



Graduate School of Development Studies

## **Sustaining Local NGO Social Intervention-Benefits in Uganda**

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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## List of Acronyms

CABCs	Community Agri-Business Capacity Services
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CPF	Community Process Facilitators
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FORMA	Federation of Rwenzori Micro Finance Associations
IGAs	Income Generating Activities
KRC	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
MA/COOP	Marketing Associations/cooperatives
MFA	Micro Finance Associations
MLAOs	Middle Level Agriculture Organisations
NAADS	National Agriculture Advisory Development Services
NGOs	Non Government Organisations
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
PRMT	Poverty Resource Monitoring and tracking Model
RAC	Rwenzori Anti-Corruption Coalition
RACOPF	Rwenzori Association of Community Process Facilitators
RANNET	Rwenzori Association of NGOs and Networks
RICNET	Rwenzori Information Centre Network
SATNET	Sustainable Agriculture Trainers Network
SHFE	Small Holder's Farmer Enterprise

## **Abstract**

This study explored how local NGOs and community groups act towards sustaining NGO social interventions at community level. It sought to understand why it is so difficult to sustain benefits that accrue from NGO work. Exploration was made into the assumptions behind NGO social interventions, nature of benefits, indicators, and broadly into strategies used by community groups and local NGOs towards benefit-sustainability. Findings reveal a number of dilemmas for NGOs and community groups to pursue benefit sustainability at community level. These dilemmas were concealed in a toxic mix of aid chain dynamics, community groups' dependency syndrome, and local NGO's lack of proper methodology to gradually withdraw from group support. Despite of these dilemmas and toxic mix the study recognises that local community groups if availed with relevant information, skills and a stable less conditioned source of income can embed local NGO social intervention benefits into their own existing community structures, and pursue them for a prolonged lifespan. In the same way, local NGOs depending on their nature of relationship with the funding agencies and the government are able to respond creatively and strategically to external pressures and demands, and put in place strategies geared towards benefit sustainability.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Sustainability of NGO-benefits is a key to alleviating abject poverty in developing countries; however attempts to address this challenge remain futile. Therefore, documenting approaches employed towards addressing this problem is essential to lay grounds upon which further reflection into the topic can be made. In addition, literature related to sustainability in community development is largely focused on NGO financial aspects: Insufficient research has been done on how NGO-benefits can be sustained in communities for a lifespan beyond the funding agency. This research will therefore supplement on the already existing literature about the topic, and hopes to offer lessons to development actors grappling with the problem.

## **Keywords**

NGOs, Empowerment, Participation, Ownership and Sustainability

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Despite the increasing social interventions of NGOs in Uganda, sustainability of their benefits is still questioned (Nyamugasira 1998). It is argued that the ownership of community interventions is robbed by insufficient involvement of local communities in planning, implementation and monitoring of their activities and sustaining the results (Anacleiti 1993). Very often social interventions collapse, as soon as the supporting organisation pulls out its support, often because community ownership is low (*ibid*). Ownership is very crucial, because it not only increases the chances of activity success, but also increasing the continuity of activity benefits when the supporting organisation withdraws (Drazen 2002). This continuity of activity benefits is what is referred to as benefit-sustainability in this study.

A common frustration faced by NGO development workers, is despite the endeavours to employ participatory empowering tools, local communities continue to regard NGO interventions as external (Ward et al. 2009). Therefore to be sustainable, local NGOs ought to execute objectives that promote community commitment to pursue these benefits for a prolonged lifespan. Understanding how local organisations prepare communities to translate these benefits into those owned and sustained by communities they target is essential. My argument is based on the largely held assumption that organisations if initiated by local communities developed and managed by them can be agents of transformative and sustainable social change in the communities they serve (Clark 1995). In addition, I recognise that as local NGOs start to register benefits and gain prominence from communities, donors and international organisation pick interest in them. When local NGOs become closer to donors, they become more bureaucratic, and less prone to take risks or bear the cost of listening to those who they seek to assist. This is especially so as they become larger, more significant, receive more funds and have to account for them through a complex review and reporting process (Wood 1997). This means that probably as local NGOs aspire to meet external demands, practices that aim to engage communities are indirectly subdued.

By analysing the nature of participation, empowerment, ownership and sustainability promoted by local NGOs, I seek to understand how local NGOs deal with external demands and pursue objectives that put benefit sustainability and local communities at centre stage. It is neither an analysis of the impact of local NGOs on their target communities, nor an attempt to attribute community benefits to local NGO social interventions alone. Consideration is made for positive and negative externalities that contribute to realisation of benefits in communities (Uphoff 1995). Overall analysis looks at how local organisations strengthen their social roots, manage external interaction, strengthen themselves and ensure that the results that accrue from their interventions are sustained. Hulme and Edwards (1997) observe that successful local organisations that have developed their own systems and structures, norms and sanc-



tions over time, by and large, would take care of their own strengthening and ensure continuity of their benefits in the community.

## 1.1 Research Problem and Questions

This research intended to establish how benefits that accrue from local NGO social interventions are sustained at community level. It aimed at investigating how benefit-sustainability is addressed by local NGOs and the community they target. The problem is: there is a local NGO boom in Uganda. It is barely possible to ascertain the actual number of NGOs, but reports estimate that they are over 7000, ranging from grassroots community based organisations to national and international NGOs (Uganda NGO Policy 2008) however sustainability of their impact in communities is insufficiently visible. Yet attention on studying and pursuing sustainability in community development in Uganda is primarily limited to financial aspects with efforts largely geared towards organizations securing finances for their own survival. As a result prioritisation of financial sustainability by local NGOs have led many into credit programs that offer cost recovery possibilities, and to less focus on how to address community needs and sustaining results (Hulme and Edwards 1997). Operational role of local NGOs ought to be temporary, and instead of focusing on how local NGOs can sustain themselves financially, focus should be on how to sustain benefits at community level that accrue from NGO social interventions. It is important to empower local communities themselves to take a lead role in their development (Michael 2004). This is most likely to sustain benefits and in the long run communities would constitute a critical mass that would drive sustainable change in their own settings.

Insufficient research has been done on how social intervention benefits are sustained at community level, and therefore fewer lessons can be drawn from efforts geared towards addressing the problem. It is largely documented that local NGO social interventions targeting the poor are isolated from the total fabric of the community, less owned and taken as alien by them (KRC 2005, Nyamugasira 1998). It is important therefore to understand how local organisations and community groups work towards sustaining results that accrue from NGO social interventions. The study aimed at documenting practices employed by local NGOs and community groups in working towards benefit-sustainability at community level. In addition it intended to document the tensions/challenges encountered in pursuing benefit sustainability. This aim was fulfilled by taking a case of one local NGO Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC) operating in Rwenzori region of Western Uganda and its target community groups.

The Main Research Question this research intended to address is: How do local organizations and community-groups act towards sustaining social intervention benefits at community level? To answer this question, the following sub questions were investigated

1. *What benefits have been registered by Local NGOs at community level?*
2. *What strategies are employed by local NGOs and community groups to ensure benefits are sustained?*
3. *What indicators are used to regard a particular benefit sustainable?*

4. *What challenges/tensions are encountered in ensuring benefit-sustainability at community level?*

## 1.2 Methodology

Largely qualitative research techniques were used. A case of Kabarole Research and Resource Centre a local NGO operating in Rwenzori region was studied. KRC social interventions include: Small Holder Farmer Enterprises, Microfinance Associations, Civic Education and Deepening Democracy. From these programs, Small Holder Farmer Enterprise (SHFE) was studied. Two of SHFE operation areas Kasese and Kabarole districts were selected, and in each district one sub-county was selected, Kibiito for Kabarole and Kyarumba for Kasese. In each sub-county one project that had directly benefited from SHFE was analysed. Overall the total number of semi-structured interviews conducted was 20, including 7 respondents from KRC, 4 local government officials with experience working with NGOs, 5 respondents from local NGOs outside KRC and 4 respondents from the studied sub-counties. In addition, 4 Focus Group Discussions were conducted, 1 with KRC staff, 1 with volunteers (CPFs) and 2 FGDs with community groups.

Equally a combination of purposive sampling, random sampling and snowball techniques were used to identify the respondents. Due to their possession of knowledge on the topic, local government officials, NGO workers and community groups were purposively selected. NGO workers were selected from NGOs that work directly with the community but not limited to the sub counties of Kibiito and Kyarumba or KRC. This selection criterion left out international and donor organisations because they rarely work directly with local communities. Random and snow ball sampling was used to identify volunteers in study areas. Randomly identified volunteers helped to point out others in the same area doing similar kind of work. In addition, Semi structured interviews were conducted using an interview guide, open ended questions were asked, and where necessary, new questions were added and old ones left out. On the other hand, FGDs were held with direct implementers and people directly benefiting from the SHFE program. FGDs were held between 5-15 people to establish their opinions and views about the subject collectively. In addition, I observed the nature of projects that were pointed out as sustainable and in most cases took photos of them, while audio recording was used during the discussions to capture all information that the respondents provided. Data were analyzed by hand going back and forth between data collected and noting the patterns, categories and themes as they emerged.

## 1.3 Limitation of the Research

*The problem of attribution:* several factors and interventions contribute to registering benefit and sustaining them in communities. By taking a single case, there was a likelihood of attributing these results to this case. However, awareness of this problem, made it possible to probe further and establish other externalities that contributed to registering these benefits.

*Raising expectations:* There were some cases when the respondents expected the research to result into some form of funding from the local organisation. Openness about the outcome of the research right from the start helped to limit these expectations to some extent.

## **1.4 Organisation of the Paper**

Chapter two explores existing literature on sustainability, the role of development actors in addressing the problem, conceptual approaches and generates an analytical framework towards benefit-sustainability. Chapter three on the other hand provides assumptions behind NGO social interventions, examines the operational environment, the nature of benefits and strategies to sustain these benefits at community level. Chapter four analyses benefit-sustainability indicators alongside the analytical framework and the tensions involved in pursuing benefit sustainability. Chapter five finally brings together the threads of arguments into conclusions and recommendations.

## Chapter 2

# Literature, Conceptual and Analytical Framework

### Introduction

In view of all efforts to help the poor get out of poverty, why is it that sustainability of social interventions that emerge from these efforts is still lacking? After decades of fighting rural poverty in the Rwenzori region why is it that an integrated approach among development actors is lacking, but bits and pieces of work isolated from the total fabric of the community? This section analyses the role of local organisations, donors, government and private sectors in working towards benefit sustainability and dilemmas in alliances. As well it examines the nature of participation and empowerment which local NGOs promote as a mechanism towards ownership and sustainability of benefits accruing from their work. Since benefit sustainability is a term insufficiently used in literature, this background provided a body of knowledge upon which an analytical framework was generated to make the research possible.

### 2.1 Role of Development Actors

#### 2.1.1 *Local/NGOs*

NGOs constitute important stakeholders in contributing towards benefit sustainability. They represent the voice of the poor, weak, and help them organise in their communities. This helps them to achieve a more powerful voice in making decisions and allocating resources (Matanga 2010). NGOs are considered flexible, suitable for promoting participatory grassroots development, and can use innovative strategies like bottom-up planning and organize the poor to solve their own problems (ibid). Much as these practices are important in pursuing benefit sustainability, local NGOs are at the same time, faced with conflicting demands as they strive to survive, retain their legitimacy, and satisfy external demands. This has led to a couple writers (Hearn 2007, Shivji 2007) to question the local NGOs' potential to work towards benefit sustainability given the nature of their operation and reliance on external aid. It is argued that the presence of NGOs in southern development creates social interventions and groups dependent on external resources, patronage and in return disempower instead of empowering the masses (Hearn 2007). Candidly put, NGOs can be confronted with a number of dilemmas in pursuit for benefit sustainability.

As pointed out earlier, most local NGOs in developing countries lack an independent source of funding. They habitually have to seek and use donor funds through procedures set by funding agencies. Their scope of innovation is largely limited as they often conform, rather than challenge these practices (Shivji 2007, Rauh 2010). Similarly local NGOs often work on project funding with a limited timeframe. This practice may hinder undertaking process like research based on solid theoretical, historical and cultural premises, and conducted by experienced researchers. Likewise time limited projects were likely to

hamper in-depth investigation into poverty history, priority community needs, and registering benefits that can be passionately pursued by communities themselves (Shivji 2007).

In the same way, managerial techniques of monitoring and evaluation in projects such as log frames, project result indicators, may deter thinking about development as holistic whole involving process of theoretical reference, historical understanding of poverty, and sustainability (Shivji 2007). While the processes involved to identify poor groups; evaluation, monitoring, supervision, assessments extra rely on intensive, time and financial consuming processes which might themselves be unsustainable (Heston and Fernando 1997), targeting specific groups itself is likely to shift collective concern for the poor. As thus strategic issues such as what the state is doing for all the poor wither, as the local organisation concentrates on its own cohort of the poor (Hulme and Edwards 1997). In addition, the small-scale nature of most NGO managed projects, may not lead to large-scale improvement in standard of living, making it difficult to measure change in society and sustainability of this change. Small-scale projects contribute less to economic growth and capital accumulations, unlike big projects like a large irrigation project, the impact of small projects are primarily local, their significance is at the micro level (Dresner 2002).

In general, while benefit sustainability is recognised as a desirable objective in local NGO social interventions, it at the same time presents a dilemma which is both complex and hard to meet (Wils. 1997). Consequently the number of local NGOs which have succeeded rendering, from the very start benefit sustainability and the gradual withdrawal from or redefinition of their relationship with the poor with whom they have been working, into a crucial part of their overall intervention strategy is probably quite limited (ibid). Local NGO paternalism and dependency relationships may and probably do exist beyond what would be desirable from a point of view of the need for and right to autonomy of organised poor themselves; their own empowerment and process of emancipation; and sustainability of project results (Wils. 1997).

### ***2.1.2 State/Government***

In Community development the state is generally perceived as a neutral institution that guarantees law and order. Its main function is to provide peace and stability, and an enabling environment of favourable policies to manage development and flow of private capital (Shivji 2007). At the same time, local government can co-opt NGO social interventions in case NGOs cease to operate. Therefore, in working towards benefit sustainability it's important that local NGOs work with the state. States make policies and command resources (Friedmann 1992). Local NGOs can interact closely with local government and play a strong role in local development activities even where the central government has weak links with them (Clark 1995). Also, development actors can register sustainable benefits, when they work together and when certain conditions are in place. Chief among these are favourable national and international context; good quality and long established relations between government, local NGOs and donors (Hulme and Edwards 1997). Although NGOs-state alli-

ances are crucial some NGOs remain reluctant to form alliances with the state (Wood 1997).

Governments of developing countries have been branded by international bodies like World Bank as corrupt, dictatorial without capacity to manage the economy and allocate resources rationally, stuffed with bureaucracy and nepotism (Shivji 2007). As thus, by working with state institutions, it is assumed that NGOs are likely to become swallowed up and tainted by wheeling and dealing with the usually corrupt political process of the government (Sanyal 1997). In addition, because local NGOs are funded by international agencies who see them as capable of and committed to make up for the shortcomings of the state in reducing poverty (Matanga 2010), and often these agencies have an anti-state stance to development, state alliance is less likely to be a priority (Shivji 2007). Whilst rolling back of the state from social provisioning and its active role in economic activities weakened its influence in community development. As well some NGOs fear that state institutions will co-opt them, and make them another arm of the state and therefore lose their autonomy, non-bureaucratic management style and become stodgy and non effective (Sanyal 1997).

### ***2.1.3 Donors and Aid chain Dynamics***

Donors support local NGOs in providing services to the poor especially in countries where markets are inaccessible and where governments lack capacity or resources to reach the poor (Matanga 2010). Therefore donors constitute important allies in pursuit for benefit sustainability; through providing support in engaging in dialogue on a wide range of national and international policy and governance issues. Donors can ensure that resources they provide are used efficiently, directed towards priority needs and have lasting benefits in communities, support development of many building blocks of benefit sustainability strategies, like mechanism for sectoral coordination, information gathering, capacity to manage multi-stakeholder processes and others. In the same way, donors are closer to international governments and development bodies and better suited to influence favourable global policies for local development. While the significance of donors is widely recognised towards social provisioning, some scholars have observed that donors through the aid chain dynamics may abstract a process towards benefit sustainability (Shivji 2007, Hearn 2007, and Rauh 2010).

In order to reach the very poor communities at grass root level, financial Aid has to go through a chain originating from large financing agencies like Northern governments, to Northern NGOs who then channel these finances to NGOs in the South and then to communities (Oller 2006). In this chain, Northern NGOs gain legitimacy through linkages with Southern NGOs that provide legitimating local knowledge and links to poor grass roots communities through upward accountability. Yet, Southern NGOs are more dependent on Northern NGOs because they provide funds for their activities. And, because donor agencies occupy a more powerful position, they often set conditions and terms of reference for accessing a grant normally conformed to, by

southern NGOs (Rauh 2010). Likewise, sometimes donors push local organisations to respond to things that are in vogue in the donor community (Shivji 2007), these may not be necessarily responding to local needs of the people, and therefore working towards sustaining them might be challenging. While Northern NGOs sometimes prefer to work with Southern NGOs that are functional, and can easily yield quantifiable results, when this becomes central, local NGOs may seek to implement programs that are likely to be successful and yield short term results rather than long-term results rooted in local experiences and addressing pressing needs of the communities (Rauh 2010).

#### ***2.1.4 Private/corporate sector***

The private sector is perceived to constitute capital and economic activity flow in community development (Shivji 2007). It constitutes financial institutions like private Banks, industry and corporate. Therefore private sector is important in benefit sustainability because it deals directly with capital flow within an economy. Moreover, for any social intervention to last for a prolonged life-span, finances and capital flow is important, therefore local NGOs in addition to working with other institutes should seek to work closely with the private institutions to reach out to most needy communities of the population. However, the increasing interest in NGOs as vehicles for service delivery and emphasis for linkages with private sector have been interpreted by some scholars as strongly linked to demands for privatization within the new policy agenda (Lewis 1997) thus NGO-private sector linkages have been questioned. First and foremost, profit making and community development are antithetical goals, where the former is highly commoditised, while the latter non saleable. In working with Private sector therefore, NGOs are likely to yield losses and insufficiently prosper economically in addition to losing their key institutional asset which is social and political legitimacy. As thus NGOs often fear that by working with the private sector, they will be exploited as the private sector is profit oriented, and likely to divert NGOs from their central mission of community building (Sanyal 1997).

All in all it is imperative that local NGOs coordinate with other developments in pursuit for benefit sustainability. Lack of coordination between local NGOs and government for example may increase their political vulnerability. Just as development is less likely to trickle down from top pushed by the government alone; neither can benefit sustainability emerge from the bottom initiated by NGOs alone. Development actor cooperation must draw on the distinctly different institutional strengths of each. The lack of cooperation between NGOs and their unwillingness to forge institutional linkages, greatly limits the impact of their activities, at best efforts created are, small, isolated projects that lack institutional support necessary for large scale replication and sustainability (Sanyal 1997).

## **2.2 Building Blocks**

While in the preceding discussion reflection is made on the role of development actors in pursuing benefit sustainability, in what follows I examine the

nature of participation, empowerment and ownership practices that may comprise major factors towards benefit sustainability, and generate an analytical framework upon which benefit-sustainability processes can be envisioned.

### **2.2.1 Sustainability**

Our common future defined sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability for future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland 1987) this definition is mainly focused on environment and natural science. Yet in community development, the term is insufficiently operationalized. Sustainability in community development remains unclear and considered by several scholars as vague, ambiguous, and at an ideological level with no clear understanding of, let alone consensus around, what constitutes a sustainability objective or standard. The term has lacked analytical tools, practical methods and an adequate theoretical framework to thoroughly operationalise it (Pezzy and Toman 2002, Uphoff 1995, Michael 2004, Heston and Fernando 1997). As a result it has degenerated into a kind of propaganda; sustainability in community work is usually asserted but not demonstrated. It is possible to think that institutions set-forth to promote sustainability have themselves become the greatest hindrance to sustainability (Heston and Fernando 1997).

#### **Indicators and operational definition of sustainability**

While sustainability has been criticised in community development, it is not until social interventions continuously provide for community needs that real community change and poverty reduction will be realised. Therefore it is important to understand the concept of sustainability and its usage in community development. In general, the definition of sustainability adopted in this study is based on tenets raised by various scholars (Stockmann in Michael 2004, Pezzy and Toman 2002) that sustainability in community development should comprise interventions that improve human wellbeing while the lessons, impacts and benefits from these interventions continue to be disseminated and diffused in community for a lifespan longer than the providing agency. On the other hand benefit sustainability was used to refer to the continuation of results that accrue from NGO activity with or without the program or organisation that stimulated that benefit in the first place (Cannon 2002). To ascertain if a social intervention is heading towards sustainability or at least would head there the following criteria was used:

*Achievement of multiple benefits and innovativity:* if a particular investment or cost is able to generate more benefits and profits, it is possible that it is likely to sustain itself (Uphoff 1995). This would ensue from the flexibility and innovativity that beneficiaries have, to expand these interventions. Uphoff (2005) adds that the benefit-cost ratio should not be evident only in the short run, but also in the long run when more stakeholders join to perpetuate the benefit. Likewise, innovativeness would be reflected in the ability of groups or individuals to deal with emergent challenges including conflict and using one intervention to generate more opportunities (Fowler 2000).



*Linking and embedding benefits into surrounding systems, processes and institutions:* as pointed out in earlier discussion, working with other development actors improves knowledge base. In addition institutions like government and private sector can adopt and apply the principles demonstrated by the intervention and integrate them in their work which largely guarantees continuity in providing the service. Spontaneous adoption and replication of interventions also relates to continuity of the idea advocated for by a social intervention. If communities understand the importance of the main idea, and it meets their needs, they will most probably passionately pursue it for a long period of time (Fowler 2000).

*Nature of local community involvement and alteration in individual behaviour:* this aspect mainly relates to why communities want to participate, their commitment and interest to engage in activities set forth (Fowler 2000). It can be measured by the nature of demands fronted by communities, type of leadership practices (Transparency, accountability, leadership shifts, managing resources and conflict) and attitudinal change.

### **2.2.2 Participation**

Participation of local communities can be a means to an empowering process which enables local people to do their own analysis, take command, and gain confidence to make their own decisions (Chambers 1997). Generally, participation is an essential part of human growth that offers development of self confidence, pride, creativity, responsibility and cooperation (Bastian et al. 1996). Such development allows a process whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives and find solutions to their own problems which guides towards benefit sustainability. While a couple of writers (Gaventa 2005, Cornwall 2002) argue that spaces for participation are not neutral but shaped by power relations, it is important to understand how participation can contribute to a process towards benefit sustainability. In addition, it is important that NGOs and communities study the nature of power relations which surround particular forms of participation, asking questions like who participates, and why to allow for effective participation (Gaventa 2005).

In pursuing benefit sustainability the *Depth of participation* would ensure joint control of social intervention including power sharing between different stakeholders (Fowler 2000). This allows for a situation where a local NGO begins to withdraw from direct engagement and implementation to give a sense of responsibility required for independence to the beneficiaries. Added to it is, *Breadth of participation* which is the measure of the range of stakeholders involved. How the program involves the socially excluded, women, elderly, and the very poor. In addition breadth of participation involves specifying primary stakeholders and establishing linkages with those stakeholders who can contribute or influence sustainability, and how far they should go into involving their priorities and practices (Fowler 2000). *Trust* on the other hand promotes voluntary participation where new practices are learned and internalised in sustainable ways (Heston and Fernando 1997). Trust between individuals and institutions increase effective participation and contribution towards a common pool of resources to sustain a particular intervention, therefore agent of par-

ticipation should ensure that it builds trust and confidence in the community it intends to engage with (Heston and Fernando 1997).

Equally, effective participation is often characterised by *flexible* NGO social intervention, learning from the community and changing to appropriate strategies and practices over time. Flexibility majorly applies to the *period/Time* the local organisation intends to engage with the community (Heston and Fernando 1997). Fowler acknowledges that understanding the stage at which different stakeholders are engaged has both practical and symbolic importance. In most cases, participation is more effective if done in the initial stages of an intervention, people should be involved in problem identification, mapping it, devising means to overcome the problem, implementing the means, monitoring progress and sustaining the results (Fowler 2000). While, *agent commitment* in involving the target group is crucial to overcome mediocre and poor participation (Heston and Fernando 1997). If an intervention is to promote sustainable benefits through participatory approaches, the agents or staff should be willing to give up most of their role and mentor the beneficiaries to take on their activities (ibid).

### ***2.2.3 Power and Empowerment***

Lack of sustainability is closely linked to lack of power by NGOs. Michael (2004) notes that without a cadre of powerful local NGOs with sustainable projects and programmes the individuals and communities they serve, will fail to see the long-term benefits of development activities. Power at all levels should evoke ability to set own priority, define own agenda, and exert influence on national, and international development community even in the face of opposition. This kind of power and freedom provides a conducive environment through which local NGOs can be innovative, take risks, be willing to experiment, invest heavily in research and spend more time engaging with communities (Michael 2004). Power is not only an end in itself but also a means of helping local NGOs to achieve sustainability of their benefits at community level. To be sustainable a local NGO must develop responsive, efficient and secure projects which have lasting impact and value to the beneficiary (ibid).

Even as communities are affected by power, the meanings and how to understand it, is controversial. Some see it in a dualised nature with those who are and not powerful. While others see power in a 'zero-sum' nature, where by getting it, require others to lose it (Gaventa 2005). Moreover, Local NGOs are likely to implement sustainable benefits, if they have established strong power base at community level, have trust from individuals, and communities they serve, and therefore will strive to see the long-term benefits of development activities and themselves be incorporated into positions of responsibility for meeting their own development needs. Power would reduce an NGO's pressure to survive, and receptiveness of the environment in which NGO projects take place an aspect key to development of innovative NGO projects and sustaining benefits (Michael 2004).

On the other hand, empowered communities are likely to exercise their *agency*; able to influence local NGO processes which affect them, to set their own priorities and agendas (Michael 2004). While Friedmann relate an empow-

ered community to that which share *group/individual sense of potency (psychological power)*, demonstrated in terms of self confidence behaviour, and an increased sense of personal or group potential. This psychological power often has recursive, positive effects on a continual struggle to increase the source of economic, political and social power and working towards sustaining this source (Friedmann 1992). Similarly *access to certain bases (social power)* information, knowledge and skills, participation in social organisations and financial resources (ibid) improves group efficiency and when groups or individuals increase their access to these bases, their ability to attain objectives like sustainability increases.

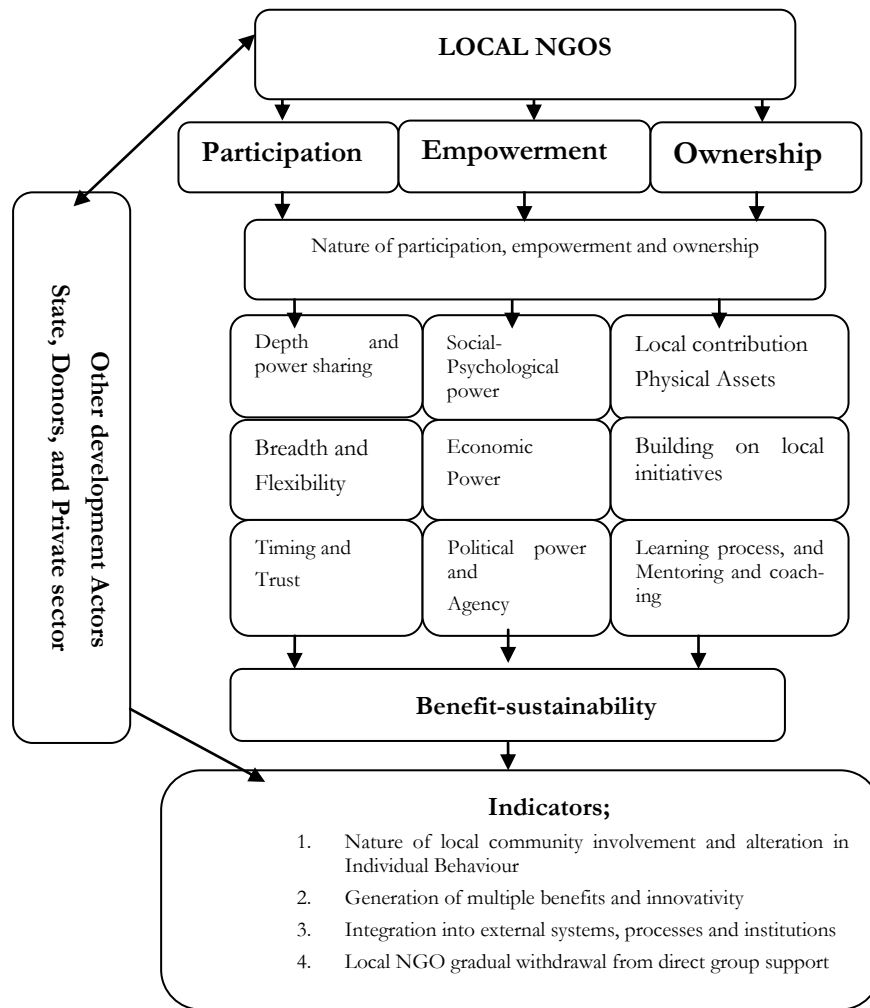
#### **2.2.4 Ownership**

To ensure sustainability in community development, securing local ownership is important. Ownership involves a change from dependency to community responsibility, strengthening local structures, and securing a pool of local expertise, and appropriate contributory mechanisms (Junne and Verkoren 2005). Ownership is the process of Possessing, accessing, influencing and having the right to use initiatives collectively as a community. It entails the possession, control, managing and maintaining of assets used and produced in the process of development (KRC 2005). Donais et al. refers to ownership as the extent to which domestic actors control both the design and implementation of political social and economic processes. Ownership of project results is important when projects that are successfully implemented do not survive the transfer to normal routine; beyond the period of the development agency (Donais 2009). When groups or individuals take something as theirs, with collectively held values; it renders them less permeable to outside influences, and enhances their ability to refuse negative influences (Wils. 1997).

While *local contribution* is important in ensuring ownership of social intervention benefits, it is less likely to happen unless the target group have fully participated, and felt the need to contribute towards the positive cause of the initiative (Heston and Fernando 1997). Local contribution can include tangible resources like land, building, money and intangible resources like time, energy/labour and commitment, and through participation, the likelihood of stimulating local contribution increases. In addition, *Local ownership of assets and interventions* is crucial for ensuring benefit sustainability. It arises when there is participation of the beneficiaries in planning, designing and implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development programs that target them (Bastian et al. 1996). Correspondingly, *Building on people's own initiatives* enables the local NGO to play a facilitative and supportive role and in the long run withdraw from direct support (Friedmann 1992). Local organisations may prepare themselves accordingly to create the capability of responding to local initiatives rather than impose dramatic initiatives of their own (Friedmann 1992). If interventions stem from community innovations, it is assumed that they will be owned, and attract local contribution and commitment to sustaining them. It is therefore assumed that if they are complemented by NGOs, they would continue to exist even if the local NGO stopped funding them. In addition community development is a *learning process*; community projects require mutual

learning, patience, listening and tolerance for contrary views. It is therefore important that local organisations do think about the project as involving processes of learning, with frequent assessment of what is accomplished and what went wrong and willingness to adjust in the course of implementation process (Friedmann 1992).

## 2.3 Analytical Framework



This analytical frame puts local NGOs at centre stage as major drivers for participatory, empowering and ownership processes in pursuit for benefit sustainability. It illustrates that while local NGO commitment to pursue these processes is central, strategic alliance with other development actors will most likely increase the chances towards benefit sustainability. Indicators used to establish whether an intervention is heading towards sustainability include: nature of community involvement, and achievement of multiple benefits, in addition to integration in external systems, and local NGO gradual withdrawal from direct group support. The nature of participation, its depth, breadth flexibility and timing, social economic and political empowerment, and owner-

ship promoted by the local NGO will determine whether a social intervention would head or is likely to head towards sustainability.

In general, this chapter demonstrated that coordination among development actors is necessary in working towards benefit sustainability. The state would ensure a favourable environment for NGO operation, effective and empowering policies. Private sector would offer economic empowerment through market linkages, and mediating between supply and demand forces. Donor and NGOs on the other hand complement these processes through financial and process facilitation. In the same way NGOs are central in spearheading practices that empower, involve and promote ownership of social interventions at community level. Communities are part of the general development caucus. They fundamentally encourage checks and balances and challenge unfavourable practices especially when in possession of socio-economic and political power to do so. Therefore through alliances with other development actors, NGOs should empower communities as they withdraw gradually to pave way for community led development.

## Chapter 3

### Assumptions behind Social Interventions

#### Introduction

How do local NGOs design their social intervention programs and the underlying assumptions? Do local NGOs view their role as temporary and obliged to empower communities to take on development as the rightful owner? This chapter answers these questions by analysing the Small Holder Farmer Enterprise program of Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC) the case study organisation operating in Rwenzori region. It discovers the context under which the program operates, how it was initiated, and how the program envisaged the sustainability of its social interventions. In the same way, it presents the actual benefit of the program to farmers and how these farming groups and the SHFE have worked towards sustaining these benefits.

#### 3.1 Nature of Social Intervention

##### *3.1.1 Kabarole Research and Resource Centre*

KRC is a local/indigenous Non-governmental organisation formed in 1996 and operating in districts of Kabarole, Kasese, Kyenjojo, Bundibugyo and Kamwenge also the Rwenzori region. The organisation is largely reliant on donor funds with Hivos as its biggest funder, DFID, Rabbobank Foundation, McKnight Foundation, Broerdelijk Delen, and others (KRC 2005). KRC was formed with a vision of empowering local communities to take full responsibility of their development in an equitable, environmentally and socially, sustainable manner. Its core mandate laid in principles of community empowerment, good governance, sustainability and ownership. These principles were pursued through research, information and facilitation of development processes. KRC operates under three thematic units, which include; Process Facilitation Unit, comprising of the Small Holder Farmer Enterprises, Micro Finance Association, Civic Engagement, and Deepening Democracy, the Information Unit and Research Unit. For purposes of this study, concentration was put on Small Holder farmer's enterprise. In relation to the context, KRC operates in a region with a high number of poor people majorly relying on agriculture as their major source of livelihood. The 2001 population and housing census put the total population estimates of Rwenzori region at 1,750,826, compared to the 1,550,587 estimates in 1991 census. Kabarole district was the most densely populated district in 1991, while in the 2001 census Kasese ranked first, with approximately 30% of the region's population residing in Kasese (KDL 2008).

##### *3.1.2 The Small Holder Farmer's Enterprises:*

KRC started working with small holder farmers in 2001, after a research conducted on agriculture progress in Rwenzori region. Initially the support to

farmers was aimed at supporting already existing micro farming groups to realize their full potential by extending to them technical, material, and financial support (grants). The supported groups were expected to fulfil a certain criteria which included among others 60% membership of women, who in addition were expected to assume leadership positions in these groups. In addition a group was expected to include and engage the very poor individuals of the community, promote collective participation, and equal distribution of benefits (KRC 2005). In 2003, 17 CBOs in Rwenzori region were supported and progressively these small groups were to be transformed into self reliant and sustainable initiative also called Middle Level Agricultural Organisations.

These supported groups were to practice extensive commercial farming, and comprise a group that would train upcoming Community Based agricultural Organisations, to form agriculture Marketing Associations, and accordingly engage in agro-processing. It was envisaged that with increase in production, farmers would be in position to market their produces jointly to regional, national and possibly international markets (KRC 2003). In general the small holder farmer's enterprise program aimed at supporting the growth of well organised gender sensitive and self confident groups, able to reinvest their profits so that activities can continue without overall reliance on KRC-SHFE support. Hence support was not intended to be permanent, but a process that was to facilitate groups in a number of ways, and the SHFE was to eventually withdraw from them.

### ***3.1.3 SHFE exit strategy***

The SHFE program was to strategically link farmer groups to other alternative source of funding like the government agricultural program, National Agricultural Advisory Development services (NAADS). In addition, the program aimed at establishing strong specialised structures in marketing, organic training and linking successful farmers to these structures like SATNET, CABs, who would offer specialised knowledge and skills in agricultural practices (KRC 2005).

Another strategy was to facilitate farming groups to access bigger agricultural loans from institutions like Banks, government Micro-finance institutions and individuals. To achieve this, farmers were to work together as a group, improve the quantity and quality of their produces, be able to add value to these produces and increased their profits. The major objective in this strategy was to help groups diversify internally and externally their source of funding in case KRC-SHFE ended its financial support (KRC 2003).

In addition, the program emphasized that as part of local contribution 33% of finances towards project activities be contributed by group members. This was to allow full control and responsibility for these activities by group members and indirectly contribute to ownership. When groups own and become part of these initiatives, it was assumed that they will pursue and sustain them. The local contribution was well stipulated in the project funding guidelines, where all groups to qualify for support were supposed to mobilize 33% contribution to the project.

Conversely, the SHFE program envisaged that initiating local saving scheme and facilitation of re-investment of profits in agricultural groups would increase group savings, and the ability to access loans to facilitate a process to agricultural re-investment. By involving groups in local savings and credit activities, it was believed that groups would be in a position to raise the 33% local contribution required for owning and sustaining their initiatives.

### **3.2 Benefits from Social Intervention**

This part describes in detail what communities have gained from the SHFE Programme.

As regards gradual transition of farmers from subsistence production to commercial farming, the study established that almost 40% of the once funded Community Based Organisations had transformed into Middle Level Agricultural Organisations and had significantly increased their production. A number of cases were given even outside the study area where small community groups had transformed into bigger agricultural institutions. For example Community Sustainable Initiative Links (COSIL) received a capacity building grant from SHFE as a CBO and later was supported as a Middle Level Agricultural Organisation to invest in rice production, and processing. It has since formed a farmers' cooperative.

In addition, modest improvement in agricultural production and food security at household level was pointed out by farmers. However, food security was highly reliant on favourable climatic conditions. Farmers had established simple food storage facilities like granaries. During the study period they had inadequate food stored in them because of the drought in the previous planting season. These storage facilities were makeshift structures made of mud and wattle. The farmers aspired to have more permanent food storing facilities.

Moreover farmers, who received animals like goats, had sold some off to supplement their household income. Although food security and nutritional values go hand in hand, it was discovered that farmers largely produced for selling and little was left for home consumption. Friedmann (1992) notes that household empowerment and gaining a social base including food and nutritional balance allows household members to participate fully in community activities. When social power of households in terms of nutritional food values is constrained, other forms of power (psychological, political, and economic) and individual sense of potency is equally affected.

As mentioned earlier SHFE strategy was to wean off farmers when their incomes had improved at household level and their savings at group level. It was discovered in this study that farmers improved their seasonal incomes especially during harvesting. However there was a problem with daily income as most farmers were not engaged in daily income generating activities. They lacked agribusiness skills to engage in income generating activities (IGAs). Yet, it was difficult to procure bigger loans as most groups lacked collateral like land. Moreover big financial institutions were based in urban areas, not easily accessible for them and these institutions were reluctant to finance agribusiness because of the unpredictable nature of the climate. Friedmann (1992) notes that economic empowerment is important for not only acquiring social



and political power, but also for increasing the capital stock of households. In relation to sustainability, finances are important for local contribution towards group activities, and towards effective participation in decision making as economic power triggers other forms of power.

KRC-SHFE contributed to the formation and empowerment of local agricultural structures to become autonomous bodies responsible for community activities like agricultural training, marketing, information sourcing and dissemination. Sustainable Agriculture Trainer's Network (SATNET) was formed to deal directly with agricultural trainings, while Community Agribusiness Consultancy Services (CABCs) deals with agricultural marketing and value addition. The Rwenzori Association of Community Process Facilitators (RACOPF) on the other hand deals with process facilitation and RICNET, an information network, focuses on information access and dissemination. Although major structures and networks have been established, they lose connection with each other as they aspire to become autonomous. Thus the necessary cooperation between SHFE and other structures like CABCs, SATNET is not enough to deal with problems of underutilisation of synergies.

Furthermore farmers had acquired diverse skills and knowledge in cross cutting issues beyond agriculture. KRC implements activities ranging from peace building and conflict resolution, deepening democracy and improving human rights. Sometimes the same farming groups are targeted for these programs (KRC 2005). Farmers noted that this knowledge was important for managing their households and group activities. Acquiring breadth of participation and exercising one's agency requires a body of knowledge that transcends a single field (Friedmann 1992). In the same way acquiring knowledge other than agricultural knowledge is important for local communities to participate in intra-sectoral planning and awareness. It also helps them to understand decisions taken at different levels in terms of rights promotion, and their implication on their economic activities (Friedmann 1992).

Improved networking among farming groups was mentioned as a benefit registered at community level. Groups had established links with farmers outside the region, from places like Masaka, Mbarara and outside the country. This collaboration had led to collective efforts to address community problems and a strong spirit of togetherness especially among those supported by the program. One Male respondent from Bamugisa affiliate group had this to say in regard to established social networks:

'There is more social support which was not in place before and this is important to sustain our work. We learn from each other but also constitute a strong force that can confront challenges we face in the community. Some group members have altered their behaviour and now consume less alcohol, and keep peace in the family by learning from each other'.

While change in attitude and strengthened group dynamics were pointed out as an important benefit, strong cultural ties and beliefs still hindered attitudinal change and effective group participation. Coffee growing for example was pointed out as an area still dominated by men. Very few women were engaged in coffee activities, yet it is the greatest earner in the study area. Even

though there was increased recognition of the role of women in group work, only a small number of them assumed leadership positions.

Finally, while it is difficult to isolate the 'SHFE benefits' from interventions of other organisations like SATNET, CABCs, RICNET, RAC and RANNET, this study indicates that through SHFE efforts the benefits mentioned above were enhanced. In addition most of the benefits related to farmer production relied highly on rudimentary tools and techniques.

### **3.3 Strategies to Benefit Sustainability**

This part builds on the previous discussion on benefits. It identifies strategies that communities and the SHFE have devised to ensure continuity of these benefits.

#### ***3.3.1 Small Holder Farmer Enterprise (SHFE) Strategy***

The study revealed that SHFE strategy is to build on already existing agricultural initiatives to increase their ownership and their continued absorption into communities. According to the program staff of KRC 'the farming groups existed in the community, SHFE improved their knowledge and skills through trainings and exchange visits'. Building on local initiatives was undertaken by the program because it was believed that individuals would engage in what they are well conversant with. However it was discovered that this strategy was becoming difficult because of the increasing demand from NGOs and local government for communities to work in groups. There is a current boom in false community group formation with the intention of obtaining quick money. Some scholars ascribe such behaviour to the fact that supply outstrips demand. With available finances from funding agencies, association and collective action was likely to be influenced by supply. This was likely to lead to a decrease in the significance of demand factor -the felt needs of the poor and disadvantaged- on group formation and mobilisation (Hulme and Edwards 1997).

As regards integrating agriculture into other fields, a KRC senior manger is of the opinion that 'increasing household income without dealing with conflict at house hold level, gender imbalance and domestic violence is not good enough'. It was revealed during the study that SHFE undertook an integral approach to offer a full package towards sustainability. Agriculture was integrated into microfinance Associations not only as an exit strategy but also as a means to increase investment in agriculture. In addition farming groups were trained in human rights and good governance activities, peace and conflict resolution to supplement on agricultural activities at household level. However, during the study the integral approach at SHFE level was being reduced as funds to incorporate peace and rights issues had dwindled. On the other hand, much as farmers appreciated this knowledge, their interest to pursue broader rights, peace or good governance agendas was low. Their primary interest was to improve agricultural productivity, access to loans and increased earnings to meet their basic needs.

In addition, it was established that the government put in place programs to strengthen the agricultural sector in the community. These programs include

the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA), and the National Agricultural Advisory services (NAADS). The SHFE informally works with the government to ensure that farmers benefit from these programs. Sometimes model farmers with proper skills and knowledge are identified by the government and adopted as community trainers. However, NAADS and PMA programs are highly selective and targeted and thus many farmers have benefited very little from them. Although integration into a government program would constitute an exit strategy for individuals, for groups the approach was inadequate. Government support was to a lesser extent a group exit strategy as support is aimed specifically at successful individuals. In addition, SHFE has no clearly documented strategy on how to integrate agricultural groups into government programs as an exit strategy.

To increase benefits and increase household income SHFE encourages farmer groups to sell jointly. In addition, joint marketing aims at increasing production of quality products and thereby improves their position to negotiate more favourable prices. During this study some farmers had already formed marketing associations, while others were planning to form them. However farmers noted the challenge of lack of storing facilities for accumulated produces. Another challenge was insufficient capital to pay farmers on delivery of produces at collection centres. Problematic is also the need of some farmers to sell individually to meet their immediate needs.

As regards volunteerism KRC staff contends that 'SHFE strategy is to empower community individuals to offer agricultural services on a voluntary basis to farmers'. These individuals are identified, trained, taken for exchange visits and are continually mentored and coached in relevant farming knowledge and skills. This approach was envisaged to empower communities to take on these activities as the program seeks to exit direct group support (KRC 2005). This study however discovered that the spirit of volunteerism was dwindling. When volunteers gain experience and reputation in the communities, they leave to look for paid jobs including those in politics. One KRC staff explains the lack of enthusiasm for voluntary work as follows:

'The spirit of volunteerism is going down in communities because of the capitalist nature of the economy. You need money to do everything, and how then do you expect to sustain yourself and your family without money. Everything including community development is driven by money, and with time we are seeing people not wanting to work for free as there is no way they can survive without an income'

This indicates that if delivery structures are based on volunteerism, they may not be sustained for long as volunteers do not feel obligated to stick to the program as long as they are unpaid.

The study established that SHFE identifies local practices that have worked for farmers, then modify them and subsequently develop tools which are easier to adopt in self assessment and monitoring. A number of agricultural models were developed by KRC to be used for farmer enhancement. One of them is the Poverty Resource Monitoring and Tracking (PRMT) model. This tool was developed by KRC with financial support from European Union (EU) after drawing lessons from working with the communities. It aimed at

equipping community groups and individuals with knowledge and skills to monitor manage and sustain resources that accrue from development interventions. However, when the PRMT pilot stage ended, some areas that appreciated the importance of the tool adopted it, while other areas that linked the tool to money and facilitation allowance, were slow to adopt it. Conversely, after funding agencies invest highly in the pilot stage of local innovations like tools development, the local communities are likely to be slow to adjust and integrate it into their own systems in the roll out stage. This is because communities' expectations are raised in the initial stage by a large influx of funds, but when these funds are reduced in the roll out stage, it becomes frustrating and less motivating for some individuals to pursue the activity.

### ***3.2.2 Community Strategy towards Benefit Sustainability***

Farmers pointed out that by investing in income generating activities alongside farming, they can continue their activities beyond the SHFE funding period. A model farmer and CPF states 'I have bought six Boda-bodas (motorcycle taxis) and I have hired them out to earn daily income and supplement earnings from my agricultural activities.' Although SHFE encourages group members to have income generating activities alongside their agricultural activities, only a small minority had them.

In addition, farmers attributed continuity of their benefits in accumulating physical assets like land, houses and farm equipments as the following statement from Bamugisa farmer affiliate group respondent proves: 'I have bought land where I can cultivate and rear animals, to me land is a very important resource for agriculture investment.' By acquiring and making use of these assets like land, farmers believe that they are working towards sustainability. While physical assets are crucial in pursuing benefit sustainability, it was discovered that some farmers especially women lacked land and had little decision making power over these assets within a household.

Additionally, farmers realised that their own local financial contribution towards group activities was necessary to ensure that they themselves fully participate and own the results that ensue from group work. They realised that when group members own the results, they can easily sustain them. However, when a high financial contribution is set, poor group members are unable to contribute. When poor members fail to contribute financially their participation is limited while others drop out of the group activities completely. Although local contribution is important especially if farmers are to own and sustain benefits, SHFE generally target poor individuals whose contribution is largely limited to their own labour (KRC 2009). Therefore if benefit continuity is based on financial contribution by the local community, achieving this result is likely to be limited.

Furthermore knowledge and skills accumulated by farmers over time was cited as a resource to contribute to benefit sustainability. Farmers argued that they use this knowledge to train and set up demonstration farms which other farmers learn from. The head of Bamugisa farming group had set up a demonstration farm which is helping him to acquire income to meet basic needs like educating his children, better shelter and clothing. Similarly SHFE's approach

is to train local farmers in order to elevate them to a level of model farmers, and use them as community trainers. However, it was established that sometimes information from model farmers does not fully trickle down to the communities due to the voluntary nature of information transfer but also because some farmers are in remote areas with poor roads and lack of transport facilities to access them.

All in all what stands out in this chapter is that benefit sustainability is highly dependent on a number of factors like land, finances, yet some farmers and women lack some of these assets. Moreover, practices like volunteerism were increasingly dwindling which makes it difficult to transfer knowledge fully and empower farmers to manage benefits on their own. In general the strategies which are identified above are not an end in themselves. A number of factors affect the effectiveness of these strategies and may not necessarily lead to benefit sustainability. Additionally, pursuing benefit sustainability is a process that involves learning and testing. These strategies should not be seen as a grand plan, or a set of plans, but rather a set of instruments and ways of working which enable working towards benefit sustainability.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Analysis of Indicators towards Benefit Sustainability**

#### **Introduction**

This section generates analysis of findings based on the concepts and the analytical framework presented in chapter two. It analyses the indicators used by communities and the SHFE program in relation to those indicators identified in the analytical framework. This analysis is meant to establish whether the social intervention is moving towards benefit sustainability or is likely to head there. The key indicators of benefit sustainability identified in the analytical framework include 1) how local NGOs involve the communities and alter the behaviour of community individuals, 2) achievement of multiple benefits/innovativity, 3) linking and embedding NGO social intervention into surrounding systems and processes, and 4) the ability of the local NGO to withdraw gradually direct support from community groups.

#### **4.1 Local Community Involvement and Alteration in Individual Behaviour**

To work towards benefit sustainability requires an appropriate plan of action on how to work with the community and ensure their ownership of social interventions. Ideally, local NGOs should identify individuals from the community that have the potential to master the skills which are necessary to undertake activities after the local NGOs withdraw project support (Junne and Verkoren 2005). In this case mentoring and coaching by NGO staff would be necessary for ownership but would fade away as the mentored master the skills. However mentoring and coaching takes a long time and clashes with NGOs' focus on project based implementation of activities which are by nature short-term. Nevertheless having a pool of individuals valuing and owning a particular benefit is likely to secure its continuity. When local communities co-define change, they are more committed and motivated to take ownership of processes needed to bring about this change (Uphoff 1995).

In this study local ownership was related to several aspects. Farmers related ownership to the ability of group members to contribute in terms of money, time, labour and knowledge to group initiatives. In addition, it was easier to own group activities when they are initiated by local people themselves. In Kyarumba it was discovered that Bukonzo Joint was formed on the initiative of local people. Communities mobilized their own savings and donor grants built on what was already in place. Junne and Verkoren (2005) observe that strengthening local structure and the mechanism of local contribution is an important indicator of ownership and working towards benefit sustainability. However if the monetary contributions for each individual are set too high, achieving this objective may be challenging.

Similarly group and local NGOs' transparency and accountability to communities was pointed out as important for effective participation and working towards sustaining benefits. Transparency of organisational finances and accounts was pointed out as a great contributor to ownership. The accountant of Bukonzo Joint one of the most successful community owned microfinance institution in the study area said: 'our group members are free to access our documents and accounts. We are transparent in terms of our work and our offices are open to the community. We hold regular meetings, and we often keep in touch with community groups'. When local ownership is defined in terms of transparency in running group matters, group members will be motivated to ensure continuity of group activities Fowler (2000). Involving group members in planning and decision making processes, and the ability of group leaders to give up most of their powers is crucial for promoting collective ownership.

In addition, to involve the communities effectively, it is important that they are part of the initial process of identifying a problem. Subsequently they should devise means to address the problem and develop indicators to assess its progress (KRC 2005, Fowler 2000). In the studied project it was established that some funding agencies sometimes specified in advance what results should be achieved. Moreover, some of these funding agencies present the indicators by which results have to be tracked and reported back. This specification, although effective in terms of upward accountability, may hinder tracking benefits beyond the specified indicators. It was discovered that most reports from SHFE were prepared for the funding agencies. Although communities were free to access these documents, the language and its nature of packaging was more suitable for funding agencies. If accountability is mainly targeting the funding agency, local group reflection on areas for improvement and mechanism on working towards benefit sustainability may be limited. In addition insufficient consultation with the communities was likely to obstruct locally generated indicators and benefits easier to pursue and sustain by communities.

### ***Gender and social inclusion***

Breadth of participation is important in pursuing sustainability (Fowler 2000). It can be demonstrated by the level of social inclusion of the excluded: women, the physically handicapped, youth, and the elderly. In this study it was established that while participation and empowerment is important, sometimes very poor individuals had an inferiority complex which hinders their full participation in group activities. Yet very poor individuals are often bundled up with rural farming groups even if their livelihood is far from agricultural activity (KRC 2009). Often they are unable to pay group fees, they have immediate needs, they have social stigma, and they lack necessary resources like land. Because of their social isolation, information to fully participate in group activities hardly reaches them (ibid). In an effort to include the poorest of these communities, SHFE started working with the very poor individuals after realising that their livelihood improvement was low. The very poor are most probably excluded because of lack of basic requirements which Friedmann (1992) emphasises. For effective participation in group activities individuals would require a strong household base. Political empowerment for example would

seem to require a prior process of social and economic empowerment (access to information, basic needs; food, shelter, and clothing) through which effective participation in other activities becomes possible (Friedmann 1992). This raises the question whether group approach is the best way to go into a community where the majority are poor, have unmet basic needs and lack financial resources.

This study discovered that sometimes males tended to dominate group activities and discussions even though the level of women taking on group leadership roles had increased, and that there are more women than men in farming groups. Gender inequality was also reflected by the different roles men and women have: women tend to do the hard work in the field while men were largely involved in selling the produce. Women had little say in how the cash generated by selling the produce is spent (KRC 2009). The study discovered that women had problems in obtaining land and getting involved in cash crop activities like coffee growing. Pursuing benefit sustainability requires involvement of both men and women. However culture assigns roles to men and women which may be detrimental in pursuing this objective. Local organisations need to break this chain by addressing gender issues (Shepherd 1998). Gender analysis would for example comprise information on access and control over resources: land, labour, capital, and income (Shepherd 1998). Alternatively focus would be on incorporating important gender issues into significant NGO procedures like project identification, documentation, and consulting both men and women (Shepherd 1998).

Yet farmers noted that for effective involvement and participation of all social groups in pursuing benefit sustainability development initiatives should be initiated by local communities themselves. It is important that farmers start small from their households, improve their income and when they join self help groups it would be easier for them to participate fully in group activities. 'When farmers join groups without a strong household base, they expect a lot from groups, which hinders proper group performance and progress as focus is put on immediate output' (Bukonzo Joint affiliate group respondent). Some farmers suggested that as a criterion for joining groups, individuals should have well established projects in their households. Each group member should be self reliant in generating their own income.

## **4.2 Achievement of Multiple Benefits**

'If groups are able to process, repack and gradually shift from selling raw products, it is an indicator that it is heading or likely to head towards benefit sustainability' (SHFE Program Officer). This also indicates that a group is graduating from being a mere CBO to a bigger institution involved in processing and adding value to its produces. It was discovered in this study that although agro-processing was a major objective for farmer groups in the study area, it was done on a very small scale. Interviewed farmers had insufficient agro-processing knowledge and skills. Although at Bukonzo Joint coffee hulling was done with modestly good technological machines, this was less evident in other studied groups. Agro-processing was highly limited by lack of necessary technological equipments. Uphoff (1995) observes that if a particular invest-



ment is able to generate extra benefits and profits, it is likely to sustain itself. In relation to agriculture, achievement of multiple benefits would most likely accrue from value addition, agro-processing and increased production.

Similarly, the SHFE project works through micro projects based on simple tools and machinery. Although small projects are good in terms of directly benefiting the poor, can be easily managed, and fine-tuned to local conditions, they also have serious drawbacks (Dresener 2002). Small projects are less likely to generate multiple benefits or contribute to broader economic growth and capital accumulation. Unlike big projects like a large irrigation project, the impact of small alternative projects is primarily local (Dresener 2002). In addition small benefits are difficult to quantify when viewed from the perspective of meeting basic needs and improving the general standard of living (Friedmann 1992). The studied groups expressed interest to engage in bigger agricultural investment. This came with high expectations from the local organisation for financial and technical support as they lacked funds themselves.

### **4.3 Linking and Embedding Benefits into Surrounding Systems**

Local NGOs not only need to engage with a number of stakeholders but also have to share power with them for effective participation (Fowler 2000). This entails that the local NGOs start withdrawing from direct engagement and implementation thereby giving the beneficiaries a sense of responsibility required for their independence (Fowler 2000). In this research it was discovered that although working with stakeholders like the government was considered fundamental by the local NGO, linkages and collaboration between them were informal in nature. Linkages were basically on consultations, sharing of training materials, attending each other's meetings and participating in common events like agricultural shows. Higher level collaborations including joint planning, policy consultations, sharing of work plans and joint project implementations though acknowledged as important were insufficiently explored (KRC 2009). Equally, development actors operating in studied sub-counties rarely consulted one another on the kind of support they rendered. Although there was insufficient evidence of duplication of work it was clear that groups targeted by SHFE were the same as targeted by NGOs like SATNET, CABs and the government implemented NAADs programs.

In the same way, trust among development actors and their beneficiaries is important for effective participation, ownership and co-option of social interventions (Heston and Fernando 1997). This study discovered that service providers in the studied sub counties had insufficient trust and cohesion among themselves. One respondent noted that 'because agro-business is becoming marketable, most NGOs were shifting their attention to it, making it competitive (CABCs Program Officer). When development actors treat each other as competitors instead of partners in development, mistrust and improper information flow is likely to arise. On the other hand local NGO activity consultations, joint planning was likely to strengthen internal local NGO operations and working towards achieving similar and impactful objectives.

#### 4.4 Gradual Withdrawal from Direct Group Support

Access to certain bases for group efficiency (social power) is important in working towards benefit sustainability. These bases include information, physical assets and finances (Friedmann 1992). In the same way, farmers observed that gaining social power and being less reliant on external grants, was an indicator that a group was heading or likely to head towards sustaining its benefits. As one respondent observed 'if the organisation is 100% run on external grants, it is very difficult to sustain its activities because if the organisation pulls out, everything will come to a standstill' (Program Officer Bukonzo Joint). When groups get hold of independent ways of accessing social bases, it increases their psychological power and ability to pursue objectives like benefit sustainability (Friedmann 1992). In this way a local NGO can begin to withdraw to give full responsibility to beneficiaries to manage and sustain their benefits (Fowler 2000). Although in this study, few cases of direct SHFE withdrawal were identified, some farmers pursued approaches geared towards their economic empowerment like engaging in income generating activities to lower on their overall reliance on external support.

On the other hand, it was established that in order to withdraw gradually from group support, the SHFE works closely with model farmers through mentoring and coaching them, thereby hoping to enable them to manage change processes independently. It is envisaged that with time SFHE would withdraw when community groups start to exhibit levels of maturity in managing their development processes. However, achieving this objective presents a complex challenge given specific timelines for activity completion required by some funding agencies (Shivji 2005). Mentoring and coaching would require commitment from external funding agencies to support the long-term horizons of the NGOs. This would lead to a steady, careful nurturing and to gradual qualitative results which characterise this process (Hulme and Edwards 1997). In addition, to ensure ownership and a gradual withdrawal of the local NGO, a learning process, with frequent assessment, and willingness to adjust in the course of the process (Friedmann 1992) is required. Program flexibility in this case is most likely to pave the way for effective participation and ownership.

In a similar way, ownership and accumulation of physical assets is an important indicator of maturity and enables a local NGO to withdraw gradually from a group (Samaranayake in Bastian 1996). In this study it was discovered that groups identified as working towards benefit sustainability had managed to accumulate assets to supplement on managing their activities. Bukonzo Joint for example had its own offices, land, store, and coffee hulling machines. In addition some of its affiliate groups had started to build their own structures to serve as coffee stop centres for farmers from remote areas like Maliba. Friedmann (1992) observes that physical assets are a source of empowerment and reduced vulnerability which is one dimension of wellbeing. With improved wellbeing individuals can effectively exercise their agency and work towards such objectives like benefit sustainability.

More so, strong leadership was pointed out as an indicator that the group is heading towards benefit sustainability. Before the local NGO withdraws gradually, it should attempt to establish the nature of leadership in place. Lead-

ers guide the functioning of a group, understand its vision and aim at achieving its mission. This follows from an observation made by the head of RANNET: 'When a group has poor leadership it is likely that such a group would not be transparent, show less team work and poor decision making and would lack proper accountability which all would contribute to group failure'. At Bukonzo Joint, strong leadership was linked to power and the ability to decline grant conditions that are less likely to fit into the group vision. This becomes apparent from the words of Bukonzo Joint's Program Officer:

'We once had a local funder who wanted Bukonzo Joint to be under the umbrella organisation of Microfinance Associations, but after reading their terms and conditions, we opposed this local funder as leaders. Consequently we never received support from them, but we are happy all the same, because we have progressed well without that support'.

This is in line with what Fowler (2000) noted in relation to working towards sustainability: strong leadership is an important indicator of group maturity.

## **4.5 Tensions and Lessons**

Following the analysis of the indicators, this part explores tensions and lessons towards benefit sustainability. Tensions are subdivided into institutional gaps and Socio-cultural and natural constraints.

### ***Institutional Gaps***

As mentioned earlier, coordination among local NGOs themselves and alliances with the local government was discovered to be weak. While a number of local NGOs implemented agricultural activities in the study area, few had actually studied what other local NGOs offer to the groups. In addition, the registered benefits were modest compared to the number of organisations providing the services. Although there was no apparent duplication of work in the study area, an uncoordinated way of implementing activities was likely to result in duplication. Sanyal (1997) observed that lack of coordination between NGOs may primarily be resulting from their dependence on grants and donations, which motivates every local NGO to claim that its particular approach was the most effective in helping the poor. To counter this trend KRC and other local organisations like SATNET, RICNET, and RAC aim to prioritise regional programming as a strategy towards harmonising approaches and concentrating resources at household level. However, Friedmann notes that when projects are on a small scale they are often difficult to coordinate. This is particularly so when they are located in different areas, often remote but also when these projects are funded by different donors with different ideologies and preferences (Friedmann 1992). Although regional programming is still piloted, it is important that a clear strategy on how the independent organisations are to coordinate their activities be developed right from the beginning.

Similarly, it was discovered that within farming groups, a high dependency syndrome level made them expect a lot from the local organisation. Group members always asked for handouts to improve their activities and always had

demands and sometimes exaggerated to indicate that they are in dire need for external support to get out of the problem. In most cases groups preferred interventions that had a tangible dimension, for example in the provision of farm inputs, construction of stores for agricultural output, and in loans. Although tangible input into groups is relevant in encouraging commercial agriculture, they are likely to yield short term results and strengthen the dependency syndrome (KRC 2009). Capacity building alongside tangible input is relevant to mitigate negative group dynamics, gender inequality and power imbalances within these group. Moreover, processes involved in identifying community groups, evaluation, monitoring, supervision, and assessments consume time and financial resources that are unsustainable (Fernando and Heston 1997).

On the other hand, institutions that offer agricultural loans were said to be scarce in the study area. For instance crop finance offered under CABCs and FORMA is mainly used to pay farmers for their produces before the Marketing Association sell them in the market (KRC 2009). Generally this support is less likely to facilitate increased production at group level since it does not cater for the production side of the chain. In addition, 'major financial institutions like banks refrain from investing in agriculture because agriculture is highly reliant on seasonal variations and therefore considered as a risky venture' (SHFE-Coordinator). Therefore farmers rely on small loans from community groups often at high interest rates. Yet heading towards self-reliance meant to farmers that they gradually move away from obtaining NGO grants towards accessing bigger loans for agriculture investment. Loans were preferred over grants because the later had more conditions attached.

It goes without saying that the nature of agriculture funding by donors is limited by a relatively short time. This hinders learning through practice, and modification along the way, for small holder farmers take considerable amount of time to learn and adjust to practices targeting them (KRC 2009). The head of SATNET, a regional agricultural network, noted that 'the major challenge with short term projects is that when an organisation begins to transform farmers' practices and begins to register results, the donor pulls out making it difficult to locate the impact or even continue working with the groups'. He suggested that it is important to support local NGOs for more than ten years, to ensure that the results can be absorbed more deeply into the community for this period of time. This helps greatly towards implementing long-term empowering processes like mentoring and coaching.

It was equally raised that involving communities and local government leaders to participate in local NGO activities was increasingly becoming more costly. Perhaps this could partly explain the weak alliances between the local NGO and government officials. There is a belief that government officials tend to demand for allowances from local NGOs that are normally above what local NGOs can afford. Therefore capacities of government officials are underutilised by local NGOs (KRC 2009). Local leaders are very influential in policy and decision making. However, it is possible that NGOs may not consult them because of the cost factor.

While value addition was a major aspiration by farmers, technological equipments and skills still formed a major challenge. Farmers who had gradually progressed towards value addition had received local NGO grants to un-

dertake these activities (KRC 2009). However, those who had improved the quality of their produces had problems to access markets. Local farming groups were mainly located in rural areas. Kyarumba for example is located in a mountainous area with a poor road network, poor transport facilities and insufficient market information, making it difficult for farmers to transport and identify favourable markets for their produces. Although the SHFE encourage groups to form Marketing Associations in order to sell jointly and in larger quantities, the absence of readily available markets necessitated the SHFE to conduct value chain analyses to link Marketing Associations to possible external buyers. It is assumed that over time farmers will have stable buyers and most probably produce enough for the available market

### ***Socio-cultural and natural constraints***

It was discovered that birth rates among small holder farmers were high. According to the KRC (2003) yearly bulletin, homes of very poor individuals had on average 7 children living on a small plot of land. High birth rates were said to increase household demands like health, education, and clothing, whereas they most probably hinder agriculture reinvestment. In the interviewed groups it was detected that a major reason for individual preference for selling produces was to respond to household demands. Yet, addressing this challenge posed a dilemma as most farmers expressed that to have many children was a necessity for meeting basic needs in future. Although it was not investigated whether the SHFE incorporated education on reproductive health and family planning into its activities, this information was considered vital for ensuring benefit sustainability.

In addition, it was discovered that proper information flow among groups was still limited. Although information centres were established to facilitate information sharing in the studied area, group members rarely made use of these information centres. The study revealed that one of the reasons why farmers use these information centres insufficiently was that this information was offered in English and in a written form whilst most farmers are illiterate and only mastered their local language. On the other hand, some information centres are located far from the farmer's homestead. 'When information centres are isolated from other structures like MFAs and MLAOs, farmers are less likely to make use of them' (Coordinator SATNET). In contrast this coordinator pointed out the successful case of the Mahango Mambule Information centre, which is housed by a Micro-Finance Association and owned by a Middle Level Agricultural Organisation (MLAO). Farmers utilised this fully integrated centre and benefited greatly from it.

On the other hand major natural calamities that farmers noted were related to unpredictable climate changes characterised by excessive rains and prolonged droughts. In addition diseases of both crops and humans and crop pests were pointed out as major hindrances towards sufficient agricultural production.

Major lessons drawn from this study were that in pursuing benefit sustainability, finances alone are not enough. Other factors like information, assets, institutional alliances, and group commitment constitute important resources

which should be considered if local organisations are to work towards benefit sustainability. In addition, a society works as a system. If the local NGO is interested to pursue sustainability of its social intervention benefits, other institutions should be in place. In the absence of proper road networks, infrastructures like schools and hospitals, favourable policies and a favourable operational environment, project benefits like those accruing from agriculture SHFE would most likely be adversely affected.

To summarise this chapter, it can be stated that working towards gradual withdrawal from direct group support requires a degree of plurality in methodology, in addition to alliances and mechanisms for confronting diverse challenges. Community groups deserve the independence to manage projects by themselves. However, challenges discussed above and the lack of clear methodologies to facilitate a gradual withdrawal by local NGOs from them, probably make the entire process complex. This may explain why the SHFEs' gradual withdrawal from direct group support, in terms of grants, training, monitoring and assessment, has been slow and limited. Local community groups are increasingly dependent on external support from local NGOs to run group activities. Linkages between governmental institutions and the local NGO are too weak to allow co-option of farming groups as soon as the local organisation withdraws. As the local organisation's role seems to be temporary, it is insufficiently clear where community groups would turn to for financial support after the local NGO withdraws. Nevertheless, the organised poor have a right to autonomy, to be empowered, and to be emancipated, enabling them to run projects on their own (Wils 1997).

## Chapter 5

### General Conclusions and Recommendations

This research intended to answer the question how local NGOs and community groups act towards sustaining social intervention benefits and why it is difficult to sustain benefits that accrue from NGOs interventions at community level. Since 'benefit sustainability' is a term rarely used in the literature, I had to define the concept and develop an analytical framework to make the research possible. This framework linked processes of community participation, empowerment and ownership in order to understand the process towards benefit sustainability. In this frame NGOs are central facilitators of these processes, and through strategic alliances with other development actors, it is assumed that social interventions would or are likely to head towards sustainability. All threads of arguments put together reveal a number of dilemmas that are embedded in the processes that should lead to benefit sustainability.

While the local NGO acknowledged its role as facilitating an empowering, participatory process, this role posed a dilemma, when instead of challenging power structures the local NGO sometimes strengthened social hierarchies and re-enforced a patron-client relationship. Equally some of the local NGO's approach seemed to be indirectly disempowering instead of empowering individuals to realize their potential. For example KRC contributed to a process whereby farmers organized into small self help groups to improve their participation and to tap into general NGO and government support. However through group formation community expectations were raised, while the intensive processes and approaches for identifying and selecting groups became very time consuming and costly. In addition, because groups had limited financial resources, they looked and hoped increasingly for external financial support. Similarly, the groups' unpredictable negative internal dynamics, power-struggles and imbalances hindered a proper information flow and access to group resource by all individual members. Within groups less poor men with powerful leadership positions benefited more compared to the very poor who comprised mainly women. This illustrates that sometimes processes intended to be empowering and challenging power structures can become disempowering and reaffirming social hierarchies. As result they become unsustainable in the long-term.

Equally, while group formation is essential for effective community participation, long term processes are likely to be stifled when group formation is influenced by supply factors. In this study there was a noted boom in formation of farming groups in communities. This was closely linked to available financial support from the government and local NGOs. When group formation is motivated by obtaining immediate financial support, it is possible that reflection on how this support translates into long term processes of social change is limited. Benefits are likely to be short lived as groups form without a long term objective.

Similarly, economic empowerment reflected a smooth drive towards benefit sustainability throughout the entire study. Farmers required crop finance, loans for re-investment and an increase of their savings to be able to operate without direct intervention from the local NGO. While the local NGO had to use restricted resources to take farming groups to a higher level, this study discovered that this restricted funding was also largely temporary. It is clear that when this support is withdrawn, the community groups highly dependent on grant are left with no alternative source of funding to continue implementing these activities. As much as local contribution is considered to be an alternative source of funding and effective in encouraging ownership, in a community where individuals can barely meet their basic needs, local financial contributions are a limited alternative. While the study failed to establish where community groups can turn to, in order to access less restricted financial resources, this study recommends that the role of the state in providing less restricted resources to agricultural groups like those in the study area be rejuvenated. The government will not only ensure that marketing associations and cooperatives are strengthened but it will reinstate policies that favour agricultural growth and re-investment.

Alternatively, local community groups should exercise their agency beyond local engagements. Integration into other fields and systems ought to traverse household and group engagements into broader national and international policy influence. When agriculture is integrated into peace building, human rights and good governance, it is important that this integration is reflected in behavioural and attitudinal change of individuals. This would include farmers' ability to seek and access information and using this knowledge to advocate strongly for and lobby for agricultural incentives and policies that directly affect them. These may include access to markets, agricultural subsidies, government support to form Marketing Associations and Cooperatives and providing potential for infant agricultural industries to blossom through agro-processing. Pursuing benefit sustainability should aim beyond financial aspects to information accessibility, increasing community pro-activeness, awareness and connectivity beyond fields and borders. If acquired knowledge is not used beyond the household or group level, it limits influencing processes and policies beyond local level. This research recommends that pursuing benefit sustainability should be beyond local engagements towards national and international ones.

While local NGOs sometimes document proper procedures for implementing their activities, usually there is a disparity in what they plan and what they execute. In this study it was revealed that right from the start, the SHFE had clearly set an exit strategy from groups. This included cooperating with the government and gradually weaning off the groups into government institutions. The study reveals that at the SHFE level, there is no documented contract or terms of operation upon which the cooperation was to function. Consequently, the working relationship remains informal and ad hoc in nature. This study recommends that local NGOs need to move out of their own setting and explore external avenues that would contribute to the continuity of their work. Harmonisation of approaches between local NGOs, the government and other development actors is likely to guide towards benefit sustainability.

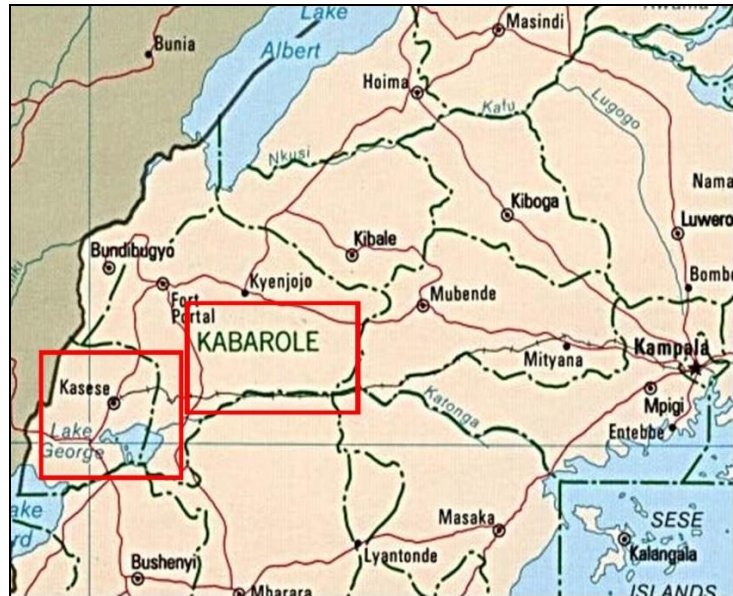


Even though KRC is confronted by the pressure to serve the community and ensure its own continuity, depending on donor characteristics and its relationship with other development actors, it is nevertheless able to devise means - creatively and strategically - to increase community awareness of their role to take full responsibility of their own development. Building on existing local initiatives, encouraging local contribution, working with very poor individuals, enhancing local expertise, integrating business into social initiatives, regional programming and coordination, are all examples of strategies that offer an insight into general KRC and community commitment to pursue benefit sustainability. However, these endeavors are among the few exceptions that confirm the rule. In the absence of a large pool of local NGOs pursuing interventions geared towards benefit sustainability in Uganda, efforts towards sustainable social change and alleviating abject poverty will remain elusive.

Unfortunately this research did not manage to answer some of the most pressing questions related to the topic. For example it specifically looked at how community groups address benefit sustainability, but it least considered how individuals work towards sustaining these benefits. Furthermore this research fell short of gaining a balanced view of what constitutes a sustainable project between communities and local NGOs. Further research can be done in these areas to have a proper understanding of sustainability in community development. However, this study has attempted to provide a clue on how local NGOs and community groups work towards benefit sustainability and the problems involved in the entire process.

## Appendices

Appendix 1: Map showing Kabarole and Kasese



Source: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/uganda.html> accessed on 10.11.2010.

## **Appendix 2: List of Questions for Benefit Sustainability Research**

### **Introduction**

This list of questions aimed at deriving information regarding sustainability of social intervention benefits at community level. Questions presented below were used to guide the interview session, however several questions were added during the discussion while others were edited or reformulated to fit into the discussion and allow diversity of ideas.

### **Guiding questions for local government workers and other NGOs**

1. What changes have occurred in the field of sustainable agricultural livelihoods in this area?
2. Are these results directly related KRC-SHFE intervention, if no, what role is played by other stakeholders?
3. Are these results sustainable? If no why? If yes, what efforts are made towards sustaining these benefits?
4. What indicators do you use to establish that benefits are heading towards sustainability?
5. What aspects do you consider as hindrances to working towards benefit sustainability?
6. Do you have any lessons or recommendations for development actors in Uganda concerning this topic?

### **Guiding questions for SHFE workers and Community Process Facilitators**

1. What results have you achieved in communities in the area of sustainable agricultural livelihoods since your inception?
2. Are these results directly related KRC-SHFE intervention, if no, what role is played by other stakeholders?
3. Are these benefits sustainable? If yes, how do you work towards ensuring sustainability of these benefits? If no why?
4. What indicators do you use to establish that benefits are heading towards sustainability?
5. What challenges/tensions/limitations do you face in ensuring that benefits are sustained?
6. Do you have any lessons/recommendations for development workers concerning this topic?

### **Guiding questions for Target group and individuals at community level**

1. What benefits have you achieved in the field of sustainable agricultural livelihoods?
2. Are these results directly related KRC-SHFE intervention, if no, what role is played by other stakeholders?
3. From your view are these benefits sustainable? If yes, how do you work towards sustaining them and if no why?
4. What indicators do you use to establish that a particular benefit is heading towards sustainability?

5. What challenges/tensions/limitations do you face in ensuring that benefits are sustained?
6. Do you have lessons or recommendations for ensuring benefit sustainability for development actors?

**FGD question guide:**

1. What results have you achieved in the area of sustainable agriculture in working as a group?
2. From your view are these benefits sustainable? If yes, how do you work towards sustaining them and if no why?
3. What indicators do you use to establish that a particular benefit is heading towards sustainability
4. What challenges/tensions/limitations do you face in ensuring that benefits are sustained
5. Do you have lessons or recommendations for ensuring benefit sustainability for development actors

### Appendix 3: List of Interviewees

NO.	NAME OF PARTICIPANTS	PLACE	POSITION
<b>SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS</b>			
1.	Mugisa Deo	Bamugisa Middle Level Farmers Organisation	Model farmer
2.	Pamela Kanyunyuzi	Community Agribusiness (CABCs)	Program officer
3.	Rev. Kitooke	Sustainable Agriculture Trainer's Network (SATNET)	Organisation Coordinator
4.	Kalyebara Deo	Model Farmer	Model farmer
5.	Gerald Twebaze	Head Rwenzori Association of NGOs and Net-works	Organisation coordinator
6.	Christopher Agaba	Rwenzori Association of NGOs and Networks (RANNET)	Program officer
7.	Mwanga Julius	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre	Director
8.	Muhammad Sharif	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre	Deputy Director
9.	Mpaka Jackie	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre	Program Officer
10.	Bihunirwa Medius	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre	Program Officer
11.	Businge Chris	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre	Program officer
12.	Rwamahe Christopher	Model Farmer	Model farmer
13.	Muzinduki Patrick	Kabarole Research Resource Centre	Program officer
14.	Baguma Deborah	Kabarole Research Resource Centre	Program officer
15.	Byangwa Angela	Rwenzori Anti-corruption Coalition	Organisational Coordinator
16.	Kasukali Methuselah	Government worker	Local government worker
17.	Kazigati Grace	Government worker	NAADs Coordinator
18.	Kasibirehe Joseph	Bukonzo Joint	Program officer
19.	Kaja Job	Uganda NGO Forum	Program officer
20.	Rose Namara	Uganda Management Institute	Local government worker
<b>FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS</b>			
1.	Friday Sarapio, Turyahumuza Emanuel, Nyakwera Evelyn, Basemera Innocent, Kisembo Margret, Bogere Vincent, Kaahwa Annet, Mugabo Robert	Affiliate group to Bamugisa farmers	Local Farmers
2.	Karugaba Lucky, Turyamureeba Joshua, Safari Mark, Bwambale Expedito, Kunihiro Xcebia, Kyakimwa Juliet, Nsaba Philemon, Batalingaya Vincent	Volunteers/Community Process Facilitators	Farmers and community volunteers/CPFs
3.	Oliver, Katutu, Bajenja, Kakande, Murungi, Isingoma, Eriah, Hyeroba and Josephine	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre	Program officers, and Accountant
4.	Kateeba Mary, Kyomuhendo Vincent, Kakooza Ismail, Kajoina Stella, Masereka Samuel, Masika Emily, Bwambale Paul, Muhindo Grace	Affiliate Group Bukonzo Joint	Local farmers

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