects. The provision of schools, health posts,

savings and loan schemes, bore-holes for water, extension of electric grid and the like are laudable outcomes. A lot more needs to be done in these government/donor relationships to bring more development to the poor. This is expressed by de Wit (2002a.) when he stated that tangible benefits of the programme have not been equally distributed across all 14 slums. In the case of ACPI 14 communities benefitted out of the 15 which were selected and even within those who were able to participate majority could not implement the stipulated three projects per community. Most were able to implement only a project (ADF 2009). In the light of these conclusions, it is imperative that all stakeholders play the roles they are assigned in its entirety, learn from the challenges of these initiatives and demonstrate commitment to guarantee complete success.

Lastly, both projects were too superficial in an attempt to employ the concepts of participation and empowerment fully. Sometimes these concepts are better left to academics rather than insisting on its full utilization. Additionally, participation of citizens is best employed in selective cases like asking specific residents to be part of meetings to make inputs than allowing them to put together development plans and implement their suggested programmes like the two cases which in my view did not achieve much. Also, I do not think citizens participated to the extent that the reports described because if they did the projects would not have achieved much more than it did. Also, it was surprising that the ACPI was able to implement 21 projects (see appendix) reaching about 40,000 inhabitants with a shorter duration than the six year BUPP which could only benefit a mere 13, 000 inhabitants.

## **6.2 Issues for Further Research**

The research has dealt with an aspect of participation and although I have researched the specific area of citizen participation I still think there is the need for further study because there are other aspects that have not been deeply dealt with. I would in particular suggest the need to explore more the processes that citizens are asked to participate, actual dynamics of participation and the definite roles communities play in the development and implementation of programmes. Issues such as voting to elect local leaders who would assist in the design and implementation of programmes and counterpart funding in terms of money and labour could be investigated. This for me is key because the mechanisms or reasons citizens are called upon to be part of the process is not well defined or proven to be completely without challenges.

Also, the amount of funds allocated for such projects ought to be investigated. This is because bigger sums of monies are announced to have been allotted to these projects in especially developing countries but the output does not much the objectives achieved at the end of the project. For instance huge sums of project funds are used as payment to consultants whose contribution to the success of the project cannot be quantified or used on capacity building programmes which may be difficult to measure. It is this

light that I propose the investigation of project funds, what it has been used or not used for.

Lastly, the issue of elite capture is another area because their support or opposition results in the success or failure of projects respectively. Local elites are pivotal in any setting because they have a lot of influence and power as highlighted by the two cases. A study to find ways of managing or curtailing their roles for the success of any initiative is imperative.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

Stakeholders have interests and would always promote it, as such it would be prudent to define their roles and beneficiaries informed of project benefits before inception. Consequently, it is essential to educate governments of what projects entail and not to jump into any proposed projects mainly because it comes with funds. This is due to the fact that some of these projects come with minimal benefits such as capacity building in participatory processes when infrastructure like health posts and practitioners are in urgent need. It would therefore be appropriate to at best reject such unneeded propositions.

Additionally, I would like to reiterate that the thoughts of Botes and Rensburg (2000) on guidelines for improving participation which are useful in any new development initiative. One of which I would specifically refer to is the need to communicate both successes and failures of any implemented development initiative. This is because most donor reports seem too good to be true even to the uninformed. Moreover, in spite of the echoes of donors of their accomplishments especially to developing economies, not much is seen in reality. Good evaluations are indeed crucial in developing future policies and programmes by all partners in the development process.

Moreover, despite all the merits of participation, such lengthy participatory processes may be a complete waste of time and resources. The use of local labour as a sort of counterpart funding may rather be a focus than these extensive processes. It would be appropriate to implement projects and ignore any elaborate process of consultations. Hence, citizen participation may not be needed in all cases because at times projects just need to be implemented than to consult people. Citizens could be consulted on specific issues such as project location or citizen approval. Fact is, almost everyone knows what a community needs and to blindly go on a consultation spree which serves almost no one any benefit except maybe the funder of the project to show off their participatory skills and present to the world that they are working when in reality not much seems to be happening.

Participation appears to be an attractive or popular concept which every development expert or practitioner wants to be associated with to the extent that it has almost become an imposition from development partners. This should not be the case and it would be appropriate to allow developing

countries to be given a free hand to operate and achieve worthy goals instead of wasting time and resources on participatory processes. Participation could be employed by allowing selected citizens to be representative on advisory boards and by organizing fora probably every quarter during project implementation to seek the inputs of the citizenry.

Finally, the poor may have mediocre ideas, are sometimes ignorant of what is appropriate and may not really know what is best for them. For instance, requesting for a market instead of electricity or other productive ventures which would create employment for them as well as improved standards of living. It is therefore important that government implement programmes or use experts without such long processes of consultations which would not bring better ideas.

## Notes

Data used for the two case studies are from various reports of the projects including information from appropriate websites.

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## Appendices

**Table 5: ACPI Community Projects**

<b>Community</b>	<b>Projects</b>
Arimba	Health Post
Eywa	Health Post
Ferrovia	Rehabilitation of Natural Spring
Sofrio	Expansion of Electric Grid Rehabilitation of Water Fountains
Mawengue	Construction of Teachers Residence
Ekamba	Construction of Primary School
Tchipalakassa	Distribution of Draft Animals
Kavissy	Distribution of Draft Animals
Tchiquaqueia	Distribution of Draft Animals Construction of Primary School
Kassupi II	Fertilizer Credit Scheme
Kangongo	Fertilizer of Credit Scheme Construction of Primary School Construction of Community <i>Jango</i> (community center)
Chandenda	Construction of Two Bridges

Source: ADF 2009: 13

**Table 6: ACPI Cluster Projects**

<b>CC</b>	<b>Project</b>	<b>Communities</b>
Water (Cacula)	Drilling 5 bore holes, construction of water fountains and training of Water and Sanitation Groups	Mawengue, Ekamba, Tchipalakassa, Kavissy and Tchiquaqueia

Source: ADF 2009: 13

**Table 7: Community Selection Criteria ACPI**

The process of identifying target communities was central to our ability to implement IPCA. Given the Program's objectives and time frame, and considering the varying needs and realities of each community, as well as those of local administrations, not all communities were equally suitable. ADF therefore set the following selection criteria to which all potential communities were compared.

- Distinct village, town, or other distinct neighbourhood
- Potential for grouping together with other communities to resolve problems that need to be shared on an inter-community level
- Number of IDPs, returnees, ex-combatants and potential for conflict within the community and/or between the community and its neighbours
- Degree to which community groups exist, whether as informal associations or local NGOs
- Degree to which the community was affected by the war
- Degree to which the community needs the inputs that will be provided through the IPCA
- Level of community and municipal buy-in to the program concept and interest in participation
- Willingness and ability of community and groups, as well as local authorities, to contribute their own resources to improving local conditions
- Opportunities for exceptional progress in civic participation, reconciliation or economic development
- Degree to which there are other existing complementary programs
- Degree to which the community will be able to serve as a model for others

Source: ADF 2009

**Map 1: India**



Source: World Fact Book 2009

Map 2: Angola



Source: World Fact Book 2009