Endogenous Development in Africa
Towards a Systematisation of Experiences

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Endogenous Development

Endogenous development (ED) is based on local peoples' own criteria of development and takes into account the material, social and spiritual well-being of peoples.

The importance of participatory approaches and of integrating local knowledge into development interventions has become broadly recognised. However, many of these approaches experience difficulties in overcoming an implicit western bias. Endogenous development seeks to overcome this bias by making peoples' worldviews and livelihood strategies the starting point for development. Often these worldviews and livelihood strategies reflect sustainable development as a balance between material, social and spiritual well-being. The main difference between endogenous development and other participatory approaches is its emphasis on including spiritual aspects in the development process, in addition to the ecological, social and economic aspects.
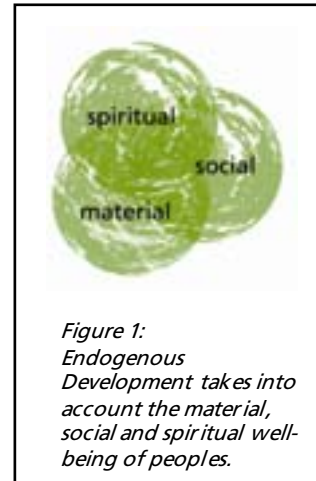
Figure 1: Endogenous Development takes into account the material, social and spiritual well-being of peoples.

Endogenous development is mainly based on local strategies, values, institutions and resources. Therefore priorities, needs and criteria for development may differ in each community and may not always be the same as those of the development worker. Key concepts within endogenous development are:

- ♦ local control of the development process;
- ♦ taking cultural values seriously;
- ♦ appreciating worldviews;
- ♦ finding a balance between local and external resources.

The aim of endogenous development is to empower local communities to take control of their own development process. While revitalising ancestral and local knowledge, endogenous development helps local people select those external resources that best fit the local conditions. Endogenous development leads to increased bio- and cultural diversity, reduced environmental degradation, and a self-sustaining local and regional exchange.

The COMPAS network

The COMPAS network was founded in 1995 by NGOs and universities from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America. Based on years of experience with participatory development approaches, these organisations were convinced that a more culture-sensitive approach towards development was needed if the well-being of the people concerned was to be improved successfully. They called their approach endogenous development.

In 1996 COMPAS conducted several case studies on farmers' worldviews and indigenous knowledge related to natural resource management. In subsequent years, the importance of traditional knowledge in a modern-day context was documented making use of insights gained in field programmes. Since 2003 the emphasis was put on developing and testing endogenous development methodologies, and on understanding the diversity of knowledges and sciences. The experiences culminated in the book Learning Endogenous Development (Practical Action, 2007) and six publications in the COMPAS series Worldviews and Sciences. Based on more than ten years of action research across Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe the partner insights were animatedly debated during a COMPAS network meeting in Poland, September 2006. In Poland a declaration was formulated and agreed upon to clarify what the COMPAS network stands for (p 151). All COMPAS publications can be downloaded from our website www.compasnet.org.

Vision and Mission

By January 2007 the COMPAS network had 30 partners in 19 countries. To maintain a common network identity and programme focus, COMPAS formulated its vision and long-term objective.

Vision: the COMPAS programme envisions self-sustaining local communities across the globe living in dignity, resilient to external and internal stresses with a sense of belonging to their traditional worldviews.

Mission: the COMPAS programme is committed to support field programmes of Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to develop, test and improve the endogenous development approach in dialogue with modern western-based science and in close cooperation with universities and research centres. The COMPAS programme will systematise the experiences in such a way that other CBOs, NGOs and government agencies can make use of the endogenous development approach. Through capacity building and policy dialogue, efforts are made to create an enabling environment that promotes and supports endogenous development. Intercultural dialogues between CBOs, NGOs, universities and research centres across countries and continents are facilitated to enable systematisation beyond the national level.

About Endogenous Development in Africa

This book is produced to enable the COMPAS partner organisations in Africa to share their methodologies for endogenous development with a new and hopefully growing group of interested actors. We hope that by sharing our experiences, this book will also contribute to strengthening the methodologies for endogenous development.

From 2007 onwards the focus of the COMPAS network partners in Africa will be to increase and deepen understanding of the endogenous approach in thematic areas such as traditional institutions and indigenous sustainable natural recourse management. At national level, several activities are planned and implemented to ensure that civil society organisations, social movements, and governmental organisations are aware of the importance of endogenous development approach. Where possible, staff of these organisations can be assisted to find their own endogenous development methodologies. Comparable to network partnerships in Asian and Latin American countries a multi-stakeholder platform is initiated in Africa in 2007-2008 to facilitate the dialogue on the endogenous development approach. We hope this book will be a support in all these efforts.

It is my hope that the readers will get inspired by the experiences documented in this book. After ten years of sharing mainly among like-minded people, we feel the moment has come to engage in strategic dialogues with critics and non-network members as well. I invite all readers to share your views, challenge ours and join the growing movement of individuals and organisations searching for well-being that builds on balanced material, social and spiritual growth across cultures and continents.

Wim Hiemstra
COMPAS programme leader

Chapter One
Reasons for Supporting Endogenous Development

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Introduction

Throughout their history, humans have sort for and shaped their lives in ways that give them unique yet shared identities. It has been estimated that about 8000 distinct cultures have evolved in the process. It is also believed that about 6000 of these distinguishable cultures have developed their own language systems. In most of these human cultures, people have unique worldviews or ways of perceiving reality. Over the centuries these cultures have been dynamic and subject to continuous change. Presently, however, the pressure for change in the name of development has mounted. This pressure, seemingly higher than ever before, can be attributed to the dominant materialist and science-based paradigms that have been shaping development efforts since the last century. Although the tremendous technological and economic developments of the 20th century had brought and continue to bring prosperity to many, it has also impoverished many socially, culturally and materially. The price for failing to embrace the modernist system, but also the greed that accompanies it, has taken the form largely of cultural invasion and socio-economic impoverishment.

Poverty, largely in the form of resource deprivation, persists among the majority of the world's populations and is even more pronounced among indigenous or traditional cultures. Borrowing from the existing materialist analysis and measurement of poverty, as used by the United Nations (UN) and its agencies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, one finds high concentrations of poverty among peoples adhere more to their traditional or indigenous systems. Such analysis and measurement have resulted in the categorisation of highly materialist affluent societies, developing, third world and impoverished societies. Indeed, indigenous societies often lack so-called modernising agents such as tarred roads, speed cars, airplanes, tap water, electricity, high rise buildings, malls, hospitals and schools but have their own systems that have served their civilisations in spite of the intrusions and infusions of such modernisers. Such capital, and the knowledges that reside with them, can be the basis for improving well-being in the face of challenges of modernity or even post-modernity.

From the UN and World Bank measures, it has been determined that nearly half of the global population has a purchasing power of less than USD 2.00 per day. While a small minority of the world's population lives in affluence, the majority continues to live in deprivation and poverty; this is the case in spite of the socio-economic successes that modernist development has supposedly bestowed on the world. Inarguably, the gains and also the losses have not been equitably shared. While the small minority takes almost all gains, the large majority takes almost all the losses. This imbalance remains a mark of the neo/liberal capitalist development project, which prioritises economic growth with very limited provisions for social justice.

In the face of this reality, the modernist development paradigm and its approaches to socio-economic improvement have been increasingly challenged and numerous alternatives have been proposed.[1] New approaches to science are emerging, as are new policies and practices in the development terrain such as rural renewal, organic agriculture, sustainable energy, complementary medicine, alternative education and solidarity economics. Endogenous development is one of such new approaches. These alternatives do not only contest and dispute the modernist agenda but also render it irrelevant.

What is Endogenous Development?

Endogenous development is based on local peoples' own criteria of development and takes into account the material, social and spiritual well-being of peoples. It takes local cultures as a critical starting point and posits those cultures as a central framework for social progress and cross-cultural exchanges.[2] Endogenous development draws from and harnesses local resources to mitigate development. It builds on and excites local actions for change to occur from within the existing system. By its very definition, endogenous development works towards sustainable, functional and people-centred development.

In principle, endogenous development is inward looking but not in a negative way. It does not close off external influences such as modern science and technology. Rather, it works to minimise and even eliminate its tendencies of disorienting, undermining, compromising, and even annihilating indigenous or traditional systems. Endogenous development enables drawing from external sources only when their benefits have relevance to, and can help augment and enforce, local initiatives. It supports and promotes change that is locally informed and relevant. Endogenous development seeks optimal ways for combining local resources with external inputs without unduly sacrificing or even attempting to replace the local. It places central importance on the need, ability and potential of people for initiating and negotiating their own development path. Endogenous development is highly appreciative of ownership, relevance, diversity and identity.

The authors would like to thank Coen Reijntjes for his research for this chapter.

[1] C. Odora Hoppers, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 2-22.
P.J. Hountondji, 'Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 23-38.
[2] See also: P.J. Hountondji, Endogenous Knowledge: Research trails (Dakar, 1998).

In practice, endogenous development is based mainly on local initiatives, institutions, resources, strategies and values. Consequently, the priorities, needs and criteria for development may differ in each community and are not always the same as those of the development worker. Key concepts within endogenous development are:

- ◆ privileging local control of the development process;
- ◆ taking cultural values seriously;
- ◆ finding a balance between traditional and external resources and knowledge to manage change (social progress) in ways that are cultural relevant and appropriate.

Endogenous development has a strong participatory undertone. The aim of endogenous development is to empower local communities to take control of their own development processes based on their local resources and livelihood strategies. It is important to note that this does not imply the isolation of local communities from the outside world and the opportunities that may be available there. Nor does it advocate romanticising traditional views and practices or solely conserving traditional societies and practices. Rather, it seeks to work with traditional societies and practices towards more functional ends: **culturally appropriate renewal**. Such renewal, however, does not assume that culturally informed ways are perfect. Rather, it entails an appreciation of the inadequacies as well as the strengths of cultures and works toward the re-negotiation and reform of aspects that need change (controversial) as well as the valorisation of aspects that need reinforcement.

Endogenous Development and Controversies

All societies and communities have their own challenges or controversies. They deal with differences, problems and conflicts in ways that often advantage some and disadvantage other, as part of their existence. Traditions, customs and institutions established as part of social organisation often are the locus of controversies. The cultural systems and practices of peoples, set out as reference for all peoples of a particular culture, sometimes present the most controversy as the makers, shapers and upholders often are guided by and adopt particular viewpoints that tend to favour some members but not others. The very basis of such systems and practices as unifying referents often results in the failure to address the needs of differently positioned people in the societies.

When parties have differences in power, interests, visions or cultures, or when a situation is drastically changing, opposing views on the best way to proceed may give rise to controversial positions. Controversies are not the same as conflicts. Controversies can be resolved by a process leading to consensus and forgiveness, or by accepting that the other party has more power. Only in the case of an unresolved prolonged controversy may the social tensions build up to such an extent that they result to open conflict and struggle. Yet, some level of conflict and tension is necessary for change. Conflicts and tensions sometimes become important tools for addressing injustices and for the radical transformation of systems that resist change and persist in perpetrating injustice.

Controversies manifest themselves on different issues and at various levels. At community level and between communities, they can include the functioning of traditional leadership and formal leaders, access to and use of resources, or the position of women, youth and children. Between local communities and NGOs or national government, the controversies can be on how the interests of the community are represented, sharing and use of resources, or the best way for development to take place. Controversies may also occur between or among religions ethnic groups at national or international level on issues over identity, resource, political and/or human rights. Many violent conflicts in Africa have arisen from controversies over political autonomy and resources control. Some popular and important issues of controversies that are receiving national and international attention include gender issues (female genital mutilation, domestic violence, forced marriage etc.); use and benefits of resources (land, minerals, industry); intellectual property rights; religious issues (fundamentalism, freedom of worship); human rights (life, associate, choice, services); as well as politics (independence, self-rule) and approaches to development (globalisation, liberalism, socialism, culturalism). Others such as inter-generational issues affecting children and youth; rights of minorities such as settlers, persons with disabilities and debilitating diseases; and cultural rights regarding indigenous ways of life and livelihoods are also central to the community, national and global level engagements of the COMPAS family.

Endogenous development and its relation to globalisation is in itself a controversial issue. All traditional societies have developed ways to deal with social tensions. The majority of these controversies are latent and dealt with before becoming sources of overt conflict.

Controversies are an inevitable part of life and development. Denying controversies, waiting for them to be spontaneously resolved or turn into open conflict, is one way of dealing with them. Taking sides in a conflict and advocating one cause is another. A third option is trying to understand the different positions, and stimulating a dialogue. Each of these options may be wise under specific circumstances.

The COMPAS family, through the promotion of endogenous development, appreciates the potency of traditional societies and the ways that they have responded to and deal with controversies and conflicts. We also understand that many forms and sources of controversies remain unsolved and need to be addressed. We recognise our role as supporters of culturally-appropriate and locally-informed development in engendering controversies in our dealings with societies and communities, advertently or inadvertently. We recognise that through our interactions we may be contributing to greater awareness of the controversies and as such create situations for activism. We also recognise that our limitations and place as learners and external agents may be controversial. Yet, we see our role as supporters as offering opportunities for sincere and honest negotiations that will direct emerging energies in positive directions.

Our interest in COMPAS is primarily directed at finding ways to stimulate dialogue between traditional and formal leaders, between men and women, between professionals with different views on development, between persons from different cultures, and among all of these groups. To deal with cultural differences, COMPAS believes that processes of internal or intra-cultural dialogue, as well as the dialogue

between and among cultures (or inter-cultural dialogue are important). A respectful dialogue implies willingness to listen, openness to learn; responsiveness to information, questions and suggestions; as well as courage to criticise, and desire to seek positive change, when necessary. COMPAS support is shared on the basis of such understandings.

Indeed, the endogenous development approach was born out of the need to seek and promote justice for peoples whose cultures (ways of knowing, ways of life) have been invaded and dismissed by so called superior cultures. Our appreciation of the rights of people to their livelihoods extends beyond a polarity between traditional and non-traditional but also within even traditional cultures. In our work we seek social justice as an inherent good for all; a right to be sought or delivered. The indivisibility, inalienability of justices, and even rights are at the core our COMPAS negotiations between and among various peoples.

Endogenous Development and other Participatory Approaches

Over the past two or three decades, many organisations throughout the world, especially NGOs, have developed participatory and farmer-led approaches to development, such as Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) and Participatory Technology/Innovation Development (PTD/PID). Over the years, the importance of these participatory approaches in taking local knowledges into account has become broadly recognised, especially for baseline data collection and problem identification during the initial project stages. However, when it comes to the design and implementation of solutions, the methods rarely seek to build on local peoples' knowledges and strategies. Moreover, many of these participatory approaches continue to exhibit high levels of western and elite bias. There seems to be a difficulty in overcoming these implicit and explicit biases. This sets the endogenous development approach apart from the rest.

Endogenous development interrogates and navigates the question of western and elite bias by making local peoples' worldviews, values, knowledge, institutions, initiatives, and locally available resources the starting point for development. It draws from western and elite sources only to complete local action as a means of facilitation. Endogenous development recognises the value of outside resources and knowledge but works with local people to select and implement those that enhance local conditions rather than alienate them from their own culture. Other differences between endogenous and other participatory development approaches include:

- self reflection of development practitioners on their own worldviews and knowledge, and how this influences their relationships with the rural people;
- emphases on the importance of cultural aspects in development interventions in addition to the ecological, physical, social and economic aspects;
- respect for spirituality and not necessarily religiosity;
- openness towards cultural practices and explanations;
- centrality of local resources (material, human and social) in the entire process;
- modelling of development interventions along the lines of local technologies and sciences for possible adaptations;
- comparing and sharing the benefits and products of development within and across cultures.

Why Endogenous Development?

In spite of several decades of development aid, poverty lingers on and is prevalent worldwide. Unfortunately, upon hindsight, it would appear that many development efforts (projects) did not factor in the question of sustainability and non-material aspects of development and well-being. Above all, the materialist basis of neo/liberal paradigm of development promoted failed to recognise and account for its own greed and role in perpetuating poverty through unfair distribution of resources and the resulting deprivations among unsuspecting peoples. Proponents of that paradigm appear to have been framed and initiated development as progressive change that would continue to renew itself. However, the evidence today points to a different story. The many huge capital investments and infrastructural development, which were initially high yielding, seem to be gradually grinding to a halt due to the inability to sustain the results, especially after the project is ended, to share benefits and foster local ownership of the processes during the project life.

In many cases, the reasons for the low support from local communities in development initiatives have been attributed in part to lack of appreciation of the complexity of local value and knowledge systems.[3] Many development projects have been transplanted from elsewhere and imposed on local communities. Undoubtedly, they hardly paid attention to the local context and their exigencies. As a result, these projects were not supported sufficiently by local communities. The processes of the development or extension were conducted in such ways as to leave local communities as passive beneficiaries at the receiving end. Consequently, they have seen such projects as external interventions rather than local initiatives and as unrelated to their local context and owned by the interventionists.

Through its experiences over the last ten years, the COMPAS network is convinced that a more culture-sensitive approach can lead to more sustainable development. This culture-sensitive approach should be integrated throughout the entire project cycle and should include respect for local protocols, local forms of communication, as well as local values, needs and criteria. At the same time, it opens itself for learning from and working with local actors or sections to challenge and change local practices that are found to be unjust. In the ensuing chapters in this volume the work of the various partners in Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa reflect efforts to promote endogenous development from a critical standpoint.

Endogenous Development and Culture

Already in 1948, the Right to Culture was recognised by all members signing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By 2006, 192 countries had signed the Declaration and in so doing had recognised the 22nd Article:

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[3] C. Odora Hoppers, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 2-22.
P.J. Hountondji, 'Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 23-38.
P.J. Hountondji, Endogenous Knowledge: Research trails (Dakar, 1998).

> *"Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his (sic) dignity and the free development of his (sic) personality."[4]*

For many people in the world today, their culture, faith and values are very important and provide the moral and practical basis for decision making in daily life. In many rural areas, traditional authorities still guide important decisions in agriculture, land use, health or conflict resolution and management. Nevertheless, local cultures are often ignored or even outlawed from formal development programmes; especially those cultural aspects – such as spiritual or ancestral consultations – which are hard to understand for people from other cultural backgrounds or even locals who are removed from the cultural setting physically, mentally and/or spiritually. Indeed, indigenous culture is more often than not treated as an enemy, a threat to modernist development. Indigenous cultures are often seen as impediments that cripple development. Through such demonising, it becomes easy to throw it out of development plans. Yet, the evidence demonstrates that when the cultural aspects are not taken seriously, well meaning development efforts are bound to fail. The following exchange among a development worker (researcher) and farmer will help illuminate the issue.

> *"On another occasion I was in Nandom, northern Ghana, the home of the Dagaaba. I asked a farmer I was interviewing to imagine that I had brought him a millet variety that yielded three times that of the variety he used and asked him to plant it straight away on his farm. Thereafter, when he goes to work on that plot, some misfortune befalls him, like being stung by a scorpion. What would he do? He told me that he would consult the soothsayer and if the soothsayer said that his ancestors are unhappy with the introduction of that variety, he would abandon it immediately. He would not even go back there to destroy the crops but would avoid the farm completely. In no way would he compromise his ancestors for any increases in productivity, no matter how great of the increase."[5]*

Indeed, this farmer is staying true to his or her belief system. This should demonstrate to development interventionists the importance of seeking and informing themselves of the prevailing world views and socio-cultural world before introducing interventions.

While the COMPAS family appreciates and works to support the endogenisation of development it can not afford to overlook critical micro and macro mitigating issues. At the micro level, one can not gloss over the fact that the dominance of traditional authorities has a potential of disadvantaging equally important members of society who form the majority of the COMPAS family at the

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[4] Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 22, www.un.org (2007).
[5] D. Millar, Footprints in the Mud: Re-constructing the diversities in rural people's learning processes (Wageningen, 1996) 166.

community level. The women, youth, untitled men, settlers and persons with disabilities, who do not wield decision making powers and - at the mercy of the good conscience of elders, monarchs and priests - are likely to suffer exclusions inimical to their search and need for livelihood support and social well-being. At the macro level, one finds the adoption of macroeconomic policies, especially under the World Bank policies, but also technological and scientific advancements that continually ignore local needs and knowledges and impose options that are detrimental to endogenous initiatives. Through the World Bank policies for structural adjustments, although changing now, have resulted in the privileging of external markets, foreign investments and cash crop production to the detriment of local industry and food security. Under the Green Revolution, the introduction of improved crop varieties has not only resulted in the loss of indigenous varieties but also the theft of those indigenous varieties that have been subjected to some technological treats. In both cases, cultural knowledge, intellectual property rights, and livelihoods sustainability have been brought to question.

Within the endogenous development framework, it is unthinkable to exclude culture from development. Culture and development are seen as the same side of the coin. Their inextricable relations make it absurd to try to exclude one from the other. Unless development occurs in a vacuum, it will make sense to think of it within a framework of the socio-cultural milieu, which is made up of the material and immaterial, comprising worldviews, technologies and artefacts. Endogenous development appreciates and works from the premise of culture as a framework for growth and development. Yet, as already noted, it does so from a critical perspective in the search for justice, ownership and sustainability.

In this book, the experiences on endogenous development of various partners of the COMPAS network are shared. Their experiences in facilitating development based on local criteria and worldviews are discussed. These experiences show that communities are more involved and motivated when their own cultures, knowledges, faiths and experiences are central to development efforts. They bear testimony to the fact that ownership can only be based on respect for and integration of development and culture as well as inter- and intra-cultural exchanges.

There are, of course, also serious controversies relating to culture and faith in traditional societies, especially in the field of gender and power relations. The COMPAS network is not advocating for ignoring such tensions. It does not gloss over or simply accept these tensions as given; neither does it pretend that they do not exist. Hence, COMPAS has worked to develop ways to confront the controversies and to develop alternatives in a culturally acceptable way. For example, the Ghanaian organisation CIKOD has done so by training Queens to strengthen their traditional role of supporting women in their communities. In this way, these women leaders have been able to challenge the restrictions placed on them and the women they lead in the traditional inheritance laws and advocated for the re-interpretation of certain harmful cultural givens. [6]

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[6] COMPAS, Endogenous Development in Practice: Towards well-being of people and ecosystems (Amsterdam, 2007) 28-29.

Endogenous Development and Economic Growth

The technological and economical developments of the 20th century brought prosperity to many. Especially in areas where economic transition[7] and economic growth were relatively fast, many people seemed to have benefited from modernist development. In many developing countries, however, modernist development and its consumer culture are more difficult to achieve. Especially in the more isolated places modern development has proven less viable.

In many developing countries and regions, between 70 to 90 percent of the people still depend on traditional agriculture, health care and other local practices.[8] In these countries, the existence of dual systems, comprising the formal and informal, side by side, are common. The problem with official development efforts is that they primarily target the formal system and work to formalise the informal system. However, with the vast majority of the people dependant on the informal system and the failure of the modernist formal system to prove its capacity to deliver on promised benefits, the disbandment of the informal system seems unjustified. Indeed, the informal system subsists and can be said to even resist its intended formalisation. As the many efforts that have been marketed as suitable alternatives to existing systems continue to fail, more and more local/indigenous communities continue to hold firm to their local informal systems which have stood the test of time.

When drawing-up the balance, the outcome of focussing on the formal system is negative. While the vast majority of people still depend on the informal system, it is undermined by lack of support and by efforts to formalise it. At the same time, efforts that have been marketed as suitable alternatives to existing systems continue to fail; the costs are too high as even the minimum gains are often lost. The net result: when local knowledges and technologies in developing areas are lost without a sustainable alternative available, as is increasingly happening, poverty increases. Hence, it becomes imperative to work from within existing and functioning systems while opening possibilities for the gradual introduction of suitable and appropriate external influences or agents. In order to support this process of 'development starting from within' COMPAS supports ways of strengthening traditional systems and practices while adapting them, where necessary, to the needs of present day societies.

Endogenous Development and Agriculture

A large part of the world population still lives and works in rural areas. Only about one third of the farming population is producing in a modern and economically profitable way. There are about three billion rural people in the developing world of which 1.2 billion (42%) live in the so called Less-Favoured Areas: the complex, diverse and risk-prone areas with difficult agro-ecological conditions, limited access to infrastructure and markets, low population density, or other socio-economic constraints such as disease, inequalities, human rights, macro-economic policies.[9] Most Less-Favoured

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[7] *Economic transition: change from agriculture to industry and services.*

[8] G. Bodeker, 'Linking Health care and Biodiversity Conservation: Implications for Research and Policy in Medicinal Plants and Traditional Health Systems' in: D. Shankar, IDRC (Ed.) Medicinal Plants: A Global Heritage (New Delhi, 2002). See also: http://www.giftsofhealth.org/html/publications/html (2008).

[9] P. Hazell, R. Ruben a.o., Investing in Poor People in Less-Favoured Areas: Institutions, Technologies and Policies for Poverty Alleviation and Sustainable Resources Use (Washington and Wageningen, 2002). Social Watch, Social Watch Report 2006: Impossible Architecture (Montevideo, 2006). UNDP, Human Development Report 2005: International Cooperation at Crossroads (New York, 2005).

Areas are found in mountain, hilly, and forest regions and in the arid and semi-arid zones, which are predominantly populated by indigenous people. For these people, modern farming has not been a profitable option as the costs of external input, transport and marketing are far too high compared to the low prices they can obtain for their products. The livelihoods of these people therefore are largely focused on self-reliance and reciprocity within the context of the local community and traditional culture. The market still plays a limited role as only small amounts of surplus products are sold. Cash often comes from temporary migration work or from family members who migrated to richer countries.

About 0.9 to 1.2 billion people living in rural areas did once benefit from the Green Revolution[10] but now have great difficulty to compete on the globalising market due to rising prices and declining returns.[11] However, modern techniques and products such as chemicals and mechanisation are still advocated as means of improving living standards of small-scale farmers. In the hope to participate in the globalising system, farmers accept the decreasing profits and growing debts; many of them become economically too marginal to compete with bigger players on the market. At the same time, rural and indigenous farmers are disadvantaged by their resistance to so-called improved innovations, split-landholdings, ecological degradation, and decreasing profits and growing debts. As a result they as well have become economically too marginal to compete effectively. For the poor the globalising farming system seems a lose-lose situation. Among them, off-farm work and labour migration is now the norm and many have become land-less. In the highly marketised economy, it is only those who have resources and purchasing power who can afford and are able to enjoy its economic benefits.

Endogenous development can support the over 70% of society that does not benefit from the market economy by helping them to explore possibilities that are within their own span of control. By doing so, benefits are more likely to stay within the area for their livelihoods improvement. Through the endogenous development approach, COMPAS encourages communities to enhance their capacities for solving their own problems with the resources easily available to them, both local and external. Local technologies, resources and knowledges often provide scope for significantly improving living conditions. Moreover, local knowledges, technologies and resources can provide better solutions under local circumstances than the often expensive and/or imported alternatives do. One such example is given by the Indian organisation Centre for Indian Knowledge Systems (CIKS). They found in their endogenous development efforts that many traditional seed varieties are more drought resistant than the hybrid high yielding variety of seeds normally promoted extensively by India's Department of Agriculture. Moreover, under drought circumstances – when modernised and mechanical agriculture often failed – local farmers and communities were able to secure incomes and maintain food security due to the traditional seed varieties and indigenous technologies they used.

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[10] The 'Green Revolution' is a term used to describe the transformation of agriculture in many developing nations that led to significant increases in *agricultural* production between the 1940s and 1960s. The term 'Green Revolution' was first used in 1968 by former *USAID* director William Gaud.
[11] M.A. Altieri, 'Agroecology: The Science of Natural Resource Management for Poor Farmers in Marginal Environments' in: Agriculture, Ecosystems and environment 93 (2002) 1-24.

Endogenous Development and Health Care

Improved health is an important development objective. With the high prevalence and spread of disease among impoverished groups, development interventions have focused, among others, on the health needs of peoples. Yet, among all groups, affluent or deprived, there are existing systems of health care that are preventive, curative and palliative. Indigenous communities, in particular, have developed complex and practical health systems that have and continue to support their health needs. Studies show that traditional health care systems constitute the main source of everyday health care for the majority of the population of many developing countries and indigenous peoples. In some countries even up to 80% of the population depends on traditional systems.[12] In many cases, these traditional systems compare, supplement and complement so-called modern systems. Some of the traditional systems have benefited from the modernist science and technologies others remain in their original forms yet serve varying peoples. Although the traditional systems offer their intrinsic benefit due to their often multifaceted nature that blend or embrace spiritual, physical and social meanings and worlds, the failures of modern medicine, poor distribution and high costs, and the emerging of even more complicated health challenges such as HIV/AIDS, are giving greater impetus to resort to traditional systems.

Though there is considerable controversy in the practice of traditional systems of health delivery, various reasons for the success and sustainability of traditional health care systems remain tenable. These include the following:

Quality and longevity

Many traditional therapies have been used for centuries, sometimes even millennia. They have stood the test of time and are being trusted as good medicine, to the extent that some are under patent challenge from pharmaceutical developers.[13]

Availability

In many countries the ratio of traditional health practitioners to population is substantially higher than the ratio for trained medical personnel, thus representing an irreplaceable health care infrastructure. Modern medical services do not reach large sectors of the rural population; even if they do these are often under-staffed and under-equipped. Under such circumstances, people continue to utilise locally-available traditional health services for common conditions such as injuries and wounds through to infectious diseases such as malaria.[14] Hountondji argues that even those who have the benefit from modern medicine sometimes resort to indigenous medicinal knowledge.[15] The availability of good local healing practices can save lives and may provide solutions where modern medicine fails.

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[12] World Health Organization, World Health Reports (2005 and 2007).
G. Bodeker, 'A Framework for the Cost-Benefit Analysis of Traditional Medicine' in: R.R. Chaudhury (Ed). Traditional Medicine in Asia (Delhi, 2002).
[13] G. Bodeker, G. Burford a.o. (Eds.), World Health Organization Global Atlas on Traditional and Complementary Medicine, Map Volume and Text Volume (Geneva, 2004).
[14] G. Bodeker, G. Burford a.o. (Eds.), World Health Organization Global Atlas on Traditional and Complementary Medicine, Map Volume and Text Volume (Geneva, 2004).
[15] P.J. Hountondji, 'Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 23-38.

Economic

Modern medical services and pharmaceutical products are available only intermittently in most rural areas and can thus be expensive, often even unaffordable. The modern drugs that are available are known to be variable in their effect, caused by poor storing conditions and expiration. Due to high prices even urban populations shift from modern to traditional medicine.[16] Also the introduction of user fees for government health services is resulting in a substantial shift away from modern towards traditional medicine.[17]

Culture

Cultural factors play a significant role in the continued reliance of rural communities on traditional medicine, which is familiar and trusted. For example, villagers will often seek symptomatic relief from modern medicine, while turning to traditional medicine for treatment of what may be perceived as the 'true cause of the condition'.[18]

Functionality

The question of functionality is closely related to culture. Modern health care has not been successful in meeting the functional needs of all targeted groups. Rural people and indigenous populations often seek holistic cures or remedies for their ailments. Their multi-pronged diagnosis and perspectives – comprising the physical, social and spiritual – is hardly addressed by modern health care. Aspects of modern health care that pose a problem for the holistic approach are: the detachment of modern physicians caused by short-term relationships with their patience; highly regimented medication; formal rules and regulations that often demean local non-scientific systems.

Sustainability

Traditional medicine or indigenous knowledge on medicine, which utilises herbs largely, in addition to spiritual and other forms of healing, has gained currency in the sustainability debate. Its roots in green technology as a renewable alternative to chemicals, is of special appeal. The damaging side effects of chemical medicine for users - such as addictions and poisoning - have been well documented. Also, their effects on the environments and the experimental animals have been subject of debate. Although indigenous medicines have not been subjected to the same levels of testing, they are generally viewed and accepted as safer alternatives. Although their physical forms are also known to have caused side effects, their generally bio-degradable nature and the lack of necessity for animal testing are appealing.

Although a vast majority of the population of most developing countries depends on traditional health care, these traditional systems are usually outside the formal health sector or have marginal status if officially represented. Due to their widespread use and importance, COMPAS aims to support good traditional heath practices while carefully assisting practitioners to build meaningful and appropriate quality controls into their practices. By doing so, COMPAS partners hope that

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[16] African Development Bank & UNICEF (1995).
[17] G.Bodeker, 'Improving Knowledge Sharing and the Contribution of Complementary Health Systems' in: K. Bell (Ed.) Health in the Commonwealth: Priorities and Perspectives (London, 2002) 154-158.
[18] G. Bodeker, 'Improving Knowledge Sharing and the Contribution of Complementary Health Systems' in: K. Bell (Ed.) Health in the Commonwealth: Priorities and Perspectives (London, 2002) 154-158.

relevant quality standards can be maintained, improved and safeguarded. It will also help weed-out charlatans, and increase visibility and trust. The efforts of the Peasant Farmers Association (PFARD) among herbalists and spirit mediums in Uganda and the work of the Foundation for the Revitalisation of Local health Traditions (FRLHT) in India on ayurvedic medicine are important examples of ongoing COMPAS efforts.

Endogenous Development and Formal Education

There is increasing awareness among scientists that traditional knowledge and technology may present valuable solutions to modern problems, such as animal and human health, environmental management, and food preservation.[19] Since all forms of science and technology have their own strengths and weaknesses, UNESCO[20] stated in 2002 that a dialogue between the different science traditions would be mutually beneficial. In line with this statement development agencies such as the World Bank and United Nations Organisations such as UNDP[21], UNESCO and FAO[22] now have programmes focusing on indigenous knowledge. Likewise, United Nations conventions such as the Convention on Bio-Diversity (UNCBD) and the Convention on Combating Desertification (UNCCD) acknowledge its importance.

Although positive efforts are made to establish a dialogue between modern and traditional knowledge holders, this dialogue is not always perceived as balanced. In the perception of many traditional knowledge holders, conventional research often overlooks or misinterprets their local concepts and solutions and, consequently, does not respond to people's needs and conditions. Moreover, the mainstream scientific approach dominates the dialogue and does not always take traditional knowledge seriously in its own right. Instead, traditional knowledge is often weighed against modern standards and criteria. One outing of this imbalance is that reporting back to the holders of traditional knowledge is often insufficient or done in a language that cannot be understood by them. The danger is that people feel exploited and violated by modern scientists, and that they perceive the scientific approach as extractive and humiliating. Questions of intellectual property and cultural rights have led to very controversial debates at both local and global level.[23]

A more endogenous way of doing research is therefore needed, for example through involving traditional knowledge holders as equal researchers who build on local traditional concepts and knowledges. Experience with endogenous research approaches is now gradually being gained. It is also important to support or participate in such efforts in ways that do not oppress indigenous knowers or support the

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[19] C. Odora Hoppers, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 2-22.
P.J. Hountondji, 'Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 23-38.
[20] *UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.*
[21] *UNDP: United Nations Development Programme.*
[22] *FAO: The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.*
[23] R.A. Mashelkar, 'The Role of Intellectual Property in Building Capacity for Innovation for Development' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 188-199.
R. Mshana, 'Globalisation and Intellectual Property Rights' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.) Indigenous Knowledge (Claremont, 2002) 200-208.

inscription of injustice to indigenous others. For instance, practices such as Trokosi, Workoye and Fiasidi, which are religious practices in Ghana, have raised varying criticisms among human rights and gender advocates for the particular ways that they infringe on the rights of women and girls to social participation by committing them to religious servitude. An endogenous development approach should respect the institution but at the same time seek to understand and work with proponents to appreciate and un-inscribe the inherent injustices of their practice through dialogue and shared need.

Another undermining aspect of the dialogue is that traditional knowledge and technologies are eroding rapidly, due to causes both within and outside the traditional knowledge systems. In order to promote dialogue among the different knowledge systems, the documentation of traditional sciences, intercultural assessment of its value and relevance to current conditions, and revitalisation towards functional ends become imperative. COMPAS supports the documentation, tool development and assessment systems for traditional knowledge and technology, so that the knowledge can be of use for both communities and scientists. These documents, tools, and assessment systems are intended for educational but also practical-use purposes. It is intended to revalorise, share, promote and protect traditional systems.

In addition to scientific dialogue, COMPAS believes that formal education at all levels can benefit from more cultural interaction. The network, therefore, stimulates institutes of formal education to accommodate local cultures, knowledges, values and skills, and towards finding a balance among various knowledge systems. Especially in Latin America, COMPAS has been successful in addressing this problem by initiating some educational reforms in both primary and university education.[24]

Endogenous Development, Politics and Law

Endogenous development does not only depend on local insights, capacities and initiatives but also on regional, national and international policies and legislation. These policies may strongly determine the functioning of local economies, health care systems, resource management and local governance, for instance. Moreover, communities often are confronted with formal rules and regulations that are not supportive of their local knowledge and practices and the process of endogenous development.[25]

While respecting and promoting politics and law at the local, national and global levels, the COMPAS family appreciates the challenges and limitations, actual and potential, of such systems and does not gloss over them. COMPAS is critical of any systems that perpetuate injustice, no matter their origins. Hence, it works to challenge elements that undermine disadvantaged groups, especially indigenous peoples. In the same breadth, it also works with such disadvantaged groups to look within their systems critically and evolve ways of challenging and redressing aspects found problematic.

In order to create an enabling environment for endogenous development, the COMPAS network – until now – has been mainly working with communities and

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[24] COMPAS members in Latin America working on education are CEPROSI and AGRUCO.
[25] A.M.S. Majeke, 'Towards a Culture-based Foundation for Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Field of Custom and Law' in: C. Odora Hoppers (Ed.), Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation (Claremont, 2002) 141-172.

universities. In this book some examples of endogenous development within communities will be discussed. In the new programme phase (2007-2010) the network will focus on sharing the COMPAS experiences more widely with the aim of influencing policies towards a more culture-sensitive approach, while continuing its work with communities and universities.

Organisation of Chapters

As this introduction, chapter one, indicates, endogenous development is a culturally sensitive and locally-informed approach towards development, which covers a broad range of subjects. It starts from and works with local communities and their needs and values, toward the evolution of locally appropriate and relevant solutions. As a result of the diversity of cultures and resources, these solutions may vary from community to community. Chapter two discusses the evolving framework for endogenous development. Chapter three explores some of the more common cultural characteristics of Africa. In chapters four to eight some examples of endogenous development in Africa are highlighted, focusing on the methodological steps taken by extension workers. We hope it provides the reader with an insight in how extension workers can support local communities and agents in initiating, negotiating and shaping their own development. The final chapter consists of a synthesis of the chapter; a form of epilogue that shares insights from the unique and shared experiences shared in the earlier chapters.

Chapter two
An Evolving Framework for Endogenous Development in Africa: Walking the COMPAS 'Bushpath'

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Introduction

In writing this introductory piece as a sort of prelude to the COMPAS Framework for Endogenous Development we have borrowed freely from Odhjambo Anacleti's paper *'Research into local Culture: Implications for participatory development'*.[27] Most of Analcleti's ideas set the stage for conceptualising endogenous development; its meanings, purposes and aspirations.

In his paper Analcalti states that people in Africa are rarely asked what kind of development they want. They have always been the objects of various models, although these have rarely increased their supplies of food, or improved their state of health. Indeed, the poor in Africa have rarely been considered to be humans in their own right. They have always been the ones who others would like to see changed, whether through Christianity, civilisation, research, or development projects. They are seldom thought to have a religion, a culture, or even a trading system of their own. It must be recognised that the rural sector has a dynamism of its own which does not have to be explained by comparison with, and in contrast to, external events and history. Rural people have their own concept of development, and have always been engaged in some kind of exchange of material goods and ideas with the outside.

Rural development must be seen as a process by which rural people avail themselves of an opportunity to upgrade their way of life, moving from strategies for survival to challenging the physical and social environment in which they find themselves; it is a process which enables them to become aware and to analyse the constraints to which they are subject. It is also a process that gives them access to their indigenous resources required for removing such constraints; and which acknowledges their right to plan and control their destiny in accordance with the resources available to them. To create equity, it must be appreciated that people, including rural people, do not wish others to define their needs for them. They can do it for themselves.

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[27] O. Anacleti's, 'Research into local Culture: Implications for participatory development' in: Development in Practice (5/3) (1995).

To recognise this implies a change in attitudes towards development and, in turn, a need for information to identify the underlying causes behind the continued subservience of the rural sector to the towns and cities. If the hope of a more equitable order is to be realised, attitudes towards the rural sector and rural people in developing countries need to undergo radical changes.

The Relevance of Participatory Development

'Participatory development' implies development which involves all the people, especially those whose basic needs and aspirations are affected by decisions about the availability of resources and entitlement to such needs. Participatory development therefore, includes equitable sharing of the control, division, and use of the resources and of the ultimate benefits of development in a community. It also involves taking responsibility and being accountable to the community at all levels. This will be just wishful thinking if the decision making structures remain alien, bureaucrat and elitist. Rather, the support structure must be made more comprehensible and acceptable to the people. *The best way of doing this is to look at existing cultural systems of the communities and integrate the decision making structures into them*.

Involving people in discussing their own development and arriving at decisions, leads to an understanding of why engagement of people in the whole process of problem-solving is necessary to bring about lasting and worthwhile change. The current process is that researchers and development agents claim to be representatives of the people, on the assumption that their particular techniques are the exclusive domain of trained academics and elites. This ignores the fact that they depend on local people to achieve their goals. People, in the last analysis, are the repository of local knowledge. In order to help them to develop, they must be enabled to tap that knowledge. The best way to do this is to help them to extrapolate from what they know best: their culture. In doing so, they will be able to relate their deeply felt aspirations to the surrounding social reality. This connection is so rarely made by development agents that people are usually seen as just another resource for development, rather than the subjects of their own development.

Endogenous Development

In the introductory chapter, endogenous was said to mean 'from within'. Endogenous development (ED) seeks to enhance rural peoples' own development efforts by working with them to integrate their own knowledge and local resources with appropriate outside know-how and resources. It is a people-centred philosophy which allows for a collegial development process that acknowledges the expertise existing not only in development agents but also in rural people. It stands for supporting farming systems that are based on local peoples' own innovative strategies, knowledge and resources, as well as their perceptions of well-being and improvement. It thus indicates the need to work in a 'people-centred' way.

Endogenous development recognises that farming in rural areas takes place in a complex cultural and agro-ecological whole. The farm is multifunctional (e.g. for productivity, for power or fertilisation of fields): it plays an economic role (e.g. food security, family income, employment, and even risk mitigation); an ecological role (e.g. maintenance of genetic diversity, landscape management); and a social role (e.g. status, identity, social occasions, local organisations and social transactions); finally, the farm also plays an important cultural and spiritual role, for example as in totems, 'living souls', and in communication with ancestors.

Endogenous development involves enhancing the capacity of farmers to solve their own problems and to develop technologies and skills that broaden the options available to them, without romanticising their views and practices. This development process includes activities for strengthening local identity, focusing on local resources, potential and initiatives.

In endogenous development it is recognised that local identity is embedded in the worldview of the people involved. Their worldview underpins their use of these local resources. In these worldviews – and thus in the use of local resources – a balance is sought between three spheres of life: the social world, the material world and the spiritual world. In African (and other indigenous) cultures, 'real life' or well-being is where these three worlds meet. A worldview is defined as the way a certain population perceives the world (or cosmos). It includes assumed relationships between the social world, the material world and the spiritual world. It describes the perceived role of supernatural powers, the relationship between humans and nature, and the way the natural processes take place. The worldview embodies the premises on which people organise themselves, and determines the moral and scientific basis for interventions in nature.

Supporting endogenous development may have a number of objectives, including strengthening local markets and local forms of exchange, and producing for local, national or international markets. Activities may also include extending support to farmers so that they can defend their right to access land, water and other natural resources. The endogenous development approach includes supporting local innovation, understanding people's own worldviews and including their criteria for development, learning, experimenting and communication. It also addresses the 'why' of local practices, knowledge and existing leadership structures, and stimulates openness towards cultural practices.

The endogenous development process starts with a process of self-reflection from both development practitioners and the farmers involved, as well as a redefinition of the relationship between them. This does not imply, however, that all local values and beliefs should be embraced uncritically and all modern development options rejected. Endogenous development takes into account both local and external resources, and the main objective is to find the best way to combine these, based on people's own priorities and criteria.

Empirical Framework for Endogenous Development

COMPAS partners in Asia, Latin America, and Africa have been involved in endogenous development for about ten years now. However, in these ten years no 'blue-print' or framework as a guide to how to do endogenous development has been available. Since it was a relatively new experience then, there were no precedence as to 'know whats' and 'know hows'. The natural process adopted then was to allow all partners to be creative in how they go about their development paths and at a certain time, consolidate this into a framework to streamline their activities and also provide a basis for other actors who will want to pursue similar ventures.

It is within this arrangement that the COMPAS Africa Group has now come out with this draft Framework for further deliberation and development. As a working document, it hopes to benefit from criticisms and suggestions by all who share in similar concerns to consolidate the product and share in its use.

In the framework for endogenous development seven scenarios have been identified. They are referred to as scenarios rather than Phases or Steps because it is not a logical framework and, a part from scenario one and two, all others can be interrupted, are iterative, and may be cyclical. Some scenarios might start occurring sooner than where they are discussed. Hence, the execution should be seen as an organic process with some input-output relationships. Also, the tools described here are by no means exhaustive. The tools listed under 'How was this scenario done' are 'real life' as they emerged from a meeting of COMPAS partners in Cotonou (Benin) in August 2007. Endogenous development encumbers the creative use of relevant tools and techniques that might be culturally specific because of the linkages of endogenous development to culture and spirituality. As a matter of principle, actors are encouraged to invent their own tools and techniques but as a matter of necessity share them with other actors within the COMPAS family and beyond as part of the process of joint learning and growth process.

Scenario 1: Preparing the 'Self'

This is a pre-community entry that engenders introspection. It is the beginning of an embedding process, a process of de-schooling and re-schooling, which requires that one liberates the mind of all biases, prejudices, mind-sets, and stereotyping. It is like being born again or born anew; a baptism and a rebirth. *Preparation of the Self* is the most difficult part of the endogenous development process and yet the most critical. It is the scenario that cannot be skipped and the most unique add-on (value-adding) to development intervention in general. This is the COMPAS niche and our flag-ship in Africa.

Characteristics
The objective of scenario one is to make an inner or spiritual contact with the self as a human being, your assumed destiny in this life or with your creator. It is intended to prepare for an engagement with development in such a way that the relationship between farmers and support agents will be long lasting, go beyond the material development and contribute to an inner or spiritual realisation. This also leads to a self enrichment with respect to humility, respect, reciprocity, empathy, tolerance, and love.

How was this done?

Through:

- Developing ones own cosmovision and reconciling this with the cosmovisions of the participating communities.
- Engage in meditations, fasting, prayers, sacrifices, purification rites, performances, own spirituality (not spiritsm and not religion).
- Consultations of spirit mediums, local experts, oracles, deities.
- Introspections (having a quiet time and looking back), nature or wilderness walks alone, sky-watching, day and night dreaming. Self assessment: what are my weakness and strength.
- Liberating the mind and the mind-set, listening to your inner and outer-self (reading a religious book, listening to music or singing, fishing, painting, sculpture).
- 'Re-learning' and going back to the village, re-discovering your roots, valorising and re-valorising yourself, your education, your up-bringing and the life you have lived so far.
- Psychological preparation: ask the question, 'Am I the right person?' Is there someone else who is better suited to for it that I can work with?
- Try to develop your intuition which helps to go beyond the ordinary.

Scenario 2: Getting started in a community

From the endogenous development perspective, entering a community consists of two parts: pre-entry preparations and then a physical presence in a community. COMPAS has evolved various techniques for preparing oneself for the pre-community entry. The actual entry takes advantage of various Participatory Rural Appraisal tools.

Characteristics

Within COMPAS we see development intervention as a 'long term' relationship building. A relationship based on trust, respect, reciprocity, and love. We see it as extending the family and hence communities where we work are an extension of the COMPAS family. As much as possible we focus on our all development efforts in addressing concerns regarding equity, sustainability, poverty, well-being, and food security. We are also concerned with the lifeworlds, worldviews and cosmovisions of our people. This means that there are 'livelihood programmes' dealing with for example soil fertility improvement, but we also support social programmes (e.g. around funerals) which are important to our partners in terms of their cosmovisions.

We are guided by:

- the three worlds: spiritual, social, and the natural word;
- the seven constellations resulting from the intersections of the three worlds (see figure 3 *Constellations of Cosmovision Related Knowledges*);
- the seven resources: physical, social, economic, natural, cultural, spiritual, and produced resources.

We identify with the living, the spiritual as well as the material components of both animate and inanimate things – hence the earth, trees, animals, rivers, rocks, mountains all can have spiritual implications (have a soul as well). Even if we do not believe in this philosophy, we respect it.

We try to understand the worldview of the people we work with by learning about their creation myths, the divine beings, how they relate to their ancestors, spiritual leaders, earth priests, healers; sacred places such as sacred groves, ponds or shrines. We try to respect the ways they engage in rituals, spiritualities and sacrifices. We try to understand their perception of time and cause-effect relationships. We try to map the different indigenous institutions and their roles. We try to handle controversies related to gender and power. We try to do these on the basis of respect for and incorporation of diverse views points while promoting critical dialogues that often result in better understanding of the issues for better informed and internally motivated change. Even in cases where there are disagreements, we try to disagree respectfully.

The following are the techniques and tools developed to address Scenario two:

Pre-entry

♦ Identify a respectable person in the community through whom to go.
♦ Do a bibliographic documentation on the community.
♦ Flexibility of approaches and the first "correct question to ask".
♦ Be aware of the importance of language: which words are appropriate and under what conditions? What local concept to use and how? What equivalents exist for shared or approximated meanings?
♦ Simulation of the situation that you expect to see or to live.
♦ Getting initiated by traditions.
♦ Christian, Muslim – morning devotions, prayer sessions, libation sessions for others.
♦ Reflect on exit strategies, continued relationship and sustainability.
♦ In preparing, being aware that possible changes in relationship comparing to earlier encounters need to be managed by both sides.
♦ Identify indicators of appreciation of change.
♦ Reflect on values such as humility, respect, reciprocity, empathy, tolerance, and love.
♦ Prepare yourself to be able to share your experiences also (have something to share with them not only go to take away).
♦ Exchange of gifts is healthy but should not be compulsory or overdone. It is not the value of the gift that matters but the act. Often in-kind exchanges have a more rewarding effect than cash.
♦ Learn about local entry and exit procedures and try to do similar. Also learn how dialogue is conducted and be guided by that.

Entry

- Identification of 'contact person': start with somebody and then correct it later if necessary.
- Greeting and announcing myself; also with libation pouring, prayers or any such customary practices significant for the peoples of that area.
- Pursue committedly or religiously, all indigenous protocols in order to ensure that 'clearance is given'; also spiritual clearance.
- Search for your own clan, tribe, sect and language. The use of totems helps in linkage and connection.
- Finding a-typical people ('abnormal'), find link-minded people to start with.
- Enter through traditional authority or traditional institutions.
- Collection of information on the community as much as possible.
- Identification and adaptation to the environment and coping strategies.
- Define the target using community diagnoses and dialogue on the basis of the seven resources (see page 27).
- Take advantage of durbars, cultural festivals, naming sessions, funerals.
- Identify an area where you can meet people (drinking bars, marketplace, shops, local game spots).
- When it is an invitation by a people, wait for someone to fetch you.
- When visiting sensitive places, social groups, pay respect and homage to sensitive sites like traditionally protected lands, if this is permissible.
- Try to do things like people do with humility and respect. Failure to act correctly can serve as a good entry point.
- Try to speak the local language as much as possible or make efforts to learn. Inability to get it right can make good entry point.
- If there is a problem in the community, try to be a part of a solution before going on (conflict, sickness, distress, etc.).
- Problems that are not directly in your purview: make attempts to assist by making other references or linking them up with appropriate agencies for assistance.
- Much as you want to help be honest and truthful with your agenda. Do not play games to please; for the farmers also have 'No' in their vocabulary.
- Ensure accountability and transparency right from the beginning.
- Challenge issues and contest positions but do so in a polite and respectful manner.

Scenario 3: Action Research / Designing the action

COMPAS believes that rural communities are knowledgeable and capable in their own right. Hence, the notion of 'rural or local experts' is important, traditional institutions of knowing, community experimenters, and indigenous systems of knowing exists. A collegial attitude is adopted for action design, innovation development, experimentation, and research. Concepts such as community-led, community-centered, community driven, and community-based guide the principles of engagement in this scenario.

Figure 2: Agricultural Technology Involving the Introduction of Indigenous Crops

Experimental Design or Innovation Development
Experiments are important in the recovery and regeneration of indigenous knowledges and technologies. In agriculture, experimentation is an essential part of farm-trails. It is often conducted in a participatory manner to enable all actors to play lead roles in structuring the processes and programmes. It entails spiritual, physical and social components. The Ghanaian case below describes the processes engaged in the promotion of an agricultural technology involving the introduction of indigenous crop species. The preparations, pilot and scaling phases are described.

The Ghana case:
THE DESIGNING PHASE includes consultation with the family, the soothsayer, working out lay-outs, "replications" (these being his neighbours who also serve as multi-location trials), sequencing (home gardens first and later to bush farms), the use of a "mental control" and rather than experimatal controls allows farmers to make some form of comparisons. They often know the pre-experimental situation, the problem situation, which propelled them to conduct the experiment. They then measure the results or success of their experiments against that pre-experiment state. The changes or effects are often noted in the form of factors observed and indicators of success. A farmer whose is faced with drought and adopts mulching will measure effects by the behaviours of the crop and moisture levels of soils against what the situation was before.
The result of all this sets the lay-out of the experimental plot. For the locations, invariably only one is chosen per season and the experiment might be replicated the same year, skipped in the next one or two years before it is tested out again and either on the same piece of land or on a different piece altogether.
The control plot is either some data in the farmer's head, his own farm or a neighbour's farm. Although farmers normally choose only one location, because they have discussed the problem with others during the problem identification phase, the end is a replicated trial, which in addition is multi-location and under different management regimes.
Experiences are shared regularly during the cropping season and at the end of harvest, detailed discussions are held under the shade of trees when thorough evaluation is conducted.

Characteristics

The starting point for supporting local initiatives is the communities' own ways of doing embedded in the traditional institutions. Endogenous development for us implies that communities are using their resources (the best way possible as defined by their own limitations) to achieve survival and also to pacify their ancestors and gods. Actions and in-actions are in the interest of the living, but also in the interest of the dead, and the yet unborn. Respect for this notion makes it imperative to start from that which the people have found 'legitimate' to do.

COMPAS tools to achieve this include:

♦ Listen to what communities are already doing, want to do and recording it.
♦ Conduct community diagnosis on resources and resource potentials.
♦ Identify the prevailing agenda by taking an inventory what they are already doing.

♦ Look back on your simulations in Scenario one.
♦ Conduct Community Institutional and Resource Mapping.
♦ Do a focus group discussion: find out from previous experiences how initiatives have been dealt with.
♦ Use objectives to identify your target group.
♦ Communities own resources and resource potential.
♦ Identify external inputs relevant for the purpose and selectively use to the minimum.
♦ Make use of cultural drama and organise cross-visits during implementation.
♦ Let community do their own planning: 'talk and walk their plans'.
♦ Take the plan and discuss with wider group and regularly come back to discuss plans during implementation.
♦ Make choice of programmes according to focus groups, stratified groups, and interest groups.
♦ Use Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools such as Problem Tree, ranking, participatory mapping.
♦ Do participatory community profiling and let the community prioritise.
♦ Make the participatory diagnosis iterative and link with external knowledge.
♦ Organise small demonstrations and simulations to show possible outcomes.
♦ Identify and share responsibility, commitments, and discuss needs assessed.
♦ Work out experimentation protocols with traditional authorities and traditional institutions and make them responsible for implementation arrangements.
♦ Explore and utilise alternative forms of doing experimental design that are built into indigenous experimentation.
♦ Explore alternative forms of analysis and interpretation also involving traditional authorities.
♦ Identify and build on local forms of learning in the community.
♦ Use Sor-le analysis (see additional documentations).
♦ Use Empathic Learning and Action framework (see additional documentation).

Scenario 4: Joint Implementation and Learning

The experiences of COMPAS partners points to the fact that learning is not confined to one stage or time. Learning also occurs spontaneously and simultaneous starting from first contacts, through experimental design, implementation to assessments. Knowledge is both individually and communally owned. The past informs the now and the future, just as much as the future links back to the past and the now. This cyclical learning (non-linear learning) is culturally based.

Characteristics

Collegiality and role-reversal between farmers and development agents or researchers characterise this learning. Peer pressure and social pressure propel sharing. Sharing is also within spiritual, natural, and socially defined modus operandi. The respect for individual, clan and lineage secretes (comparable to intellectual property rights ('IPR')) is respected. Tutelage and apprenticeship as aspects of horizontal learning (between peers) and vertical learning (between knowledge owners and knowledge gainers) is encountered both as inter- and as intra-modes of learning.

Intergenerational responsibilities for knowledge continuity are vital. Oral tradition, songs, proverbs, stories are used as vehicles for disseminating learning. Young people are also gradually involved in the interactions and the learning and sharing process as a way of attracting them into it but also preparing them for continued actions.

The following tools are identified:

♦ Build on peer pressure for implementation and peer reviews. Try to organise facilitation by spirit mediums and local experts.

♦ Use durbars, festivals, indigenous seed fairs, and indigenous food fairs.

♦ Strive to let traditional authorities and traditional institutions to take the lead as local experts (shrines, groves, sacred water bodies, traditional protected trees, totemic animals).

♦ Stress learning by doing, experiential learning, apprenticeship, and tutelage techniques in implementation.

♦ Stimulate communities' own modes and forms of documentation and possibly suggest new forms with external inputs (for the example the use of dynamic posters and poster exchanges).

♦ Use phased assertions and joking-partner stories. This is used to humiliate and contest in order to challenge in a humorous manner.

♦ Learning, sharing and assessing through exhibitions, festivals, community durbars using LeSA (Learning Sharing, and Assessing) techniques.

♦ Note and work toward spontaneous learning; also learning from most significant change stories. It is natural, effective and sustainable. The Aha! moments are critical pedagogical moments for communities experimenters and actors.

♦ Organise learning platforms involving all actors (farmers, researchers, extensionists, etc.).

♦ Organise exciting and culturally relevant sharing for seed fairs, dynamic posters, dynamic videos, or community albums.

♦ Facilitate stakeholders meetings using ethnographic materials to guide meetings.

♦ Conduct participatory and community-led validation and cross-validation workshops using traditional authorities, institutions and systems (also sacrifices and performances).

♦ Use various forms of publications (also indigenous forms such as songs, dance, proverbs, narratives, artifacts, images, paintings) and media such as community radio.

♦ Use audiovisuals (video) to form different focus groups to analyse by groups what they want to do.

♦ Build 'geographic' information systems: linking the locality with thematic information.

♦ Use ethnographies and various social forms of mapping to generate knowledge.

♦ Establishment of community resource centres such as museums or seed stores for exhibition learning.

♦ Organise cultural drama, inter- and intra-cultural dialogues, and cross-visits.

♦ Use reciprocity and gift-giving arrangements that are win-win in nature to enhance joint learning.

♦ Use Sor-le analysis (see additional documentations).
♦ Use Empathic Learning and Action framework (see additional documentation).

Scenario 5: Consolidating the relationship

Scenario five, which is the last of the COMPAS framework, is a combination of events to consummate the development relationship that has been built. It is a combination of intensive sharing of results, mainstreaming, scaling-up the experience or phasing-out. Since our preferred choice is to do evidence-based advocacy or policy influencing, this is the phase where policy and advocacy are intensified to create the necessary enabling situations and conditions for enhancing development. The focus here is to deepen our understanding of the cosmovisions.

Characteristics

This Scenario is characterised by deepening, embedding, and consolidation of learnings based on the three circles resulting seven constellations and seven resources. The ancestors and the various spiritual linkages are paramount in the consolidation process so also is the concern for the dead and the yet unborn alongside the living. This is to ensure that 'blessings are given', validation and cross-validation (also spiritually) are done to avoid the curse of the ancestors and the Allfather or God Almighty, Allah and Creator.

On the other hand issues of policy and advocacy are guided by the 3-Tier and the Reverse 3-Tier policy frameworks discussed in the experiences of CECIK in this volume. This enables the pursuance of a policy dialogue process that enrols the interests, expertise, and performances of rural peoples.

Tools and techniques to ensure relationship consolidation include:

♦ Use of festivals, durbars, seed and food fairs.
♦ LESA visits, cultural dialogue and cultural drama.
♦ Cultural artifacts, music, dance, proverbs, paintings, pictures and posters.
♦ Stimulation of documentation through symbols and reciprocity or exchanges based on indigenous forms.
♦ Link working along clans, lineages, and tribes. Cross market sharing.
♦ Use participatory videos.
♦ Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools
♦ Reciprocity and respect in the use of cultural performances.
♦ Conduct festivals and sacrifices using 'products' of the engagement.
♦ Seek 'clearance' by offerings 'to pacify the ancestors'.
♦ Use alternative forms of documentation and sharing to include translation songs, pictures of their own activities.
♦ Link with other service providers such as banks, NGOs, CBOs.
♦ Build on local dynamics, e.g. games, story telling, friendships, and sporting activities.
♦ Use Empathic Learning and Action framework.

Conclusion

This Framework is by no means tested. It is still being evolved. Hence, it can be best seen as work-in-progress. It is a synthesis of various isolated works of Partners brought together in 'some logical order'.

There are many challenges and difficulties encountered that were addressed by the African Partners to come close to evolving this Framework. There is more work needed to test and perfect the Framework. It is more a guide rather than a blueprint and should be used along side the various COMPAS publications mentioned herein; otherwise it is incomplete and may also be unclear. It will need testing over some period of time by old but also new partners of the COMPAS network in order to fine-tune, validate, and consolidate it along the *'bushpath that COMPAS Africa has walked and hopes to continue to walk'*.

This effort by the African partners will also like to benefit from experiences of the Asia and Latin America members of the COMPAS family. We therefore encourage them to evolve similar frameworks based on *'bushpaths of their own'* so that we could establish a cross-sharing and learning that will bring us close to a COMPAS International Framework or Frameworks.

See also the following COMPAS documentations: *African Knowledges and Sciences; Food for Though; Ancient Roots New Shoots; Learning Endogenous Development.*

Chapter Three
Endogenous Development in Africa

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Introduction

The Comparing and Supporting Endogenous Development (COMPAS) network has been working since 1996 on facilitating community-based development in different parts of Africa. Initially, COMPAS' activities focused on programmes aimed at increasing agricultural production. Gradually, attention has been drawn to environmental issues and the use of local knowledge and resources. Over the years, COMPAS learned that indigenous knowledge is more than a compilation of museumised traditional practices. It found that indigenous knowledge and systems are dynamic, rooted in a diversity of cultures, and have many relevant applications in today's word. Thus, it started to explore the cultural dimension in its development work with local, indigenous and/or traditional communities and societies. This chapter gives a brief overview of some aspects of the African traditional knowledges and of the practice of endogenous development within the African context.

A Brief Overview of African History[28]

Geographically, Africa consists of a diversity of ecosystems, ranging from extensive mountain areas, savannah and dry land areas, to lowlands, coastal plains and tropical forests. Evidence exists that around 9000 years ago sorghum, millet, rice, yam, oil palm were cultivated, barley was introduced from western Asia, and cattle were domesticated. The first cultivation and domestication took place in the territory between the Sahara and the Equator. The spread of farming and herding, south of the Equator, has been a long and gradual process, impeded but sometimes also facilitated by the dense forests, grasslands, deserts, diverse animals, and insects including parasitic ones such as the tsetse fly. Since time immemorial, Africa's peoples have shared and utilised these resources to build and support their livelihoods. Nomadic and sedentary communities have evolved their lifestyles around these resources and co-habited the vast and diverse terrain. In modern times, restrictions of available space and resources (specifically land and water resources) have resulted in competition between nomadic and sedentary peoples.

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[28] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 13-14.
B. Haverkort, K. van 't Hooft, W. Hiemstra (eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots. Endogenous Development in Practice (London, 2003) 137-139.

African history knows many great civilisations, which all evolved around major resources. Examples of such civilisations are the Old Ghana, Mali and Songhai empires of West Africa; the Egyptian and Abbyssian civilisations along the Nile Valley; the Rift Valley civilisations of Buganda and Congo; and the Great Zimbabwe and Zulu Kingdoms of southern Africa. Some of these kingdoms predate, among others, the European civilisation.

The great African kingdoms were built around particular resource and cultural identities. They had developed their own sophisticated education, economic, political and social systems to shape their growth into the nerve centres of African civilisation. For instance, the development of iron tools made way for the development of monumental centres and phenomenal civilisations such as Great Zimbabwe and Ancient Egypt. In spite of the myriad studies on Egypt, emergence of a specialised form of researchers called Egyptologists, many of the mysteries of Ancient Egypt remain in secret.

The emergence of the great civilisations was, among others, instigated by great movements or migrations. The Bantu speaking peoples, for instance, moved from West Africa to eastern and southern Africa, claiming regions that were more fertile while integrating or displacing earlier occupants. Major breakthroughs in transportation eased movement and led to expanded trade and eventual displacement of many African peoples. European and Arab explorers and traders for example, descended on Africa, displaced local peoples, occupied lands and took control of local resources. From the eighth century onwards, Arab traders from northern Africa and the middle east, penetrated sub-Sahara Africa bringing along oil, lamps, pottery and cowry shells in exchange for ivory, ebony, gold, salt and slaves. Islam spread and impressive mosques and other constructions were built in Djenné and Timbuktu (Mali). At the same time, several kingdoms emerged, among which were the kingdoms of Oyo, Benin, Dahomey and Ashanti.

Later, in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese re-entered Africa through trade, Christianity and schooling. Such incursions were also marked by trade in sophisticated arms, hard liquor and fashion brought by the Europeans, in exchange for minerals, slaves and spices from Africans. In the nineteenth century, the Portuguese lost their monopoly and the British, French, Belgians and Germans occupied, colonised and Christianised the continent, with the exception of Ethiopia. These occupations were characterised by major local resistances in the form of wars and rebellions. Uprisings were often ended through excessive violence or even genocides, facilitated through the use of superior armoury. Militant kingdoms such as the Ashanti, Zulu and Mandinka are a few of the African kingdoms that suffered the direct effect of the pillage.

In modern times, rebellions and resistances against European occupation were championed by local educated elites and other nationalists. These twentieth century nationalist struggles culminated in the independence movement. With nationalists such as Nkrumah of Ghana, Magai of Uganda, Ezikiwe of Nigeria and Lumumba of Congo the official European colonisation came to an end in the second part of the twentieth century. This period was marked by the evolution of nation states in which independent kingdoms and peoples were amalgamated into unified administrative systems.

Since the twentieth century the urban population in Africa has been on the rise, resulting in a considerable number of large cities. But even today agriculture remains a major pre-occupation of the peoples of Africa. Reckless exploitation of various resources dating back to the colonial times have resulted in various forms of environmental degradation including impoverished soils, deforestation, and air, water, soil and noise pollution. In spite of several efforts, often externally engineered, African soils remain largely impoverished from mineral exploration, damping of toxic materials, erosion and application of agro-chemicals. Since land is a major source of livelihood support, soil degradation has great implications for the livelihoods and sustenance of African peoples. These unhealthy conditions combined with natural and cultural factors make African agriculture very complex, diverse, and risk-prone.

There are many different cultures and many differences within and among cultures in Africa today. Traditional religions have common elements, but there is also a great variation in rituals, traditional institutions and leadership structures. They are often combined with, or have been replaced or alternated by Christianity or Islam. As a result, a great number of different religious denominations exist. Even among those cultures that still maintain their traditional systems, the infiltration by foreign religions have resulted in varied versions in addition to their own innate character of being diverse. Yet, Africa still has a lot in common as its peoples have known a great number of migrations across the continent. Although there are more than a thousand ethnic groups, many of them have similar origins or shared historic relationships.

African Cosmovisions[29]

At the base of the African traditional knowledges stands what we call cosmovision. That is 'the way people conceive their world and existence'. Cosmovisions include religious and philosophical systems and, to a large extent, dictate the way land, water, plants and animals are viewed and used, as well as how decisions are taken and problems are solved. Cosmovisions influence the way people organise themselves and how they experiment and innovate. Cosmovisions are dynamic by nature and influenced among others by Islam and Christianity, as well as by science and formal education.

For the indigenous African, the concept of cosmovision includes the assumed interrelationships between spirituality, nature and humankind. It describes the role of supernatural powers, the natural processes that take place, and the relationship between humans and nature. African cosmovisions often indicate a hierarchy of divine beings (gods), spiritual beings (especially the ancestors) and natural forces (such as climate, diseases, floods). This hierarchy gives rise to several rituals, often combining animistic and totemic practices with ancestral worship and sacrifices to gods and spirits.

There is not just one cosmovision for Africa, but as many as there are peoples. Often cosmovisions defy artificial barriers such as national, regional and district, as well as linguistic and ethnic boundaries. At the same time various forms of divination, techniques, cultic practices and magical powers exist side by side with minimal conflict. At the local village level, this diversity results in multiple options for

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[29] B. Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots (London, 2003) 141-151.

individuals and groups. The oral transmission and the non-dogmatic character of indigenous religions enhance this plurality and the absence of conflicts. Indigenous African religions often are a means to an end. They aim at health, fertility, rain, protection, and harmony in relations. Religion is not an abstract theoretical reflection on beliefs, but one that implies action. Religion means performing or doing something: consulting a diviner, offering a sacrifice, praying, talking about a problem, enthroning a chief, falling into a trance, making magic and dancing at funerals and festivals. Religion is thus part of a survival strategy and serves practical ends, immediate or remote, social or individual.

The cosmovision of rural peoples is still expressed in everyday life and conversations; it strongly determines their choices. It is manifested in specialised institutions and systems, which are often inaccessible to the outsider. Thus, in order to be successful and sustainable, COMPAS is convinced that cosmovisions need to be included in the development interventions. COMPAS realises and actually works on the principle of 'local leadership facilitating the process of development'. Some of the most common aspects within the different African cosmovisions are briefly explained below.

Position of nature

In indigenous African communities nature is an essential part of everyday life. It is the integral part of life, which shapes the social, material and spiritual worlds of the people. Nature provides the context for the social lives of the people, because names, fashion, festivals and events are based on nature's bounty. Materially, people derive their livelihoods from nature. Moreover, their choice of occupation, form of settlement, and housing arrangement are all shaped by nature. The spirits which inhabit nature in sacred groves, waters, rocks, trees, wild animals, and virgin lands and forest, provide the context for the spiritual well-being of the people.

For indigenous African communities, matter and spirit are inextricably connected. Matter and spirit are conceived as inseparable realities. Every plant, animal and natural phenomenon is a carrier of the divine. From this perspective have arisen the Earth God, the Rain God, and the God of the Skies (sun, moon, stars and the wind). A special tree, mountain, river or stone may also be classified as a god. Some special human beings are inhabited by spirits or special powers which enable them to commune or walk with spirits. The fetish priests, diviners, earth spirits, soothsayers and other spirit mediums posses special powers that connect them to the spirit world. Persons with unexplainable problems often seek enlightenment from these mediums. Indeed, in African cosmovisions gods give essence to the material aspect of life.

In the African perspective, nature as a whole is conceived as a living entity, like an animal, with all parts interrelated and needing each other to function. Nature does not belong to the people, but the people to nature. Therefore, humans are not considered the conquerors of natural forces; rather humans work and communicate with nature. Their essence and existence lies in communing with nature. It is believed that the more effective such communion, the more successful people are in their life's accomplishments. This relationship between people and natures is dynamic and implies a continuous domestication and transformation of the environment, which must not be abused or flouted.

The African perspective on nature makes clear that land, water, animals and plants are not just seen as a production factor with economic significance. Often a distinction is made between commercial and food or ritual products. The later will not easily be seen as an economic investment, which can be saved into and readily withdrawn once cash is needed, as more capitalist oriented people are inclined to think. For example: some poor yielding indigenous crops are seen as wealth, in that a person can be the only one with that type of seed that can be used for sacrifices. This is particularly true for elderly women. Simply replacing this poor yielding crop with a rich yielding crop might therefore not be supported by the person or the community involved. Indeed, elderly women continue to keep and sow indigenous crop species, in spite of purported low yields and the introduction of so-called high yielding varieties. Another example: many people remain in settlements in spite of various challenges such as poor soils, because the land is home to their ancestors and can not be abandoned. Recognising these different attitudes towards nature is essential for development interventions to be sustainable and successful.

Management of natural resources

Certain places have a special spiritual significance and are used as locations for rituals and sacrifices, for example sacred groves, trees or rivers. Animals can have a spiritual significance too. Because of their spiritual importance, these places and animals are protected.

In general, indigenous communities have no written rules or organised bodies (social groups) to ensure the management of the land. Rather, protection can take the form of unwritten regulations or sacrifice to the gods. Other means of protecting, conserving, and extending nature are: restricted hunting or grazing in specific areas; and controlled use of natural resources such as trees, plants and water. Above all, the simple fact that land is a sanctuary for the gods seems to be the most active factor regulating its use.

The knowledge of these conservation practices is passed on from generation to generation and is guided by various taboos. For instance, in many communities the picking or cutting of fresh woods is tabooed. However, dry woods can be picked for use; fresh leaves, stems or roots can be harvested for medicinal use. Settlers and young people are often given such knowledge informally, as passed down by generations of ancestors, and they are expected to comply.

Gods, Spirits and Natural Forces

Gods and spirits are considered important life forces in indigenous African societies. In northern Ghana for example, the elders in traditional communities are convinced that life is not possible without the help of their gods, ancestors and other spirits. Therefore, a strong connection between these life forces and the living is maintained.

In general, only selected persons such as medicine men, priests and rainmakers, have the knowledge and ability to tap, manipulate and communicate with the life forces. Some use it for the good and others for the ill of their communities. Mystical power can be found in words, especially those of a senior person. The words of a medicine person may work through the medicine he or she gives to his or her patients; the words of parents can cause good fortune or sorrows, especially when spoken in situations of crisis.

Figure 3: Constellations of Cosmovision Related Knowledges

The interaction of the spiritual, social, and material worlds implies the following possible constellations of knowledges:

♦ Knowledge resulting from spiritual interactions only.
♦ Combinations of knowledge between the spiritual and social worlds.
♦ Knowledge resulting from social interactions only.
♦ Combinations of knowledge of the social and material worlds.
♦ Knowledge resulting from material interactions only.
♦ Combinations of knowledge of the material and the spiritual worlds.
♦ **Combinations of knowledge of the spiritual, social and material worlds.**

This last constellation reflects the perfect state in African cosmovisions, in which the spiritual, social and material worlds are balanced and in harmony with each other. The figure highlights the heterogeneity and complexity of African knowledge. Most national development interventions today concentrate on the material domain, and little on the social interactions between people. Almost invariably the spiritual world is isolated and addressed separately, if at all. In endogenous development the three domains of African life are all addressed. Thus, the endogenous development efforts better fit the reality of African peoples and communities.

The words of mothers, in particular, are believed to contain mystical power that affects the lives of their children. A mother's lamentations or harsh words to her children can become a curse if heeded. Certain actions by mothers such as biting the breast or striping naked are considered curses on their children. Beating of a mother, unlike that of a father, constitute a curse of the child involved and even their generations to come.

The experiences of misfortune are often blamed on the misuse of mystical power or on disrespecting the life forces. Sorcerers, or evil magicians, are believed to use flies, bats, birds, animals, spirits and magical objects as media to achieve their goals. However, misfortune can also be caused by disrespecting the life forces, for example by abusing production resources. Examples of such abuse are: having sex on the farm; scourging the earth with fire; shedding innocent blood on the land; or failing to perform a ritual associated with a specific resource. Disrespect can result in illness, caused by the loss of 'spiritual energy'. The spiritual energy, and thus health, can only be restored if an offering is made to the gods and affected spirits.

In order to appease the gods, people have to perform rituals and make sacrifices. There are numerous rituals such as those for the fertility of humans, crops and animals; for birth, initiation, marriage and death; for rainmaking, planting and harvesting. During festivals, funerals and special days, special rites are performed to appease gods. Gifts of various forms are offered as supplications to the gods of the lands, family and/or clan.

Destiny

The notion of destiny has great implications for development work in indigenous African societies. This is especially so, because mainstream development efforts seem to contrast with the notion of destiny. Mainstream development initiatives build on the belief in 'unlimited possibilities' and in the 'human ability (through knowledge and science) to influence and shape life'. However, indigenous societies attribute various happenings to destiny, to the extent that even the possibilities of science and technology are shaped by human destiny, the will of the spiritual world, or by cosmic forces. Human imperfections are compensated for by the forces of nature and of the spirits.

To illustrate the notion of destiny: in Gourma cosmovision (Burkina Faso) everything a person receives, good or bad, is part of his or her destiny. Success and failure in agriculture or health are interpreted as the result of one's personal destiny. Especially, when a failure is encountered for the second or third time, it is interpreted as the result of metaphysical reasoning, and not from direct material causes. Thus, the failure in a rabbit keeping programme was explained by the farmers as 'rabbits are not for me, they are not part of my destiny.' In another programme, the failure in fruit tree planting was explained by 'my land did not like this particular tree'.[30] Similarly, the Auan in Senegal have a taboo on rice cultivation and explain this taboo by saying: 'our soil does not like rice'.[31]

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[30] R.A. Swanson, 'Development Interventions and Self Realization among the Gourma' in: Brokensha, Warren and Werner, Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development (Latham, 1980) quoted in: D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 25.

[31] J. van den Breemer, Onze aarde lust geen rijst (our earth does not like rice) (Leiden, 1984), quoted in: D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 25.

It will be easy to give such statements face meaning and state that the farmers were not aware of their physical conditions and natural factors, or even failed to take responsibility for personal shortcomings. Yet, these metaphysical explanations capture physical failures with spiritual undertones. If humans have close connection with the social and spiritual worlds, it stands to reason that the right connections among the three forces (spiritual, social and material) were not properly forged to lead to success. Moreover, ignoring or even ridiculing this understanding of destiny will frustrate the working relation between community and development worker.

The notion of time: past, present and future

The notion of time within the indigenous African scheme of things is very complex. Like the three interconnected worldviews, time is manifested as a continuous dynamic occurrence around which humans position themselves and give meaning to their existence.

According to the Kenyan professor Mbiti the linear concept of time in western thought, with an indefinite past, a present and an infinite future, is practically unknown in African traditional thinking.[32] For Africans, time has two dimensions: a long past and a present. In the many African languages, terms and verbs that refer to the future are practically absent; events that lie in the future have not taken place, and cannot therefore constitute time. At best, they are in potential time, not actual time. Time moves from the present to the past. Events move from the present into the past, the ocean of time in which everything becomes absorbed into a reality, that is neither after nor before.[33]

However, African preoccupations of the hereafter demonstrate amply the relevance of the future in African sense of time. The present has strong connections to the future as much as it connects to the past. Present time is an active interpretation of future time. In many communities, their expectations and fears of the future dictate their actions and inactions in their everyday living. One typical manifestation of this present-future connection is in the pro-natalist nature of African societies. Individual desire for ontological continuity shapes their social world of marriage, child birth and socialisation. For instance, among the Frafra of northern Ghana, the worth of individuals today is determined by the extent to which they are survived in the future. In a study on poverty, Apusigah found that procreation was an important indicator of wealth; elderly people considered themselves poor if they did not have sons and grandchildren who would perform sacrifices for them and maintain their compounds after they died.[34] This is futuristic thinking.

Hence, Mbitis analysis is flawed. Indeed, Mbiti's analysis has encountered considerable criticism. Opata explores the idea of future in the Igbo cosmovision. He concludes that at each critical point of existential action, the person must ensure that everything is well in the spiritual world related to the intended action. This is why at the beginning of the planting season, before a marriage, burials, initiations, child naming ceremonies, or title taking ceremonies, there is always much concern to learn whether the action may imply potential dangers, and if so, how these can be averted.

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[32] J. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy (London, Nairobi 1969).
[33] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 25.
[34] A.A. Apusigah, 'Diagnosing Poverty in Northern Ghana: Institutional Versus Community' in: Ghana Journal of Development Studies (2005).

According to Opata, prayers are indeed said in order to avert the fulfilment of the negative aspects of events in the future.[35] Millar presents the African concept of time as a circular way of the living, the dead and the yet unborn. These worlds are partly visible (present) and partly invisible (past and future).[36]

African Traditional Knowledge Systems[37]

African traditional knowledge – variously called rural peoples' knowledge, indigenous knowledge, or cultural knowledge – has provided sustenance for Africans in a diverse, complex, and risk-prone environment. Traditional African notions and explanations of phenomena differ in many respects from those offered by mainstream science, which dominates the knowledge production enterprise. African culture does not assume that reality can be perceived through reason alone. There are other modes of knowing, such as imagination, intuition, and personal feelings. This is why the deepest expression of the African cultural reality has been through art, myths, and music rather than through the western mode of linear logical analysis that result in direct causal connections. Indigenous African meanings are shaped by a complex logic that is shaped by the rational and irrational. The senses as well as extra-sense perceptions are important in explanations and in knowledge production. Such knowledge is evolving and 'inconclusive'. It is inconclusive in the sense that it is filled with as much factualities as probabilities.

Interaction with indigenous African peoples easily brings this complexity to the fore. They often do not make a distinction between 'science' and 'arts'. Life is holistic and not compartmentalised into various subjects or disciplinary slots as exist in the western system. Life and the phenomena that shape it exist in an integrated body of knowledges and practices. It is perpetually being re/constructed from generation to generation and over time and space. It is strongly believed that "what we know is not of our own doing. They were told to us by our ancestors" (Elder Kuusong – A local leader). In the ever westernised African societies and peoples, explanations and meanings are informed and influenced by both traditional and western notions. In many cases both systems of thinking can be observed parallel to each other.

While some aspects of the African traditional knowledge are expressed openly, others are secretive and hidden from outsiders. Those aspects of African knowledge that are open or common can be considered communal or cultural knowledge. It is shared by all and passed on from generation to generation. Elders, and especially women, who are the custodians of open knowledge, pass it on to the young in various status of their upbringing. Open knowledge is accessible for non-community members as well.

The aspects of knowledge that are hidden or secretive may be called specialised knowledge. Secretive knowledge is only available to some specialised people often by virtue of their position in the communities. Holders of specialised knowledge are for example priests, diviners, clan or family heads, or members of a cult or some other secret society.

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[35] D.U. Opata, Essay on Igbo world view (Nsukka, 1998), quoted in: D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 25.
[36] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 25.
[37] B. Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots (London, 2003) 141-151.

For the development worker to utilise all aspects of traditional knowledge, different sets of tools are required. These tools include:

- ♦ empathy
- ♦ immersing/embedding
- ♦ initiation and/or just being born into it (the knowledge/the community)
- ♦ tutelage/apprenticeship
- ♦ experiencing/experiential learning
- ♦ a calling

Indeed, development workers may not require a communities' entire store of knowledge in order to do their work. Public knowledge, which is standard and guides the lives of community members, might be more relevant than non-public knowledge, which is the preserve of a few. Sometimes all a development workers needs is to be aware of the existence of specialised knowledge rather than its details. In many indigenous African societies special provisions exist for outsides to access special knowledge if found necessary. In the latter case, the outsider will have to meet certain protocols in order to be granted access. The extent to which access to secretive knowledge is possible depends on the assessment of the custodians of specialised knowledge.

Knowledge specialist

There are many knowledge specialists in African societies, including healers and herbalists, priests and soothsayers, kings and queens, rainmakers and other elders.

Healers and herbalists

Healers and herbalists are present in almost all villages and towns in Africa. These specialists can be men or women, have undergone formal or informal training, and are influential. Their professional quality may vary, but they are expected to be trustworthy, morally upright, friendly, willing to serve, able to discern peoples' needs and be reasonable in their charges. They are concerned with sickness, disease and misfortune, which in indigenous African societies are often attributed to negative action such as witchcraft or magic, of one person against another. Sickness, disease and misfortune may also be attributed to bad omens, curses, destiny, disobedience, disrespect, dishonesty or misbehaviour. The medical specialist, therefore, has to find the cause of the disease, diagnose the nature of the disease, apply the right treatment and supply means to prevent the misfortune from occurring again. Thus, the healers apply physical, psychological, and/or spiritual treatments.

Kings and Queens

Kings and Queens do not exist in every African society. These rulers are political heads, as well as the mystical and religious guides; the divine symbol of their people's health and welfare. The weakening of the office of traditional rulers is leading to tensions between their supporters and African politicians. The later think predominately in terms of nationhood rather than in terms of local kingdoms.

Priests and Soothsayers

The priest or priestess is the chief intermediary between the divine and the human. His or her duties are mainly religious, but as Africans do not disassociate religion from other spheres of life, he or she may also have other functions. Earth priests for example, play an important role in land tenure. They are considered the sons of the Earth God, and regulate the ownership, tenure and use of land. They perform important roles in rituals related to soil fertility.[38]

Soothsayers are persons with special skills to interpret the message of the divine world. They can read the signs given through animals or objects. Soothsayers are often consulted by earth-priests and other members of the community, especially male elders such as head of households, families and clans. They are consulted in good or bad times. For instance, they may be consulted during sickness or death for explanations. They may also be consulted during child birth or harvest for direction. Although some soothsayers may be women, women are generally not expected to consulted soothsayers. Women who do are looked on with suspicion and may be accused on witchcraft. Women may have to seek the soothsayer's assistance through a male family member.

Rainmakers

Rainmakers are engaged in the art of rainmaking or rain stopping. The entire livelihood of people, either farmers or pastoralists, depends on good rains. The seasons control the rhythm of community life, and in many societies the change of the seasons is marked by ritual activities. There are rites to mark occasions like the onset of the rains, the first planting, the first fruits, and the harvest, as well as the beginning of the hunting season. Rainmaking is one such a rite, and rainmakers are amongst the most important spiritual leaders. Their work is not only to 'make' rain, but also to 'stop' rain when too much comes at a certain time, or when it is not welcome at a given moment. Rainmakers are well versed in weather matters, and may spend long periods acquiring their knowledge: learn from other rainmakers, observing the sky, study the habits of trees, insects, animals, study astronomy and use common sense. Rain is a deeply religious theme, and those who 'deal' in it should be of high religious calibre. Rainmakers not only solicit physical rain, but also symbolise human contact with the blessing of time and eternity.

Other elders

Family, household, clan and other community elders are also holders of special knowledge. Such knowledge might form the wisdom, history and secrets of their constituency. Normally the knowledge is in the safe keeping of the elder until a next heir (often male) is found to pass the knowledge on to. Elderly women also may store family or community secrets and share this knowledge in suited times.

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[38] D. Millar, 'Traditional African Worldviews from a Cosmovision Perspective' in: B. Haverkort and W. Hiemstra (Eds.), Food for Thought; Ancient Visions and New Experiments of Rural People (London, 1999) 131-138.

Traditional experimentation and innovations

Within most traditional societies in Africa, new ideas can come up and be implemented as long as the ancestors' consent and advice is sought. If a new idea does not deviate substantially from the existing practices and, above all, is not seen to cause calamities to the individual or the community, people are free to experiment, adapt or adopt. If the innovation is considered a major change from traditional practice, the approval of the gods and the ancestors has to be sought.

The soothsayers play a role in these experiments by performing certain rites: he or she makes use of a 'reading stick' which is held in the hands above a number of items poured on a goat skin. Supernatural powers move the stick in a certain direction and the meaning of this direction can only be read by the soothsayer and his or her assistant. Then dice, often cowries, are used to confirm or reject the interpretation. The general requirements are that experiments with innovations are approved. Before the experiments are carried out, sacrifices are made and the traditional rituals are respected. The success or failure of an experiment is not only indicated by the relation between the physical or economic costs and the effects of the innovation, the total environmental (physical, economic, economic and spiritual) response to the innovation is assessed. Apart from yield responses, attention is given to the incidence of accidents, illnesses or diseases, snake bites, and so on. Non-material indicators supersede the material ones and this may lead to a rejection of an innovation if the farm family's welfare has decreased despite good performance. A snake bite or an accident or disease during production has a meaning which can be related to the experiment. In the interpretation of the results of the experiment, the soothsayer can play a decisive role.

Aspects of African knowledge and practices

This section provides a brief summary of some aspects of African Indigenous Knowledge that can still be found among many communities. This overview aims not to be complete; it mainly focuses on those aspects of indigenous knowledge that COMPAS has been working with in Africa.

As any knowledge system in the world, African ways of knowing exhibits both progressive and retrogressive aspects. Examples of negative phenomena are:

- ♦ overexploitation or non-exploration of natural resources
- ♦ land use practices that have detrimental ecological effects
- ♦ misuse of the position and knowledge by political and local leaders
- ♦ male and age dominance in society

These negative aspects of African practices need to be interrogated in community development work. However, it is more effective for development workers to facilitate the processes for the communities to embark on such critical interrogation, than to accuse and condemn such negative aspects. COMPAS, therefore, is convinced that in dealing with controversies it is of great importance to fully involve the people and their values in developing alternatives. COMPAS believes that it is only when the local community owes the process and decision it is possible to really resolve or manage controversial issues. To accommodate this process, it is often necessary to not condemn the practices, but to understand the reason behind them.

Confrontational approaches to controversial issues often result in defensive responses that do not augur well for change. COMPAS often seeks and works from the progressive aspects of community knowledge and values. In the process, trust is built and avenues opened for tackling controversial issues.

Soil and water management
One of the common characteristics of the African cultures is the perception that the earth is associated with the concept of the mother, or womb. It is often considered a deity, the property of the gods and the founders of a clan or tribe who were the first settlers in the area. Traditional functionaries, such as the earth priest, exercise spiritual control over the land. A wealth of information exists about agricultural traditional knowledge especially on soil, land and water classification, utilisation and management. Mulching, use of water pockets in plant holes, soil conservation, traditional erosion control, water harvesting and irrigation are all examples of effective practices, which are still widespread and account, largely, for food productivity in areas considered marginal by conventional standards. [39]

Experiences on how traditional African soil and water conservation concepts can be matched with modern insights, using participatory approaches, are accumulating. They are resulting in increased understanding of farmer livelihoods, and more and more programmes today put farmers in the centre of their activities. [40] In an Africa-wide study *'Realising the Promise and Potential of African Agriculture'*, the Inter-academic Council (2004) expresses the need for experimentation in creating effective solutions to the problems of African agriculture; especially those solutions that empower farmers in Africa to make decisions about their own crops and their own livelihoods. However, many of the present day programmes hardly address African cosmovisions, beliefs systems and the traditional systems of land tenure on which these practices are based. In the development literature reviewed for this chapter, there was a general lack of documentation on the spiritual dimension of soil and water classification, utilisation and management. Traditional functionaries, such as earth priests, spirit media and rainmakers, who are traditionally consulted on issues relating to land and water management by rural people, were hardly involved in rural development projects in the past. In recent times, where participatory community development approaches are gaining currency, gradual efforts are being made to include some such actors. [41]

Trees and groves
Indigenous agro-forestry is widespread in Africa. Over the years, farmers have developed and stored a wealth of knowledge on the qualities and utilisation of trees as well as the possibilities and limitations of combining trees with crops. Mixed cropping and farming practices are ancient traditions among indigenous farmers. Such knowledge is often informed by practical experiences with various options, environmental conditions and spiritual direction.

Farmer knowledge on classification, utilisation and management of trees have resulted in various treatments of trees. For instance, while some trees are available for

[39] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 15.
[40] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 16.
[41] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 15-16.

use at all times by members of the communities, others are preserved for special purposes, spiritual or seasonal. Some tree species have a spiritual significance, which is reflected in taboos and rituals associated with them. Sacred groves, forbidden forests and sacred trees are often protected under such categories.

Sacred groves are of significant importance for many rural people and their efforts to appease the spirits related to rainmaking, good crops, and health. Traditional spiritual leaders play an important role in the management of these important patches of biodiversity. Several authors also indicate that sacred groves can be an important starting point for development and rehabilitation of savannah areas, forests and wetlands.[42] In their work with the communities of Kalbeo and Kunkuaa in northern Ghana, the Center of Cosmovisions and Indigenous Knowledge (CECIK) in Bolgatanga has supported communities to replant and restore dwindling sacred places and tree species. Tabuti's research in the Balamogi County of Uganda revealed extensive indigenous knowledge on plant species. Three hundred and fifteen (315) different plant species were identified by local peoples, whom held knowledge of the plants biological nature and ecological relevance. These species were said to be useful species and to support the sustenance and livelihoods of the people.[43]

Livestock keeping

Livestock systems in Africa are extremely complex. In a broad sense, we can distinguish between two major livestock systems, which are the extremes of a continuum: livestock systems associated with settled farmers, and those in the form of pastoral husbandry systems. The African livestock production systems are currently undergoing immense changes – especially the pastoral systems – due to modernisation, population growth and government policies.

In the last decades, there has been a decline in 'conventional' livestock projects due to disappointing results, especially the range-development projects, and the projects based on the importation of exogenous breeds. Meanwhile, the number of 'innovative' projects, for example on ethno-veterinary medicine and village-based animal health care, has increased. There is a sharp decline in the number of traditional breeds in Africa, which are adapted to the local culture, ecological circumstances and social structures. It is necessary to look at these breeds, taking into account not only the conventional productive role of livestock (like meat, milk and traction) but also the importance of manure, the role of livestock as a factor in risk-management, transport, and in spiritual, social and cultural well-being.

The role of animals in the spiritual life of indigenous African rural people is unique and has been the subject of several studies. Reij and Waters-Bayer describe the beliefs and practices related to livestock on aspects like feeding, breeding, animal health, small stock and wild animals.[44] It is necessary to look at indigenous knowledge related to livestock in the context of the culture of the people involved. In many ethno-veterinary and animal husbandry studies, this aspect has been overlooked, focusing mainly on the use of medicinal plants for curing diseases. There is much potential in activities that combine ethno-veterinary aspects with village-based animal

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[42] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 16.
[43] J.R.S. Tabuti, Locally Used Plants in Bulamogi County, Uganda: Diversity and Modes of Utilisation. Ph. D. Thesis (Ås, 2003).
[44] C. Reij and A. Waters-Bayer, Indigenous Soil and Water Practices in Africa (2001).

health care. There is an imbalance in the extent, to which the different animal species are studied, and the use and importance of the species in rural peoples' lives. For example, most literature on fowl deals with chicken, though many families use a combination of species including guinea fowls, ducks, turkeys and pigeons. There is potential for working with rural people, especially women, by focusing on these 'non-traditional' species.

The role of women related to livestock is as varied as there are communities or societies. Among some societies such as the Fulani of West Africa and Maasai of East Africa women play major roles in livestock keeping and utilisation. In others, women have very limited or no role at all. In some cultures, among others in many indigenous communities in northern Ghana, there are sharp gender division regarding livestock keeping. A distinction between male animals (e.g. cows, donkeys and sheep) and female animals (e.g. goats and chicken) is made; the definition of male and female animals is with regard to ownership rather than the sex of the animal. Male animals, which can be used for special purpose such as dowry, can be owned by males only; female animals on the other hand, are owned by both men and women, and are largely for ordinary use. Animals, especially the male animals, are often manifestation of wealth and have deep implications on the social position and status of men and women in the society. Although the situation is changing gradually through the use of various interventions, the issue is still worthy of investigation and interrogation in community development work.

Medicine

According to Emeagwali African traditional medicine is holistic and attempts to go beyond the boundaries of the physical body into the spiritual.[45] This is in contrast to bio-medicine, which views the body mechanically in terms of individual parts, and is derived from the germ theory of disease. African traditional medicine can be categorised as mind-body-spirit medicine. Ailments are not considered only physical but also mental and spiritual. Therefore, treatments combine physical (body), psychological (mind) and spiritual (spirit) aspects of health. It entails the use of holistic strategies that offer multiple treatments.

African traditional medicine combines various treatments involving plants, animals and charms. Plant medicine is taken from leaves, stems, tree backs, roots and sap. The blood, bones, fat, skin and hide of animals are used for medicating. Charms in the form of talismans, bangles, or cowries are used to protect the afflicted and ward off evil spirits. These forms of treatments may be combined or used individually.

Some common medical principles have emerged over time in various African regions. These include several scientifically proven techniques and strategies, some of which are culturally specific and of psychological importance. Among the common principles and procedures utilised in African traditional medicine are hydrotherapy, heat therapy, spinal manipulation, quarantine, bone-setting and surgery. Incantations and other devices of psychotherapeutic dimension are often applied. Anaesthetics are traditionally derived from plants identified to have pain killing or calming capabilities. Some areas have become well known for certain types of medical expertise, as is the case of Funtua in northern Nigeria for orthopaedics. Many of the traditional

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[45] G. Emeagwali, 'African Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Implications for Curriculum' in: T. Falola (Eds.) Ghana in Africa and the World; Essays in Abu Boaden (2003).

techniques are still utilised in some areas. Some have undergone change over time; others have been revived in more recent periods or have fallen into oblivion. The World Health Organisation has recognised the contributions of traditional medicine to psychiatry.

Western-based pharmaceutical companies are known to tap the knowledge of traditional African pharmacologists. Treatment for cancer, obesity, drug addiction, diabetes and other ailments have benefited directly and indirectly from traditional African pharmacologists through plants such as the African willow (South Africa), the hoodia plant (Namibia), iboga (Gabon and Cameroon) and other botanicals. Carlson acknowledged that Shaman Pharmaceuticals collaborated with 58 traditional doctors from 7 provinces and 42 communities in Guinea, West Africa, between 1994 and 1998.[46] Due to this collaborative venture, 145 plant species were identified as useful for the treatment of Type 2 diabetes mellitus.

Traditional governance system

Although Africa at present consists of nation states, the traditional organisation of its people is mainly based on ethnic and kinship lines. African social relations are often tribal. These social relations define communal resource management patterns and group decision making processes.[47] In many African countries the traditional systems exist side by side the formal democratic systems of governance. The people offer dual allegiance to the state and its institutions from nation to the local level, as well as to the traditional system. Yet, in rural communities in particular, the traditional system which is often the most accessible is the first point of allegiance.

The traditional system of governance is carved around royalty and their elaborate systems of governance. It comprises the king or queen at the apex, divisional and/or sub-chiefs and other title holders and peoples. For instance among the Dagomba or Mwamprusi of northern Ghana, the Ya-naa or Nayire is the overlord who presides over the entire Dagbon or Mwamprugu, the states. The various divisions of the state are ruled by chiefs who are kin and are ranked in succession to the supreme Dagbon or Mwamprugu skin. The skin is a typical symbol of authority among northern Ghanaians, while the stool is symbolic of southern Ghana. Among the Asanti, Akyim and Akwapim of southern Ghana, the amanhene are the overloads who preside over an elaborate system made up of divisional, functional and community chiefs. Women place various roles in traditional governance. In southern Ghana but also among the Gonja, Nawuri and Nchumburu of northern Ghana women monarchs, called queen-mothers, play roles in the appointment of chiefs, coronation and women's affairs among others. There are also women chiefs among some ethnic groups in both northern and southern Ghana.

Chiefs are, however, political heads and may preside over resources or not. In northern Ghana, the Tindaana, earth priest and spiritual head, is custodian over the land and its resources. In southern Ghana the chiefs combine both roles (political and spiritual leadership). In both southern and northern Ghana, individual families and clans have direct holdings of land. In southern Ghana, however, there are stool lands which are managed directly by chiefs.

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[46] T. Carlson, 'Case study of Medicinal Plant Research in Guinea' in: Economic Botany 55/4 (2001).
[47] D. Millar, S.B. Kendie a.o. (Eds.), African Knowledges and Sciences (Barneveld, 2006) 29.

Apart from the earth priest, there are other spirit media such as diviners, priests and priestesses who are key players in matters of the spirit. Clan, family and household heads also play varying and important roles in traditional governance. They preside over all matters regarding their constituency including natural resources, decision-making, inheritance and other social issues.

Other elders also play significant important roles such as the socialisation and education of the young and custodianship of family and community values, history and resources. There often are special groups, such as the Asafo Youth Groups of southern Ghana, which play defensive roles in the community and state.

In Ghana, there is a recent attempt to create spaces for traditional involvement in governance at national and local level. The Houses of Chiefs and the recently created Ministry of Culture and Chieftaincy Affairs are promoting more integration. Also, the work of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development (CIKOD) has been working with queen-mothers to enhance their roles in traditional and formal governance. In Nigeria and Ghana, the craze for traditional titles among elite individuals is also giving prominence to traditional systems of governance.

African art and craft

African art and artefacts such as masks, clothes, music, scarification, body painting, architecture and sculptures have often emerged in the function of aesthetics (decoration), spirituality (religion, rituals, rites, music), recreation (music, dance), identity (body painting, scarifications), medication (scarifications, rituals) and sustenance (storage, trade, incomes). Music for example, has the function of strengthening rituals and helping people to get in a trance, thus enabling them to communicate with ancestral spirits. Mural paintings may contain messages about the social identity or the spiritual status of the inhabitants of a building, while sculptures and masks are frequently used to represent a spirit, or to strengthen the effect of a ritual. In Ghana, idols are often considered the real spirit – and not just a representation – and supernatural powers are ascribed to them, with whom various relationships can be established.

African art has reached high levels of aesthetics; it usually is a means of transmitting cultural values and, as such, is a strong expression of African emotions and identity. African pottery, upholstery, architecture, bodies and dance are media for the aesthetic expression. A typical northern Ghana family compound (place of residence) exhibits beautiful architecture of various shapes and designs comprising round huts and angular rooms, which have various aesthetic but also functional meanings. Round huts are generally used as bed rooms for all person, rectangular flat-topped rooms are reserved for the elderly especially women who also use it as a store room. Special rituals of passing and entry are also performed in such rooms.

Some societies in Africa have perfected and specialised in particular forms of arts and crafts. For instance, the Akan of Ghana are noted for their adinkra symbols, which are used for various clothing weaves and prints. The Fon of Benin are noted for their sculptures. The Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania are notable for their bead and cowry works. The Mossi of Bourkina Faso and Frafra of Ghana are noted for the facial scarifications and animal skin crafts. The Senegalese and Ibo are noted for the skills in indigo making, while the Zulu of South Africa are noted for the animal skin clothing.

Sacrifices and rituals

Sacrifices and rituals are an essential aspect of the lives of many people in Africa. They take place during funerals, pacification, intercessions, calamities, festivals associated with productivity and seasonality. Major items for sacrifices are grains, especially millet and sorghum[48], and livestock. Supplications to the ancestral spirits may require animal blood, millet water, traditional alcoholic brew or ordinary water. Animal sacrifice is done for difficult cases and may range from poultry birds (fowls, partridge) to livestock (goats, sheep, cattle). The lowest order of sacrifice is often a fowl, next in order is a goat, and the highest order are sheep or cows. However, the colour or peculiarity of the animal may determine the intensity of the issue of supplication.

In relation to agriculture, a distinction is made between crops and animals for rituals, for consumption and/or for commercial purposes. Commercial crops are frequently introduced from outside and lack a relationship with the ancestors. Therefore rituals are less associated with commercial crops compared to food crops and ritual crops. In the cosmovision of the people the traditional crops were received from the ancestors. The spirits of the ancestors are the owners of humankind and responsible for their well-being. A decision to adopt a new crop or a new variety, therefore, cannot be taken without the advice of the ancestors.

Often women are excluded from participating in these rituals. Sometimes women contribute to a sacrifice on behalf of their dead husbands. But more often a widow's contribution is channelled through the dead husband's brother or, failing this, through one of her sons. Although women are not directly involved in sacrificing to the ancestral spirits, they play very important roles in sacrifices as they fetch water for sacrifices and grind flour from early millet, sorghum, and late millet for the rituals. They brew the local drink (pito) for sacrifices and also do the cooking for them. In some societies, women take care of the animals that are used for the sacrifices or sometimes provide animals for the sacrifices. They occasionally get the men to sacrifice for the women's personal interests, which may also be for the common good of the family. The women are the 'diaries' of the local home; they advice the men about the need to sacrifice or remind them of the time for sacrifices.

In societies where women occupy special positions as priestesses, diviners and soothsayers, they perform various rituals including sacrifices. Women may perform other rituals such as outing babies, some funerals rites and puberty rites. Initiation rites for young maidens and widowhood rites are often performed by women.

Are Cosmovisions and Traditional Knowledge Relevant for Development?[49]

One could argue that, due to the general trends of globalisation and westernisation, the beliefs and practices described here are no longer valid or useful. Indeed, changes due to western influences on traditional societies are quite impressive. Western economic mechanisms, values, science and technology are increasingly displacing traditional cultures and knowledge systems throughout the world. Religions, western

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[48] *Especially the use of sorghum for pito brewing. Pito is a local drink used in sacrifices.*
[49] Katrien van 't Hooft a.o. (Eds.) Exploring Endogenous Livestock Development in Cameroon (Barneveld, 2008).

and eastern, are also taking their toll on traditional systems. Converts, who regard traditional forms of spirituality and other belief systems as demonic, condemn and reject them; western values and tastes consider the traditional forms often as superstitious and outmoded. These combined forces work to discredit and displace traditional systems. The traditional systems are then scorned, disregarded and rejected. Very little is done under Africa's governments to promote the traditional systems toward more effective for local development.

The capacity of local cultures is further weakened when the younger generation is attracted by the dominant culture and decides to move away from their cultural background. In this way, various traditional societies and cultures throughout the world are threatened with extinction. Through formal educational systems, religious indoctrination and science and technology, Africa's young are being alienated from their cultural roots through the exposure to foreign values, tastes and ways of life. The so-called elite of educated Africans tend to, due to their western education, not only prefer foreign tastes and values, but they also reject and disregard their own.

The changing of traditional systems is particularly evident among pastoral societies. In many parts of Africa pastoral ways of life are under pressure as attitudes towards livestock change with each new generation. Population growth and the invasion of grazing grounds have changed the pastoral ways of life and today more and more pastoralists are entering the wage economy. Due to this labour drain, women and children are obliged to assume herding responsibilities. Frequently, when pastoral children have obtained some schooling, they lose interest in herding, and look for other types of employment. The competition for land is also displacing pastoralist as more and more fallow land suited for grazing is being converted into residential settlements and industrial establishments.

At the same time, the traditional cultures display a remarkable resilience. Most traditional cultures have found ways to maintain their lifestyles to a certain extent, adapting to outside influences and forces, as they have done for centuries. Though not openly expressed, traditional values, knowledge, concepts and practices, still play an important role in the decision making processes of rural people in many parts of the world. This, of course, includes both the negative and positive aspects of traditional practices and cosmovisions.

As shown in this book, there is a firm belief that cosmovisions and traditional knowledge and practices are still valid and useful in spite of the changes due to globalisation. This does not imply that the cosmovisions and practices of traditional peoples should be romanticised. Traditional practices are clearly not always effective in preventing overexploitation of soils, overgrazing, deforestation, pollution, erosion, environmental disaster, or abuse of animals. Nor have they always led to maintaining social stability, progress and equality. Indigenous knowledge and practices are not equally spread in communities, and certain individuals may manipulate and misuse certain knowledge. The lack of documentation has also led to the loss of valued knowledge creating space for misinterpretation and misrepresentation of such systems. This further heightens opportunities for manipulation and exploitation. In another breadth, documentation based on misrepresentation and misconstruction on traditional systems has resulted in the misinterpretation of traditional values, systems and practices.

For development organisations to be effective in supporting local development in rural communities they need to understand and accept the characteristics of the local knowledge systems and the rationalities underpinning the choices and practices of the people with whom they are work. It is within their own cosmovisions that farmers interpret development and define their relationship with outside knowledge and agencies. However, development workers are being challenged to go beyond the mere documentation and validation of local knowledge and practices. The farmers' concept of life and the practices based on them are a reality to which individuals in development organisations can relate when taken seriously and accepted as the starting point for development co-operation. As argued by Odora Hoppers, scholarship on African traditional systems should seek a reverse valorisation of the knowledges systems and provide basis for education and socialisation. These can serve as important resources for critical interrogation of the systems and interaction with rural communities in development work.

Chapter Four
Northern Ghana and the Empathic Learning
and Action Framework

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Introduction

Ghana is located along the West African coastline on the Gulf of Guinea of the Atlantic Ocean. Ghana, a former British Colony, is surrounded by former French colonies to the East by Togo, North by Bourkina Faso and West by La Cote d'Iviore. Ghana has an estimated population of 21.8 million (UN, 2005). The 2000 Population and Housing Census revealed a sex composition of 51% female and 49% male. It also found very high concentrations of the population in southern compared to northern Ghana, with Ashanti Region, Greater Accra Region and Eastern Region in a descending order. High concentrations of the population can be found in urban centres in cities and towns. [50]

*Figure 4: Map Ghana
(news.bbc.co.uk, 2007)*

The population is classified into two major linguistic families: the Gur and the Kwa. Members of the Gur linguistic family live mainly in the northern regions of the country. The Kwa speakers, traditionally associated with the area south of the Volta, make up about 75 percent of the population. [51] Due to its colonial history, Ghana's official language is English. A localised version of English is spoken among the youth and non-literate populations. Another foreign language that is often spoken is Hausa, a Nigerian language, which is popular in the Barracks and Zongos. Most Ghanaians speak their mother tongue and one other language, namely Ghanaian, African or European. The most common local languages are: Ga, Ewe, Fanti, Twi (Asante, Akwapim, Akyem); Bono, Dagbani, Gonja, Frafra (Gurune, Nabt and Talen); and Dagaare.

The people of Ghana belong to more than 100 different ethnic groups, but Ghana has largely been spared the major inter-ethnic conflicts that have torn apart many other African countries. Intra-ethnic conflicts exist largely over resources and traditional successions while inter-ethnic conflicts occur in exceptional cases. Most of the ethnic groups have maintained a sense of ethnic identity that allows them to identify with one another and connect with other groups in their district, region and nation.

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[50] Ghana Statistical Service, 2002.

[51] http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761570799/Ghana.html (June 2007).

There are ten regions in Ghana: Northern, Upper East and Upper West in northern Ghana and Greater Accra, Eastern, Central, Western, Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo in southern Ghana. Ghana has varied natural resources. A tropical rainforest belt, broken by heavily forested hills and many streams and rivers, extends northward from the shore near the Ivory Coast frontier, covering the rain forests of Western Region and the High Forest of the midlands in the Ashanti, Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions. This area produces most of the country's cocoa, minerals and timber. To the north of the rainforest belt, lie the Savanna Woodlands comprising low bush, park-like savannah, and grassy plains. The Savana Woodlands are located in the Northern, Upper West and Upper West regions of Ghana, commonly called northern Ghana. The artificial Volta Lake, the largest in the country, extends from the Akosombo Dam in south eastern Ghana to the town of Yapei, 520 kilometres into northern Ghana. The lake generates electricity, provides inland transportation, and is a potentially valuable resource for irrigation and fish farming.

The Ghanaian climate is tropical. The eastern coastal belt is warm and comparatively dry; the southwest corner, hot and humid; and the north, hot and dry. There are two distinct rainy seasons in the south: February to May and August to September. In the north, the rainy season occurs once a year from May to September, which is often interlaced with dry spells. A dry, north easterly wind, the Harmattan, blows over the country from December to February and it is often severe in northern Ghana.[52]

Although one people, there are marked vegetative, economic and linguistic differences between the north and south of Ghana. The northern regions have fewer economic resources, harsher vegetation and high levels of poverty compared to southern Ghana with its widespread natural resources such as minerals, cash crops and forest products. This chapter discusses the work of the Center for Comsovisions and Indigenous Knowledge in northern Ghana.

Northern Ghana: Land and People

Northern Ghana is located in the Savannah Grassland belt. This belt is characterised by low vegetative growth of mainly grasses, low shrubs and dispersed trees. Rainfall in the region is unevenly distributed, short and erratic in starting, duration and intensity. Agriculture is largely rain-fed, with a few irrigation project dotted across the country. Most farmers practise mixed cropping of cereals such as sorghum, millet, guinea corn and maize; legumes such as groundnuts and beans; and roots and tubers such as yam, sweet potatoes, and Frafra potatoes. Cash crops, namely shea and dawadawa, tend to grow wildly and are distributed throughout the area. Other exotic trees such as nim, mangoes and teak have been introduced, and widely grown, for medicinal, income and food purposes. People also keep livestock in the form of poultry, goats, sheep and cattle. In the dry season, there is virtually no cropping, except for small gardens along the riverbeds, dams and dugouts.

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[52] www.ghanaweb.com (2007).
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1023355.stm (2007).

The people of northern Ghana combine patrilineal and matrilineal forms of inheritance, with patrilineal being the most prominent. There are distinct gender roles in farm operations, access to land and other resources. Access to land by women is limited. The primary source of labour is family labour; surplus labour can be purchased directly with cash or in exchange for an animal, or food and drinks. Various organised labour-sale groups exist in nearly all communities, of which the women's groups are most common, followed by youth groups. Reciprocal farming arrangements are common among the various groups.

The traditional organisation of the household continues to be an aspect of identity, authority, and regulatory arrangement. The head of every extended household is its oldest male member. Female-headed families are common but female-headed households are rare. The overall head of the extended household presides over matters that are general in nature. Critical decisions about mobilisation and investments, offence and defence, disposals, opportunities and risks, are better managed at the level of the household.

Since 2000 – when the first poverty assessment revealed the gross inequality in development benefit after two decades of Structural Adjustments, leaving northern Ghana to be the most affected by widespread poverty – a number of interventions have been implemented to help reduce poverty. These interventions have come from both state and civil society. The Centre of Indigenous Knowledge and Cosmovision (CECIK) contributes to these efforts through its strategic initiatives that aim and promote endogenous development. In this chapter the experiences of CECIK in the Bongo District are shared.

Bongo District

The Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Cosmovision (CECIK) enhances endogenous development within several rural communities in the Bongo district in northern Ghana. The Bongo District is a rural district that was carved out of the Frafra District in 1988 as part of the national decentralisation process. Its capital, Bongo, exists of a peri-urban community that is gradually building resources towards it modernisation. The people of Bongo belong to the Boosi and Gurusi subgroups of the Frafra linguistic group.

Poverty studies in Ghana identify the Bongo District as the most deprived District in Ghana. Environmental and population pressures largely account for the poverty situation.[53] The wide spread invasion of striga (*Striga hermonthica*) – or 'devil weed' as it is popularly known – which thrives best on poorer soils, is one sign of the poor soil conditions in the Bongo area. The land depicts many gullies and sheet erosion due to water and wind. The major causes of this situation are deforestation for fuel wood and inappropriate methods of traditional farming, such as uncontrolled bush/farm fires and overgrazing by livestock. The land is covered by extensive stretches of fixed and loose granite rocks. As a result of the sparse vegetative cover the scotching of the soils cause severe leeching during the long dry season. With few other opportunities for earning a livelihood apart from farming, the whole area is trapped in a vicious circle of poverty.

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[53] Ghana Statisical Service, 2000.

The annual population growth rate in the Bongo area is 6.8%, leading to serious pressure on the land with estimates of about 300 people per square kilometre. As a result very little land is left fallow for shifting cultivation or for land rotation, which are traditional land management practices. The average land holding of a farm family is three acres – including rocky outcrops – and is continuously under cultivation. Crop yields are low, with an average cereal yield estimated of 300 kg/acre. The inadequate food situation results in malnutrition of pregnant women and children below six years of age. Shortage of drinking water affects about 25% of the population. About 70% of the population is illiterate.

Gender and access to resources

Like the rest of northern Ghana, there are gender differences in access to resources in the Bongo District. Men have two major modes of cash income. The first is cash earned from the sale of crops. Dry season gardening in the Bongo area is quite common due to the proximity of the irrigation dams. The second major mode of income – more evenly spread over the year – is livestock. Pigs, goats, and poultry are the most common sources of cash incomes. Cattle are sold rarely, and only as a last resort. Cattle and sheep are typical 'male animal' while goats and poultry are considered 'female animals'.[54] To supplement the little income from agriculture, crafts and cottage industries have found a special place in the lives of the people. Income generated from handicrafts (hats and basket weaving) is considerable, especially during the dry season. Trickles of donations from family members living outside the community, and wage labour during seasonal migration of the labour force are recognised sources of income.[55]

Women's income sources can be distinguished as crop sources, livestock sources, and commercial activities. Women in particular have limited access to land and farm inputs, while restrictive social attitudes towards women's independent participation in crop production are common. Crops such sorghum, millet and guinea corn are branded 'male' crops. Though women venture into the production of these crops, the practice is an exception rather than a rule. Women mainly cultivate cash crops such as beans, groundnut and rice. This restriction denies the women the advantages of mixed cropping.[56] There is marginal income support to women from their husbands. Nonetheless, women provide an income buffer to the household. They contribute to health and school expenses, procure most of the protein and vegetable requirements of the family, buy most of their own clothes, and respond to some social demands for cash. During the long dry season many young people and women migrate to southern Ghana where they find various menial jobs as head potter, cleaners, maids, truck pushers, meat sellers, food sellers, cooks and farm hands.[57]

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[54] *Male animals: owned by men only. Female animals: may be owned by both men and women.*

[55] B. Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots. Endogenous Development in Practice (London, 2003) 154.

[56] http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761570799/Ghana.html (June 2007).

[57] B. Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots. Endogenous Development in Practice (London, 2003) 154.

Cosmovision in Northern Ghana[58]

Sacrifices and rituals are an essential aspect of the lives of people in northern Ghana. They take place during funerals, pacification, intercessions, calamities, and festivals associated with productivity and seasonality. In northern Ghana there is general belief in an All-father and other gods but the traditional cult of worship of the ancestors is central in the cosmovision of the rural people. The spirits of the ancestors are the owners of humankind and responsible for their well-being. The ancestral arrangement traces itself to the founder of the village or community (see figure 5). The people sacrifice to their ancestral spirits for various favours. The earth spirit is central amongst the spirits worshipped. The land priests perform the necessary rituals and sacrifices, which ensure the prosperity of the land and fertility of the people, their crops and livestock.

In the worldview of the people, the traditional crops were received from the ancestors. These crops, such as millet and sorghum, are major inputs in sacrifices; sorghum especially is used to brew the local drink pito that is an essential attribute in most sacrifices and rituals. Consultations with ancestral spirits often result in rituals that might include the pouring of libations or animal sacrifice.

Nature is considered the visible part of the spiritual world, and is referred to and treated as a collection of smaller Gods. Gods are symbols that allow for or facilitate communication with ancestors. Some parts of nature express themselves in the spiritual world and vice versa. From this perspective the Earth God, the Rain God, and the God of the Skies (sun, moon, stars and the wind) arose. Nature as a whole is conceived as a living entity, like an animal, with all parts interrelated and needing each other to function. Nature does not belong to the people, but the people to nature. Therefore, human life is intimately related with nature and constitutes the irreplaceable basis of human life.

Relatively recent introductions to the belief system among the people of northern Ghana are Christianity (Catholicism, Protestantism and Pentecostalism) and Islam. The converts to these faiths, concentrated in the urban and commercial centres, often live in two worlds: though it is not formally accepted by the churches/mosques, they tend to practice their traditions in combination with their new religion. In this blended belief system the converts have not eradicated the ancestral cult. Moreover, there is always a lingering commitment to the perceived rewards and punishments associated with the belief in ancestral spirits.

Traditional leaders and the first settlers

Traditional leaders are the ones who can mediate with the spiritual world in nature. While the ritual control of the land is vested in the land priests, the legal control is vested in the chiefs. The monarch, Naba, Pe, Kuro, Naa or Ewura (chief) and occupier of the skin, is the traditional political head and representative of the people. As political head, the monarch is the chief administrator and executor of traditional jurisprudence. He, together with his council of elders, judges cases, presides over all political matters affecting his people, and mobilises resources for the development of the land and people. As chief administrator he is often the first representative of people dealing with governments (local and national), foreigners and other peoples.

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[58] B. Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), *Ancient Roots, New Shoots* (London 2003) 156.

Figure 5: The Pantheon in Northern Ghanaian Cosmovision (Millar, 1999)
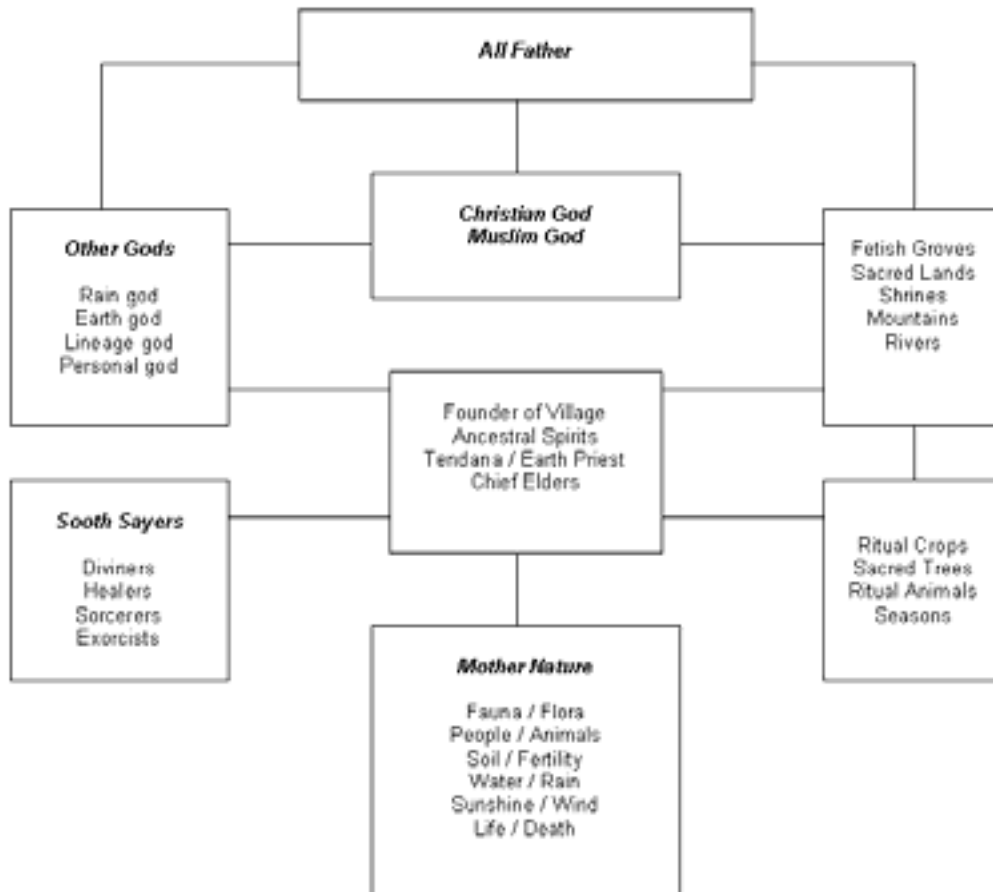
The head of the monarchy is often a male who succeeds a father or brother. In a few cases women occupy the skin as is the case in Dindani and Saamine in Mwamprugu and some communities in Dagbon. Women may hold special positions such as the ewuriche (queenmother) of Gonja and Nawuri lands.[59]

Among the societies of northern Ghana, the family of the original settlers on the land have a special role. Often, a representative of the first settler family, chosen through divination, serves as the Tindaana. The Tindaana is the custodian of the tingani – the abode of the Earth God. Almost invariably, a raised piece of ground on the outskirts of the village is chosen by the first settlers as a sacred place for worship and for sacrifice to the spirit of the earth. With such a specialised function, this area usually also becomes the 'home' for other spirits or gods that are communally owned. As custodian the Tindaana has oversight and intercessory responsibilities to the land and people. Land ownership in northern Ghana is the preserve of families rather than the Naba or Tindaana. The Tindaana is a chief liaison between the spirit and human worlds and, as such, interprets and delivers messages from both worlds, intercedes on behalf of the gods and peoples, advises families and monarchs on land matters, and represents his people on land matters involving governments, investors, foreigners and other peoples near and far. Since the traditional leaders are the ones who can mediate with the spiritual world in nature, working with natural resources and agriculture requires cooperation with traditional leaders and institutions.

Cosmovision and gender

The position of women and men in relation to the spiritual world shows significant differences. Most traditional leaders are male. Occasionally, women serve as tindaana or women soothsayers as in the case of female-headed households. The strongest spiritual authority women have is when they have been elected to serve as spirit mediums. The ancestral spirits of the men are considered related to the land of the household, which in turn makes their spirit linked to that specific location. In their homes, the husband takes care of the Gods on behalf of the wife. The women explain it in this way: "my son or my husband sacrifices for me. I provide the animal for the sacrifice, I speak to the ancestral spirit and tell them the purpose of my sacrifice, but the man does the actual sacrifice. I get the answers for my sacrifices, which satisfies my purpose." The woman, therefore, has a weak link to the spiritual relations both in her husband's home and in her father's home.

Some Indicators of Wealth and Riches

Traditional lifestyles are continuously being challenged with calls for renewal. Perceptions about the future and the way to get there differ according to ethnicity, age, sex, locality, and economic position. Experiences within CECIK programmes show, that the distinction between wealth and money (to be wealthy and to be rich) appears to be a very important socio-eco-cultural indicator. The distinction between 'being wealthy' and 'being rich' is rooted in traditional values and cosmovisions. By the cultural definition, wealth and money include the following:

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[59] Agnes A. Apusigah and J. Opare, *Ghana Country Multi-Sector Gender Analysis*. Report Submitted to the African Development Bank (unpublished, 2007).

WEALTH

Family, land, livestock, respect, knowledge, skills, harmony, happiness, soundness, acceptability and money (at the tail end)

MONEY (Richness)

Commercial Crops and other means to command goods and services

Hence, a poor man can be wealthy and a rich man can be without wealth. Recognising the different understandings of wealth and money is essential for development interventions to be sustainable and successful. Especially, when taking into account that most rural people will not necessarily prefer 'being rich' over 'being wealthy'. For example, some poor yielding indigenous crops are seen as wealth, in that a person can be the only one with that type of seed that can be used for sacrifices. This is particularly true for elderly women. Simply replacing this low yield crop with a high yield crop might therefore not be supported by the person or the community involved.

Similarly, livestock is seen as wealth and not necessarily as money. Hence, livestock is not so much an economic investment, which can be saved and readily withdrawn, once cash is needed, as capitalist oriented people are inclined to think. This partially explains why there is apparent resistance among farmers to quickly transform livestock into cash. It might explain as well why tribes communities such as the Fulani, Massai and Kikuyu keep large herds of cattle but remain cash poor, for they are actually wealthy persons walking the dry lands of Africa.

Considering these different understandings of wealth and money, it must be concluded that the real challenge for endogenous development lies in wealth creation and wealth-based development instead of the sole creation of a cash economy or focusing on monetisation. Therefore a growth status should be established which also includes variables of wealth as defined by rural people.

The Centre for Cosmovision and Indigenous Knowledge

The Centre for Cosmovision and Indigenous Knowledge (CECIK) is an NGO that promotes cosmovision-based endogenous development, providing services to rural communities in northern Ghana. In this process the communities themselves become the experts who own and control the pace of facilitating their sustainable livelihoods. Beyond actions at the community level, CECIK asserts itself in the areas of local, national, and regional networking and collaboration, and advocacy for endogenous development. The initiatives of CECIK are supported by actors within local NGOs, the Government sector, research institutions, and some university faculty. The collaboration with these institutions so far has involved documentation and publications to re-value farmers' knowledge, participation in workshops and field activities, and joint workshops. In 1987 CECIK specifically started to deal with cosmovision in collaboration with, and finding support from COMPAS-ETC Foundation in the Netherlands. [60]

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[60] B. Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots: Endogenous Development in Practice (London, 2003) 153.

CECIK's Methodology

It is now accepted that in order to improve traditional farming technologies, the knowledge of both the rural people and of outsiders is important. Relating these two sources of knowledge requires a delicate process of formulating, comparing, merging, dialoguing and negotiating between rural communities and outside experts. Participatory Technology Development (PTD) is one possible methodological instrument for this process, which consists of several phases: getting started, looking for things to try, designing the experiment, execution, sharing the experiences, and sustaining the process. Professor David Millar, founder of CECIK, states that in his experience the phase within the participatory approach where 'farmers design the experiment' has been the most complicated one, as it is relatively easy if the researcher is 'in the driving seat', dictating the pace and direction of the experiments. [61]

Since the start of its activities, CECIK has gradually recognised the vital role of the cosmovision of the people in community initiatives and responses. However, CECIK observed that the importance of cosmovision in the day to day life of rural people is often ignored in conventional development programmes, even among those following a strong participatory approach. CECIK feels that the lack of attention for and the misunderstanding of the important role of cosmovisions in the everyday life, explains why many development interventions are failing to attain the intended impact. Professor David Millar explains: [62]

> *"During one of my visits to the Frafra area (Bolgatanga), I went to a village where there was a big Government Irrigation Project – the Vea Dam. Besides, the rice and vegetables that were growing on the fields, land, both on the farming side and the opposite side of the dam, was very bare. You saw only a handful of trees. I knew that those of the farming side were cleared to enhance mechanised agriculture but what about those on the other side?*
>
> *I asked the chief I was interviewing (who was about seventy years old) what had happened to the trees. He told me that long ago he and his people had shown their concern about the 'disappearing trees' since the dam was constructed, by consulting their ancestors through the soothsayer. The ancestors told them that they were protecting those trees, because for them these trees were living creators, just like men, and so needed protection. When the Project came along, it did not give the elders the opportunity to consult their gods, and went ahead to clear the trees on the other side. So all the trees got annoyed and walked away from the area, never to come back again. Although there was a Government tree nursery nearby, there was very little planting going on around the area because the people were not keen and the gods were still annoyed.*

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[61] D. Millar, Using the Footpath Analogy, in: Compas Magazine No 4 (Leusden, 2001) 40-42.
[62] D. Millar, Compas Magazine No 4 (Leusden, 2011) 40-42.

Figure 6: Framework for Empathetic Learning and Action (ELA)

SCENARIO 1 — Acknowledge that something useful is going on and will continue after NGO has left

SCENARIO 2 — Building a relationship of acceptance and credibility between NGO and people

SCENARIO 3 — Analyse the two paradigms of reality of NGO field-workers and rural people and looking for things to try

Rural people use their methods for actions

NGO uses PRA/PTD/GRAAP methods for actions

SCENARIO 4 — Confrontational dialogue. Each group presents outcomes for discussion and understanding

SCENARIO 5 — Rural people design actions; NGO collaborates

NGO designs actions; rural people collaborate

Rural people execution with NGO

NGO executes with rural people

SCENARIO 6 — Joint learning and sharing of process/products/experiences/indicators/criteria

SCENARIO 7 — Rural people design new action possibilities

NGO designs new action possibilities

Rural people execute with NGO

NGO executes with rural people

SCENARIO 8 — Learning & sharing, leading to better understanding to go back to Scenario 1, continue, expand, change or phase-out

Left hand Track: Actions taken by the rural people
Right hand track: Actions taken by NGO worker

Then I asked what if they were given the opportunity to make sacrifices to pacify the gods, and then ask for their permission to plant trees in the area with the gods' consent. The chief told me that was the way to go about things."[63]

CECIK's conviction that including peoples' cosmovisions is necessary for successful rural development in Africa, with committed communities owing the process, led to a more endogenous approach towards rural development by using the Empathic Learning Action Framework.

Empathic Learning and Action Framework (ELA framework)

The general model developed and used by CECIK for field level activities following the endogenous development approach is called the Empathic Learning and Action Framework (see figure 6). The Empathic Learning Action (ELA) framework is an attempt to establish farmer-driven experimental designs, and is based on more than twenty years of experience in agricultural development. As mentioned above, ELA is based on the premise that for development interventions to be successful, farmer interpretation of reality should be acknowledged and ways of learning and experimenting must be accepted. The aim is not, however, isolating or conserving traditional knowledge and practices. With the ELA approach, it is assumed that when outsiders are indeed open to the perceptions and worldviews of farmers and their traditional leaders, they would be able to make positive contributions to developing agriculture by imparting new knowledge and skills.[64]

The ELA framework makes explicit and addresses two different perceptions of reality: those of the rural people and those of outsiders who want to work with a rural community (see figure 6). By addressing these two perceptions it is possible to design mutual learning processes that can lead to an improvement of rural peoples' knowledge and more appropriate interventions by outsiders. In the right hand track of the ELA framework the scientific technologies to resolve farmer problems are developed. At the same time farmers are able to resolve the same problems on the left hand track. Then synergetic interaction of the two is evolved by building bridges of dialogue.[65]

The specific way of relating the two sources of knowledge (from the rural people and from the NGO staff) requires a delicate process of formulating, comparing, merging, dialoguing and negotiating between rural communities and outside experts. As communities and outside experts often come from different cultural backgrounds, this process is sometimes fraught with miscommunication and misunderstandings. CECIK states: when elders of the indigenous communities in northern Ghana discuss important issues it always seems as if they are 'talking at cross-purposes'. But, in fact, they are using a creative way of communicating, which is often lost when it is interpreted or translated.

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[63] David Millar, Footprints in the mud: Re-constructing the diversity in rural people's learning processes (Wageningen, 1996) 165.
[64] Learning Endogenous Development. Building on Bio-cultural Diversity (Warwickshire, 2007) 165-170.
[65] David Millar, Footprints in the mud (Wageningen, 1996) 166.

For development projects to become truly participatory and culturally sensitive, interventions should shift towards arriving at sustainable communication with rural communities. To overcome misunderstandings between the outside experts and communities, this sustainable communication should emphasise negotiations, consensus building, and collective actions as opportunities for continuous learning-action cycles.[66] It requires empathy and patience and the willingness of both parties involved to learn jointly. Furthermore, it is important to realise that rural communities and outside experts might have different indicators of well-being and success.

Field Experiences

As already noted[67], key to endogenous development is that it is controlled by local actors and that it is mainly – though not exclusively – based on local strategies, knowledge, institutions and resources. The aim of endogenous development is to enhance the capacities of communities to solve their own problems, to strengthen local resources for the benefit of local populations, and to enhance the ability of the local population to integrate selected elements from outside into the local practices. As an addition to the participatory approach, endogenous development takes into account the cultural practices and values of the people involved in the programmes, which are often to a large extent based on their cosmovision(s). Because of cultural differences priorities, needs and criteria for development may differ from community to community and may not always be the same as those of the development worker.

The endogenous development approach can be distinguished in several ways from other participatory development approaches. This is expressed especially in emphasising the importance of cultural and social aspects, in addition to the ecological, physical and economic aspects. However, the cultural knowledge and values are not always openly and readily shared with outsiders. To start a programme on endogenous development, it is therefore important to build trust and understanding between the community and the development worker. One way of getting to know each other is by jointly carrying out a community mapping, which involves learning about the communities' traditional protocol, local knowledges, institutions, strategies and resources. In Ghana, both CECIK and CIKOD have chosen to take – in most cases – the local institutions as a starting point for communication. In chapter five 'Community Organisational Development in Southern Ghana' the community institutional mapping will be described in detail. Examples of other starting points for endogenous development are: Community Resource Diagnosis (which may include spiritual resources), Action Research, and Agricultural Knowledge and Information Systems (RAAKS).[68]

Example 1:   Entering the Community in a Cosmovision Perspective

In CECIK's experience, a cosmovision perspective for community entry influences the effects and outcomes of project activities to a large extent. The field work of CECIK

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[66] David Millar, *Footprints in the mud* (Wageningen, 1996) 155.
[67] *Chapter one: Reasons for Supporting Endogenous Development.*
[68] *RAAKS: Rapid Appraisal of Agricultural Knowledge and Information Systems.*

in Bongo started early 1998. During the first meeting in Bongo I [David Millar] introduced myself and tried to find out whether I was welcome. A tindaana, a soothsayer and an elder consulted their ancestral spirits and the Gods to find out what to do with me. While a libation – a sacrifice for the ancestral spirits – was performed, the tindaana asked for the guidance of his ancestors. He also asked if both his ancestors and mine would clear the path and guide our actions. During our second meeting I was told that the response of the Gods and the ancestors had been positive. I was welcomed to work with the community, especially on farming matters. Entering the community in this cosmovision perspective was a new experience for me. As a former government extension worker, I had learned that you need to ask permission from the village chief when entering a new village. Now I have found out that entering a community implies much more than this. Clearance from the ancestral spirits is sought before people accept you. Only by accepting and respecting these rules can a relationship of confidence be built with a community. [69]

In seeking clearance, another issue that we had to deal with was transparency in our relationships. The elders decided to have a village meeting to discuss a programme of co-operation between us. During this inception workshop I wanted to be very honest about my intentions, my doubts and our commitments. On this occasion the elders had this to share with me:

> *"It is true that we play games with you, the Karachis (local term for government workers). Every farmer is guilty of this. Just imagine the difficulty of paying back the loans. Parting with a substantial amount of the harvest that should sustain you till the next one is not easy, and when we can avoid it we will do so. We are sure you would do the same if you were in our shoes. But let us tell you this. With our ancestors' way of building our relationship we cannot cheat you. We know of cases where people have cheated with the name of the ancestors and, as a result, have lost all their crops. We assure you that the activities we are about to start will not suffer. We will support and share the plight of one another – provided it is in line with the ancestral rules."* [70]

Example 2: Supporting Indigenous Experiments to improve Striga Control: The 'Sor le' Analysis[71]

As indicated in the example above, the worldview plays a role in the way communities describe their own environment and the changes they would like to see. While the Empathic Learning and Action (ELA) framework has been developed and tested to support development from a cosmovision perspective, CECIK found that 'describing the footpath – or sor le – to the village' is a good tool to design agricultural experiments together with the farmers. This footpath analysis will be elaborated on by means of the example mentioned below.

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[69] D.Millar, Using the footpath analogy in: Compas Magazine 4 (Leusden, 2001) 40-42.
[70] D.Millar, Using the footpath analogy in: Compas Magazine 4 (Leusden, 2001) 40-42.
[71] D.Millar, Compas Magazine No 4, 40-42.

Among rural communities in northern Ghana the footpath is of great socio-cultural significance. It brings both strangers and locals into the community, and takes them out again. It brings evil and it brings good. To guide a stranger into their communities, people describe the entry path in careful detail, indicating every significant feature or landmark. By asking the farmers to describe the path from the town to their community, and then asking them to equate this with how they investigate a new idea, farmers might be more inclined to lead the experimental design.

Looking for things to try

The experiments took place in the Gowrie-Kunkua community, a small farming community in the Bongo district, and involved 10 farmers. After the possibilities of using organic matter to control *striga*[72] was analysed with the farmers, it was realised that they had to lead the design of this experiment. It led to the evolvement of the *'sor-le analysis'*. In Dagaare, a northern Ghanaian language, *sor-le* means footpath or bush-path. The methodology is based on the analogy between the footpath and the experimental design.

After consulting with the ancestral spirits, the different groups in the community analysed which project activity they would like to work on. The CECIK field staff and the rural people analysed the situation of decreasing productivity together, its causes and effects, and actions that might be taken to mitigate the situation. They discussed experiences from other organisations on the same issues and compared these with the situation in Bongo. This discussion led to ideas about 'things that could be tried' in order to increase food productivity and ultimately improve livelihoods.

The way the people classified the activities that emerged in this way reflected their social status: the elders took to rearing small livestock; poultry and goats. The youth choose to cultivate millet, sorghum, and rice in addition to fishing. The women opted for groundnut and soya bean cultivation, and income generating crafts, particularly weaving. The community as a whole decided to start activities to reforest the shrines and groves in the area. The low soil fertility and 'devil weed' were identified as general problems by all members of the community, irrespective of their social position. It was agreed that experiments would be carried out to overcome this problem.

Diagramming 'sor-le'

Two separate groups were formed, and they were asked to describe in detail – on the ground – how to get to their village from the town. They were charged with bringing out as many details of the landscape as they possibly could. Obstacles like streams, rocks, bushes, bends in the path, and trees were identified. Also, easy parts like gentle slopes, clear areas, hard ground, and straight stretches of road were pointed out using objects on the ground. The two designs with their similarities, differences, and complementarities, were then brought together. The challenge now was to build them into one. The discussions became increasingly intense, and there was plenty of fun and mockery when inaccuracies and omissions were discovered. CECIK took this

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[72] *Striga, or devil weed as it is popular know, is wide spread in the Bongo area. Striga thrives best on poorer soils.*

opportunity to facilitate relevant outcomes like starting point, ending point, the choices and the judgements that the stranger has to make, to be able to come to the village.

Designing the experiment

Using this exercise as an entry point, the different groups were now challenged to draft their research paths showing the equivalent critical features of the striga experiment, using their 'sor-le' diagrams as a guide. It was easier, this time, for them to follow the same process with this new idea. Their investigation criteria, such as indicators for choice, critical stages for data collection, and some issues of sustainability, became clearer.

The decision to go to the village was comparable to 'determining the experimental objective'. In the striga experiment the objective was to rejuvenate the soil, put life back into the soil so that incidence of striga would be reduced and productivity would increase. The direction of the village was analogous to the direction to be taken in 'the strategy to reduce striga'. After analysing various methods to combat striga, the farmers decided that they wanted to use mechanical means, such as pulling, and chemical means, using phosphorous combined with organic matter. In this design the mechanical aspects were based on indigenous practices and the use of phosphorus was an external input.

Analogy of two pathways

In a similar way the analogy of the footpath and the experimental design was used to highlight other indicators. The perception of narrow or broad paths, and bare or grassy paths, were symbolic for the progress indicators; streams or other obstacles were comparable to the obstacles encountered in the experiment. Farms and livestock that appear when nearing human habitats were equated with the criteria used for judging whether the desired outcome was being achieved.

There was an analogy between the distribution of crop fields, grazing lands and fallow, and the lay out of the experiment. The comparison made here was whether the experimental plot was located, for example, near the home or in the bush, on the hill or in the valley, or on an old farm plot or on a new one. Reaching or missing the village symbolises whether or not the experiment outcomes have been achieved.

The progress indicators

The community also used the footpath analogy to further identify progress indicators. Landmarks such as particular trees, rocks, and hills became analogies for indicators like soil preparation, germination of crops, weeds, and yields. The indicators related to the quality of the soil included: soil colour, the capacity to retain water, soil strength in terms of texture and structure, the types and amount of vegetation, and the ability of the soil to perform in future years. The farmers also defined the indicators to assess changes in the weed's status: the striga population before and after the experiment and the time needed to weed the farm. The farmers' indicators to monitor crop development included: crop growth rate, structure of the crops – strong or weak, short or long, big or small – how soon the crop matured, what happened during the seasonal moisture stress period, the size and colour of the grain heads, and the fullness of seed.

Figure 7: Sor-le Analysis
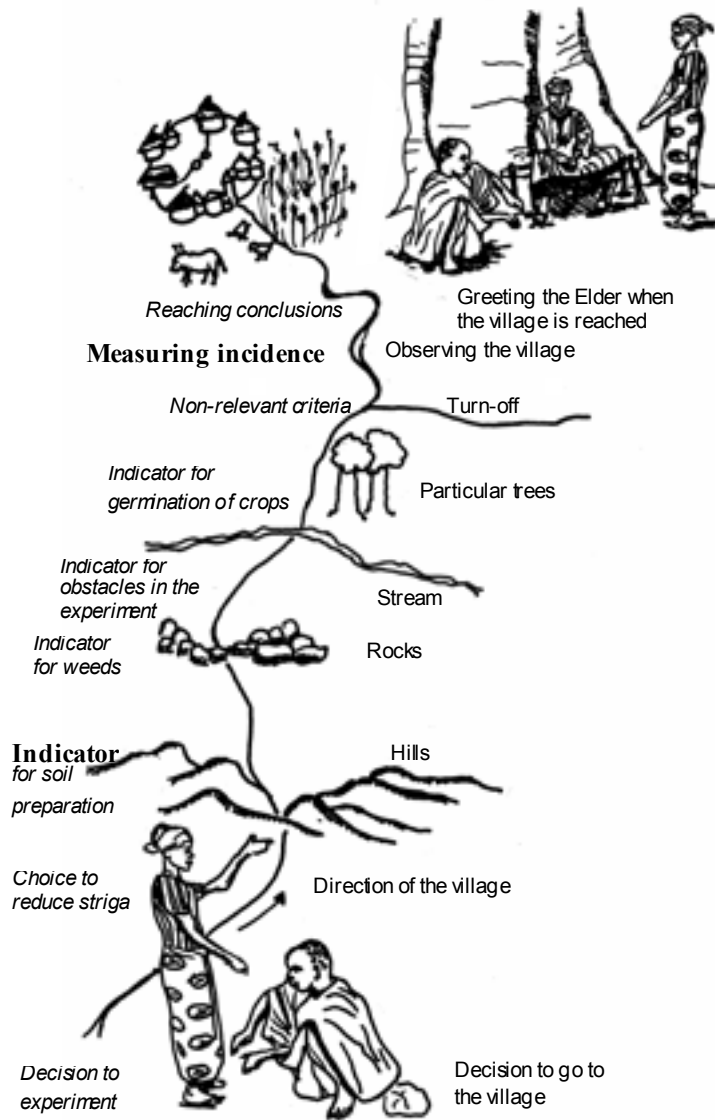
The harvest was evaluated by the farmers in terms of harvesting time, quantity and quality of harvest, taste of the food, grinding quality, flour colour and smell, quality for making local dishes the storage qualities and its qualities in relation to other local uses, for example making local beer. Some of these experimental indicators could be measured during the experiment but others could only be measured off-farm.

It must be said that the final outcome of working with the Sor-le Analysis and the ELA framework is not a uniform procedure for designing experiments, but a rich heterogeneity of designs with detail modifications. Such an outcome is problematic for our conventional concept of uniformity and up-scaling of experiments. In his work, David Millar mentioned similar problems when he discussed farmers' notions of multi-locations, replications, and layouts. If the objective is to have a uniform design, then negotiations are necessary within this framework (Millar, 1992).

University Involvement: University for Development Studies

The University for Development Studies (UDS) was established in 1992 as a multi-campus institution to serve the four northern regions of Ghana in which rural poverty and environmental degradation are widely prevalent. The University currently focuses mainly on studies in Agricultural Sciences, Medicine and Health Sciences, Applied Sciences, Integrated Development Studies and Inter-disciplinary Research. CECIK has been working with the UDS since 1998 in the area of research, documentation and dissemination. CECIK serves as a field-base for UDS for information gathering and joint learning on Endogenous Development, as well as in the attachment of students for field practicals.[73]

The University for Development Studies (UDS) facilitates workshops, and provides technical and research support to CECIK. Furthermore UDS evaluates programmes of CECIK.

Lessons Learned

CECIK has been working with the Endogenous Development Approach for almost ten years, using the Empathic Learning Action Framework. So far, working with this approach has done two major things. On the one hand it has strengthened the farmers' capacity to experiment. The Sor-le Analysis has motivated the community to experiment within their own cultural context and, in this way, has moved participation a step forward. The ELA approach has led to considerable confidence of the people in their own capacities to change, learn and develop. On the other hand it has built in CECIK an institutional capacity to go beyond conventional experimentation with farmers, and even beyond NGO experimentation. It has provided CECIK with new ideas about 'the process of farmer experimentation'.[74]

CECIK has succeeded in establishing the fact that spirituality and cultural performance are an essential part of rural people's worldviews. The endogenous development strategy – promoting demand driven development, based on peoples'

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[73] http://www.ghanauniversities.com/university_for_development_stud.htm (2007).
[74] D.Millar, Using the footpath analogy in: Compas Magazine 4 (Leusden 2001) 40-42.

own indigenous knowledge systems and spirituality – was found to be effective. Of course CECIK was also met with some challenges.

Building relationships: Communities and Development Workers

Mutual trust and respect between community and development workers are important requirements for endogenous development. CECIK met an initial resistance from local communities in the form of opening themselves up to outsiders. They are often hesitant to share certain aspects of their knowledge, especially when it is related to their spirituality. Because spirituality has been often perceived as negative by outsiders and has been ignored in many development programmes, community members find it difficult to assess whether the cosmovision based endogenous development is genuine. Development workers who support rather than ridicule, who do not demand a change of worldview or anger their ancestors, are well accepted by communities. One elder remarked: *"The project respects and values us because they do not look down on our belief and value systems. It is therefore bound to succeed."*

From the outsider's point of view, the reorientation from conventional development to a joint learning situation has some added difficulties. Limited experience with and understanding of local cultures by the CECIK staff in the initial phase has been a complicating factor. To ease the communication process, CECIK – were possible – selects its field staff on their ability to communicate in the local language.

Once the relationship between the outsider and the community has been established in the cultural (and spiritual) context, sensitive issues such as the position of women, elders and spiritual leaders can be touched. Building such a relationship can be time consuming and might be hindered by changing staff and short-term projects. CECIK tries to minimise this risk by hiring field staff that live in and are part of the community.

Ownership of the Programme

Working closely with and hiring field staff that live in the community enhances the sense of ownership and continuity. In CECIK experiences this way of working has been proven very positive, because it sets the stage for early networking and active involvement of the community right from the start; it takes advantage of certain untapped skills that exist within the communities; and it allowed CECIK to work within the existing dynamics of the community, while minimalising the interference or destabilisation of the social organisations. The only risk this way of working carries is that community based staff may give certain favours to special members of the community.

During its work, CECIK was challenged by the lack of organised leadership among the male groups with whom it was working. To meet this challenge, leadership trainings and workshops were to be conducted. For this CECIK, relies on professionals in existing institutions.

Mutual Learning and Flexibility

CECIK's experience shows that endogenous development has a considerable perspective, but it is also a time consuming process. All actors involved have to assess the relevance of both types of knowledge (outside knowledge and indigenous

knowledge) and think creatively about new options for combining these in the most favourable way under local circumstances. In order to work from a cultural perspective, CECIK had to make adjustment for a 'rolling programme'. New activities were included as the programme progressed. Such a demand-driven approach has budgetary and logistical implications, which require continuous adjustments.

The CECIK working strategy involves not having full time staff but taking advantage of existing staff of various development agencies, especially people based in the communities who are knowledgeable and capable, and paying them an allowance for time input. The evaluation report noted the absence of a work schedule for all field staff of CECIK. This will be instituted by starting the community level activities with a planning session between field staff and communities. The planning sessions should result in a work schedule, which enables better monitoring of the progress. A scheduled monthly reporting by field staff based on a reporting format will be developed in the next phase.

Enhancing endogenous development is a continuous and challenging learning process; the methods for endogenous development still need to be developed further.

Well-being and Poverty

It is still difficult to show quantitative impact when development is dealt with from a cultural perspective. How does one show the learning that has taken place, the cultural enhancement and self-actualisation that has been attained quantitatively? How do we measure our contribution to poverty reduction from a spiritual perspective?

Another challenge is how to arrive at sustainable and long-term improvement of livelihoods. Many communities are still poverty-stricken. This often leads to short term solutions rather than long term developments, for example money meant to enhance income generation activities is often used for medical requirements and feeding.

Different Groups, Different Interests

CECIK believes that it is better to work with groups (especially for the women). It is important, however, to deal with naturally occurring groups rather than those that are 'project-made'. The idea of cultural differences should reflect in group formation as well. The women's groups are more responsive to their developmental needs, followed by the elders and then the youth. The youth tend to be complacent in their actions and are easily entangled in conflicts. All participating organisations and individuals in workshops, seminars, consultations and joint activities have very high regard for the partnership and collaboration. They sought continuance of the processes.

The implementation of CECIK activities has had a positive impact on gender relations in the community. Women are now able to speak up during general meetings, and both women and men have expressed the changes related to the tasks and responsibilities as a result of the programme. Women have also extended their support to and working relationships with group members beyond project activities. They have supported each other in construction and water issues as well. The sharing of benefits accruing from development activities is more profound and far reaching

with women than with the other groupings. More gender awareness training and general education (literacy courses) are needed, however.

The effect on youth has been considerable, especially in the fishing activity. The role of youth in cosmovision, however, has been problematic as they are relatively more responsive to indigenous technical knowledge than to the spiritual aspects of it.

For more information on CECIK projects and its result, several publications are available please contact Prof. David Millar, cecik@africaonline.com.gh.

Chapter Five
Community Organisational Development in South-western Ghana

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Introduction

Ghana is located on West Africa's Gulf of Guinea and has a population of 21.8 million (UN, 2005). Formerly, known as the Gold Coast, Ghana became the first state in sub-Saharan Africa to gain political independence from British colonial rule in 1957. Due to the unique geographical differences between northern and southern Ghana, economic activities often differ. In the tropical rain forest belt of southern Ghana, especially the south-western part which is the target for this chapter, export production such as cocoa, minerals, and timber abound. Unlike the south, the savannah wooded grasslands of northern Ghana miss the natural endowments of the rainforest and instead provide for the production of livestock and cereal and tubers.

Figure 8: Map Ghana (news.bbc.co.uk, 2007)

Southern Ghana contains evergreen and semi deciduous forests, consisting of tall silk cottons, kolas, and valuable West African hardwoods such as mahogany, odum, and ebony. Various food crops including fruits (oranges, bananas, pineapple, plantains), cereals (maize), roots and tubers (yams, cassava, cocoyam), vegetables (zucchinis, tomatoes, pepper, onions), and nuts (coconuts, palm nuts, tiger nuts and others (plantain) are grown throughout the year. The region also abounds in mineral such as diamonds, gold, manganese and bauxite. The southern area is particularly endowed with all of these resources. The Gulf of Guinea Coast and the many rivers that drain the area serve as sources of income for sea and river fishers. The bulk of the nations' fish supplies comes from sea fishing.

There are two distinct rainy seasons in southern Ghana: May to June and August to September. The mean annual rainfall ranges from 750 to 1,000 mm at Accra, from 1,780 to 2,080 mm on the southwest coast.[75]

Cosmovision in Southern Ghana

Ghana has long been exposed to outside influences on its society and culture. Islam and Christianity are important influences in both northern and southern Ghana. While Christianity is widespread and nationwide, Islam is more prevalent in cities and towns in northern Ghana and settler communities, the Zongos, in the cities and towns of

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[75] http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761570799/Ghana.html (June 2007).

southern Ghana. Despite the influences of these world religions, however, much of Ghanaian society continues to be traditional. The main characteristics of traditional religion in Ghana include expressed belief in the power of a Supreme Being, family ancestors, lesser gods, witches, and a host of spiritual beings (see also chapter four: Northern Ghana and the Empathic Learning and Action Framework).

Most people recognise the role traditional practices play in society. For example, people grant local chiefs customary rights to preside over their communities, and the young respect parents and their elders. Elders of the extended family arbitrate on matters regarding the inheritance of the family land, possessions, and social status.[76]

The Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development (CIKOD)

The Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development (CIKOD) is a Non-Governmental Organisation based in southern Ghana, although its operations are nationwide. CIKOD operates mainly in southern Ghana and supports organisational development in villages in line with the principles of endogenous development. Their programme is aimed at contributing to poverty reduction primarily through civil society capacity support in four programme areas:

- ♦ Traditional Governance Support;
- ♦ Community Organisational Development Innovations Support;
- ♦ Community Voices Programme; and
- ♦ Organisational Capacity Development.

CIKOD was founded in 2003 by Bern Y. Guri, who worked for many years within the field of community development.[77]

CIKOD's programmes evolve around local institutions and mainly focus on enhancing the capacities of local institutions to facilitate their own development. Their primary target groups are within indigenous civil society, e.g.: traditional leaders, nnoboa groups, asafo companies, indigenous singing and drama groups, and hometown associations. A key characteristic of these groups is their internally motivated mobilisation towards defending their interests and that of their broader communities. CIKOD, however, will also work with modern civil society groups, such as NGOs, teachers associations, and farmer groups, when appropriate. In the short term, CIKOD's goal is to focus on strengthening indigenous civil society. In doing this, CIKOD employs modern organisational development skills to strengthen these indigenous forms of organisation. Since 2004, CIKOD has actively collaborated with the Centre for Development Studies of the University of Cape Coast in the design and implementation of its programmes.[78]

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[76] http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761570799/Ghana.html (June 2007).
[77] www.cikod.org (June 2007).
[78] www.cikod.org (June 2007).

The Sankofa

CIKOD's logo, the *Sankofa*, has a very particular meaning. The bird, called *Sankofa*, is a traditional adinkra symbol of the Akan people of southern Ghana. Sankofa is in the Akan language explained as *"se wo were fi na wosan kofa a yenki"*. Literally it means "it is not taboo to go back and fetch what you forgot". Going back for what has been forgotten, however, does not mean staying in the past. Instead, Sankofa teaches us

Figure 9: CIKOD logo

that we must go back to our roots in order to move forward. Visually and symbolically Sankofa is expressed as a mythic bird that flies forward while looking backward with an egg (symbolising the future) in its mouth.[79] The surrounding of the bird as used in the CIKOD logo resembles the step by step of a development process.

CIKOD's Methodology

Endogenous development is not a uniform or linear process. It has many expressions and is based on different dynamics, depending on the starting position and characteristics of the local community or ethnic group. These characteristics include, for example, the type and availability of local resources, their values and ways of knowing, the internal dynamics, as well as the interactions with the 'outside world' or the wider society.[80]

CIKOD stresses the importance of organisational cohesion at community level. Only through this cohesion can communities manage and direct their own affairs more effectively and can they interact meaningfully with the outside world. CIKOD observed that though a lot of "organisation" was happening in communities in a number of different ways, these forms of organisation were often missed or ignored by development programmes. Instead, external agencies have tended to stimulate new organisational forms into existence when they work with communities. These new organisational forms – be they cooperatives, clubs, women's groups, or other such forms – are associated with the external agency and often do not live beyond that external agency's intervention.

In order to achieve a more sustainable development of communities, CIKOD has been developing participatory processes and capacities for working with indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous institutions and traditional authority systems. The method developed and used by CIKOD is called Community Organisational Development and is based on the principles of endogenous development.

Community Organisational Development

CIKOD is currently working with and furthering the development of the Community Organisational Development (COD) methodology. This method grew out of the Organisational Development (OD) approach, which puts emphasis on building the

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[79] www.duboislc.net/SankofaMeaning.html (June 2007).
[80] COMPAS, Learning Endogenous Development. Building on Bio-cultural Diversity (Warwickshire, 2007) 26-28.

capacities of traditional leaders to work as organised grassroots civil societies that can lead marginalised rural communities to take self-initiated action. Community Organisational Development seeks to expand the notion of Organisational Development to include the community as a whole, and as such it seeks to strengthen the links between groups and institutions in the community to work towards a common development agenda that addresses the needs and aspirations of particular groups as well as the whole community. It builds on existing structures, which means traditional institutions/groups and community based organisations, and seeks to facilitate communities to initiate and manage change.

An important difference between conducting Community Organisational Development (COD) and providing conventional Organisational Development (OD) services is that, whereas the latter is carried out by external consultants and is based on western rational principles of competitiveness, efficiency and interests of individuals, Community Organisational Development is a collectivist approach that seeks to address both individual and community interests. An important aspect of Community Organisational Development is that it is based on the African worldview of attaching equal importance to the material as well as spiritual well-being and social cohesion. (Figure 10)

The Community Organisational Development strategy is constructed into different steps. These steps can be used individually, or collectively and at different points in the process of strengthening community or group organisations. CIKOD has especially been working with the first step called 'Community Institutional Mapping'. This step will be further elaborated on in the next paragraph. To give an overview of all steps comprising Community Organisational Development, a brief description of the different steps follows below:

Step 1: Community Institutional Mapping

Community Institutional Mapping is a tool developed by CIKOD. Mapping the community's institutions can help to get an overview of:

♦ Which institutions exist?
♦ Which institution would fit best for which activity? and
♦ What capacity within the community is available to manage such activities?

This in turn can help the community itself to become consciously aware of the different institutions and sub-groups in the community and to prioritise their development opportunities and needs. The outputs of the Community Institutional Mapping give an overview of the existing institutions and their potentials for the development of the community i.e. which groups could play an important role in future development, and how and to what extent existing structures in the community could help advance sustainability and empowerment. Community Institutional Mapping is a participatory process in the sense that it is carried out by the communities with guidance from CIKOD. When done in a culturally sensitive way, Community Institutional Mapping has proven to be a positive entry point for working with a community on an equal basis. This first step will be further elaborated on in the next paragraph Community Institutional Mapping.

Step 2: Community Visioning and Action Planning

Community Visioning and Action Planning is a facilitated process, which enables communities to critically analyse the existing development potentials in the community as well as the resources they would need for exploiting these potentials. Communities are able to prioritise their needs from their own perspective and develop concrete action plans for mobilising local as well as external resources for implementing their projects. The end product is an action plan that indicates the development priorities of the community, the strategies for accessing resources for implementing their priorities and the roles for their traditional authorities and the various indigenous institutions in the community.

Step 3: Community Organisational Self-Assessment

The community or group is assisted to examine themselves so as to identify their organisational capacity potentials, organisational capacity gaps, and organisational capacity needs to be able to mobilise the community and its potentials, and to engage with their traditional authorities as well as external power holders for access to resources or policy influencing. This is a process that could be carried out as part of the Community Institutional Mapping or as a separate activity by itself. The assumption in the Community Organisational Self-Assessment is that communities already have organisational capacities and have been using these capacities to manage their own development processes. Community Organisational Self-Assessment only seeks to enable communities to identify their organisational weaknesses and be able to address those that are within their capacity to address and look for external support for those beyond their capacity.

Step 4: Community Institutional Strengthening

The purpose is to address the organisational capacity gaps of traditional authorities and indigenous groups to enhance their capacity to make demands on power bearers, and to influence policies that affect them. It takes the form of facilitating the strengthening of existing groups (both indigenous and externally facilitated) in the community into well organised and visible Civil Society Organisations to provide services and voice to its members and the community. Through the Community Institutional Mapping, many indigenous and local institutions will be identified but these may not be strong enough to be able to carry out their functions or even take up new functions as dictated by the development needs of the community. Community Institutional Strengthening would build up their organisational capacity for this. It takes the form of vision building and institutional revitalisation.

Step 5: Learning, Sharing and Assessing

This is a step towards the ensuring of effectiveness and sustainability using a community peer review mechanism that offers opportunities for *learning* from others, *sharing* one's experiences and knowledge with others, and *assessing* the work of others (Learning, Sharing and Assessing). It could take the form of exchange visits between communities or groups, or facilitated meetings involving a number of communities or groups to share experiences around issues of common interests.

Figure 10: Organisational Development versus Community Organisational Development[81]

Organisational Development (OD)	Community Organisational Development (COD) *Based in the endogenous development principle*
Focuses on individual person or institutions in community	Focuses on both individuals, institutions and the community as a whole
Emphasis on rational self-interested individual	Aims at building relationships and social capital, and bringing about social cohesion
Results in strengthening of individual choices	Integrates the indigenous and the modern, resulting in broader community support
Carried out by external consultants	Collective approach involving members of the community and outsiders, that addresses both individual and community interests
Requires group entry requirements that may be exclusionary of some category of the poor (e.g. entry fees, educational status, dress code) as in the case of co-operative societies	All inclusive and open to all categories of people in the community, as the sole entry requirement is to be a member of the community (e.g. asafo groups, nnoboa, nkosuo kuo)
Based on western rational principles of competitiveness and efficiency	Based on the African worldview of attaching equal importance to the material as well as spiritual well-being and social cohesion

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[81] COMPAS, Learning Endogenous Development. Building on Bio-cultural Diversity (Warwickshire, 2007) 26-28.

Step 6: Festivals as space for development dialogue

In Ghana, every community has traditional festivals. These are events that bring together all the chiefs and the people as well as sons and daughters of the area from all over the country. In its search for all inclusive traditional platforms where all categories of people (elders, chiefs, women, children, the insane, etc) can voice out their development concerns, CIKOD and its associates piloted a number of traditional festivals to test their efficacy as truly inclusive platforms for development dialogue at the community level.

Community Institutional Mapping

Community Institutional Mapping is a form of diagnosing the weaknesses and potentials for development of a specific community. Community Institutional Mapping forms part of the more elaborate approach discussed above: the Community Organisational Development approach. Using the tool of Community Institutional Mapping (step one) helps the community to make an inventory of the various sub-groups, indigenous and formal institutions that exist in the community, and to asses the potentials of these institutions for the development of the community. Furthermore it addresses the questions of how, and to what extent, existing structures in the community could help to advance sustainable development. Community Institutional Mapping is a participatory process in the sense that it is carried out by the communities with guidance from an external agent. When done in a culturally sensitive way, Community Institutional Mapping has proven to be a positive entry point for working with a community on an equal basis.

Guidelines for Community Institutional Mapping

In cooperation with the services of the Centre for Development Studies of the University of Cape Coast, CIKOD designed guidelines for the Community Institutional Mapping of indigenous institutions and traditional authority systems. These guidelines read as follows: [82]

Open discussion	Open discussion with whole community about their institutions, structures and organisations
Community walk	Community walk to these institutions, structures and organisations, to see their areas of operation
Mapping	Mapping of institutions and organisations, showing their various locations and niches
Analysis of the 'flow relationships'	Analysis of the 'flow relationships' between organisations and institutions
Family unit studies – stratified group / focus group discussion	Conduct a gender sensitive 'three generational analysis' (grandfather, father, son and grandmother, mother, daughter) through interview

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[82] S. Bonye and D. Millar, 'Traditional institutions: entry point for endogenous development' in: Compas Magazine 7 (Leusden, 2004) 30-32.

Structured interviews with key informants	Structured interviews with key informants in the community: chief, medicine man, earth priest, youth leader, soothsayer, war leaders and women's leaders.

When taking the local institutions as a starting point of endogenous development, the extension worker should anticipate the role these institutions play in the community. Questions to be asked before choosing community institutional mapping as an entry point into the community are as follows:

♦ Are the institutions widely accepted or are they surrounded with controversies (e.g. power dispute, corruption, political tension)? and
♦ Do the institutions play an important role in the community or are they of marginal importance?

If the institutions are surrounded with controversies that cause tension and polarisation within the community, it might be better to choose a different tool to diagnose the community, e.g. by mapping its recourses. When a trusting relation between development worker and the community is built, there might be room to address and resolve possible controversies.

Participatory and culture-sensitive Community Institutional Mapping

Community Institutional Mapping is not necessarily participatory and endogenous by nature. Initially, CIKOD collected the information, making the process less participatory. However, CIKOD soon realised that in order to ensure that the development process was actually owned and managed by the community it made sense that the community itself collected the information and that they took a leading role in deciding what information had to collect. To overcome the risk of becoming non-participatory and non-culture sensitive, CIKOD came up with a three step approach in which central importance is put on a proper preparation process, before engaging in the actual mapping/diagnosing of the community's institutions (see also figure 11):

(1) Thorough preparation of and by the extension worker before entering the community. Essential part of these preparations is to get to know and accept the protocols, customs and traditions of the community and ask the community permission for the project.

(2) Preparation of the community by selecting a special team of community members responsible for the Community Institutional Mapping process. The community itself selects the members of this team.

(3) Starting up the Community Institutional Mapping process following the guidelines as mentioned above. During a community meeting (open discussion) the guiding questions can be discussed and agreed upon by the community. Examples of questions to be asked are: what are the different indigenous institutions and organisation's in the community? What role do they play? How are they connected to each other? What challenges do they face? What other organisations are present within or close to the community? The Institutional

Mapping process will be closed by a report, compiled by the responsible team that was selected by the community (see point 2 – preparation of the community). The report will be discussed with the community. This report then leads into community action plans to tackle critical issues related to the community's institutions.

The role of traditional institutions in Ghana

In engaging with traditional authorities and institutions one has to be aware of the historical struggle in Ghana. The colonial nation state sought to use the traditional authorities to govern at the lowest level, in the communities, to serve the interests of the colonial powers. Later on, the post-colonial state on the other hand, perceived the traditional authorities as collaborating with the colonial oppressor and, for that and other reasons, they were not to be given any major role in the new nation state. This has given rise to the relegation of traditional authorities to the status of custodians of the traditions and customs of their subjects. Their role in the socio-economic development of their communities is minimal, since the nation state has taken this role upon itself; the corresponding authority collects taxes to meet this objective. Traditional authorities have also been marginalised politically. The 1992 Constitution categorically bans them from engaging in party politics. Between 1982 and 1992 the powers and spaces available to traditional authorities and institutions were further eroded with the creation of People's Defence Committees under the government's decentralisation programme.[83]

The constitution of Ghana recognises the specific responsibilities of both formal and traditional institutions in national, regional and local affairs. There are constitutionally recognised institutions such as Traditional Councils (local level), the Regional House of Chiefs (regional level) and the National House of Chiefs (national level). Traditional institutions are responsible for the management of natural resources (including land) and for stimulating pro-poor development programmes. These institutions enable chiefs to interact and influence District Assemblies and the Council of State where important development decisions are made. Traditional women leaders are currently excluded from these institutions.

Field Experiences

Facilitation of the endogenous development efforts starts in most Ghanaian cases with a community diagnosis. In the case of CIKOD, the community diagnosis focuses on analysing the local institutions. This mapping of the community's institutions can help the development worker to understand: which institutions exist? Which institution would fit best for which activity? and What capacity within the community is available to manage such activities? Furthermore, it can help the community itself to become consciously aware of the different institutions and sub-groups in the community and to prioritise their development opportunities and needs. CIKOD has done extensive Community Institutional Mappings in its 15 pilot communities.

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[83] S. Bonye and D. Millar, 'Traditional institutions: entry point for endogenous development' in: Compas Magazine 7 (Leusden, 2004) 30-32.

Figure 11: The Three Step Approach Endogenous Community Institutional Mapping[84]

	ACTIVITIES	ACTORS	OUTPUTS
Preparation of the self	**Psychological preparation** Prepare to accept and work with the communities way of spiritual preparation Prepare to humble yourself and show respect for community norms Prepare for 'de-schooling' and 're-schooling'	Facilitator	Facilitator is knowledgeable about community entry procedures
	Socio-cultural preparation Identification of target community Identify contact person/associate. Find out about community protocols, customs and traditions Make preliminary community visit to introduce CIM and ask permission for community entry	Elders	All stakeholders are prepared for the intervention
Preparation of the community	**Community Entry** Observe protocol and procedures Agree on agenda Identify community representatives to work with Agree on next steps Need for comportment, humility empathy and working at pace of community	Facilitator Elders	Agenda is set for the CIM
	Community orientation Participation of community representatives and associates to develop checklist and acquire skills for action research Report back to community Formation of community team Community action plan	Facilitator Community reps. Resource persons	Community representatives have skills for conducting CIM Community team formed
Community Diagnosis, e.g. by means of Community Institutional Mapping	**Orientation workshop at community level for community action research team** Validation of the checklist Skills in participatory data collection Strategy for data collection, analysis and documentation	Facilitator Community reps. Community	Community team has skills for data collection and analysis
	Field data collection and analysis Community meeting Focal group discussions Individual interviews Transect walks, etc Collation of preliminary CIM report by team	Comm. CIM team	Draft community report
	Validation of Community team report Presentation of report to chiefs, elders and cross section of community at community forum for review Identification of issues of community interest from the report	Comm. CIM team Chief and elders Facilitator	CIM report adopted by community Community concerns and action plans
	Documentation Expert support for writing of final report	Facilitator Community reps.	CIM report formally documented

CIM: Community Institutional Mapping

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[84] COMPAS, Learning Endogenous Development. Building on Bio-cultural Diversity (Warwickshire, 2007) 26-28.

The example below shows the work CIKOD has done with one of the institutions that was identified during the Community Institutional Mapping as crucial.

Traditional Female Leadership: A training course for and by Queens

A programme for stimulating endogenous development by building on the skills of traditional leaders was initiated in 2004 by CIKOD, the University of Cape Coast (UCC), and the University for Development Studies (UDS). As a first step in the design of the programme, a workshop to assess the capacity of Queens was organised by the University of Cape Coast. Workshops were also held in Navrongo and Wa for traditional women leaders from northern Ghana. The workshops enabled in-depth learning about how traditional women leaders interpret their role and the problems they face. These insights were used to structure training programmes that would enable traditional Queens to overcome the obstacles that undermine their efforts to assert themselves in local affairs and create unity amongst rural women. In 2005, exploratory workshops on the theme 'Gender, Governance and Development for Queens' were organised by CIKOD and the University of Cape Coast for Queens in southern Ghana, and with the University for Development Studies for their counterparts in northern Ghana.

The primary objective of the 'Traditional Female Leadership Programme' was to increase the capacity of traditional women leaders to take part in local governance. The secondary objective was the empowerment and self development of the traditional Queens. To achieve these objectives, several issues had to be tackled:[85]

♦ The tensions between Chiefs and the emerging authority of literate Queens need to be resolved. Tension exists particularly when sensitive issues such as the selection of Chiefs, problems of corruption and plans for new infrastructure are concerned.

♦ Women leaders need to (re)gain the acceptance of Chiefs and elders to be able to attend meetings of traditional authorities and report back to community members.

♦ Improved skills are needed to create structures such as open forums where community members could assess the work of the women leaders. There is a need to develop the skills necessary for documenting the history, prerogatives, and responsibilities of traditional women leaders.

The training course for Traditional Queens was based on a participatory adult learning approach which is learner-centred, problem-focused and action-orientated, and aims at self-discovery and self-analysis. Key or underlying principle of the workshop was that the trainers acknowledged and respected the fact that the Queens have expertise and talents of their own, which must be given scope for expression and development. The course was centred around two main activities: a workshop where the Queens would diagnose their own role in the community and assess their potential and the challenges they face, and a training course that focused on building and strengthening

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[85] Bern Guri and David Millar, 'Stimulating development through traditional female leadership. A training course for and by Queens' in: Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.

the identified capacities. The workshop was weaved around starters such as songs, stories, case studies, role play and experience sharing (in terms of best and bad practices). These starters arrived from the local settings of the Queens (by means of sharing experiences, group work and field visits) to ensure active participation and avoid miscommunication between Queens and trainers.

The participating Queens indicated that they wanted to strengthen their awareness of governance, laws, financial systems and budgetary procedures in order to effectively address women's concerns and revitalise local associations and practices that support communal stability. Amongst the economic initiatives that were being undertaken by Queens are bee keeping, processing of local products, soap making, textile designing and setting up market women's associations. They are also involved in recreational facilities, organising clean-ups of the domestic and natural environment around their villages and bringing women together in community work groups. The Queens use their knowledge of herbs and medical treatments for the benefit of their communities; occasionally they visit primary and junior secondary schools to talk about gender issues. However, functional illiteracy and limited experience in guiding small businesses and other resource management initiatives are serious obstacles to realising their plans. [86]

Changes following the Traditional Female Leadership Programme

The training course had several positive outcomes. In June 2006, the Queens' lobbying resulted in the Chieftaincy Act being reviewed in order to ensure that traditional women leaders have the facilities they need to participate fully in the processes of decentralisation and democratisation. It offers an opportunity for re-establishing the position of Queens as respected spokespersons and councillors whose capacity to mobilise women has important implications for the welfare of rural households. [87]

Secondly, the Queens who participated in the northern Ghana training courses agreed that there was an urgent need to work together to profile the significance and potential of traditional women leaders in their region. They planned to establish a strong, well-organised Association of Traditional Female Leaders in each traditional area. The association would be headed by a Paramount Queen, while divisional and sub-divisional Queens would be appointed to deal with local governance and grassroots issues. Their initiative draws attention to the pivotal role of Queens and the positive contributions they could make to their communities. Working with traditional authorities and indigenous institutions has the potential to enhance inclusiveness and draw the marginalised individuals and communities into the development process. Experience in Ghana has shown that working with and through traditional Queens and other indigenous institutions can be extremely effective. [88]

Thirdly, the Traditional Female Leadership Programme resulted in the development of a curriculum for training traditional women leaders. This capacity building initiative recognises that development interventions based on traditional forms of community organisation are often a more effective base for tackling poverty and

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[86] Bern Guri and David Millar, 'Stimulating development through traditional female leadership. A training course for and by Queens' in: Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.
[87] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.
[88] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.

rural livelihood issues than non-endogenous structures such as community-based organisations, farmer-based organisations, or cooperative societies that depend on unreliable external funding. In re-establishing an effective role for traditional women leaders in chieftaincy affairs, capacity building has focused on modernising and improving their position so that they can meet the challenges associated with their status.[89]

Fourthly, Queens are working to modify the negative aspects of traditional rites, such as those relating to widowhood, and to create more gender awareness on the division of tasks within the family household. In this way they are helping to ease the transition of rural households into modernity without destroying the heritage and indigenous knowledge that continues to be essential to rural life.[90]

For future training courses, CIKOD suggests to invite the (male) Chiefs to participate as well. Besides adding weight to the courses, CIKOD expects that their presence might have a positive effect on the position of the Queens, and may help harmonise relationships between these two important symbols of traditional authority. If the position of the traditional women leaders is strengthened, they will probably be better equipped to support the Chiefs in their work.[91]

Figure 12: Traditional Female Leadership: A Training Course for and by Queens

The role of traditional Queens in governance and natural resource management at local level February 2005 (CIKOD and UCC)

Mama Teke Foliwa II is the traditional Queen of the Have, a rural community in Hohoe District, in the Volta Region of Ghana. The community's main livelihood activities are farming, fishing, weaving and small-scale trading. Mama Teke Foliwa II points out the changes that have taken place since she participated in the training: "I have now organised the women of my clan to form the Abrode Women's Association, and the women are undertaking income generating activities such as snail rearing and bee-keeping. I have influenced the Have Traditional Council to dedicate one day of this years' Agadevi festival to cultural education for women. On this day, all women above the age of 18 years will be given cultural education by traditional women leaders, to enable them to understand the norms and cultural values of their community. During the festival, competitions will be held in cooking, dressing and cultural games."

University Involvement: The University of Cape Coast

The University of Cape Coast was established in 1962 out of a need for highly qualified and skilled human resources in education to provide leadership and enlightenment. UCC's aim was to train graduate teachers for second cycle institutions, Teacher Training Colleges as well as Technical Institutions. The University has since its establishment added to its functions the training of educational planners, administrators and agriculturalists.[92]

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[89] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.
[90] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.
[91] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.
[92] http://www.ghanauniversities.com/university_cape_coast.htm (2007).

Curriculum for Training Traditional Queens

One of the results of cooperation between CIKOD and the University of Cape Coast (UCC) has been the development of a curriculum for training traditional women leaders. This capacity building initiative recognises that development interventions based on traditional forms of community organisation are often a more effective base for tackling poverty and rural livelihood issues than non-endogenous structures such as community-based organisations, farmer-based organisations, or cooperative societies that depend on unreliable external funding. In re-establishing an effective role for traditional women leaders in chieftaincy affairs, capacity building has focused on modernising and improving their position so that they can meet the challenges associated with their status.[93]

As a result of the needs identified by traditional women leaders during these workshops, a long-term training curriculum has been designed by CIKOD and the two partner universities. The training curriculum aims to increase the capacity of Queens to move between traditional and modern governance systems and other institutions that have a direct impact on their duties. The curriculum includes capacity building in communication and teamwork; community resource management and rural livelihoods; and advocacy skills for enhancing accountability and gender equity. The training curriculum takes into consideration traditional practices that place restrictions on women including customary inheritance laws that inhibit women's enterprise opportunities. Such practices have become particularly problematic in the rural areas where the role of women has changed significantly in recent years. New income generation opportunities have meant that many women are now less dependent on men.[94]

The added value of working with the universities is foreseen to ensure:

♦ Academic rigour in the capacity strengthening programmes of CIKOD
♦ Building legitimacy and widespread acceptability for the work of CIKOD.
♦ Influencing the training methodologies and teaching programmes of the university itself to produce culturally embedded professionals.
♦ Providing opportunities to the university to research into indigenous knowledge and institutions and their relevance for development and to build this into its teaching curriculum.

Lessons Learned and Future Challenges

CIKOD conducted extensive Community Institutional Mapping in its 15 pilot communities. Initially CIKOD collected the information, making the process less participatory. However, CIKOD soon realised that in order to ensure that the development process was actually owned and managed by the community itself, it made sense that the community itself collected the information and took a leading role in deciding what information had to collect. Since then, Community Institutional

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[93] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.
[94] Bern Guri and David Millar, Compas Magazine 10 (Leusden, 2006) 39-41.

Mapping has evolved into a process in which communities themselves gather information on the existing systems, structures and practices. Guiding questions are for example:

♦ What are the different indigenous institutions and organisation's in the community?
♦ What role do they play?
♦ How are they connected to each other?
♦ What challenges do they face?
♦ What other organisations are there?

A learning point for CIKOD was that in the process of Community Institutional Mapping, the questions should also be connected to a theme, for example, land tenure or forest management. If not, the exercise can be too general and raise too many expectations. The responsible team that was selected by the community compiles a report and then meets with community members to verify the correctness, or otherwise, of the data gathered. This then is followed by the development of community action plans to tackle critical issues related to the theme of the Community Institutional Mapping.

Community Institutional Mapping proved to be a useful tool for getting a clearer picture of the internal communication, revealing controversies, and starting discussions within the community. In conducting this exercise, it became clear that some of the traditional institutions, especially some of the ritual institutions, had become moribund. For example: the puberty rites, the adulthood rites, and the institutions responsible for the punishment of spiritual crimes. Other institutions needed to be completely reconstructed, but could be revived for development purposes. Examples are the functional institutions for environmental management, the self-support systems for indigenous livelihoods, and the institutions for defence. Other institutions, especially the structural institutions such as the youth groups, the women's groups, and the clan support systems, are quite vibrant and could be the central entry point for endogenous development.

The Community Institutional Mapping also highlighted institutions in the community that experience interference from modernity, religion and the state. The youth believe that the institutions have outgrown their usefulness; formal churches often equate traditional spiritual leaders with superstition, while the government is introducing new functionaries who have usurped the roles of traditional community leadership. These elements have created a lot of controversies which have weakened the strength and effectiveness of the traditional institutions. As far as CIKOD is concerned, these findings mean that there are a lot of challenges involved in getting traditional institutions to re-assert themselves. The challenges include (re)construction, opening them up to the demands of modern times, and incorporation of genuine concerns such as gender sensitivity. There is still an important task ahead.[95]

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[95] S. Bonye and D. Millar, Traditional institutions: entry point for endogenous development in: Compas Magazine 7 (Leusden 2004) 30-32.

Chapter Six
Framework for Endogenous Development in Southern Africa

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Introduction

With a total of nearly thirteen countries, the southern Africa region has a population of about 250 million. Southern Africa is home to many cultures and peoples. Depending on its definition the southern African region includes 5 (UN definition) to 18 territories, including the small island territories in the Indian Ocean east of the African mainland. At present COMPAS is working in Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

The terrain of southern Africa is very varied, ranging from forest and grasslands to deserts. The region has both low-lying coastal areas, and mountains. Southern Africa has a vast amount of natural resources such as platinum, gold and diamonds.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the region's economy because of its rich soil types suitable for farming. Farming is done intensively both at subsistence and commercial levels. The farming activities are mainly concentrated on crop production, and animal keeping for both milk and meat production. Most of these agricultural products are exported to countries within Africa and out side Africa as part of expanding economic and trade relations.

Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe

In southern Africa, two organisations – the Association of Zimbabwean Traditional Environmental Conservationists (AZTREC) and the Southern African Endogenous Development Programme (SAEDP) – have been involved in endogenous development under the COMPAS network. AZTREC has been working in Zimbabwe; SAEDP is working in Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Lesotho

The Kingdom of Lesotho is landlocked by South Africa and is made up mostly of highlands where many of the villages can be reached only on horseback, by foot or light aircraft. Resources are scarce, a consequence of the harsh environment of the highland plateau and limited agricultural space in the lowlands. Poverty in Lesotho is deep and widespread, with the United Nations describing 40% of the population as 'ultra-poor'. Food production has been hit severely by the deaths from Aids of farmers. Lesotho has one of the world's highest rates of HIV-Aids infection. [96]

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[96] www.news.bbc.co.uk (2007).

Migration to South Africa for jobs in the mines offers occupational opportunities for Sotho men.

South Africa

The Republic of South Africa has a population of over 45 million (UN, 2005). The country has three main geographic regions: a great interior plateau; an escarpment of mountain ranges that rims the plateau on the east, south, and west; and a marginal area lying between the escarpment and the sea. In the north of the country, the southern fringes of the Kalahari desert are to be found, and in the west the semiarid Cape middleveld. South Africa is well known for its Kruger National Park situated in the north-east of the country.[97]

Figure 13: Map South Africa and Lesotho (bbc.co.uk, 2007)

South Africa has a limited amount of arable land (about 10%) and inadequate irrigation; production is diminished during periodic droughts. The chief crops grown are corn, wheat, sorghum, potatoes, peanuts, citrus fruits, cotton, tobacco, and sugarcane. In addition, large numbers of dairy and beef cattle, sheep, goats and hogs are raised. South Africa is a leading exporter of minerals and tourism. However, many South Africans remain poor and unemployment is high. Around one in seven of its citizens is infected with HIV.[98] Land redistribution is an ongoing issue. Most farmland is still white-owned. The government aims to transfer thirty percent of farmland to black South Africans by 2014.[99]

Zimbabwe

The Republic of Zimbabwe is a landlocked country with a population estimate of 12.9 million (UN, 2005). The terrain is mainly a plateau of four regions: the high veld (above 1200 meters) that crosses the country from southwest to northeast; the middle veld; the low veld (elevations below 914 meters); and the Eastern Highlands, a narrow, mountainous belt along the Mozambique border. In the eastern highlands the highest point in Zimbabwe, Mount Inyangani (2,592 meters) can be found.[100]

Figure 14: Map Zimbabwe (news.bbc.co.uk, 2007)

Zimbabwe has an extensive national park system, including Hwange and Victoria Falls, both situated in the west of Zimbabwe. Forests in the south east of Zimbabwe yield valuable hardwoods, including teak and mahogany. The country is endowed with a wide variety of mineral resources, including gold, platinum, diamonds, nickel, asbestos, tin, iron, chromite, copper, and coal. Among Zimbabwe's industrial products

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[97] www.news.bbc.co.uk (2007) and http://www.infoplease.com (2007).
[98] www.news.bbc.co.uk (2007) and http://www.infoplease.com (2007).
[99] www.news.bbc.co.uk (2007).
[100] http://www.infoplease.com (2007).

are iron and steel, cement, foods, machinery, textiles, and consumer goods. Most of Zimbabwe's power is generated by a hydroelectric station at the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi River.[101]

Agriculture is the backbone of Zimbabwean economy. The commercial large farms have been replaced by smaller farms in 2000. Formerly an exporter of agricultural products, Zimbabwe is now an importer of grains. Corn is the chief food source while cotton and tobacco are the principal cash crops. Other products include sorghum, peanuts, wheat, sugarcane, soybeans, coffee and tea. Dairying is important in the high veld region.[102]

The three Zimbabwean areas where AZTREC has been working in the context of COMPAS are Zimuto, Mupata and Charumbira. These areas are characterised by low rainfall (400-600 mm per year) and poor sandy soils. Deforestation, uncontrolled grazing, mono-cultures and inappropriate tillage systems have led to widespread soil erosion and destruction of natural resources in these areas. Soils and water bodies are polluted with chemical fertilisers and insecticides, and the rivers are no longer reliable sources of drinking water. Altogether, these processes have resulted in low crop yields, loss of biodiversity, desertification and health hazards.

The People

The population of Lesotho is comprised almost totally of the Sotho people. English and Sesotho (a Bantu tongue) are the official languages of the kingdom; Zulu and Xhosa are also spoken.[103]

South Africa has eleven official languages, of which nine are indigenous: Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sotho, Swazi, Venda, Ndebele, Pedi, and Tsonga. The majority of people is Christian; around thirty percent of the population follows traditional African religions.[104]

Zimbabwe's official language is English, with Shona and Ndebele being the prominent African languages. Around 98 percent of the population is from African decent. The Shona are the predominant group. About half of the population practices a blend of Christian and indigenous religions.[105]

Cosmovision in Zimbabwe

The Shona is the predominant ethnic group on Zimbabwe. AZTREC has mainly been working with communities of the Karanga ethnic group of the Shona peoples. According to the Karanga people, the ancestral spirits are the owners of humankind and thus responsible for well-being. Their cosmovision is based on the three pillars of African philosophy: the human world, the natural world and the spiritual world.

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[101] http://www.infoplease.com (2007).
[102] http://www.infoplease.com (2007).
[103] http://www.infoplease.com (2007).
[104] http://www.infoplease.com (2007).
[105] www.news.bbc.co.uk (2007).

Human world

In the human world, every person has a personal spirit. Spirit mediums are a special category of human beings, who are 'possessed' by the ancestral spirits. Thus, important ancestors are able to communicate with living beings and guide the people. There are different levels of spiritual authority, ranging from individual to family, sub-clan, clan, tribal, ethnic, national, regional and continental levels. Within the human world there are traditional leaders, such as chiefs and sub-chiefs, who represent a particular area. Usually, a new chief is appointed by the spirit of the one who founded the clan, who returns as a spirit through one of his descendants. A group of headmen and *kraalheads* constitute the highest board of chieftainship. [106]

Natural world

Sacred places include shrines, water bodies and particular species within the natural world. In the animal kingdom, lions, baboons, snakes and birds such as the batteleur eagle, are considered sacred. In the Karanga cosmovision, the human world heavily depends on special messages from the spiritual world, which are transmitted through these sacred animals. For these animals to perform their functions as intermediaries, a condusive habitat is required, which implies the need for ecological diversity. When diversity is degraded, these sacred animals migrate to other places, and can no longer serve the humans in the area. Therefore, people are not permitted to hunt wild animals, fell trees or collect wild fruits for sale in specific places. Violation of these rules and regulations are believed to result in the disappearance of the voice of *Musikavanhu*, or God. [107]

Spiritual world

The spiritual world encompasses both the natural world and human society, inhabited by the spirits. *Musikavanhu*, the creator of the natural and human world that has existed since the beginning of time, is supreme in this hierarchy. The spiritual world consists of different spirits with various meeting places, responsibilities, tasks and functions. There are, for example, spirits that specialise in war strategies, technology development, rain making or human health. Some of the spirits warn people about diseases and problems, which could affect the entire nation. [108]

The Association of Zimbabwean Traditional Environmental Conservationists (AZTREC) & the Southern African Endogenous Development Programme (SAEDP)

The Association of Zimbabwean Traditional Environmental Conservationists (AZTREC) was formed in 1985 by freedom fighters, chiefs and spirit mediums, to focus on environmental conservation and cultural survival. AZTREC's activities are centered on eco-cultural villages, where many income-generating activities take place. AZTREC had been a member of the COMPAS network between 1998 and 2005.

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[106] Bertus Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots. Endogenous Development in Practice (Leusden, 2003) 169-170.
[107] Bertus Haverkort a.o. (Eds.), Ancient Roots, New Shoots (Leusden, 2003) 169-170.
[108] Bertus Haverkort eds, Ancient Roots, New Shoots. (Leusden, 2003) 169-170.

Founded in May 2004, the Southern African Endogenous Development Programme (SAEDP) is a legally registered autonomous community-owned Non-Governmental Organisation of traditional institutions (Spirit mediums, Chiefs and their Rural Communities). SAEDP works in collaboration with universities in southern Africa.

The SAEDP programme is committed to the ideals of working to reduce structural poverty and combat desertification and diseases through the promotion of local innovations and natural expertise in rural development within the southern Africa region. Currently, countries participating in the programme are Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe. SAEDP hopes to expand its activities into other southern African countries such as Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia.

Figure 15:
SAEDP logo

Framework for Field-level Implementation, Based on the Endogenous Development Principle

SAEDP carries out participatory rural endogenous development projects with traditional institutions taking a spiritually inspired role to guide the development programme. The rural community-driven development projects focus on the domains of natural resources conservation, indigenous agriculture, traditional health delivery, and appropriate technology development. The indigenous knowledge systems, culture and cosmovision of the communities involved are taken into account during the whole cycle of designing, planning and implementing the project.

How to get started

SAEDP feels that one has to be culturally mature when introducing development issues to the rural people. This can only be achieved through a respectful and dignified approach to traditional institutions who, beyond doubt, still command great influence among the communities they lead. Working closely with the traditional institutions will prevent unnecessary conflicts and unprecedented resistance can be avoided. SAEDP now has established a non-biased relationship with the traditional and spiritual leaders, the authentic custodians of the indigenous knowledge. They have been working closely with people from and respected by the communities involved.

How to design for action

In SAEDP's experience, rural projects strictly designed by development agencies and technocrats are often not sustainable because the communities involved are not committed to it. To counter this problem SAEDP consults the custodians of traditional practices, mainly the chiefs and spirit mediums, and fully involves these traditional institutions at all stages of the project. In SAEDP's view ignoring the indigenous knowledge of the people involved in a development project, is to ignore not only a potential major development resource, but also the local people themselves.

The design itself is made flexible enough to accommodate modifications during execution. As a principle, before action is commenced a traditional ceremony is carried out in the project area to determine positive continuous guidance and expected outputs from the spiritual world. During the process, the traditional institutions give a

full mandate and are accountable for the design to guarantee sustainability of the programme. SAEDP thrives to find new ways for field experiments and trials. This does not mean that we should ignore everything conventional but we should select western techniques that are complementary to the beliefs, norms and values of the peoples involved.

Due to the importance of traditional values in day-to-day community life, SAEDP tries as much as possible to incorporate spiritual elements, advice and guidance as indicated by the spirit mediums. It is encouraged that ritual calendars, astrological data such as the natural movement and positions of the moon, the stars and the sun, are recognised in programming. These astrological objects tell when special rituals or ceremonies should be held and also indicate the advent rains. It is fundamental to give maximum respect to sacred places and other qualities of the programme area as defined by the people's cosmovision, norms and values. Socio-cultural aspects such as taboos, totems, and the role of local authorities in decision making, project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation are important in preserving the foundations of indigenous knowledge and cultural perspectives. Criteria for setting indicators and strategies are put in conformity with successful parameters in the experiences of communities. The experience of SAEDP is that one has to be gender sensitive and make sex differentiation in setting parameters and indicators. It is always a fatal omission not to take into account a resource frame that is responsive to the local perception and value systems.

SAEDP finds that it is significant to develop alternative methodologies for determining parameters although it is always rewarding to evaluate these parameters against the indigenous cosmovision.

How to monitor the process

The stakeholders involved in the implementation of the SAEDP, whether farmers, chiefs, spirit mediums, women or young people, are always at the centre of the process from beginning to end. SAEDP strives to cultivate some degree of confidence among the beneficiaries of their development efforts. The traditional institutions, once they develop a sense of ownership of the process, formulate and enforce community-based bylaws. It is natural that no one wants to be inferior in a development process, which is claimed to benefit the same person in the end. During ritual ceremonies and festivals organised by the custodians of indigenous knowledge, there is participatory dialogue where interaction with the spiritual world takes place in order to strengthen the entire monitoring process and install conservation discipline.

How to judge the results

As mentioned earlier, SAEDP ensures that the communities and traditional institutions are accountable for the project cycle. The agreed parameters are revisited together with all stakeholders and authentic leaders with a view to undertaking an impact assessment. The organisation is always open for intended and unexpected results and modifications which should be addressed in the process. If positive results are expected, the respective traditional institutions are requested to organise a ritual ceremony to thank and appease the spiritual world.

How do we leave without creating a dependency syndrome?

The whole project cycle from identification, project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation should be strategically designed in a way that does not leave a vacuum when SAEDP is rendering more concentration on new partners. SAEDP feels that one way of guaranteeing continuity is by ensuring that the entire process is embedded in the culture and cosmovision of the stakeholders. Stakeholder institutional networking and farmer-to-farmer reciprocal arrangements should be developed and adapted in order to internalise the process. It is observed that often the young generation, women and the aged usually integrate themselves into a process which fully respects socio-cultural practices. It is important for the SAEDP to cultivate confidence in all cross sections of the population such that they identify themselves with the development process.

Field Experience

In chapter five 'Community Organisational Development in South-western Ghana' the mapping and assessing of a community's institutions has been discussed. SAEDP starts its endogenous development programmes using the same tool, with the difference that the communities diagnose not their institutions but their resources. The resource may vary from economic, produced and natural resources to human, social and cultural resources. In SAEDP's experience, working together with the community like this is indispensable for the local community to identify with the development process from the start. A good example of a Community Resource Diagnosis is the case of the Qwa-Qwa Community in South Africa.

The Qwa-Qwa Community Resources Diagnosis

Traditionally, Qwa-Qwa has a composition of two ethnic groups, namely the Batlokoa and Bakwena. The Batlokoa are of the Ingwe or Leopard totem; the Bakwena are of the crocodile totem. The two chiefs, Chief Mota and Chief Mopeli, are the rulers of Qwa-Qwa. Spirit mediums speak on behalf of the spiritual world. In May 2005, the Qwa-Qwa (Batlokoa and Bakwena) Community, South Africa – in partnership with Vaal University of Technology – carried out a Community Resources Diagnosis. The SAEDP coordinating office facilitated the process. The objective of this community exercise was to find out how much resources were available in the area while identifying development niches. The information gathered was used to come up with a work plan that resulted in implementing endogenous development in the Qwa-Qwa Chieftainship area. In the work plan, the community was to identify where they wanted the coordinating office of SAEDP to facilitate in the process of implementing endogenous development. The following steps were undertaken together with the Qwa-Qwa Community:

Step 1   Consulting and informing the Chiefs and Spirit Mediums about the Community Resource Diagnosis.

The respect for and adherence to indigenous knowledge systems by the Qwa-Qwa community is prevalent. Spirit mediums, chiefs and local elders are accorded their roles and responsibilities. Before the Community Resource

Diagnosis was held the two local Chiefs, who stay in the same area, were informed and a consultation with the ancestors was made through their spirit mediums.

Step 2 Setting dates with the Chiefs and Spirit Mediums for when the Community Resource Diagnosis could be held.

Step 3 Inviting the community to the Community Resource Diagnosis workshop.

A community meeting was organised so that all groups of communities could participate and contribute at the one-day workshop. The venue of the meeting was the Chiefs Court. Although youths were also invited they did not come in big numbers.It was interesting and encouraging to note that the majority of the participants were local elders, chiefs and spirit mediums aged above 50 years. These could provide correct information on the resources within the area. The resources were largely spiritual. Thus, the contribution of young generation was limited. In fact, the youths who participated were being educated on the resources available, and the spiritual and cultural values attached to them. The group included indigenous conservationists, agricultural experts and farmer innovators, technologists, traditional medical practitioners etc.

Step 4 Performing a ritual ceremony before the start of the Community Resource Diagnosis.

Step 5 Facilitating the Community Resource Diagnosis process (SAEDP secretariat). The stakeholders, fascilitated by Vaal University of Technology, list all the available resources into the following categories: Natural Resources, Social Resources, Economic Resources, Human Resources, Produced Resources, Cultural and Spiritual Resources.

Diagnosing the community's resources was mainly done by sharing and discussing information. The chiefs fully played their part as the traditional administrators of the land, while the spirit mediums advised on all issues. The workshop participants discussed all the issues as one group up to the end of the day. Valuable contributions were coming from all group members.
Going through this exercise of sharing the importance attached to the natural resources – with more knowledge of the past coming from the elderly men and women – the community thereafter listed all the resources available in Qwa-Qwa. It was advised by the spirit mediums and local elders, that although the resources are in abundance, not to temper with all of the resources identified since some of these resources are highly spiritual and central to the indigenous knowledge systems, culture and cosmovision of the area. Furthermore, the historical utilisation of the resources based on indigenous practices that sustained people from time immemorial was discussed, stressing the necessity of keeping nature intact and looking after it using traditional approaches, guidelines and principles. This would result in

other meaningful endogenous development initiatives. The resources that were listed are discussed below (Qwa-Qwa Community Resources).

Step 6   Performing the ritual to thank the Ancestors for having successfully led them to productively complete the Community Resource Diagnosis.

Step 7   Develop a work plan based on the priority projects derived from the existing situation and immediate needs.
At the end of the day's proceedings both communities, with assistance from Vaal University of Technology and the SAEDP Coordinating Office, came up with a work plan composed of prioritised projects on endogenous development. The communities agreed to implement these projects according to the level of need. Activities focussed on the production on small grains; rearing sheep, goats, cattle and poultry; the establishment of 20 commercial gardens; pottery and weaving; reviving local traditional norms and values trough training; and productions of weaving grass for traditional artefacts.

Step 8   Compile the Community Resource Diagnosis report and disseminate it back to the stakeholders.

Qwa-Qwa Community Resources

The communities, facilitated by SAEDP and Vaal Univeristy of Technology, made an inventory of the various resources that exist in the community, and assessed the potentials of these resources for the development of the community. The identified resources vary from human, social and cultural resources to economic, produced and natural resources.

Human Resources: Qwa-Qwa is a small growing community with a population density of 34.000 people comprising men, women, boys and girls. The mainstay of the Qwa-Qwa community is agriculture that includes production of small grains like sorghum and millets, and organic gardening of vegetables. In the field of agriculture there are natural experts and farmer innovators who are willing to share their knowledge, experiences, and expertise with their community. The Qwa-Qwa community is especially rich in farmer innovators on crop and vegetable production. A number of elders, especially men, are active technologists in farm implements and tools such as hoes and axes.

The community has several traditional medical practitioners, the *Sangoma*. The *Sangoma* provide medical assistance to the local people using traditional medicines from herbal gardens.

The spirit mediums and chiefs form the nerve centre of the community livelihood and advise on appropriate use of the available resources and other development initiatives. A specialisation among the spirit mediums is that of the spiritual rainmakers, who annually pray to the spiritual world for rain.

The traditional specialists (farmers, spirit mediums, chiefs) are the custodians of the indigenous knowledge systems, culture and cosmovision. They are responsible for passing on all cultural aspects to the succeeding generations. Of course, there are also skilled and semi skilled community members who acquire education from the conventional institutions of modern education as well.

Social Resources: Traditional authorities such as chiefs, headmen and spirit mediums are the bedrock of Qwa-Qwa Community. Each of these authorities has a significant role to play in the people's livelihoods and their development initiatives.

Traditional dancing is often performed in the area. This activity is mainly organised and presided over by the women, and is vested in the indigenous culture of the Qwa-Qwa people. Some of these women are spirit mediums. They train young girls and boys on how to sing and dance the Basotho way. Cultural activities are significant to people's lives as it keeps people within the parameters of their cultural focus, values and norms while, ate the same time, appeasing the ancestors. The communities of Qwa-Qwa, especially males, enjoy donkey and horse riding as a hobby. These domestic animals are sometimes used as a mode of transport within the area. Political structures do exist as part of community life. Hospitals, clinics, schools, university, and sport or recreational facilities are available in the area.

Natural Resources: The two Qwa-Qwa communities share the same communal area endowed with ranges and plateaus of sacred and ordinary mountains. These mountains host sacred caves where regular rituals are held and presided over by the spirit mediums.

River ecosystems are a major source of water for domestic use. It is said that sacred pools exist within the rivers. Natural springs are also scattered in the area. These springs are well conserved. Some are used to provide fresh water for brewing beer for traditional rituals and ceremonies. In addition, the local municipal council provides portable water.

Grasslands are a common feature in Qwa-Qwa. The type of grass found in these landscapes is used for weaving baskets, grain storage bans, and other indigenous artefacts. The spirit mediums are highly recommending that this resource be propagated for people to get the much needed grass. Special stones that were used by the forefathers during the Stone Age era to make tools and as a source of fire are still available. Many birds (sacred and ordinary), reptiles and other wildlife species can be found in abundance in this area.

Produced or Cultivated Resources: There are readily available cultivated resources within Qwa-Qwa community including grain crops such as maize and sorghum, and beans, pumpkins, peas, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cabbage, carrots and spinach. The farmers produce the food in their organic home gardens. Ninety-nine percent of the households produce the above mentioned market garden products.

Economic Resources and Infrastructure: Although the Qwa-Qwa area is mountainous and is characterised by steep slopes, the road network is good and reliable. The whole area, especially where people live and community support services are established and accessible, is well maintained. All the roads to such places are tarred and well designed. The responsible Ministry through Provincial and Municipal Councils ensure consistent maintenance. Telecommunication and electric power distribution are in good order. Business and Training Centres, though inadequate, are also available. Income generating projects such as brick making, dressmaking, gardening and poultry rearing are dominant occupations among the communities in the area.

Cultural and Spiritual Resources: In Qwa-Qwa, there is one cultural village called the Basotho Cultural Village. Basatho Cultural Village is a centre of excellence where communities are trained in various activities that are culture-based. The Basatho village generates money from the tourists, from within and outside South Africa. The Government ploughs back to the Community some of the revenue proceeds. However, they still suggest that establishing another cultural village may help people learn more and quicker about their culture.

Traditionally, Qwa-Qwa has a composition of two ethnic groups, namely, the Batlokoa and Bakwena. The Batlokoa are of the Ingwe or Leopard totem; the Bakwena are of the crocodile totem. The two chiefs, Chief Mota and Chief Mopeli, are the rulers of Qwa-Qwa. Spirit mediums speak on behalf of the spiritual world while rainmakers lead rainmaking activities. There is an assortment of church denominations including Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist.

University Involvement

From its inception, SAEDP has been working to establish partnerships between universities and traditional institutions. These partnerships are imbedded in the SAEDP organisational structure because traditional leaders and vice-chancellors constitute the SAEDP Regional Council. The initial partnership initiative between traditional leaders and universities was coordinated by the SAEDP's Regional Coordinating Office, based at Vaal University of Technology (VUT). SAEDP has recently moved to, and is being hosted by, the University of Zululand in South Africa.

Partnerships

SAEDP encourages partnerships between traditional leaders and universities. The traditional institutions, that are the major stakeholders and custodians of indigenous knowledge systems, are supported to form Rural Community Based Organisations (CBOs). The participating universities or related tertiary institutions form a University Consortium on Endogenous Development. These two groups (the CBOs and the University Consortium) form partnerships for development. The partnerships have two main objectives:

1. Incorporating endogenous development programmes into mainstream curricula on development processes and policies;
2. Strengthening and supporting rural communities and their development initiatives.

By making chiefs and vice-chancellors of the respective communities and universities aware of the endogenous development principles, SAEDP hopes that the main stakeholders in the development process have a common focus and understanding towards rural community outreach development programmes. If the university agrees to work within the framework of SAEDP, the university chooses the community(ies) it wishes to partner on the endogenous development initiative. The university signs a memorandum of understanding with its partnering community. The participating – and pioneering – Rural Community Based Organisations and universities are:

♦ Lekalong Tajane community in partnership with National University of Lesotho (Lesotho);
♦ Bakwena and Batlokoa communities in partnership with Vaal University of Technology (South Africa);
♦ Inkosi Mkhwanazi community partnering with University of Zululand (South Africa);
♦ Nemakonde and Marange communities working with Zimbabwe Open University (Zimbabwe).

The role of the universities is to strengthen and support the development initiatives of the Rural Community Based Organisations through action research, experimentation, validation, and systematic documentation of the indigenous knowledge systems and the project activities and processes. The findings are then being mainstreamed into Higher Education curricula. Furthermore, the institutions of higher learning provide backstopping for field activities; train and guide field staff in making the experimental design, monitoring the research process, and assessing the programme results; and stimulate the documentation and publication of learning experiences. The project itself is being carried out by the communities, with the universities facilitating the process.

Chapter Seven
Tanzania, the Maasai and Endogenous Development

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Introduction

The United Republic of Tanzania is located in Eastern Africa and has an estimated population of 38.4 million (UN, 2005). Tanzania is the biggest of the East African countries. It has three physiographic regions namely the Islands and the coastal plains to the east; the inland saucer-shaped plateau; and the highlands. The Great Rift Valley runs from northeast Africa through central Tanzania.[109]

Figure 16: Map Tanzania
(news.bbc.co.uk, 2007)

Tanzanian climate is tropical. In the highlands, temperatures range between 10 and 20 degrees centigrade. In the rest of the country, temperatures range between 20 and 30 degrees centigrade. The hottest period is from November to February; the coldest period is between May and August. There are two distinct rainy seasons in the north of the country: the long rains or Masika (between March and May) and the short rains or Vuli (between October and December). The rainy season in the southern, south-west, central and western parts of the country falls between December and April.[110]

Agriculture is the foundation of the Tanzanian economy. It accounts for about half of the national income and about three quarters of merchandise exports. It is the major food source and provides employment opportunities to about 80 percent of Tanzanians. Agriculture in Tanzania is dominated by smallholder farmers cultivating average farm sizes of between 0.9 and 3.0 hectares. About 70 percent of Tanzanian cropping area is cultivated by hand hoe, 20 percent by ox plough, and 10 percent by tractor. Agriculture is rain-fed. Women constitute the main part of agricultural labour force.[111]

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[109] http://www.tanzania.go.tz (March 2007).
[110] http://www.tanzania.go.tz (March 2007).
[111] http://www.tanzania.go.tz (March 2007).

Monduli District

Monduli is one of the five districts of the Arusha Region in the North of Tanzania. It is bordered to the north by Kenya, to the east by the Kilimanjaro Region and Arumeru District, to the south by the Manyara Region and to the west by the Ngorongoro and Karatu Districts. According to the 2002 Tanzania National Census, the population of the Monduli District was 185.237. [112]

The Maasai

The Maasai is the biggest ethnic group MVIWATA Monduli is working with in Monduli district. They make up 68% of the total MVIWATA members in the district. The Maasai community is pastoralist by nature[113], and depends mainly on livestock and livestock products for their livelihoods sustenance. Traditionally, the Maasai cattle were from an indigenous type characterised by low milk and meat production. As risk mitigation, the Maasai kept big herds of animals; in the case of a disease outbreak, at least some animals would be expected to survive. Due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Maassai, extension services hardly reached them.

As a society, the Maasai belong to seventeen clans in East Africa. They have their own traditional institutions. Responsibilities are divided according to age, sex and functions in society. Examples of the different Maasai groups with their responsibilities are:

Olaigwanan The Traditional Leaders: They are responsible for conflict resolution in their society. Traditional leaders can be found on two levels:

Age Leaders, Ol-otuno
Every age group selects their leaders. The age groups are the key to understanding Maasai social structure. Each stage bears the promise of the next one, with at the end death as the normal and ultimate stage. An age group is composed of boys with an age difference in the range of about seven years. The group members are categorised by having been circumcised in the same period of time during the "New Age Group Initiation".

When enough young men (Il-layok) have reached early manhood, the decision is taken by Elders to initiate a new group and to proceed to circumcise them before they enter into the stage of Eni-paata. The circumcision ceremony that ushers in this period is called Embolosat. The Maasai youths are circumcised between ages 15 and 18. The 'age leader' (olaigwanan ol otuno) is selected when he is still young and leads the age group under the supervision of elders.

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[112] http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/census/districts/monduli.htm (June 2007).
[113] Pastoralist: free range cattle grazing and nomadic life.

Customary Leaders
Customary leaders are selected when they reach an elderly age and are selected by Elders according to the Clan of origin.

Oloiboni   Traditional Medicine Men: They usually come from one clan, LAISER (*Ingidong'i*). They are responsible for treating humans and animals. They are diviners who foresee and drive away dangers threatening the community. They also lead the community during rituals.

Il-murran   These are youth (junior warriors) promoted to senior, matured warriors at the age of about 30 years. It is only at this age that they are allowed to marry. The transition between junior and senior warrior is called *Eunoto*. During this period a life leader, *Alaunoni or Ol-otono*, is chosen to lead the group during the ceremonies.

Ol-payan or Ol-morwo   These are Elders, constituting the age group promoted above the *Il-murran* at passing out ceremonies called *Ol-ng'eher*. The passing out is completed by the *Il-murran* sitting on the cow skin on which he was once circumcised and his hair is cut by his mother or senior wife. The Elders take decision that concern the whole group: settle and judge quarrels and feuds; give advice and officiate the rituals and ceremonies. Their responsibilities diminish as they grow old to a stage where they only carry a respectful appearance, their tobacco and snuff boxes and a gnu tail.

Women   The young girls help mothers in the household, *Enk-ang*, during activities such as fetching firewood and water, and taking care of their young ones. The unexcised young girl is called *En-ndito*. In order for young girls to start woman-hood, they undergo a painful, dangerous operation of the genitals, clitoridectomy (female genital mutilation – FGM). It is only after this operation that they can be married off. The Maasai women do all the household activities: fetch water, milk the cows, collect fire-wood, prepare meals, construct houses, and take care of the children and the elderly, plus all other duties in the household.

With the changing world, the life in the Maasai community is changing as well. The pasture land is becoming smaller due to land demarcated for national parks and game reserves, and encroachment on agriculture and habitation lands. Many Maasai are now practising semi-nomadic life with some members of the family – usually women, older people and children – settling down leaving the *il-murran* (see above) to herd the cattle. While the men go out with herds of cattle to look for pasture, they usually leave behind at the main *boma* (Maasai settlement) a few cows and goats to service the remaining family members with milk and sometimes meat. The supply from these animals is often not enough as the milk production is very low (less than 1 litre per

cow). Moreover, the Maasai livelihood no longer depends on just milk and blood; the traditional foods are now supplemented with vegetables and grains.

The Maasai are united by the language *Maa* and consider all those who are not Maasai as *'il-meek'*, that is ignorant, ill-mannered, awkward and without knowledge of cattle breeding. In traditional Maasai society, education was almost exclusively the responsibility of parents and older siblings. In formal education, this responsibility has been taken out of their hands and given to professional teachers from other ethnic groups, often enhancing the 'generation gap' as well as the out-migration of young Maasai to urban areas. Urban migration is a journey that often ends in unemployment or in low-status, poorly paid jobs as hair dressers, domestic servants or watchmen.

Maasai cosmovision

The Maasai, traditionally, have a pastoralist way of living with cattle being their only source of livelihood. In the worldview of the Maasai, they are the descendants of *Maa* (the universe) and as such rightfully occupy and roam all lands. When *Enkai* (God) separated the sky and land, he left the Maasai with cattle to inherit, thus granting them exclusive ownership of all cattle in *Maa*. Their cattle – the divine inheritance – are linked to the grass, which in turn is linked to the land. Hence, land is considered sacred and commands the greatest respect. The land, however, is destined to serve the cattle, not men. Cultivating the land and feeding on the land is therefore believed to be below human dignity. Thus, traditionally the Maasai lived exclusively on meat, milk and blood.

The lifestyle of the Maasai has changed drastically in the course of time, influencing their beliefs and values. Today many Maasai no longer claim exclusive right to all land and all cattle, nor is their diet limited to milk, blood and meat.

Mtandao Wa Vikundi Vya Wakulima Tanzania (MVIWATA)

The name MVIWATA is a Swahili abbreviation for 'Tanzanian Network of Farmer Groups'. MVIWATA is a national umbrella of farmer groups, founded in 1993, which operates through local networks of grassroots farmers. At present, it comprises 150 networks in 19 regions of both Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. It brings together 50.000 men and women farmers. It has around 5.000 individual member groups. The network structure has been instrumental in ensuring good communication within the organisation and with external partners.[114]

MVIWATA Monduli is one of the district level networks of MVIWATA, operating in the Monduli district in northern Tanzania. Though the majority of the members are from the Maasai ethnic group, the farmer groups include pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and those farmers who produce agricultural crops.
The MVIWATA programmes are aimed at reducing poverty among small-scale farmers in Tanzania.

The more specific objective of the MVIWATA Monduli programme is to improve livestock and agricultural production, access and authority to markets, and to

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[114] http://www.cta.int/ctaseminar2001/news.htm (March 2007).
http://www.cta.int/ctaseminar2001/executivesummary.pdf#search=%22MVIWATA%22 (May 2007).

improve networks among small-scale farmers and agro-pastoralists. The COMPAS programme is part of the MVIWATA programme in Monduli. In line with endogenous development, MVIWATA Monduli focuses on the improvement of Maasai livelihood through an increase in agricultural and livestock production, using technologies which are based on, and are friendly to, Maasai culture and cosmovision. Specific focal points within the MVIWATA-COMPAS programme are:

♦ Showing the relevance and efficacy of traditional knowledge systems by documenting and disseminating success cases;
♦ Showing that indigenous/traditional knowledge and innovativeness of farmers and livestock keepers is immersed in the culture and cosmovision of the people;
♦ Sharing the wealth of experiences held in the custody of traditional healers, chiefs, elders and other community professionals; and
♦ Lobbying policy makers to make them accept the fact that the respect of the diversity of culture and cosmovision of the people is central to sustainable development.

MVIWATA's methodology

The core aim of MVIWATA is to enhance communication among small scale farmers and pastoralists. It focuses on fostering their sustainable socio-economic development and creating a forum for advocacy. In order to achieve this, MVIWATA takes farmer/pastoralist groups as entry point to reach farmers/pastoralists and facilitate their initiatives. Generally, MVIWATA applies participatory approaches to identify, plan, implement, monitor and evaluate activities with the communities and groups. Furthermore, group dynamics trainings are given to different groups, in order to ensure ownership of the processes by the communities themselves.

To achieve the long-term objectives of the MVIWATA-COMPAS programme mentioned above, the following activities take place:

♦ Inception/ familiarisation visits and dialogue with partner institutions
♦ Familiarisation visits and dialogue with participating communities
♦ Identification and training of extension agents and researchers on methodologies for joint experimentation with local communities;
♦ Joint survey/study (communities, extension agents and key informants from community) to identify key issues/areas, such as:
♦ Conservation of sources of water (including identification of tree species)
♦ Control of human, animal and plant pests and diseases
♦ Soil and water conservation and management etc.
♦ Organisation of sharing-workshop for key stakeholders.
♦ Carry out a Community Diagnosis
♦ Monitoring and Backstopping

As a membership organisation the processes must be originated and owned by the members themselves. In essence, this is critical to the endogenous development process, as espoused by COMPAS. Since endogenous development has to be driven from within, all interventions must be built on the foundation of the experiences of the

community members, hence, our use of experiential learning based on research training and action. The second method employed is the *Comprehensive Participatory Training Programme*.

Experiential Learning through Research, Training and Action

The basic assumption of the MVIWATA approach is that what the communities (collectively and individually) do, and how they do it, is the best practice in relation to their own reality. It is based on their knowledge, skills level and lived experience. The community's knowledge, skills and experiences have been generated over time, occasionally through some external inflow of information and skills, but mostly by experimenting. Therefore MVIWATA's community engagement, whether in a training or field activity, is taken as a joint learning event that centres on experience sharing. During these events we include the following steps:

Step 1: Affirmation of equality of participants

Affirming the fact that EVERY participant in the event (community members, leaders, the experts), knows something, and therefore has something valuable to share with the rest. This affirmation is important in two ways: it gives confidence to the community members that they are equal participants; and it is a humbling experience to the "experts", in that they do not have a monopoly of wisdom. In this way, all training events start with affirming the creed: [115]

THIS IS OUR WORKSHOP

None amongst us knows everything about the subject matter of the workshop
And
None of us knows absolutely nothing about the subject matter of the workshop
So
Every participant is a facilitator
And
Every facilitator is a participant
Therefore
The success of the workshop is the responsibility of all of us
Because

THIS IS OUR WORKSHOP

Usually, this creed is written on flip chart paper and conspicuously displayed in the workshop room throughout the duration of the workshop. Usually, this sets a climate whereby every body feels and shares the responsibility to contribute to the ensuing discussions. At the same time it "cuts down to size" those who would have wanted to assume a know-all posture. Should they be tempted to force their opinions on others, they will politely be reminded of the creed.

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[115] *The creed has been adapted from courses conducted by the former German Foundation for International Cooperation, DSE.*

Step 2: Identifying experiences

Facilitating a process though which 'latent experiences' are brought out to the surface. Sometimes, it is through the use of meta-cards, when it is felt that the individual participants are comfortable and confident enough to work on their own. In other times, it is done through groups, whereby the different groups (e.g. women farmers, pastoralists, youth) sit in their own separate group, discuss, and come up with a group presentation.

Step 3: Exploring new experiences

Through a process of joint learning participants explore new experiences, always bearing in mind that the new experiences build on the cumulative experiences of the whole group. In a training/workshop situation the facilitator will lead the process: sometimes by giving a task which will require the participants to go beyond the realm of their present reality, or the facilitator may make brief inputs to expand the horizon of what is already known to the participants.

University Involvement: Moshi University College of Cooperative and Business Studies (MUCCoBS)

Moshi University College of Cooperative and Business Studies (MUCCoBS) is one of Tanzania's premier institutions of higher learning. Established in 1963 as the Moshi Cooperative College, MUCCoBS became a University College in 2004. MUCCoBS offers residential courses, programmes of distance learning and tailor-made programmes. In addition, the university operates through a network of regional centres in the whole of Tanzania Mainland, which cater for grassroots training, research and consultancy. [116]

Making use of its regional centres, the university is involved in testing and piloting innovative strategies for engaging communities in sustainable, participatory development processes. It does this in collaboration with local, national, and international partners. Initially, MUCCoBS was responsible for implementing COMPAS related activities in the field. In 2004, it handed over this responsibility to MVIWATA, retaining its university role. The decision was both logical and strategic. Logical in the sense that the university does not have a direct developmental mandate at the field level; and strategic because working with and through MVIWATA is part and parcel of the universities mandate on capacity building for member based organisations. The university provides support for:

♦ research design and research instruments used in the community diagnosis survey;
♦ training of enumerators;
♦ analysis and interpretation of findings
♦ facilitating feedback workshops
♦ training needs-assessment for development agents (including promoters)
♦ design of training programme (the CPTP)
♦ training of development Agents (Extension workers and Promoters)

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[116] http://www.icaafrica.coop/resources/MUCCoBS-Profile.pdf (March 2007).

- community animation
- documentation of experiences
- monitoring and evaluation

MUCCoBS is convinced that the long-term institutional collaboration between the university and MVIWATA is very important. Development, especially the endogenous approach, is a long term process requiring long term commitment, not only on the part of individual persons but on the part of collaborating institutions as well.

Endogenous development, though internally driven and motivated, requires facilitation. This facilitation is provided by development agents. In COMPAS related activities, the development agents are of two types:

(1) the external agents, fieldworkers employed by external organisations including government and NGOs;
(2) Development agents identified by, and drawn from the communities, which are also called 'promoters'.

Facilitation work, done by external agents or by promoters, requires certain skills and attitudes acquired through training. The training offered has to be tailored toward the specific needs of the development agents and in tune with the basic philosophy of endogenous development. MUCCoBS has developed such a training programme popularly known as Comprehensive Participatory Training Programme (CPTP).

The Comprehensive Participatory Training Programme

The Comprehensive Participatory Training Programme is an organised training event, conducted in four phases following the Participatory Project Cycle: (a) Situation Analysis; (b) Planning; (c) Implementation; and (d) Evaluation. (see figure 17). The Comprehensive Participatory Training Programme includes the following 7 steps:

Situation Analysis

Step 1: Learning the methods
Participants attend a theoretical classroom session lasting between one to five days. During this period, participants are introduced to participatory intervention methodologies including the Participatory Planning Cycle and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques and tools. At the end of the session, participants are given a group task. They are to prepare themselves to go back to their communities to facilitate a Participatory Situation analysis. The preparation includes developing a facilitation process and identifying the needed materials including paper and pens.

Step 2: Joining the Community
Participants live and work with their communities. This may last between one and two weeks. During this time, they lead the community members through a process of participatory situation analysis. With the guidance of the facilitator, community members scan their own situation; determine problem areas, the causes, and proposed action. At the end of the session, the trainee participant prepares a report.

Figure 17: The Participatory Project Cycle
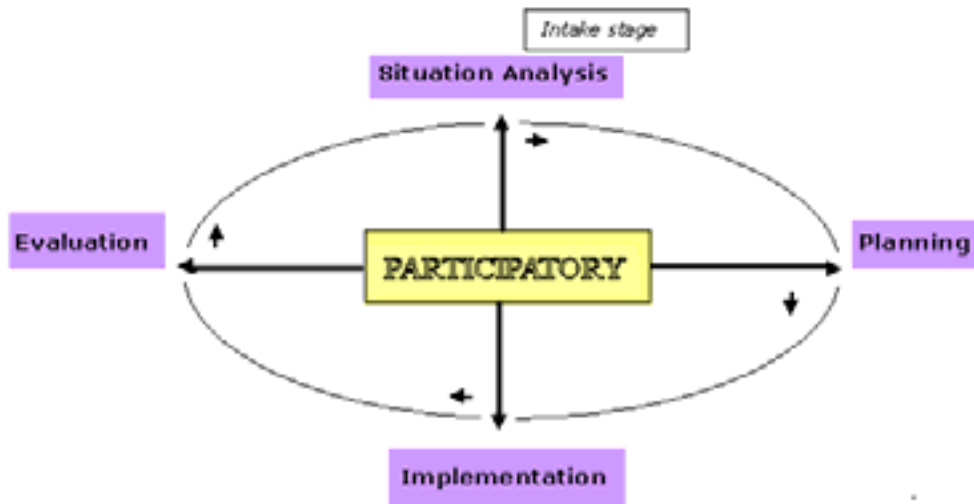
Step 3: Discuss Situation Analysis and Prepare for Planning

The participants reconvene for another theoretical training session. To start with, they present their field work report on Situation Analysis. Trainers and other participants make suggestion for improvements, which need to be incorporated in the final Situation Analysis report which will have to be presented again to the respective communities. Then trainers take the participants through the major elements and tools for participatory Planning. Towards the end of the session, participants prepare themselves to go back to the communities to facilitate a participatory planning process.

Planning

Step 4: Feedback to Community and Planning

Back in the communities, the trainee participant and the community discuss their situation analysis report, highlighting the major recommendations made during the theoretical classroom session. Based on the report of their situation analysis the community, with the guidance of the trainee, plan for action to resolve the problems identified during the situation analysis. A short term priority activity is identified, which becomes the subject for implementation.

Step 5: Activity Planning

With the community plans in hand, the trainees convene for another classroom session. Here, they present the plans for discussion and recommendations. Trainers make an input on how a plan should be implemented. There after they prepare themselves to go back to the communities for the implementation of the priority activity.

Implementation

Step 6: Implementation of Short-term Activities

During this field work period, the trainees join the community in the implementation of a short term activity identified in the community plan. While doing so, all the relevant data and information regarding implementation is collected (monitored) and documented.

Step 7: Reporting on Implementations

Back to the classroom, trainees present their field implementation reports. The reports form the basis for evaluating the implementation with respect to its effectiveness and efficiency. The trainees would then be required to go back to the communities and repeat the evaluation process with the respective communities.

Monitoring and Evaluation

During the field work phases, the trainers visit the trainees for purposes of monitoring and offering support. At the end of the evaluation phase, it is expected that both the trainees and community members have gained sufficient knowledge, skills and the confidence to start the cycle again by conducting a new Participatory Situation Analysis.

Field experiences

Example 1:   Participatory Action Research of Maasai Traditional Knowledge Systems

In 2004, the Maasai 'Enumerators' conducted a study under the COMPAS programme in Monduli District. The study is a vivid example of the Participatory Action Research, with the community taking the lead in the activity. A few external inputs were provided by the extension staff of MVIWATA Monduli and MUCCoBS.

The study was necessary for both community as well as MVIWATA. It provided MVIWATA with the opportunity to document the relevant traditional knowledge systems of the Maasai. Due to this knowledge, MVIWATA is able to facilitate livelihood-improving interventions in the Maasai Community. The Maasai gained more insight in the strengths and weaknesses existing in their traditional knowledge systems. Through the COMPAS project, MVIWATA was able to introduce the endogenous development concept to the Maasai community in Monduli District, and to share the wealth of the experiences held in the custody of the traditional institutions (the traditional leaders, healers, elders, youth, and women) with other professionals.

Introducing the programme to the community
After formalising the partnership, the COMPAS coordinator and Monduli MVIWATA coordinator visited several villages in Maasailand to explain the concept of endogenous development to both the formal and traditional leaders.

Selection of Community Enumerators / Facilitation team
During these visits, the elders suggested names of some young people from their own communities who could interview and document their experiences. Out of the list of suggested names, six men and two women were selected to form the interviewing team.

Collection of information from the rural community
The team was called to a two-day workshop, which was facilitated by the COMPAS coordinator and another staff member from the Department of Pilot Projects and Experimentation at MUCCoBS. The workshop itself was carried out at the premises of MVIWATA Monduli.

During the workshop, the major concepts were discussed in order to reach a common understanding. A a check list for the field interviews was jointly developed with the participants, and an interview schedule agreed upon. Participants formed teams to cover three wards in Monduli district.

Synthesis of the collected information / data & sharing of information
After the team had finished interviewing in the field, the team reconvened for a midterm review. The idea was to discuss the progress, identify constraints, and suggest measures for improvement. Constraints mentioned related to transport and logistics and to the movement to new settlements from some important people to be interviewed, like the traditional healers. Furthermore, some of the interviewers had not internalised the meaning of the concepts which had been explained to them in

Kiswahili. As a result, they had difficulty in translating such concepts into the Maa language.

The workshop participants made some suggestions to improve the situation. It was agreed that regarding the problems of transport and logistics additional days be provided for completing the task. This would also make it possible for the interviewers to get to the new settlements of the people they intended to interview. If that proved difficult, they should identify alternative respondents. As for the conceptual issues, a recap was made, putting more emphasis on getting agreement on the meaning of the concepts in Maa. This was not particularly difficult, as some of the participants had a good mastery of both Kiswahili and Maa.

Planning

After the midterm review workshop, the interviewers went back to the field to continue with the interviews. The interview phase was closed with another meeting of the team. The individual findings were presented for discussion. Thereafter, they were analysed and collated, ready for presentation in a stakeholders' workshop.

The stakeholders' workshop was held in Monduli. Invited were the key informants interviewed, the interviewers, some extension agents, and policy makers at the district level. During the workshop, the COMPAS philosophy and approach was explained and the key concepts elaborated. The summary of field findings was also presented and a few refinements made. It was agreed that subsequent follow up would be elaborated after the Community Diagnosis to be carried out as part of The University Support component.

Outcome of the programme

Though implemented over a short period of time, the COMPAS initiative in Monduli District has been a success, especially in relation to the following elements:

Increased self esteem	For long, the mainstream of society has tried to depict the lifestyle and culture of the Maasai as primitive. Though there is no evidence that the Maasai had ever accepted that view, they had not come out in the open to assert themselves. That is now changing. The Maasai are proud of their traditions and loudly proclaim so. They come out in the open, work and collaborate with other communities, maintaining their identity but not living in exclusion. This is illustrated in numerous occasions when the pastoral Maasai interact with agricultural communities as equal members of MVIWATA Monduli.
Accepting new ideas	Proud as they are of their culture and way of life, the Maasai are slowly accepting ideas from outside their own community. A good example is the male-female relationship. In the traditional Maasai family, the woman is always in the background. In recent times, however, Maasai women have gained more freedom. They are now allowed to come out of the family compound, go to school (young girls) or to attend meetings. The interviewer team had two women, a small but

significant number. Interestingly, one of the women was proposed by her own husband to join the team.

Increased technological adaptability

As livestock keepers, the Maasai have always had their own methods and treatment regimes to fight cattle diseases and pests. With the introduction of modern veterinary science, some herdsmen reacted by not accepting the efficacy of the modern drugs and methods of treatment, while others combined the use of both modern and traditional, but always hiding the fact that they still use their indigenous ways to combat animal diseases and pests. Now the traditional method of dealing with animal health is coming out in the open, at the same time people recognise the role of modern veterinary medicine. The traditional healers are even willing to share their knowledge about the plants with medicinal value.

The success could be attributed to many factors, with the following being the most important ones:

♦ The issues that COMPAS is addressing are current, topical, and of interest and concern to the communities;
♦ The participatory implementation approach has played a big role in creating a sense of ownership within the community. For example, the involvement of community leaders in the identification of the interviewers ensured that those people were accepted in the communities, and the respondents had confidence in them;
♦ The acceptance of MVIWATA Monduli in the community as a respected organisation and well functioning network of members;
♦ The policy environment was very facilitative and supportive. Government and political leaders gave their support. MVIWATA Monduli was aware of the fact that given room, politicians might try to maximise some political capital. But the bottom line is that it would be very difficult to operate under circumstances of hostility from the established formal leadership.

Example 2:   Improving Livestock Productivity

As already noted, MVIWATA's work among the Maasai has sought to address their challenges regarding living and maintaining their pastoral livelihoods, which is being threatened by environmental changes and modernisation. The MVIWATA programme is in place to introduce more productive breeds of cattle that give more milk and more meat. These are to be kept in the areas near to the Maasai settlement – bomas – so that the women, older people and chidren who remain at the bomas can get the products and use. The programme started by introducing improved goats of Isiolo origin.

Community problem diagnosis

The general problem identification was done in participatory workshops organised by MVIWATA Monduli to identify major areas of coverage and thus general needs. This was followed by a Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercise. The specific problems were further analysed through community meetings of the MVIWATA members in their respective local farmer networks at ward level. Due to the low "formal" literacy level of the participants, there were a minimal amount of formal presentations. Sessions were mostly based on discussions in smaller groups. Since there are usually people who can read and write, the group outputs were visualised, presented and discussed in plenary. At every stage of the discussion, participants are encouraged to present "real life" experiences.

Community training

Normally, for courses organised by MVIWATA for its members, participants are drawn from the general membership depending on the theme of training. Depending on the objective of the training, participants could be ordinary individual MVIWATA members, of representatives nominated by their peers. However, attempts have always been made to draw members from the different strata of the community. Development agents (in this case Livestock Extension Officers from the Local Government) were invited to take part as participants

The theme for the training in this case was 'Technical training on livestock husbandry with practical site visits'. The contents for the training were determined through a learning needs-assessment. This was a mix of some predetermined training models from the Livestock Training Institute in Tengeru (LITI – Tengeru) and field visits to progressive farmers in Arumeru district. The five days training had the following objectives:

- To train livestock keepers on general livestock husbandry principals;
- To expose participants to the practical fields where they can learn from the progressive livestock keepers (farmers) who are applying the principals they have learned at the Institute. This is because the community members (farmers) themselves have a wealth of knowledge and experience on what they are doing. To this end, they were challenged to look back into their own history, identify what was working well and revitalise them;
- To expose participants to other organisations/institutions working on the theme of their trainings such as the National Institute of Artificial Insemination (NAIC) at Usa River in Arusha, Tanzania. This is done to enrich the knowledge of the farmers to network and expand their requirement for sourcing for other experiences and technologies beyond their own endowments.

Community exchange visits: Intra-group visitation

The livestock keepers from villages where MVIWATA is working in Monduli in Tanzania visited the livestock keepers in Isinya area in Kenya. Isinya was chosen because some of the Maasai there keep their livestock in a manner differently from their fellow Maasai in Tanzania. Their pasture land is fenced to keep out encroachers. They also have more improved breeds and apply the pasture demarcation system

(fencing) in a rotation pattern. The visit was supervised by the Isinya Livestock Training Institute in Kenya.

Community planning, implementation and monitoring

During the training and exchange visits, the livestock keepers drew their own action plan and implementation strategies for their plan. They also drew out their monitoring methods using the existing Farmer Groups of origin. Within their plans, they included the purchase of the Isiolo goats from Kenya to improve their existing indigenous stock they have.

Outcome of the Programme

After a period of three years, women in Engarenaibor ward have improved goats of the Isiolo type. The goats bought from Kenya will be spread to other women members by the 'pass-the-offspring-method' whereby every second born of the she goat will be passed to another member of the group who does not have an improved goat, following an agreed systematic schedule. The male offspring remains with the owner of the she goat.

In Eorendeke, a group has been formed that keep goats together and have a number of improved Isiolo goats. The group breeds the goats and sells them to other interested members of the community. From Eorendeke, the improved Isiolo goats have been spread to villages around Monduli township and Mtowambu. The demand for Isiolo goats is increasing.

The women in these areas are now using the highly nutritious and medicinal goat milk and also get income from the sale of the excess milk. The goats can give 1.5 to 2 times more meat compared to the indigenous goats of the Maasai. The meat is very delicious.

Lessons Learnt and Future Challenges

In the Tanzanian experience, the key challenge for training people in endogenous development was to demystify development interventions; mystification blocks learning, especially experiential learning. Often a gap between extension workers and community is created, because of the use of different languages and too little understanding of the different realities. In the case of technical support, communities are often put off by the scientific terms and approaches. People are held back by the impression that the new skills and knowledge are complicated, and therefore should be handled by experts only. Furthermore, the idea that learning can only be effectively accomplished in specific environments – preferably in a classroom situation, where some are taught (the trainees) and some share their knowledge (the trainers) – is discussed and fears are set aside. By starting the programmes with the creed and confirming everyone's valuable role, MVIWATA tried to address inherent challenges.

The Participatory Approach

The participatory approach was well received by the farmers. By using a bottom-up approach, which puts the target group on the driving wheel, the farmers were more inclined to accept working closely with extension workers. In addition, the participatory approaches enhance effective ownership of the programmes by the

target groups themselves, promote the efficient running of the programmes by the farmers themselves, and therefore prove more sustainable. In the experience of MVIWATA and MUCCoBS, the participatory approaches create room for learning by the farmers and the facilitators.

Facilitating change in a community is quite difficult. In the Tanzanian experience involving the community in the change process rather than dictating to them has been proven positive. MVIWATA feels that the participatory approach played a crucial part in enabling the Maasai community to reflect on their way of life, and voluntarily adjust accordingly.

The Endogenous Approach

The work of MVIWATA and MUCCoBS among the Maasai communities has been mainly endogenous. It has been internally motivated resulting in experience-sharing among lay people. They moved at their own pace by taking what they chose to take from the external world. Once people realise that endogenous development is a process based on their own lives and experiences, they see a different horizon of opportunities.

More often than not, it is the so-called 'development agents' who want to determine the pace and direction of development. So the first step for training on endogenous development identified by MVIWATA and MUCCoBS deals with change of attitude. Those who would otherwise consider themselves to be knowledgeable, essentially Government and NGO employed development agents, should be willing to learn. The community members should realise their own potential as knowledgeable, and accept that their contribution to the learning process is essential. The end result is that a higher level of confidence is built on both parties, whereby each individual is a trainer and at the same time a trainee. This results in joint learning.

By stressing that farmers have their own reality and valuable experiences, and by involving all aspects of the Maasai knowledge, the Maasai indeed have become more self-confident and open in their interaction with other MVIWATA members. Their knowledge and ideas now come out in the open; they work and collaborate with other communities, maintaining their identity but not living in exclusion.

As livestock keepers, the Maasai have always had their own methods and treatment regimes to fight cattle diseases and pests. With the introduction of modern veterinary science, some herdsmen reacted by not accepting the efficacy of the modern drugs and methods of treatment, while others combined the use of both modern and traditional, but always hiding the fact that they still used their indigenous ways to combat animal diseases and pests. Because of the endogenous approach the traditional method of dealing with animal health is been coming out in the open, creating room for open discussion and mutual learning. With the traditional healers even willing to share their knowledge about the plants with medicinal value, MVIWATA and the Maasai community are jointly looking for the best ways of combining the traditional and modern veterinary knowledge.

Illiteracy

The low literacy levels of the people involved in the MVIWATA activities imposed some challenges. The capacity building methodologies for example required quite

some time to be mastered by the farmers. The methods become useful only if they are appreciated by the farmers themselves through participatory approach rather than a mere imposition. The approaches for any method should be simplified to make it possible for implementers to understand and apply. In most cases it is advisable to use the vivid life examples from the very area.

Logistical support

Logistical support is an important requirement but difficult to manage. Development undertakings fail in most cases when they are attached to free or give-away grants even when the concerned community has not fully understood the meaning and essence of the whole exercise. The participatory approach in this case proved a solution in that the communities also participate in cost sharing to offset some logistical costs.

Chapter Eight
Participatory Learning and Attitude Change in Uganda

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Introduction

Uganda is located in east-central Africa; north-northwest of Lake Victoria. It is a landlocked country, which is surrounded by Sudan to the north, Kenya to the east, Tanzania and Rwanda to the south and Congo DRC to the west. Uganda has a population of 27.6 million (UN, 2005).[117] The people of Uganda live in rural and urban settings. The main cities are Kampala, the commercial and administrative capital and Entebbe, tourism and travel capital.

Figure 18: Map of Uganda (news.bbc.co.uk, 2007)

Uganda's rich history encapsulates the indigenous cultures of its peoples who form the five major kingdoms of Basoga, Toro, Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole. This rich cultural heritage makes Uganda a nation of tourism and historical appeal. Indeed, the country takes it name from one of these major kingdoms: Buganda,

The greater part of the land area of Uganda consists of a plateau of about 4,000 feet in height. In the south, Uganda shares Lake Victoria – the second largest fresh water lake in the world – with its neighbouring countries Tanzania and Kenya. The peoples who live along and around the lake have, for years, built and maintained their livelihoods around it as well as forged various social relationships that allow them to share its resources amicably to mutually beneficial ends. The lake, which had served the communities and peoples around it for centuries, long before the European explorers, was purportedly discovered and named after the British Queen Victoria.

The climate of Uganda is moderate, with temperatures around 20° C. Most areas of Uganda receive a lot of rain throughout the year. However, the northern part of the country experiences a short dry season in December and January.[118] Hence, the north tends to be drier than the south of the country.

Agriculture remains the mainstay of the people employing about 80% of the population. Agricultural production, based primarily on peasant cultivation, has been the mainstay of the Ugandan economy. In the southern half of the country, relatively rich soils and abundant rainfall permit extensive agriculture; in the drier and less fertile northern areas, pastoral economies are common. Approximately 21% of the land is cultivated; 45 percent is wood- or grassland. Approximately 13% of the land is set

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[117] http://news.bbc.co.uk (2007).
[118] http://news.bbc.co.uk (2007).

aside as national parks, forests, and game reserves. Swampland surrounding lakes in the southern and central regions support abundant papyrus growth. The central region's woodlands and savannah support the growth of acacia and cactus in the northern regions.

Geologically, Uganda is richly endowed with precious natural and mineral resources. Valuable seams of copper, cobalt and other minerals have been revealed along geological fault lines in the southeast and southwest. Volcanic foothills in the east contain phosphates and limestone.[119] It also has large untapped reserves of crude oil and natural gas.

Administratively, the country is divided into counties, sub-counties and districts. There are four main counties: northern, southern, eastern and western, each with sub-counties and districts. The Peasant Farmers Association for Rural Development (PFARD) works with farmer groups in the Iganga and Mayuge Districts of eastern Uganda,

Iganga and Mayuge Districts

Ikumbya sub-County is one of the PFARD's project areas. It is located 70 kilometres from Iganga township and is considered the remotest area in the district. The organisation chose this area because it is considered a hard to reach place. Yet, the area has a lot of opportunities for research and documentation. It is ecologically rich with a variety of plant species. This area has not changed much although pressures from mechanised farming and destruction of the natural habitat for flora and fauna are threatening the ecology. Human activity has put pressure on the natural resources of the area. The quality of the water bodies in the area has remained high for a long time although this is being compromised in recent time. Due to increasing population pressures, the water quality is gradually but steadily being compromised resulting in the loss of species with severe implications for ecological balance and bio-cultural diversity. Sacred groves, which have been traditionally kept as reserves, are fast disappearing. Misguided agronomic practices, cultural change, commercial interests and environmental distortions and contortions are not only yielding in the wanton destruction of traditional forms of conservation without adequate replacements but also discrediting traditional conservation knowledges and practices. One clear example is the fast disappearance of sacred groves as believe systems change and the reverence for such places is scorned and demonised. Traditional conservation sites, which have taken years to nurture, have almost disappeared except for a few surviving ones. Even the surviving sacred groves are now being cleared for firewood and charcoal.

State laws, religious convictions and liberal rights, among others, are fast crowding out traditional systems and practices. Meanwhile the encroaching (formal and informal) orthodox practices or even detractions are not able to replace and maintain the much needed essences of the old such as ecological balance and bio-cultural diversity conservation. The right to ownership of land has caused conflict and loss of quality. The government of Uganda has made laws to control the use of wetlands through the National Environmental Management Authority. This restricts people from the

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[119] http://www.state.gov - Country Studies, Uganda (July 2007).

wanton exploitation of the resources. Yet, its implementation remains a mirage. Unmet energy needs push people to the most unusual places in search of alternatives. Electricity is not widely available in the community. The most used energy is fuel wood, which is itself a scarce resource. The cutting down of trees for fuel has led to soil degradation and destruction of cultural sites.

Among the Basoga people, who live in the Iganga District, land, fauna and flora, have a cultural and spiritual relevance. Some places are considered sacred. Anything that happens to the land is given a deep spiritual meaning often with significance for the well-being of the living. The belief in spirits is far and wide with natural places often serving as residing places of spirits. It is in these natural sites that the spirits take their form and project meaning. Although the spirits are unseen, they manifest in natural resources such as rocks, hills, sacred groves, and water bodies. The Basoga believe that land belongs to the ancestors (the founding members of the clan), the living, and the yet-to-be born. This joint and shared ownership makes land issues complicated and often turns little disputes into major conflicts. At the same time, this sense of ownership gives land a lot of value. Land is a symbol of wealth, power and even citizenship; indigenes own land while settlers do not.

Among the Basoga, land and women are the two most treasured resources. Traditionally in Busoga, land belongs to men. Men as traditional heirs, inherent land through generations, which they control and use in trust of the living, the dead and the yet-to-be born. Women as part of the living but non-heirs, like the youth and non-titled men, have access to land. Their entitlements to land include acquisition for the cultivation of crops, the products of which they may control only to the extent of serving domestic needs. Sale of farm products and commercial use of land remains the preserve of men who exercise the exclusive right of control and ownership.

Although the main employer in the largely rural communities of Uganda, the benefits of agricultural production remains severely challenged due to poor marketing systems, among others. Although traditional and modern marketing and trading systems are available within the communities and everybody has access to them, the networks are inefficient and highly problematic against the backdrop of a modernising economy. The traditional systems of marketing and trading, which have been for ages and condemned on the basis of their so-called inefficiency have not been replaced with the much publicised efficient modern systems that meet the purported demands of the so-called modern times. The time and trend change demands for more sophisticated marketing systems have not been marched with the necessary infrastructure for effecting change. Marketing centres are under-developed, un-developed and under-sourced. Community markets have poor infrastructure. Some of them operate daily, others on a weekly basis, but all of them are of makeshift nature. At the same time, agricultural technologies remain poor and unable to add value to commodities and improve their use or shelf life. Hence, agriculture produce remain largely in their raw form and easily perishable while serving to limit the maximisation of benefits. The problematic is that the farmers tend to produce crops, which they can sell in their raw form easily and at low prices, while they have to buy manufactured and processed products at high prices. This results in income-expenditure deficits to the disadvantage of the farmers resulting in their continued impoverishment.

The People

The forty or more distinct ethnic groups that constitute the Ugandan nation are usually classified according to linguistic similarities. Such categorisations place most Ugandans in either Nilo-Saharan or Congo-Kordofanian languages. The so-called Nilo-Saharan languages, spoken across the North, are further classified into Eastern Nilotic, Western Nilotic (formerly NiloHamitic) and Central Sudanic. The many Bantu languages in the South are within the much larger CongoKordofanian language grouping. The Bantu comprise the Basoga, Bagwere and make up 70% of the population of Uganda. Most Ugandans speak at least one African language. One of the most recent major languages to arrive in Uganda is English. Introduced by the British in the late nineteenth century, it was the language of the colonial administration. After independence, English became the official language of Uganda. Swahili and Arabic are also widely spoken. [120]

Christianity is the dominant religion in Uganda. About 66 percent of the population is Christian, equally divided between Roman Catholics and Protestants; the later being predominantly Anglican (Episcopal). About 15 percent of the population is Muslim. African religions are still present. Many local religions include beliefs in a creator God, and in ancestral and other spirits. People offer prayers and sacrifices to symbolise respect for the dead and to maintain proper relationships among the living. [121]

In Busoga, the quality of health is considered low. The health facilities are available but not accessible to majority of the population due to the high costs for the treatment of patients. However, the traditional and strong social networks provide support in cases of sickness and/or death. In the event of the death of one or both parents, for example, traditionally orphaned children would be absorbed into other families of the same clan. The new care-givers are obliged to treat the orphans as equal to the members of the family. Urbanisation, Westernisation, elitism and education are fast eroding this all important cultural value. Yet, with the current HIV/AIDS pandemic, this social value is again being strengthened to support victims and survivors. This is however a major challenge against the backdrop of widespread poverty, liberal individualism and unguarded modernity.

In the traditional setting, leadership is dominated by men. There are clear gender divisions of roles and responsibilities in many spheres. Men and women control different skills and tools. Boys are for example encouraged to take on income-generating skills while girls are encouraged to learn housekeeping skills. Girls are not allowed to obtain technical skills. This situation raises many challenges in these changing times but also the pressures of poverty, development and citizenship. Gender divisions are also observable in other social spheres. In musical functions or festive occasions, boys are supposed to drum or play instruments while girls are encouraged to dance or sing. Since girls are not allowed to play the musical instruments, they also cannot acquire the skills for making them. Other identified skills are hunting, drum-making, blacksmithing, farming, drumming, singing and leading,

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[120] http://www.state.gov - Country Studies, Uganda (July 2007).
[121] http://www.state.gov - Country Studies, Uganda (July 2007).

which are the traditional preserve of men and boys. On the whole, these traditional divisions while tending to accord each sex a unique identity are also limiting in the sense that the restrictions tend to disadvantage women in their access to productive and cultural resources as well as incomes and skills for breaking out of poverty for mitigating growth.

The Basoga also have built very strong values around the institution of marriage. They consider marriage as a gate way to responsibility and hence it is highly cherished. Marriage is an indicator of social mobility and symbolises an initiation to manhood or womanhood. Rituals of various kinds exist at household, family, clan or communal level to initiate young people into adulthood. Marriage is one such ritual; a mark of maturity and attainment of adult. The place of marriage as a mark of maturity is manifested in the insinuations and exclusions that unmarried people experience in society.

The very essence of the Basoga is their language. It is the medium through which their nurture and articulate their ideas and share them among themselves and the outside world. With the introduction of English and other languages such as Arabic and Swahili, their indigenous language is being threatened. The local language(s) in Busoga are constantly changing due to cross-cultural encounters, entrenchment of foreign cultures and languages and imposition through formal education in schools. School curricula restrict and discourage the use of the local language, especially as the national official language is English.

Dressing, food and ritual sacrifices have a significant cultural role and in most cases distinguish the people of one ethnic group from the other. People are considered spiritual by nature. In every day life, God, the spirits and the related beliefs guide people's behaviour and provide assurance for the future of society. The traditional belief system has however been influenced and adulterated through the invasions by religious (Christianity and Islam,) and Westernism (education, politics, economics and logic); sometimes causing conflict. In spite of these external invasions, many Ugandans remain deeply rooted in their communities and maintain ties with their families and clans. Indeed, it is common knowledge that even some Christians return to their traditional or ancestral spirits for help when faced with difficult circumstances and mysterious situations. Hence, there is the mixture of Christian or Islam values with Traditional beliefs in everyday actions and inactions.

Ugandan Cosmovision and the Obuntu Concept

The Traditionalists of Uganda observe certain rituals, according to the times of the year and to their needs. Specific rituals are performed during planting, weeding and harvesting, while others are associated with marriage, childbirth, death and burial. Some rituals are performed during wars and after victory, in times of sickness, and during catastrophes such as famine and drought. Traditionally, people believe that whatever happens in life has a cause and effect relationship. The dead, for example, have to be revered well and certain rituals have to be performed for them, to assure that the living can live a happy life.

Uganda's cosmovision today, however, is not only based on these traditional beliefs, but rather a hybrid of traditional cultural influences due to western education, as well as Christian, Arabic and Islamic influences. People are caught at the crossroads of the said cultures and traditions, and the struggle for identity poses a considerable challenge.

All the newly introduced religions have tended to alienate the ethnic peoples of Uganda, and Africa as a whole, from their ancient traditions. Christian teaching, for example, is opposed to the belief in ancestral spirits due to their conviction in Jesus as the Son of the God Almighty. The ethnic Ugandans, or the Traditionalists of Uganda, believe in desisting from actions, inactions, thoughts and beliefs that displease their gods and ancestors, as breaches are met with sanctions on individual and/or collectives. Hence, the role of the Gods cannot be underestimated. The collective nature of existence is what matters to the ethnic peoples of Uganda, and probably to people in the whole of Africa.

The people, who have adopted the Christian religion and western way of life, often look down on traditionalists as backward. In times of difficulty and stress, however, even the converts turn to their traditional spirits and/or rituals, as demanded by the community. For example, it is not uncommon to find Christians performing traditional rituals, like those for burying the dead. Moreover, if there is fear for a catastrophe, which can be dispelled by performing certain rituals, many Christians temporarily suspend their Christian way of life, and ritually cleanse their family to prevent serious consequences. Other believers, however, do not revert to the old traditions whatever the consequences. It is also not uncommon for Traditionalists to defer to the Christian or Islamic God in times of crisis. What emerges is the criss-crossing of beliefs systems and meanings. Indeed, hybrids comprising various conflations of the diverse belief systems are emerging and entrenching themselves in society to take on their own unique identity.

In spite of these incursions and infiltrations, the concept of Obuntu, a traditional ideology shaping the meanings, practices and system of the Basoga, a Bantu group, remains strong. Obuntu analysis and rationalisation of beings shape life meanings, choices and options as well as social relations and interactions. As elaborated in *African Knowledges and Sciences*, Obuntu comes from a oot word Ntu/Bantu, which may imply people, things, space and time.[122] The Obuntu concept means an individual person who possesses what can be compared to Aristotle's concept of the 'golden mean', by which he meant that a good person is one between the two extremes of too good and bad.

The concept Obuntu is a measure of goodness; a measure accorded to individuals by society. Society prescribes actions as good or bad in accordance with people's attitudes, opinions, desires, wishes or beliefs. Society judges actions as bad or good, right or wrong and as well, people as morally upright or evil in character. The person who possesses Obuntu is that generous person who cares for others with a rational sense of belonging to a society. A bad person is said to lack Obuntu. He/she is said to

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[122] S. Batuurka and D. Nkanda, 'Obuntu concept in Uganda: The Case of the Basoga of Eastern Uganda' in: D. Millar a.o. (Eds.) African Knowledges and Sciences: Understanding and Supporting the ways of knowing in Sub-Sahara Africa (Barneveld, 2006) 64-75.

behave like animals and birds, which do not have the human intellectual aptitude and moral behaviour.

In traditional Busoga, Obuntu was operationalised by a taboo morality to ensure that everyone observes a defined set rules and rituals at all times. Taboos were and still are vital in shaping the morality and ethics of society, despite the fact that many of them have faced criticism because of their sacred nature. Some of the taboos, however, were good in themselves as they played a positive role in ensuring harmony between the living, the dead and the yet-to-be born.

Taken together, Uganda, specifically, the unique and complex manifestation of the Basoga, presents tremendous opportunities for working for change with the people at the centre of the processes, outcomes and benefits. Their rich cultural heritage, real life challenges and the immense opportunity for seeking change from within have motivated and propelled the long standing and ongoing relationships among the Basoga people, PFARD and COMPAS; a family of people seeking change that is meaningful and sustainable

The Peasant Farmers' Association for Rural Development (PFARD)

The Peasant Farmers' Association for Rural Development (PFARD) is a rural based development organisation founded in 1989. PFARD is based in Iganga and Mayuge Districts of Eastern Uganda. The organisation was formed to support and promote ongoing efforts at uplifting the quality of life and improving the livelihoods of peasant farmers in rural communities within the two districts. In addition, it works with the people to protect and preserve the natural environment, and to address poverty through participatory methods in farming through on-farm trials and the minimum use of agriculture chemicals. Above all, it promotes and supports the revival and regeneration of traditional systems of livelihoods improvements, nature conservation and poverty reduction through joint practical programming and the gradual infusion of complementary and relevant external technologies.

Since its inception, PFARD has worked closely with cultural practitioners – such as traditional healers, herbalists, spirit mediums and musicians – and small scale rural peasant farmers in developing policy advocacy strategies. The policy advocacy strategies are used to gain support for local communities with governments and development partners. In the area of farming, PFARD has been working with rural communities to adopt innovative approaches that promote indigenous knowledge and practices in farming and animal health.

Starting as a community-based self-supporting initiative PFARD grew as it built friendships and networks locally and abroad. As a network organisation, PFARD renews itself through networking with organisations of mutual interests and agendas. PFARD has been working with ETC Leusden, the Netherlands since 1999.

Participatory Learning and Attitude Change

PFARD uses the Participatory Learning and Attitude Change Method (PLACM) in its strategic programming endeavours. The Participatory Learning and Action Change method enables all actors, communities, development workers and/or NGOs, act at once at teachers and learners in the generation and sharing of knowledge and experiences and for reaching mutual agreements on the way forward. The Participatory Learning and Action Change methodology is described below but the most important thing to note regarding it is its emphasis on community development work as a learning process. It entails the entering of communities not on the assumption and agenda of teaching but rather of learning from and sharing with communities on equal terms through the building of partnerships for informed and sustained change. The processes used are discussed below.

Self preparation

Before entering a community, the development agent prepares him or herself on both the logistical and psychological aspects. PFARD is convinced that in working with communities, it is crucial to understand the community, their culture, customs, line of authority and their way of working. Thus, its self preparation often entails reflecting on ways of forging partnerships that allows it to learn and appreciate the communities and drawing for such understanding toward partnership building.

Follow protocol

For a successful cooperation with the community, following protocol may be of great importance. 'Who to approach first and how' (e.g. elders, cultural or spiritual leaders) is often an important aspect of the protocol. Protocols can differ from community to community.

Preparation of the Community

This involves: preparation of the community through meetings; identification of issues to be included in the endogenous development actions; and identification of promoters or animators from among the community members who will be the main contact person between community and extension workers. At every stage feedback is important.

Joint Planning

The first step is confidence building among community members through meetings, with partners such as cultural practitioners, rural farmers, local government technical staff, students and policy makers.

These first level planning meetings are aimed at getting farmers mobilised about the new technologies and agreeing on the incoming steps to set the process. In these meetings the willing actors are selected and assigned work to be done in a specific period of time.

Part of the planning stage is the Community Resource Diagnosis (CRD). Community Resource Diagnosis is always done through group discussions focussing on the integration of agriculture and culture. Through farmer's experimentation, the

capacity of the community for increasing their food production and food security is assessed.

Joint Experimentation

Joint experimentation is used as a *learning process* whereby the conventional extension workers and university students and traditional farmers conduct *on-farm trials* in a sharing environment. Traditional farmers have a lot of knowledge about their environment, soils and climatic changes and what type of crops can be grown at particular periods of the year. While extension workers aim at changing the farmers' attitudes and tastes, they also have to learn the dynamics of working with rural people. If the extension workers go with predetermined agenda regarding how to assist the rural people, they fail and often conclude that rural people do not want change. It may be the case that rural people do not want to risk trying new ventures where they are not sure of the outcomes, especially with regards to enhanced livelihoods through improved yields, market, incomes and continued support from extension officers. This however does not necessarily mean that they do not seek and want change. In fact, PFARD's experiences working with communities in the Iganga area demonstrate amply that rural communities are very active innovators. They embark on and support change that is beneficial and sustainable. Such innovative must be meaningful and realistic as well as further their socio-economic and cosmic realities.

In joint experimentation, *farmer animators* have an important role to play as they are the first adopters of the new technologies. Other farmers are usually more willing to try new ventures if farmer animators have tested and shown the methods and workable and productive. As well, they must be on-field support available to backstop the knowledge and skills acquired from extension officers.

Joint Learning and Monitoring

Joint learning and monitoring is done at the community level where meetings are organised between the extension staff, farmer animators, local farmers and students from tertiary institutions such as universities and colleges. The farmers are first monitored on the farm to learn how they carry out their farming activities, discuss with them the problems they face, how they overcome those problems and how and on what problems they would like assistance. In the process of solution-finding, the first focus lies, in the use of traditional methods, simple tools and local knowledge.

The monitoring can help the development workers to track the progress and backstop where the farmers need more support. It is at this stage that outsiders learn about the customs and behaviours of a society. They gain more insight about the communities' way of working and willingness and capability for implementing projects.

Throughout our monitoring, emphasis is laid on the hard to reach categories of people namely the spirit mediums, herbalists, youth and sometimes the women and people living in remote areas.

Community Festivals

Field days are organised at community level with the aim of celebrating success, learning from experience and involving more and new people both within and outside the community. These field days are punctuated with celebrations in which music and dance that are part of the community life, play a central role.

Documentation and Research

Documentation of best practices and research with universities is another methodology that the organisation has embraced. This gives PFARD the opportunity to validate the theories, myths and evaluate the findings.

Field experiences

Working with communities involves making contact with them and entering the community. As part of their Participatory Learning and Attitude Change method, PFARD stresses the importance of entering the community in a right way. Preparing one self and following protocol are two aspects mentioned above. To prepare the community and start the process of participatory planning of a community-based project, PFARD uses, in most cases, Community Resource Diagnosis as an entry point into the Community. Using the community's institutions as an entry point has been discussed in chapter five, paragraph 'Community Institutional Mapping'. The transect walk described below, can be compared with the 'Sor-le Analysis' used by CECIK (see chapter four).

Example 1:   Community Resource Diagnosis

In most cases, PFARD uses Community Resource Diagnosis as an entry point into the Community. The Community Resource Diagnosis is conducted in a holistic way where the resources are assessed against their spiritual and cultural relevance and the controversies arising from the use or access to the resources. Preliminary findings revealed that culture and spiritualism play a vital role in social and economic transformation amidst several controversies. Furthermore, Community Resource Diagnosis revealed that by nature human beings are spiritual and live within a cultural context. Hence, it is impossible to separate humans from culture in the same way that humans can not survive without the six resources: human, social, cultural, natural, produced and economic resources. Approximately two and half hours are set aside for this kind of group work.

Designing a Questionnaire

The first step in identifying the resources of the community is to design a *questionnaire* to guide the discussions. The questionnaire can be made in a table form separating the six different resources. Guiding questions used by PFARD are:

- ♦ What resources are available in the community with regard to their benefit, quality, burden, control, spiritual and cultural relevance and the controversies arising there from?
- ♦ What was the situation like in the past 10 or so years?
- ♦ Which resources are endangered?
- ♦ How can we deal with the problem as a community and what support do we need from development partners like PFARD?

Before the actual workshop, the questionnaire is pre-tested with a small group of people and necessary revisions and/or improvements made.

Selection of Participants and Facilitators

Secondly, a list of participants for the Community Resource Diagnosis workshop is drawn. In this case the list of participants was drawn from three communities near Iganga. The participants were farmers, political leaders, youth, women, spirit mediums, spiritual healers and traditional birth attendants as well as herbalists, teachers students in higher institutions, community development workers and extension staff i.e. environment and agriculture.

From among the participants, facilitators were chosen. The facilitators were people who were either extension officers working in the community in which we carried the diagnosis or teachers and students from the community. One advantage we had has been that the participants have been very free to participate because the facilitators were part of the community and the communities were used to them as trainers in agriculture, veterinary services or environment management. The selected facilitators have always been part and parcel of PFARD programmes. Mutual assistance has been our slogan in our dealings with the technical staff.

Discussion on expectations

In the plenary, the participants were led through the process of linking PFARD to the COMPAS partners, the role of COMPAS in coordinating endogenous development and the expectations of the community diagnosis. The objectives and the methods to be used in the diagnosis were discussed and agreed upon.

Group discussions

The participants were then divided into six groups using the random method. Each group was assigned a facilitator selected from among the participants but with basic skills of handling focus group discussions. The role of the facilitator was to guide the discussion and record the members' views. Each group was expected to handle a particular resource. The community members were required to collect data themselves with little help from the facilitators. After the focus group discussions the participants reconvened for a plenary session during which each group shared their findings with the larger group.

Transect walk

Simultaneously with the above process, one team of community members under the headship of a university graduate of geography, conducted a transect walk to *map the resources* in one of the rural areas. The purpose of the walk was to compare the findings during the community diagnosis workshop and real community situation. On the transect walk the six resources were mapped. The extent of the walk was about 1.5 kilometres.

Example 2:   Assessment and Preservation of Indigenous Food Plants

Ikumbya sub-County is one of PFARD's project areas. It is located 70 kilo metres from Iganga Township. A research was conducted to assess the value of the indigenous wild food plants and how they could be conserved and preserved. The research took place in one of the project sites. The purpose of the research was to find out the various species that existed long ago and which have been endangered with a view to resuscitating them. Information was gathered through Focus Group

Discussions. At the end, they were asked to compare plants and say which one they would prefer.

Men and women at different ages regarding wild food plants were held at different locations of PFARD project areas. First, they were asked to name all the food plants they use in the area. This resulted in 63 species. From the 63 species, 27 food plant species were said to be considered as wild species. The discussion then continued only with the 27 wild species. Questions asked included:

Use of the plants	Which part(s) of the plant do you use? How much do you use per meal? Who are the priority feeders (women, children, men, hunters etc.)?
Harvesting	In which habitat is the plant found? Are any of these plants semi-wild or cultivated? Which season do you harvest these plants? Who harvest them? Are any of these plants limited in availability? Do you have to use any special techniques to harvest the plants?
Trading	Are any of these plants traded at the market? In case of yes, which and where? In which form are they sold?
Management	Do you actively do anything to protect any of the plants?

Outcome of the programme

During the discussions, a group of older women shared their experiences and concerns regarding the gradual disappearance of wild food plants. They said that the wild food plants used to bail them out during periods of hunger. Also, for the habitat-locations of these wild food plants, the said women knew a lot more than the men did. Traditionally, the harvesting of the plant has been done by men. It was explained that that the growth of the plant among rocks and stones made it difficult for women to harvest. The women also knew most of local names that only differentiated among small varieties in the habitats.

The 27 species we worked with in the focus group discussions were considered important by the group. It was very interesting to find that the most preferred species, Obuwama, a disappearing species, was identified as a rare species. The participants indicated that even if it was listed as a species, they would like to protect and plant it as it had not been cultivated. As this is an important plant in their diet, it was suggested that the cultivation (if possible) could be done in order to secure continued availability. Obuwama is also traded and could be an important source of income, if cultivated properly.

University Involvement: Makerere University

Established in 1922 as a technical school, Makerere University is one of the oldest Universities in Africa. In 1949, it became a University College affiliated to the University College of London. On 1st July 1970, Makerere became an independent

national university of the Republic of Uganda, offering undergraduate and postgraduate courses leading to its own awards.

As a result of PFARD's activities, there is increased demand for support from partner groups, government agencies and institutions such as universities. Working relations between PFARD and Makerere University started in 2004 with the Evaluation of PFARD activities by the University. Since then the link between the two institutions has been strengthened through involvement in PFARD activities of both lecturers and students of the Faculties of Science (Departments of Botany and Food-Science) and Arts. Since then Makerere University has conducted a Community Resource Diagnosis and an Action Research for PFARD. These actions gave rise to the joint activities that followed, such as research in herbal medicine with Makerere University students, Phenology study with the University of Norway, Makerere University and the rural communities of Ikumbya. PFARD and Makerere jointly presented papers during the African Sciences workshop in Ghana (2005).

Other areas of collaboration between PFARD and Makerere University have been:
Identification: Makerere University through the Department of Botany provides taxonic services for identifying useful plant species used by healers and farmers with a view to conserving and propagating them.
Documentation: The documentation of traditional knowledge related to useful plant species is jointly done by Makerere University and the traditional healers, spirit mediums and traditional herbalists.
Research: PFARD and Makerere University jointly conduct participatory research with local stakeholders to assess the ecological status of selected species.
Planning and Monitoring: Close collaboration between PFARD and Makerere University in the field of Participatory Collaborative Diagnosis, Planning and Monitoring of plant resources. These activities are monitored by PFARD on behalf of the farmers and the research institutions.
Internships: Internship of Makerere University students under PFARD areas of jurisdiction is a new development that has been embraced by universities. All universities send students to local communities to learn and appreciate the rural communities as it has been realised that many of the Social Science, Arts and Ethno-Botany students will one day have to work with rural people.

Lessons Learned and Challenges

PFARD has been working within the area of indigenous knowledge promotion, developing a network of associations dealing in indigenous knowledge. These include the PFARD Network Ikumbya, which focuses on Sustainable Agriculture and integration of HIV/AIDS. Other outcomes are: documentations on farmers' knowledges and experiences; development of a new policy related to wildfire; natural resource management with respect to bushfires; seed development and conservation; alternative livelihoods and income substitution programmes in place; and the organisation of HIV/AIDS sensitisation workshops especially for schools.

PFARD has also developed a lot of field level training materials. They have made use of existing materials in trainings, but prefer to use the local language, which

is mostly understood by farmers and healers. PFARD brings in new information materials only to complement the Indigenous Knowledge, which is already in use by farmers and healers.

Results of the three years work included documentation of indigenous knowledge that is being done by the university to date.

Traditional Seeds

Part of the problem of poverty in Iganga district has been food insecurity for many years. The situation can be traced to farmer pre-occupation with the planting of commercial crops, which they dispose off in a record period after harvesting. The growing of indigenous crops – although they may not yield as much as the conventionally grown ones – has one advantage in that farmers can keep them for the future.

In the field, many farmers have started experimenting on their farms to compare results of the use of conventional methods and indigenous methods. One area of PFARD's success is the sensitisation of farmers to preserve indigenous seed. Farmers have learned that indigenous seed preservation is very important because of its natural adaptability to the local environment and weather vagaries. Furthermore, the indigenous products are more durable and sweeter than the hybrid products.

PFARD has been contributing to indigenous seed multiplication and preservation and cultural artefacts. The specific contribution is conservation of biodiversity in which valuable seed species are selected stored and promoted. Amongst the local seed varieties preserved are millet, maize, ground nuts, sorghum, cassava and wild food plants like yams and fruits. Artefacts include traditional spears, hoes, and axes and wooden hammers for the manufacture of backcloths from ficus tree.

Traditional Health care

PFARD networks with Uganda Herbalist and Cultural Association, which is an organisation of traditional healers, spirit mediums, herbalists and magicians. In Uganda, vital natural resources in the form of local herbs have been endangered. This situation has created the need for conservation and preservation through multiplication and planting. A Phenology study is being carried out at six sites in Uganda. Five of the sites are in the Iganga District while one is in Kaliro District. Other herbal species have been promoted through backyard gardening. Traditional healers have supported their practice by making backyard gardens from which they grow various medicinal plants.

The Association brings together various actors in traditional healing methods. To ensure their integration in the Primary Health Care system, the Community Centre for Traditional Medicine has been constructed and commissioned by the International Development and Research Centre with funds from the Canadian Government. This is a vote of confidence on the part of this category of people hitherto despised by the western educated people especially the health workers.

Culture

Part of the Association's objective is to ensure that all is not lost of the traditional ways. This is portrayed in arts and music as a well as spiritual healing. Our

measurement of this is through the organisation of cultural practitioners into associations distinction from those involved in questionable practices and strong enough to resist their machinations and influences. The organisations help in ensuring that there is a common voice and that they help in maintaining discipline.

Conventional versus traditional knowledge

The revitalisation of local knowledge is challenged by the dilemma faced by implementors. We are faced with a problem of promoting Indigenous Knowledge in situations and under conditions where conventional sciences are privileged and supported by the national government and its agencies and international bodies as well as mainstream scientists and researchers. Furthermore, not all farmers are convinced about our approach. Especially, those farmers who have been trained in conventional ways have difficulties understanding the value of this effort. Above all, farmers often look in awe when the very system and practices which they were forced to discard with very convincing arguments are being invoked by persons often seen to as emerging from the same space as NGOs, Universities, development workers, extensionists and researchers.

Results of joint activities between PFARD and Makerere University

Identification: There has been the scientific identification and cataloguing of the most commonly used herbal medicinal plants.
Conservation: Conservation of traditional crop varieties including indigenous, millet, bambara nuts, banana and maize varieties, in collaboration with farmers of Ikumbya Sub-county and Kawete in Namungalwe sub-county.
Validation: A collaboration between Norway University and Makerere University has resulted in the validation of three herbal species, namely: matamatama (Sarcocephalus latifoius), muzingaganyi (Capparis tomentosa) and mukondwa (Securidaca longepedunculata). These vital herbal resources are being conserved and propagated for multiplication in the future.
Documentation: Documentation of new herbal plants has been an important result. One university student documented 30 herbal species by interviewing traditional healers extensively for a day per healer. The information gathered included the botanical names, family names, local /vernacular name, parts of plant used for treatment, diseases that the herb is used for treatment, life form of tree, shrub, herb or climber, and lastly the route of administration. Increased links between University of Norway and Makerere University's Faculty of Science (Department of Botany-Food science) through research and documentation. Through collaborative research 27 wild food plant species were documented and their importance articulated, with a view to conserving them. In this way, there has been considerable added value for the communities in their long term working relations with Makerere University.
Community Resource Diagnosis: Community diagnosis, transact walk and focus group discussions have been conducted to asses and map community resources. Today, many researchers have adopted PFARD's community entry approaches. As a result, they have been able to get access to communities and been able to 'get the right information'. The university students, who come for research, find a receptive community, if they seek and obtain PFARD consent and support.

Confidence building: There has also been significant improvement in the confidence levels resulting in improved relationships between herbalists and policy scheduled staff. The open and participatory nature of the programmes has resulted in the removal of prejudices and suspicions and building of trust and confidence among the partners.

On-farm trials*: On-farm trials and experimentation have been adopted as a strategy for research towards improved output..

Seed preservation: Seed preservation of indigenous species has been adopted widely by farmers to ensure continuity. Five botanical gardens have been set up at Kiyunga, Kawete, Buyunze and Walanga villages in the Iganga district local government.

Chapter Nine
Synthesis, Reflections and Conclusions

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Introduction

The analysis and presentations in this volume amply demonstrate that Africa is a very complex continent. Africa is a continent that defies attempts to compartmentalise into watertight chambers. Its dynamic and organic nature are clear marks of a complex system that is ever changing and transforming itself in ways that can at best be described as illusive and evasive. As far back as history has been able to document, Africa has been the target of categorisations such as the dark, primitive and/or a historical continent that lives in nature. It has resisted such attempts to tie it to nature with all its concomitants, for Africa is also a continent of high cultures. It has resisted attempts to categorise it as informal for it is also characterised by highly sophisticated formalised systems. In recent time, efforts to categorise it as under developed, third world and poor have been seriously challenged. As suggested in previous chapters, Africa's unique and complex nature is also the source of this evasiveness and resistances.

Failing to fulfil the mission of compartmentalisation, several efforts have been made to qualify and sectionalise Africa. One finds terminologies such as Africa south of the Sahara or sub-Saharan Africa or black Africa as a way of separating some Africans, those considered poor, from the rest; the Arab regions or northern Africa. Yet, for true Africans, Africa remains that continent of varying dynamics. Africans are Africans because of their diversity. It is this diversity that also serves as the unifying factor and the strong basis for forging collaborations that thrust Africa ahead in the search for social progress and citizens' well-being. As demonstrated in the introductory chapters, from mercantilism through colonialism to developmentalism Africans have and continue to remain the target of one treatment or the other in trade, research, industry and even social well-being.

The African complex resides in its uniqueness. It is a complex that manifests in many ways. It is this complexity that has often been referred to as unity in diversity. The continent is home to diverse yet unifying races, ethnicities, vegetations, climates, topographies, productions and traditions. Politics, histories, cultures, economics and religions are as diverse as they are shared. These diversities are sources of conflicts and of unity. (See chapter one of this volume). It is this complexity that has often evaded development agents who approach the continent from a rather myopic understanding of its peoples.

In its search for an alternative that works from, builds on and promotes sustainable development, the COMPAS family in Africa has made conscious efforts to ensure that an understanding of the African complex informs, underpins and manifests in

partnership-building and community-based interactions as captured in community-based experiences shared in this volume. The COMPAS family members comprising academics, development workers and communities collaborate on the basis of learning and sharing from the processes and products jointly generated. Right from the start, all members of the family, no matter their backgrounds, origins and locations are expected to respect, connect and interact with all others on the basis of mutuality and partnership. Indeed, our partners are at different stages in their activities but through sharing they are cushioning one another. It is this partnership building, even as we learn and share knowledge, that has resulted in the frameworks, guidelines, analysis, ethics and community-organisational success stories but also the challenges shared in this volume.

As already noted in the introductory chapters, the pursuit of endogenous development ideals entails working with people from and within their particular social spaces and locations toward progress. This presupposes that negotiations and interactions are premised on the experiences and cultures of the people. However, as demonstrated in the various experiences shared earlier on, those locations and spaces serve as starting point for supporting well-being and livelihood improvement actions. The various ways that the COMPAS network has learned from and supported one another to generate processes and products are finally beginning to jell. From random, individualised and site-specific initiatives have generated significant unifying practices and models that have been shared, adopted, tried, enhanced and extended among partners. From one community situation has grown significant learnings that have been shared among myriad of other communities, regions and nations. Such sharing is finally resulting in approximations which can best be described as emerging frameworks for eventually systematising our practices, although we recognise their open and dynamic nature. They will forever be informed by practical circumstances and conditions during operationalisation processes. The learning opportunities and possibilities resulting from the processes are becoming more and more obvious and refined. Hence, we are able to draw our collective and individual learnings together as the African family for sharing in what we consider broad principles but have and might be drawn and improved upon for further work in the coming years. At this point it has become obvious that we need to pull together and document our experiences. In this volume, we are beginning to systematise our experiences in ways that bring out our shared but also individual experiences in principles and frameworks that can only be regarded as broad criteria for forging synergies.

Principles Guiding African Partners

What we share in this section should be considered as a collection of isolated and shared experiences of various COMPAS partners in Africa. As we share and learn from our work with others and among ourselves over the years, we observe various differences as well as similarities in the ways that we have been able to maintain our partnerships. We find that more often than not our collaborations have worked better on certain basic principles. During sharing fora, partners have often learned and shared what they have learned and tried; their experiences in trying them, modifications made and their discoveries from the process including challenges and successes.

In this section, we re/present the emerging threads and strands that we hope have been beneficial to all of our partners and can be further enhanced to guide our practices as we grow in the coming years. They should be read as broad and evolving principles, which various partners agree on at the moment. We know that as we learn and share more we will uncover new knowledges, skills and values that might help improve or even render these obsolete. Informed by systems dynamics we do not wish to present a closed and watertight formula for solving community problems but what can be considered as our real experiences working jointly to mitigate change under ordinary and extra-ordinary conditions. For now, we hope that we can all learn and try what is available and has worked for us. We have done so by insisting on working from jointly shared meanings that are based on African worldviews.

African cosmovisions and knowledge systems

Traditional African ways of thinking and reasoning differ in many respects from the dominant international approach. Despite generations of western influence, the decisions about agriculture, health and nature management are still heavily based on the concepts of African traditions. At the village level the spiritual leaders, although often not clearly observed by outsiders, are quite influential. Nowadays, knowledge on and among Africa peoples ranges from traditional to modern, but in many cases, one finds parallel systems existing side by side, along thin lines that can easily be defused or opposed. Yet, in all cases one can still find strong traditional worldviews and institutions, especially among rural communities that continue to play very important roles and exert considerable influence in day to day activities and lifelong decisions and living.

In Africa, the concept of cosmovision includes the assumed interrelationships between spirituality, nature and humanity. It describes the role of supernatural powers, the natural processes that take place and the relationship between humans and nature, and it makes explicit the philosophical and scientific bases on which interventions in nature take place. It often indicates a hierarchy of divine beings, spiritual beings (especially the ancestors) and natural forces (such as climate, diseases, floods). These hierarchies give rise to several rituals in which the elders, traditional priests and soothsayers play prominent roles and prescribe the way problem-solving and general experimentation take place. These manifestations of cosmovision inform and shape the processes of knowledge generation and technology development into products that are culturally relevant and socio-economically meaningful to varying peoples. They serve as the indigenous knowledge base, although one finds semblance in varying degrees of such belief or convictions even among Christian and Islamic converts. Hence, indigenous knowledges and their inherent cosmovisions, to a large extent, define social organisation, determine social ideals and goals and shape the choice of processes and means for their achievement.

Among traditional communities, one can often find an array of spiritual institutions that safeguard the interests of the Ancestors, the living and the yet-to-be born. These institutions, which exist among the living, are in constant dialogue with the ancestral world. Through such communions the people are able to address their problems and forge meaningful livelihoods socially, physically and spiritually. Among all our partners

at the community and country levels, one finds that such communions exist although they manifest in varying forms. We find priests and priestesses, spirit mediums, elders and chiefs, who represent their peoples and serve as liaison in the relationships.

In our endeavors as COMPAS Africa working with and among our diverse peoples and cultures on the continent we have learned to negotiate this on the basis of their specific social basis, rather than a religious factor. We evoke it as a matter of spirituality and ideology; a philosophical orientation. This way, we are able to work with varying peoples that we encounter in our partnerships at the organisational and community levels. We have learned to understand that development is not just about material well-being and hence have forged collaborations that allow us to learn and share from and with peoples of varying beliefs including Traditionalists, Christians and Moslems in ways meaningful to them, in other to foster support that is beneficial.

We have also, as a family, learned over the years to plan together at various levels no matter how costly it has or might have been in time, energy and money. As part of our practice of fostering ownership and leadership, we have learned over the years to work with all partners to define our shared goals, plan agenda, establish timelines and commit to working to reach them. We have learned to value and respect the ways that our community-level partners, in particular, plan and deliver their commitments. These are sometimes radically different from those of partners at the Universities, NGO, management and even donor levels. Yet, we have been able to devise ways at arriving at agreements that have been mutually benefiting. Our vision of promoting development from within enables us to focus on that ideal as unifying our differences.

We have learned to and actually respect our differences in time management and this has enabled as to achieve results because we do not impose but work from and within our partners' positions. For instance, we have learned that in our rural communities planning is conducted according to culturally intelligible systems and signs. Unlike in the West where time is calculated in units, into hours and minutes, based on a 360 degree clock, which has a true zero and takes on a high level of specificity, we find that our partner communities tend to plan differently in accordance to local events, seasons and situations and we appreciate and work from that framework. We have learned to work out plans and programmes that are largely mutually useful and culturally meaningful.

Periodisation in planning is often scheduled to coincide with those culturally informed programmatic meanings. Planning is thus often flexible, sometimes indeterminate and even elastic. For instance, some activities are better suited for dry seasons while others are better suited for the rainy season. Some activities are best during harvest others during weeding seasons. Weather and climatic conditions, social calendars and obligations as well as work schedules and burdens have become important factors influencing our planning and programming schedules. Consequently, we have learned to plan within block periods that coincide with local calendars rather that specific dates on the formal calendar. Form the organisational level, in our formal scheduling and planning processes, with communities in particular, we are able to make projections using dates that coincide with the local calendar.

We have learned from experience that unless we understand and devise creative ways of working within local frameworks, we would be losing our community base, which we consider the engine of our collaborations. We have learned tremendously from this. All of our organisational partners report that they have learned to recognise that their community-based partners maintain and support livelihoods based on their own prescriptions, commitments, challenges and solutions. Those that have been shaped by locally informed pathways have worked the best. Hence, in working with them, they have always respected and fostered agreements and arrangements that have been suited to and reasonable on the time and energy of all partners.

Also, all our partners (organisational and communities) stress, in particular the importance of *patience* and the willingness of development workers to work at the *pace of the community*. We have learned to appreciate all partners on an equal basis. Organisational partners have learned and actually work with communities as equal partners who should be *respected* as such. They have done this by forging empathetic relationships that allow each side to appreciate and respect the other; their values, beliefs, visions and aspirations. Our organisational (NGOs) and institutional (Universities) partners in particular who are traditionally problematically positioned above the communities have learned to *respect* communities; their values and customs, and *work with* them as people with agency instead of dictating to them on how and what to do. Ensuring regular *feedback* into and within the community about the project is considered a vital part of the process. Both development workers and communities should *be committed* to the project in order for it to succeed.

Project Cycle Management

Our experience working together and independently in designing and implementing projects at various partner levels using the endogenous development framework has enabled us to learn that there are no rigid timelines, uniform and systematic processes in their management. Indeed, from discussions and analysis in previous chapters, it should be obvious by now that endogenous development is not a uniform or linear process. It has many expressions and is based on different dynamics, depending on the standpoints, starting positions and characteristics of the local community or ethnic group and the partnerships built or collaborations forged. These characteristics include, for example, the type and availability of local resources, their values and ways of knowing, the internal dynamics, as well as the interactions with the 'outside world' or the wider society. Although communities and therefore the process of endogenous development may differ, the methodologies followed in Ghana, southern Africa (South Africa, Lesotho and Zimbabwe), Tanzania and Uganda show some great similarities as well. We share below some of the similarities, but also differences in project cycle management. They have been gleaned from the initiatives jointly evolved with local communities by various partners such as in the work of CECIK in northern Ghana, SAEDP in southern Africa, MVIWATA in Tanzania, CIKOD in southern Ghana and PFARD in Uganda. OBEPAB of Benin is another important African partner, although their experience is not shared in this volume, their rich experiences working with traditional authorities and rural informs this framework.

Preparation and Protocols

Before entering a community, development workers should *Prepare* themselves both *psychologically* (e.g. what are the customs and values of the community) and *physically* (e.g. what materials do I need). Knowing the *protocols* for contacting traditional leaders and government institutions should be part of the development worker's preparation. As detailed out in chapter one and alluded to above, the African continent inhabits peoples of varied ethnic backgrounds with unique yet related rituals and protocols. However, among many ethnic groups, there are well defined social structures and leadership patterns and systems. Often at the center are monarchs (chiefs) and elders who play leading roles, in the social hierarchy and in the organisation of society. Their roles, which have been institutionalised and guarded over the years within the cultural group, are maintained through various protocols and practices, which are respected by all members of the society. These traditional leaders, whose authority and power are highly respected in society, are very influential in community initiatives for social progress and maintenance. Hence, contacts and interactions with the community should be informed by the protocols regarding the institutions and their authority systems as well as their leadership structures.

A knowledge of and respect for such protocols is thus vital for the success and sustainability of any development initiative or intervention. Hence, as partners and collaborators, development workers need to inform themselves and conduct themselves appropriately as set out in the cultural protocols of the community. It is critical for such protocols to be followed, especially when developing a project with the communities. The right permissions, respects and blessings have to be sought and obtained at the start of and maintained throughout negotiations. Following the right protocols on entering a community (i.e, knowing who to approach; when and how to approach and actually doing so appropriately) can make a huge difference between the start or non-start as well as success or failure of the project. When the proper (right) protocols are followed, one does not only obtain the permission of the traditional authorities but also the blessings of the ancestors and the guiding spirits of the lands, waters, rocks and trees. As representatives of the living and the dead as well as chief guardians of the commons and publics, traditional authorities and institutions exercise their power in lieu of all those constituencies.

Among many of our community partners in the various countries, it is customary for encounters and interactions to be marked by short ceremonies and/or rituals that invite but also ask permissions and blessings of spirit beings, largely ancestors, but also Allah and/or God Almighty. Within the traditional systems, through incantations, sharing of kola, drinking of water, sharing of millet flour water or even libation, various people prepare themselves, seek direction, set aside their fears and re-assure

> **Figure 19: Guiding Principles for Endogenous Development**
>
> Preparation before entering the community, both physically and psychologically. Follow protocol.
>
> Community engagement, including preparing the community, identifying partners, issues and community promoters
>
> Joint planning of the project, joint experimenting, monitoring and learning.

themselves of the need to pursue upcoming initiatives and/or collaborations. This is

after various protocols and respects have been paid. The spiritual performance is most often part of the protocols and often occurs during first contact, at the onset and may continue throughout the process. Among some communities prayers are offered to Allah or God Almighty. The communities decide which system and way to invoke spiritual support and may even invoke all at once during one encounter.

SAEDP's work in Zululand, South Africa is often set off by performances and rituals by spirit mediums or other spirit leaders. MVIWATA also does some among their Maasai partners but have also developed creative ways such as the use of the CREED, which assures all participants of their status as equal knowers and producers of knowledge (see chapter seven on the Tanzanian Experience). The COMPAS family respect and value such moments as they have always formed the basis of the long-lasting relationships that we have maintained with our community partners. Where our community partners are Christians or Moslem or mixed, we respect and support them in the ways that they prepare themselves in their self-determined ways. We are guided by the principles of non-imposition and non-exclusion yet in critical dialogic interactions.

Community Engagement

1. Community engagement (A) – General

Community engagement is an important next step in the project management cycle. The engagement takes the form of a few steps entailing the following:

Preparation of the community: This differs from country to country. Ghana prepares the community by organising community debates, discussions and/or meetings. This space is used to introduce partners and actors and to share visions in anticipation of finding identical goals and related motivations for partnership building;

Identification of partners: Those communities or actors who with shared visions and more importantly show interest in joint actions are identified as partners. Partners are often the collective of interested parties. It is important that all partners share the stakes and interest and are prepared to work to uphold them. Our principle of working with and not for people requires that our work with communities support rather than impose external agendas.

Community promoters: To help move the initiative forward, we work together to identify individuals who would take the lead in mobilising and organising the partners into actions. They serve as community liaison and protectors of community partner interests. They are also the day to day facilitators at the community level. The community usually selects the promoter. Contact between outsiders (NGOs) and community is usually done through the promoter. In some cases the promoter has fulfilled this role before. Community promoters are often opinion leaders, youth leaders, and local government representatives such as assembly persons, counselors, or even other development-oriented individuals in the community such as citizens, social workers and other professionals who share the vision of development from within using local resources and enterprise. The role of the Promoter is to mobilise other people (local actors) in the community. A promoter often has specific knowledge about the main theme of the project. They sometimes initiate contacts

with organisational partners in order to extend ongoing initiatives within their communities.

The reason for working with promoters instead of working directly with chiefs or traditional leaders is that within varying African contexts, it is not customary to deal with the authorities directly. There is often a hierarchy that also allows for the delegation of authority. The leaders often identify, bless and delegate people to act and report to them. Equally important is the fact that chiefs and elders do not do hard labour or work in the fields. They delegate their representatives, often trusted persons, whom they bless, to act on their behalf. For the most part, after the community entry phase, the rest of the negotiations are done without the hierarchy. Their appointed representatives (promoters) participate in subsequent negotiations and report to the chiefs and/or traditional leaders about the project. It is therefore important that the promoters are not only popular with the people but also obtain the blesses of the leaders.

Identification of Issues*:* Negotiations are set in motion as organisational or institutional partners work with community partners and their promoters to identify issues for joint action.

2.   Community engagement (B) – Specific

Apart from the broad principles mentioned above (*A: general communication engagement*), different partners have used different processes and methods during their engagement.

Starting Up*:* This has often involved activities aimed at understanding opportunities and potentials of communities. Partners have used processes best suited to their situations. In Ghana, Community Institutional Mapping has been used by both CECIK and CIKOD. In Uganda and South Africa, MVITWATA and SAEDP have found Community Diagnosis more useful

Joint Learning: The creation of conducive atmosphere and use of participatory tools often reassure and enable partners to take over and own the processes. In Tanzania, the use of the Creed has been very reassuring.

Joint Planning: This is mainly done by communities themselves. It entails the setting of targets, identification of activities and processes, assignment of responsibilities and identification of time frames. Organisational partners facilitate the process.

Joint Experimentation*:* Communities implement their work plans with the support of promoters and/or their leaders. Organisational partners provide agreed resources. Experiments are done mainly by communities themselves

Joint Monitoring*:* Communities do their own monitoring. They conduct inter- and intra-group or community monitoring. That is to say, apart from monitoring and reporting on their own progress (intra) they also take turns in monitoring one another's experiments. This is done usually between communities. One community selects a small group, which goes to another community to monitor the project (and vice versa)

3. Feedback

Feedback is an important tool for determining the progress and impact of projects and programmes. At the community level, various strategies have been used by organisational partners in their work with community partners. Although, they often employ informal systems based on culturally informed strategies, formal systems are also sometimes used. Universities and consultants, who conduct formal assessments, use participatory tools in their work. At the partner level, communities and organisations devise creative and culturally informed ways of giving and obtaining feedback, jointly, which are often informal, open, interactive and instant. Large groups, small group and individuals often serve as basis for the assessment. For instance, partner meetings or community discussions are important spaces for large group feedback. Household visits and project group meetings offer opportunities for feedback. One way of feedback is making use of traditional festivals and community durbars. Partners report on their activities to the entire communities. Additional, such festival and durbars which entail community stock-taking often involve the review and performance of community –based activities, successes and challenges by community leaders including traditional authorities, opinion leaders and local government authority. In the process, it is possible to audit investigate performance, audit perceived outcomes and obtain feedback on benefits.

One finds, also, that feedback processes and methods differ from country to country.

♦ **In Ghana** the popular tools used have been community radio, durbars and festivals

♦ **In Tanzania** group approaches through oral assessments in small discussions groups have been used

♦ **In Uganda,** for example, songs are composed in which a story is told. In these stories, people of the community can be praised or punished. One way of receiving punishment in Uganda e.g. is taking away power or mocking deviants.

♦ **In southern Africa,** SAEDP uses social accountability as a tool for impact assessment. They draw on agreements with and commitments of Traditional Authorities to provide feedback during stakeholder meetings, where they revisit set targets (agreements) and provide on account progress.

Taken together, our partners are inspired by the shared vision of working from within to conduct feedback using participatory tools that center on project implementation and end-user analysis and judgments. They draw from local knowledges, skills and value and use cultural spaces and systems that are meaningful to our community partners.

4. Community Exit

Within the COMPAS network and endogenous development framework, exit is often not critical in the cycle of actions. We consider ourselves as partners who jointly own and share in the community actions. Our family of members, starting from the small community through NGOs, universities to management, is structured around local people and their leadership. The question of exit, therefore, presents some anxiety as it takes away from the mutuality and locality of actions and interests. Our methodologies, which start from the local and already existing systems, often enable and yield relations that transcend time and space. At the rural community level, where

the livelihoods of the people is at the base of negotiations; at the NGO level, where there is a huge dependence on local resources and; at the university level, where we collaborate on the basis of shared interests, activities and actions, negotiations and initiatives continue with or without COMPAS support. Indeed, our partners are creative in generating multiple support networks to engender processes and pursue their goals and visions. That is the beauty of the COMPAS family. As amply demonstrated in our partner experiences in the earlier chapters, our particular brand of methodology, endogenous development (ED), builds on, draws from and works with people and locales in partnerships.

Challenges and Solutions

As a family of learners, sharers and supports, we are constantly evolving and initiating novel ways of enhancing our activities and collaborations. Over the years, we have made some progress, which has been well articulated in this and previous chapters, but we are also confronted with a number of challenges. These include the following:

Gender

The recognition and promotion of gender equality within the culturally informed methodologies that we use remains an important challenge to the COMPAS family at the organisational, programming and community level. Specifically, we are challenged by the:

- Danger of stereotyping women and their roles in households, communities and development initiatives;
- lack of understanding of hidden or deep meanings of certain practices (technological or cultural) and their implications for the social positioning of men and women in society.

In Uganda for example, we are faced with the issue of female genital cutting. We struggle with questions regarding the deep meanings or reasons behind the practice. We have asked: why must women in our partner communities be circumcised? Our partners answer: uncircumcised women become prostitutes. We question further: are all neighbouring women from ethnic groups that do not engage in the practice prostitutes? They answer: no.

We then wonder: why then do they find the reason tenable? Why will they continue with the practice in spite of activism against its practice? How might we work with men and women of the community toward ways of addressing the issues amicably? Are there local examples for us to model change? Are there parallel or similar practices fro men and women? What do those practices and beliefs mean in terms of the individual and collective well-being of women and men? How might we work together to mitigate change from within?

PFARD, the local COMPAS organisation partner decided to initiate discussions with their community partners. After discussing the issue within the communities, the men wanted to abolish female circumcision. The women however did not and actually resisted suggestions for the abolition. PFARD tried to find out why. They explained

that some women would lose their incomes if female circumcision were abolished. It became obvious that the need to maintain and support the livelihoods of fellow women practitioners for informing their decision.

While such solidarity for the sustenance of a largely women-centered occupation was admirably, its failure to consider the plight and the target groups on which such practices are perpetuated, especially in relation, to individual/collective needs as well as the socio-political implications, presents a problematic which should be addressed by all parties.

In the case of PFARD, the response took the form of negotiating with them on developing alternative livelihoods to support the women practitioners. Without such effort to understand the deeper meanings, PFARD could have concluded the effort, prematurely, by saying that women wanted to maintain it. Yet, aware of the controversial nature of female gender cutting and the practical effects on women, especially their health and survival, PFARD found ways of moving the discussions forward and generating results that were acceptable to practitioners, the women population and the community.

Actively involving women: It has been easy to involve women in programmes such as meetings and livelihoods activities. However, the extent to which such involvement translates into inclusion, where women exercise real agency in making their own decisions, shaping their personal collective improvements directions and owning the processes remains a challenge. Among many of the communities with whom COMPAS share partnerships, the gender division of roles and culturally defined positioning of women remain important factors determining the levels and extent of women's involvement. While respecting these cultures, COMPAS recognise the likely negative implications and effects of gender division of roles in social well-being and community improvement and as such continues to challenge its community level partners in critical dialogues that are meant to open more spaces and enhance women's involvement in more meaningful ways.

Make use of traditional institutions: COMPAS and its partners have and will continue to work with traditional institutions in partnership building and community support initiatives. As demonstrated in some of the organisational experiences in Ghana (CECIK and CIKOD), Uganda (PFARD), southern Africa (SAEDP) and Tanzania (MVIWATA), shared in previous chapters of this volume and elsewhere, targeted as well as integrated programmes have been used in the process. COMPAS has and continues to benefit from and has been informed by the tremendous contributions of traditional institutions, the basis for collaboration, but also is cognisant of their challenges.

Challenges regarding the roles of women and youth remain under-explored although it is also recognised that several avenues and opportunities exist for enhancing their roles. Examples from Ghana demonstrate that usually women have more room to exercise agency than outsiders think. Consequently, CIKOD, in particular, has explored these roles to enhance women's roles. Their work with queenmothers, queens and magazia have created not only opportunities for enhancing women's

leadership roles but also lead to targeted programming that is yielding benefits to entire communities. Women's roles in the care economy, family nutrition and social well-being have often been drawn upon in alternative livelihoods programmes to enhance incomes, expand livelihood options and improve conditions. The work of MVIWATA among some Masai communities in Tanzania is exemplary.

Promoting Women's Strategic Interests: While our work has served to improve the conditions of women and men in the communities with whom we work, we are also concerned about the low status of women in those communities. Yet, we are careful to not impose our ideas or views in these matters pertaining to power relations and sexual politics on the communities. We are looking for and seeking out opportunities, in our programmes that explore women's agencies for enhancement to be translated in ways that strategically position women as equal partners with equal opportunities in the negotiations and opportunities.

Promoters

Our experiences over the years and also as a family of people who are culturally rooted have taught us to appreciate the role of promoters in community-level interactions. We have found that in every community there are persons who have special investments in moving their communities forward. We have learned that these persons are of varied backgrounds including traditional authorities, politicians, the religious, and other elite members of the community. In our work, however, we have also found others who are popular with communities and who might or not represent the views of identified elite but who also wield their own influence as a result of their popularity with the peoples of their communities. Such persons are often self-motivated and work out of personal convictions. These are often identified as promoters of our joint or shared causes.

Our challenge in working with community promoters is three-fold:

♦ sustaining the internal motivation of promoters (for the project);
♦ danger of growing gap between promoters and communities (after a while);
♦ change leadership / promoters. Promoters should not become too dominant. They must be challenged to seek out and use new and existing knowledge that has direct benefits and positive effects for them and their communities.

Universities

As noted in earlier chapters, the COMPAS partnership also includes universities and other institutions of higher learning. Universities' roles in generating knowledge through research as well as documenting and disseminating knowledge has been viewed as an important contribution with immense potential for supporting indigenous communities in packaging and documenting their knowledges and experiences but also in designing practical strategies that are mutually beneficial. Through our partners, we have moved some universities, who are members of the partnership, from their "ivory towers" to real communities where they have collaborated on various issues and in various ways. In addition, university partners, through our University Consortium programmes, serve as institutions at the heart of our training and research

programmes. However, we are still faced with tremendous challenges that arise from the broad mandates and functions of universities. These include:

♦ The difficulty of breaking through university red tapes and bureaucracies (who to approach for what). So far we have been able to find some promoters and converts only. Universities in their entirety remain largely conservative.

♦ Universities often have condescending attitudes towards community and development workers. Due to their highly specialised and particularised ways of functioning that result from their technicist and professionalised modes of operation, universities often place themselves in an elite category in contrast to community-based actors. Our challenge is to be able to forge a collaboration that appreciates the uniqueness of universities and communities but also their complementary roles in social improvement for effective learning and sharing.

♦ In playing their roles as leaders of scientific and technological advancement for development, African universities often lean heavily on western systems. This has yielded useful benefits but also created some dependency and supremacist tendencies with detrimental outcomes such as cultural undermining as well as the generation of dysfunctional knowledge's, values and skills and production of cultural alienated and dysfunctional elites. Our challenge is to be able to de-school and re-school universities and their agents to look within as they work towards embracing endogenous development as the basis for forging external collaborations.

♦ In the past, COMPAS has identified and worked with individuals and sections of Universities. In fact, some university individuals, such as David Millar, have played pioneering roles in the evolution of COMPAS and endogenous development in Africa. As we grow, we are concerned about expanding participation and collaborating more with the yet-to-be converted. Our challenge is to be able to broaden participation through the identification and involvement of a broad range of allies within universities/entry universities through individuals (personal networks) but also departments and entire institutions. Examples exist in our work in Tanzania through the Moshi University College of Cooperatives and Business Studies (MUCCoBS) of Moshi; in Zimbabwe with the Open University of Harare and until lately the Endogenous Development programme of Vaal University of Technology (VUT) of Vanderbiljpak in South Africa.

♦ Above all, our greatest challenge is to be able to build trusting and mutually reinforcing relationships and collaborations between and among communities and universities for the generating and sharing of ideas and skills, promoting indigenous knowledges and protecting African sciences and knowledges for African development at the community, national and continental levels.

Culture

Culture has often be condemned and dismissed by modernist developmentalists as an impediment to development. It has been dismissed for lacking the so-called scientific and technical rationalities for the modernising missions of western-informed development. Within the COMPAS family we reject any such disrespect of peoples and their ways of life. We embrace, respect and work with people within their

cultural-bases and in culturally-specific and informed ways in our collective and individual search for social well-being. Yet we are also aware and seek ways to address the inherent challenges that confront us. These include:

♦ The danger of romanticising culture.
♦ Finding the appropriate frameworks for dealing with the negative aspects of culture in an endogenous development context
♦ Ability to stimulate meaningful internal discussions. For a very long time, development workers have entered communities and imposed ideas and decisions on peoples. This has tended to silence the peoples as they internalise the idea of the supremacy of development workers. Our mission to overturn these tendencies by creating safe spaces and reassuring our community partners sufficiently for them to see themselves as equal partners in all of our negotiations. We find that the basis of discussion must be the acceptance of the negative cultural aspects (even when we do not understand them) in stead of immediate rejecting outright. We accept and work with communities to generate understanding through critical dialogues.
♦ In the spirit of sharing and jointly learning we anticipate to build relationships that would enable various partners to connect and share ideas. We hope to be able to expose peoples in different communities in ways that promote interactions and collaborations that would broaden horizons and inform the adoption of practical alternatives to replace negative aspects of culture. We are challenged by the difficulty of doing this without creating unnecessary conflicts, intruding upon cultures and opening avenues for exploitation and domination.

Abuse of Communities

Rural and indigenous communities who are often the target of modernised development have also been subjected to various forms of abuses. These have included, among others, condemning indigenous people's ways of life, disrespecting their knowledge, extracting their resources and violating their institutions, practices, systems and structures. Within the COMPAS family we are guided by a strong conviction that such communities have valuable knowledge and experiences from which we can learn and share even as we support one another forward. Hence, our work has entailed making sure that the communities themselves are respected and that their best interest is at heart. We desist from using communities as technical laboratories for experimentation but as social laboratories for the joint generation of knowledge's and skills. We seek to build partnerships that enable us to experiment together. Above all, we ensure that whatever benefits emerge from the experiments are left in or shared with the communities. Even under conditions of university-based research with and in communities we do not only leave skills in the form of the participatory methods that enable communities to draw from and analyse their situations but also enhanced knowledge's, which lift the communities to higher levels of knowledge. Through the participatory approaches they are able to generate information and knowledge, which becomes theirs and can be drawn upon for use at any time. Above all, we endeavor to provide constant feedback (report) to the communities on what was done with the information. Often such research results in projects that are jointly developed with and implemented in the communities. Hence,

we as a family insist, in our work with Universities, that they report back to the community (e.g. by internships make this part of the appraisal) so that the community can make use of the findings too. It is important to give information back to the community. Anything short becomes extractive.

Participation

Participation is such an overused and undermined concept. It has been employed in various ways and contexts that have been both empowering and disempowering. Some development workers have employed the concept to overburden communities while project resources are divested into their luxuries. In some cases, the concept has been employed in ways that are purported to enhance equity but end up disenfranchising disadvantaged or vulnerable groups. In some of the communities with whom we have worked we have found evidence regarding the translation of participation into financial contributions to projects that have often led to the denial of social services. Concepts such as cost sharing, community contribution or commitment have often taken the form of extracting and extorting resources from already deprived groups. The result takes the form of resources for the better off while the suffering ones are denied. Within COMPAS, we have a high appreciation and value for community participation but we seek out ways that enhance rather worsen the conditions of the already disadvantage groups with whom we work. Through our endogenous development framework we have been able to translate this into mutual intelligible practices that do not unduly discriminate against any persons or groups. We have in the past focused on involving local people in decision-making as well as project initiating, negotiation and evaluation. We the COMPAS family, from the benefit of hindsight, look more, now, to inter- and intra-groups representations for participations. Women, the young, settlers, persons living with disabilities and non-titled male are becoming important targets in our programming collaborations.

   Above, we insist that community participation should be more than just 'being present'. Both NGO and community partners are encouraged to poll their efforts and resources into promoting active involvement in the projects.

Conclusion

From the above discussions, analysis in introductory chapters and the organisational experiences, it should be evident that the COMPAS approach to community improvement, livelihoods enhancement and social well-being, using the Endogenous development framework is an activism position that privileges local agency and cultural knowledge. It entails negotiations and collaborations with real peoples in real situation and real localities whose visions and aspirations allow them to collaboration with interested others in their development endeavor. This makes it possible for our collaborations to involve communities (traditional authorities, institutions, women, youth, settlers, people living with disabilities and untitled men), organisational partners (SAEDP, MVIWATA, CECIK, PFARD, CIKOD, OBEPAP), Universities (University for Development Studies and University of Cape Coast in Ghana, University of Zululand in South Africa, Open University in Zimbabwe, Univerity of Lesotho in Lesotho, Makerekere University in Uganda and University of Abomey-Calavi in Benin) and well as COMPAS/ETC Netherlands and our regional partners in southern

America (Guatemala, Bolivia), Europe (Switzerland, Netherlands) and Asia (India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh). This is a demonstration that our privileging of the local does not close off collaborations from the extra-local. Also, our efforts to support and promote culturally appropriate development does not stem from a romantic notion. We work to support, authenticate and legitimate local, indigenous and traditional efforts and knowledge's as it should be the case. However, our efforts are not oblivious to internal and external challenges and especially the various controversies that attend them. Hence we also work on negoatiation and promoting dialogues that promote the critical analysis and search for change. We are not parallel by the challenges of the system and as such are not dissuaded from initiating, promoting and supporting change. Indeed, the very essence of development is change, however, as we recognise that development is a complex process and product, with histo-cultural connotations, that occurs among peoples and spaces that are equally complex, we anticipate and work towards change that emerges from within and learns from within and without.

In the coming years, we as the COMPAS Africa family, hope to continue to work from our existing spaces (networks and partnerships) even as we explore new spaces, ideas and processes that have direct benefits and enhance the livelihoods and well-being of all of our partners, especially those at the community level. We look forward to stronger partnerships for evolving more informed ways that address better the challenges that we have raised above by drawing from cultural sensibilities and values systems as well as critical dialogues to promote actions that are strategically illuminating and mutually benefiting. We look forward, in particular, to promoting more inclusive systems and practices, that foster inter- and intra-generational learning and sharing. We are particularly interested, at this point, to expand the roles of young people, women, peoples with disabilities, settlers and untitled men in the promotion of endogenous development in their communities, regions, nations and the continent. We look forward to partnerships that are mutually fulfilling and allow all of our partners, individually and collectively, to participate actively and enjoy the benefits of our partnerships. Above all, we hope that all our partners will be able to optimise their chances, choices and participation for enhanced growth and development.

Declaration on Endogenous Development and Bio-Cultural Diversity

Lezajsk (Poland), 27 September 2006

We, the members of the COMPAS network, who are the representatives of different community-based organisations, NGOs, universities and peoples, with different cultural backgrounds from Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe, gathered at the COMPAS partner meeting in Lezajsk, Poland, September 2006, have agreed on the following:

(1) For the last ten years we have been working to maintain and enhance bio-cultural diversity by supporting Endogenous Development. This is development based mainly, but not exclusively, on locally available resources, values and knowledge. We are developing mechanisms for local learning and experimenting, for building local economies and for retaining benefits in the local area. We are determined to further contribute to efforts which enhance Endogenous Development and bio-cultural diversity by:
   ♦ supporting local communities;
   ♦ cooperating as partners in the COMPAS programme;
   ♦ collaborating with other community-based organisations, NGOs, universities and governmental and international agencies that support Endogenous Development and bio-cultural diversity.

(2) We recognise that there are important and valuable initiatives for bio-cultural diversity: national and international policies and conventions, initiatives by grassroots organisations and social movements. Yet not enough is being done to prevent further erosion and destruction of bio-cultural diversity. We are concerned about the global environmental, social, economic and cultural crises as well as the way biological and cultural diversity is being eroded and destroyed by human activities.

(3) We note that the domination of materialist and mechanistic worldviews in mainstream sciences, technology and commercial systems is contributing to the global crises and the reduction of bio-cultural diversity. We therefore draw attention to worldviews, systems of wisdom and sciences present in:
   ♦ the history of humankind, also of cultures now dominated by materialism;
   ♦ the diverse cultures and sciences throughout the world;
   ♦ the minds and hearts of people and social movements;
   ♦ feminine perspectives on life;
   ♦ recent scientific developments such as transdisciplinarity and new trends in quantum physics.

(4) We call on scientists, educators, policy makers and corporate organisations to be fully aware of the consequences of the proliferation and domination of materialistic and commercial values and practices. We invite initiatives from these, and from all parts of civil society, to enhance and respect endogenous innovations and recognise collective rights.

(5) We acknowledge that local knowledges, sciences and wisdom of traditional and indigenous peoples may have their specific strengths as well as weaknesses. We also affirm that mainstream science has its own strengths and weaknesses too. Hence, activities are required which build on the strengths and reduce the limitations of both.

(6) Intra-cultural and inter-cultural processes of learning and research should be strengthened and collective rights acknowledged.

We reject:

♦ The growing levels of material, social and spiritual poverty in all parts of the globe.
♦ The loss of territorial and food sovereignty, as well as the destruction of ecology and livelihood systems.
♦ The global geo-political, socio-cultural and economic power strategies and the expansion of the global market economy, with its destruction of biological and cultural diversity.
♦ The loss of social cohesion, solidarity, reciprocity and mutual help in rural and urban communities.
♦ The negative effects of globalisation, the market economy, and commoditisation of life, water, genetic resources, and the knowledges and wisdoms of traditional and indigenous peoples.
♦ The loss of spiritual values and practices and the reduction of the role of spirituality in giving people meaning and direction.
♦ The imposition of dominant values, religions and belief systems on diverse cultures and peoples.
♦ The lack of respect for and communication between different religions and spiritual traditions, and the related increase in tensions and aggression.
♦ The dominance of mainstream science as well as the marginalisation and underestimation of traditional and indigenous sciences.
♦ The imbalance in credibility, prestige, power and access to resources between mainstream and traditional knowledges and sciences.
♦ The global and national policies that promote and generate the erosion of biodiversity, and of the knowledges and wisdoms of traditional and indigenous peoples in the fields of agriculture, health and conservation of nature.
♦ The erosion of roles and functions of traditional institutions; systems of governance for managing ecosystems and social organisation of traditional and indigenous communities.
♦ The dominating role of materialistic and mechanistic worldviews, as well as the global spread of these in policies for development, commercial activities and sciences, and their impact on bio-cultural diversity.
♦ The lack of recognition of and regard for the collective rights of traditional and indigenous peoples, and the imposition of laws of intellectual property rights and free trade agreements upon these groups.
♦ All forms of intellectual property rights on living beings.

- The production of genetically modified organisms which is taking place, predominantly driven by commercial interests of transnational corporations, with insufficient attention to environmental and bio-safety aspects, and the lack of transparency in the processes of decision making. We reject the negative impact that the production of GMOs has on farmers' autonomy.

We recommend:

For Policy

1. That the international and national bodies concerned with development policies incorporate programmes and projects that defend collective rights, support the revaluation and revitalisation of wisdoms and ways of knowing of traditional and indigenous peoples, and the non-commodification of local knowledges and natural resources.
2. That national governments respect and acknowledge traditional institutions and organisational systems.
3. That global and national policies strengthen local economic systems, giving priority to local production and marketing, sovereignty and safety of food.
4. An increase in the allocation of resources for research and development of knowledges and sciences of traditional and indigenous peoples.
5. Training for scholars and professionals who are committed to the values and pinciples of traditional and indigenous peoples to:
   - Develop, update and improve their theories and practices;
   - Set standards for students and professionals;
   - Evaluate mainstream knowledge and practices from traditional perspectives;
   - Enrich the foundations of their own sciences.
6. An increase in intra- and inter-scientific cooperation for mutual learning and co-evolution of mainstream and local sciences (e.g. in health and agriculture), as well as the interaction between folk, classical and mainstream practitioners, enhancing the symmetry in power position and resource access for both types of sciences.
7. Acknowledgement of and respect for the views of territory held by peoples and communities.
8. Acknowledgement of and support for cultures, nations and traditional and indigenous peoples to protect their systems of health and medicinal resources, including their physical, spiritual, mental and social aspects.

For research

1. Recognition of the collective nature of traditional knowledge.
2. Attention by mainstream scientists and thinkers to traditional and indigenous knowledges, sciences and wisdoms as valuable sources.
3. The establishment of an international research centre and/or an alliance for Endogenous Development and Bio-Cultural Diversity.
4. Support for local experts to assess, understand, document and disseminate information on:
   - Indigenous plants, crops and animals, as well as local knowledge, values and land-use systems;
   - Indigenous institutions and effective practices in community organisational development;

- Local and indigenous concepts of territory and the existing threats and opportunities for peoples' territorial sovereignty;
- Gender perspectives on bio-cultural diversity in different cultures;
- Collective rights and ways to protect these.

5. Support for carriers of local knowledge and wisdom in their own research and dissemination of the outcomes, and acknowledgement of them as researchers in their own right.

For education

1. That primary, secondary and higher education curricula include traditional sciences and technologies in their theories, methods and practices.
2. Support of informal and non-formal education focusing on Endogenous Development and bio-cultural diversity.
3. That self-confidence and pride in local culture and traditional professions be reinforced and strengthened.
4. Sharing information with farmers and communities on bio-safety and land-use rights, cultural rights, ownership of knowledge and commodities.
5. Incorporation of local experts as teachers in schools and in research.

For activities and initiatives

1. Development of methodologies for working with indigenous and traditional istitutions.
2. That, in engaging with communities, outside agents identify and work with existing institutions rather than establish new organisations.
3. The promotion of empowerment of traditional authorities through training, networking and exchanges.
4. The recognition and use of traditional structures as channels through which traditional authorities and their communities influence the development process.
5. Initiation and support for policy dialogues among stakeholders from different cultural backgrounds on cultural rights and local management of natural resources.
6. Coordination of initiatives for promoting local resources such as indigenous seeds and animal breeds in different parts of the world.
7. That dominant religions respect local spirituality, religions and belief systems.

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