

THE CONTRIBUTION OF RURAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SOUTHERN SUDAN THROUGH SELF-HELP: THE CASE OF MAGWI PEOPLE'S
RURAL COUNCIL AREA //

BY

JACOB OKWIR-CYIKI

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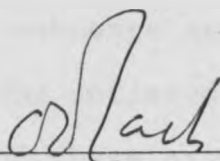


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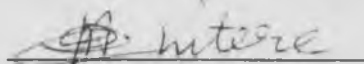


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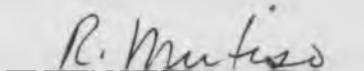
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ABSTRACT

One of the main problems the Sudan continues to face after almost three decades of independence is equity in socio-economic development. At independence while certain parts of the country witnessed unprecedented expansion in economic investments and social welfare facilities, certain regions suffered utter neglect. Southern Region is part of these areas whose development appear irrevocably suppressed before the 1972 Addis Akaba Agreement which brought peace after 17 years of civil strife. Despite the peace the problems of underdevelopment were hardly lessened; schools were few and overflowing, health conditions remained deplorable as well as communications which also suffered during the civil war. These problems were also intimately linked to the rampant poverty and symptomatic to the general problems of underdevelopment which in combination made solutions despairingly elusive.

Attempts by the rural communities in Southern Sudan to uplift themselves from the quagmire of backwardness took the form of a social movement known as "self-help". Self-help strategy is a means through which local communities achieve some of the felt needs through a substantial investment of labour, materials or cash. These needs could range from access roads, schools, health centres to cooperative stores and shops.

(ii)

This thesis discusses the characteristics of individuals and communities concerned with the provision of what has been mentioned by respondents as schools, health centres, roads and bridges, cooperative stores etc. Drawing upon concepts from literature on self-help or Harambee the study provides an analysis of contributions to self-help projects and how they were influenced by such factors as types of local institutions, experience in exile, socio-economic attributes, agricultural potential and ethnic affiliations. Various approaches were used to conceptualise the phenomenon of self-help movement: the community development, centre-periphery and the class hypothesis approaches. While the principal argument in these approaches centred around the nature of Harambee, the former approach argued that traditional self-help was a precursor to Harambee, whereas the latter two approaches disassociated Harambee from its traditional context and disputed that it was an ad hoc response to the needs of the community.

The data for this study ^{have} been collected from Magwi People's Rural Council Area of Torit District in Eastern Equatoria Province of the Sudan. A total sample of 135 respondents were picked through random sample technique from Madi and Acholi sections of the area for the interview. They were subsequently interviewed using a questionnaire. Additional data ~~were~~ collected from documents and observation.

(iii)

Evidence from this study shows a tremendous indigenous effort and institutional capacity for project execution as empirically shown by the local kampone work-group institutions. There is a positive indication also of fusion between traditional work-groups and the politico-administrative units. Participation has thus been considerably boosted by such factors as the new organizational techniques embodied in rural-based institutional units. Influence on participation was found to be brought about by such factors as places of exile, occupation, marital status and to some extent, sex. Lack of vital complementary inputs and overarching ideology on self-help movement were recognized as implicit in the watering down of enthusiasm and participation in projects.

We stressed that in order to promote a significant shift toward self-help activities a number of complementary measures need to be taken: inputs such as cement, iron sheets, nails, timber and others that cannot be obtained locally should be made available by the government to enable local communities to gain confidence and improve their implementing capacity. This being the case it becomes necessary that for the momentum to be kept, the principles of Harambee be incorporated into the mainstream of the strategies formulated at national level for achieving effective changes in the rural areas.

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Abbreviations Used

Sudan Socialist Union

Village Development Committee

Village Council

Community Development

Community Development Officer

SP Norwegian Church Aid - Sudan Programme

Magwi People's Rural Council

Development and Social Research Council

Central Africa Republic

Repatriation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Commission

AS Africa Committee for the Relief of Southern
Sudan

German Medical Team

Lutheran World Federation

Six - Year Development Plan

International Labour Organization

United Nations Development Programme

.P. Primary Health Care Programme

Upper Talanga Tea Project

C. Parents and Teacher's Council

Rural Development Centre

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CHAPTER ONE

I.O INTRODUCTION

I.I.O. Background to the Problem

Many developing countries are now confronted with a multiplicity of mutually interacting problems which have impudently bogged down socio-economic development. In many African countries, for example, the problems of widespread poverty, droughts, famine, lack of resources and power politics tend to make attempts at development intractable and increasingly formidable. After almost three decades of independence in Africa the balance sheet of development shows a relative neglect of the rural sector. The inadequacies of many government institutional mechanisms for generating growth and development equitably are apparent. Consequently although economic growth has been achieved in some quarters it has largely tended to buttress the inherent inequalities and deprivation. Yet statistics on African economic development mask rather than explain the realities of this situation.

The Sudan, one of Africa's largest nations (2.5mkm²) is among the 38 nations supposedly "low developing" by United Nations and World Bank reckoning (see, for example, World Economic Survey 1973; World Development Report 1979). Sudan's development over the years relative to other developing nations leave much to be desired.

With a population estimated

at 21 million in the 1983 census and an annual population growth rate of 2.8% the economy seems to be in the doldrums. The annual growth rate between 1960 and 1965 stood at 2% but by 1978 it had plummeted to 0.1% while inflation within the same period doubled from 3.7% to 7.4%. In almost two decades the GNP rose from U\$290 to U\$370, that is between 1960 and 1978. The G.D.P rates for the same period were 1.3% and 5.0% respectively reflecting some leap in economic growth.

Throughout the decades adult literacy increased by a mere 2% (i.e. from 18 to 20 per cent) where it seems to have stagnated. Similarly, life expectancy for the average Sudanese stands at 46 years. Again, whereas 46% of the people enjoyed some safe drinking water in 1960, by 1978 about 88% had access to it - a very dramatic improvement.

Health indicators show that whereas in 1960 there was one doctor to 27,880 people (higher than most African countries) in 1976 the ratio came down to 1:9,760. Infant mortality at birth was 39 per 1,000 births in 1960; but 18 years later this figure somehow climbed up to 41 deaths for 1,000 births recorded. But mortality figures for children between the ages of 1-4 years saw a reduction from 46 in 1960 to 31 in 1,000 in 1978.

In as far as education is concerned enrollment in primary and secondary schools increased tremendously over the years; whereas only 35% of the male primary school age group children (6-12) enrolled in 1960 by 1977 the number had risen to 47%. Among the female primary school age group only 14% enrolled by 1960 but by 1977 the number had risen to 34% much lower still by African standards. The enrollment in secondary schools as a percentage of age-group (17-24) rose by about 10% in two decades after independence in 1956. In 1960 only 3% of the age-group enrolled, but by 1977, 13% enrolled in secondary schools. Entrance to the University also shows a steady increase. But what do these figures mean? Politically and economically Sudan has never been any better. The balance of payment remains at an alarming rate of 9 billion U\$ in the 1980's. Inflation runs at about 100%.

A critical analysis of these standard socio-economic indicators reveals relatively little differentiation. The apparent consistency comparative to these indicators over the years may well signify economic stagnation. Yet the real deficiency with these indicators lies in the geographic distribution of these socio-economic facilities and developmental benefits in the country.

Disparities can be seen in the distribution of health care facilities be they hospitals, beds, dispensaries or local centres. In 1971 there were only 4 health centres in the then 3 Southern Provinces in the then Southern Region out

of a total of 109. Two years later this figure had improved slightly to 10 centres out of 139 nationwide. We can go on mentioning several cases of regional disparities. (See P:37)
But why such a disparity?

There are many reasons which generally tend to impinge on the historical and political character of the country. The political chauvinists, for example, allocated social services primarily to areas of party strongholds along the Niles in the North and Gezira area. Furthermore, the anatomy of these disparities can be discerned in the centralist tendencies that characterized development planning from 1946 to 1975. The consequence of these was a pattern of economic development in the Sudan where most of the gains have been concentrated in Khartoum and the surrounding districts. Apart from these geographic concentrations of development ^{resources} and benefits there are other endogenous factors that have and will continue to determine the course of change i.e. the chronic lack of funds, power struggles and the immensity of the country itself.

After the 17 year war in 1972 the Central Government pledged LS 12 million (Sudanese pounds) to the Southern Regional fund for the period 1972-1975 to enable the newly established Regional Government in Juba reconstruct and set the wheels of to development in motion, but the actual amount released for these purposes from the centre have been inadequate and disappointing.¹ The South seems to have been apparently

enmeshed in a protracted dependency syndrome. With revenue not forthcoming as expected given the new experience with administration, the provinces are dependent on the Regional Government which in turn is dependent on grants from the Central Government that are often hard to come by. This problem coupled with built up expectations among the citizens have tempted many administrators simply to throw up their hands in despair. What can be done?

Donor organizations apparently, have even added to the dimensions of this dependency. Reviewing the impact of aid on Southern Sudan of about 50 Aid and voluntary agencies Prah (1984) shows that there was a very limited infrastructural developmental gains in the form of clinics, schools, housing and accommodational facilities with the latter serving expatriate workers. Only a minor proportion of the funds earmarked for Southern Sudan during the last decade after Addis Ababa peace truce really sank into the ground for the long term good of the people of the area.

1.1.2 Statement of the Problem

The overriding needs and expectations as well as acute shortage of funds in the south placed both politicians and administrators in a state of dilemma. As leaders of the south, they had to find a solution to this dilemma lest the slogans and heroism begin to lose their enchantment for the needy and the highly expectant citizens

begin to demand the results. In 1974, the Regional Planning Council recognized the potentiality of self-help movement in the south as they were already spontaneously reviving in many areas of the region.

Moreover, the various self-help groups seem to have embedded themselves and found legitimacy in the traditional kinship work groups. From 1972 onwards, however, the Regional Government with unprecedented zeal set about establishing competing decentralised administrative structures and extending the tenets of the sole political organ - the Sudan Socialist Union (SSU). Consequently, village councils, village Development Committee, Parents' and Teachers' Councils and SSU were simultaneously constituted all over the villages in the south.

Broadly, therefore, two sets of institutional mechanisms could be delineated at the village level ... that is the more or less horizontally organised autonomous work-group (Kampones) and the vertically-organized institutional units. It was thought that these institutional units consisting of councils, committees and the political organisation would pool their resources together with the work-groups in realising self-help projects, but it is not clear how far this actually has been achieved.

Looking back in retrospect one might be tempted to enquire as to whether the institutional units have

some tangible gains in the provision of social welfare facilities over years. This is because although the local communities responded favourably to the government's call for the formation of these units principally with the objective of promoting socio-economic development, they generally appear to have fallen short of meeting their expectations.

Firstly, it seems that these units encountered some problems of participation from the outset. For instance the SSU considered it within its prerogatives to also organise "project committees" while on the other hand Community development officers have been organizing Village Development Committees (VDC's) for the same purpose. This tended to imply likely problems of participation in self-help projects. Secondly, it also seems that these locally organised institutional units have more or less failed to secure funds and the vitally needed complementary assistance such as iron sheets, cement, nails, timber, etc... for self-help projects and as such have more or less become "empty talking shops". The communities tended to lose faith in the ineffectiveness of these institutional units.

The traditional work-groups on the other hand, though primarily welfare-oriented have provided some small scale welfare facilities with the exclusive use of local labour and materials which tend to demand periodic maintenance and repairs. As they fall outside administrative structure the work-groups lack

resources such as funds, cement or zinc roof for building permanent or semi-permanent structures. The lack of effective support to self-help projects however, seems to have generally a negative effect towards participation.

This thesis addresses itself to these problems and specifically it investigates the nature of self-help activities in Southern Region. The point being argued is that although exogeneous factors could be determinant of the emergence of self-help factor as we have seen with deprivation and lack of resources, the fact that politico-administrative bases are weak may compound these problems to make self-help a fledgling movement. The seeming inability of the politico-administrative institutions in the Sudan to take firm roots at the grassroots had tended to strengthen the kinship work-groups. Participation in self-help projects, therefore, appears to be much more effective through the work-groups (Kampong) than the politico-administrative units.

.1.2 Objective and Justification for the Study

The objective is to establish the extent to which the self-help movement is an imperative and viable strategy—

for rural development in Southern Sudan. It is perhaps noteworthy to reiterate that the rural communities have had experience with this strategy for about ten years and as a matter of political expediency, this should have definite practical and sociological implications. This, we set out to explore in this thesis.

The study is deemed necessary because the phenomenon of self-help, has not been understood and consequently, its potential has been overlooked in rural development in Southern Region. Apart from making a modest contribution to the small body of literature on rural development in the Sudan the study would certainly be useful to politicians, legislators and planners.

Our scope of study will be on self-help activities and projects carried out between 1972 and 1983 in Magwi People's Rural Council area of Torit District in Eastern Equatorial Province (see Fig 2). This council area which is inhabited by two ethnic groups the Acholi and Madi provides the study area.

FOOTNOTES

1. From 1972-1977 the amounts remitted from Khartoum to the Southern Region were small compared to the amounts budgetted (Figures in Sudanese Pound).

| YEAR | BUDGET AMOUNT (LS) | AMOUNT REMITTED |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1972/73 | 1,401,412 | 560,000 |
| 1973/74 | 7,329,500 | 200,000 |
| 1974/75 | 7,135,510 | 1,696,404 |
| 1975/76 | 7,164,248 | 1,624,484 |
| 1976/77 | 15,331,963 | 4,226,359 |

Sources: (a) Peace and Progress 73/74 p.35

(b) Southern Sudan Magazine Vol. 2 No. 1
May 1978.

2. An area designated a "village" is regarded as a settlement with a radius of about 16 miles consisting of about 4,000 people with a centre where services, such as the following are found: dispensary, chief's court, primary and/or intermediate school, retail shops etc.... (see P.H.P./SR/1976:69).

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter we set out to review some literature and theoretical perspectives on the phenomenon of self-help. To begin with, Chambers (1974) states that self-help activities vary between countries, within countries and in any one area over time. In some places community development effort is needed to help people identify their need; in some places an explosion of enthusiasm has resulted into numerous projects. Yet in others self-help groups have developed a dependency complex and are constantly petitioning the government for resources. These types of self-help movements are intricately confusing and somehow difficult to conceptualise.

2.1. Traditional Self-Help Movement

The co-existence of traditional institutions with modern organizations seems problematic. In as far as self-help is concerned, contending views appear to regard "Traditional self-help" and "Harambee" as conceptually distinct from each other (see e.g. Godfrey and Mutiso 1973; Holmquist 1972 and Ng'ethe 1977). The assumed difference is that traditional work-groups (which are part and parcel of self-help), are considered to be distinct from Harambee since the former are mostly concerned with organization of labour

for cultivation and other social obligations. Harambee on the other hand is a non-traditional

"Unsystematic and almost ad hoc response to the problem of poverty"

(Ng'ethe 1977:1)

And yet to others Harambee is viewed as a continuation of the traditional form of cooperation now involved in the provision of modern services. (See e.g. Mbiti and Rasmussen 1977: 13.14)

Nevertheless, the definition of the phenomenon seems to apply equally to both contending views. It is defined as:

"the realization by the people of their common needs and the belief by the people that these common needs can be met through their own efforts".

(Alushula 1969:1)

Mbiti and Rasmussen also define the concept of Harambee in the same way:

"it is mutual assistance, joint effort, mutual social responsibility community self-reliance" (See e.g. Mbiti and Rasmussen (1977:13)

As frames of reference, the definitions apply inadvertently to traditional self-help and the modern Harambee. But in social science literature the "traditional" is basically farm-oriented and the "Harambee" is exclusively concerned with the provision of modern welfare facilities. This may not be true.

In practice the term "traditional" has been burdened with meaning and implication from its non-technical usage. Traditional institutions are seen as "survival" from the past to be sharply separated from the new and modern (Charsely 1976). So once a work group institution has been categorized as traditional its interest becomes primarily antiquarian; it can be studied as an interesting aspect of a vanishing order. If it persists or declines it is taken as an indicator of development change, but any interest in it as a dynamic aspect of society and economy according to Charsely is quickly lost (p. 35).

Instead many social scientists have noted that the impetus for development comes from above, from social groups outside the peasantry or the proletariat. The structural theories of development of whatever hue according to David Pitt (1976) follow this assumption. He goes on to say that the active groups whether donors or exploiters are outside the village which is seen as passive or at best, as reacting to outside stimuli.

In the Third World societies, the plasticity and complexity of real life situation is not well understood, because tradition has been assumed away as being inflexible and incompatible with modernity. Identity for instance, plays a very important and largely unrecognized part in some development situations.

Pitt (1976) writes that

"Often the kind of behaviour adopted in a village or in any group is closely related to the image this group has of itself. If this image stresses an identification with the outside world, an environment suitable for development is created. Good contacts will be formed with the development bureaucracy, with traders and with other institutions like missions" (P. 15).

In as far as work groups are concerned no other valuable studies have been done other than those of David W. Ames on the Kompin of the Wolof of Gambia in West Africa and the Silika of Maragoli immigrants in Kigumba Uganda by S.R. Charseley (1976). Others by Frederick Bath on labour institution in Darfur, Sudan and the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta on the institution in Kikuyu are certainly important landmarks in the study of the phenomenon.

Ames (1959: 224-237) tells us that among the Wolof of the Gambia the solution of their problems by communal effort which is common is demonstrated in the activities of the groups which provide mutual aid in labour and economic "insurance" for their members. This kind of groups is usually referred to as Komnin (probably derived from the French *compagnie*). It provides mutual aid in production, entertainment and "insurance". Cooperative workgroups are organised by sex and roughly according to age. Each male and female group has its leader called botal. He is selected by members on the basis of several qualifications (e.g. marriage, wisdom, honesty, generosity etc.). Whenever

one wants the group to work on his farm he first approaches the botal who relays the request to the chief of the area for approval. Once granted the group embarks on the work.

These groups play an important role in the agricultural activities of the Wolof who hold that group labour is easier and more efficient than individual labour. They thus make up for the inefficient tools. Other functions by kompin include obligations of work to the in-laws, weeding, clearing new fields or building new houses or repair of thatched units.

(Ames 1959 :224-229).

Kompin functions also extend in the areas of development. For instance in the pre-colonial Gambia kompins were self-help phenomena, as they took part in public works under the direction of the botal. They used to construct and repair the resting place in the square, clear bush path to neighbouring villages and build and maintain motor roads for the government in the colonial days.

Silika on the other hand tended to emphasize economic rationality though it works much more with the same principle. This work-group belongs to Maragoli who in the 1960's under a settlement scheme immigrated and settled in Kigumba in Uganda. The silika is an association of fellow clansmen, the Southern Luhya clan being largely patrilineally recruited and not strongly localized group, or also it is identified with

christian congregation or denomination of these work groups.

During a silika season which is two thirds of the year it met once or twice occasionally three days in a week. Tasks performed included weeding, clearing land and hoeing. The host invited a silika work group to his farm and controlled their work. He had to provide entertainment which consisted of food, porridge and tea. The other important function of this labour institution is that it financed congregation and denominations. So apart from individual benefits which were derived, whole congregations and denominations also worked in silika from which they stood to gain financially. So silika like any other form of work-group was progressive in its own circumstances. (Charsely, 1976 pp. 35-37).

Similar features of such work groups could be discerned all over black Africa for example, Fredrick Barth's "Economic Spheres in Darfur", Sudan in "Themes in Economic Anthropology Monograph No. 6" (1970) and Jomo Kenyatta's "Facing Mount Kenya" (1961). These work groups facilitate labour exchange for beer or food rewards. In most of these cases reciprocal obligations on the part of members appear to be the governing norm. Also one common feature is collectivity and disinclination for individualism towards work.

Far from being antiquarian work-groups have dynamics of their own which should be understood in their own circumstances. Traditional work groups are the prototype of modern self-help or Harambee. Their disappearance from African societies seems to be a matter of degree of modernization obtained in a particular country and the objectives they pursue. Traditional work groups which are farm oriented tend to persist for a long time in as far as the structure of society remains unaltered. Those which are also pre-occupied with the provision of welfare services shed this aspect as soon as the task becomes complex and large. Thus to J. Reynolds (1974:1) self-help represents a "fusion of traditional social forms with the organization of society generated by a national government". We will now review some of the approaches in the next section.

2.2.0 Community Participation Approaches

Three major contending theories have developed from the studies on Harambee movement; the community development, the centre-periphery and the class hypothesis approaches. In reviewing the literature on these approaches we want to show that the "traditional" principles of organization are very much alive in the self-help movement.

The first of these explanations is the community development approach derived from the writings of Mbithi

(1972 , 1974) and Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) where for instance in Kenya imbalanced economic growth and centralised planning as well as the resultant cognizance of these have created the need for self-help projects. Social groups define their situations collectively and as a result view their deprivation in terms of relative developmental benefits of their peer groups or neighbours. For such a group the concept of one group underdeveloping another is a rallying point for the various clan groups. To give it more meaning and focus they dramatize their uniqueness by the use of symbols such as flags, totems, songs, etc. which accordingly reinforce their solidarity and purpose towards group defined goals which include inter alia the provision of schools, cattle dips, clinics etc. .. Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977: 20-30) thus conclude that the feature of Harambee consists of local initiative, the use of locally mobilized resources, local leadership and the traditional legitimizing principles.

This approach though criticized because it doesn't link its discussion between the periphery and the centre is still crucial in understanding self-help movement. Other writers associated with this approach are John Reynolds (1974) and M. Wallis (1974). Wallis is of the opinion that not much consideration has been put to the promotion and guidance of participation in self-help activities, when he in his paper focused on a particular organization i.e. the community development department at the "grass-roots" level .

He argues that community development functionaries have had to compete in the field with that of the provincial administration. He pointed out that the differences between the organizations are not clear; the community development strategy is not entirely "non-directive" and also the provincial administration is not entirely the opposite either. There are difficulties which tended to weaken community development organization and part of this seems to stem from the way in which the provincial administration has come to play a role in Harambee. Community development has also come to depend heavily on local authorities to fulfil its staffing requirements.

In part Ouma-Oyugi disagrees with what Wallis is saying when he contends that there has been too much concern with what happens in the process of development rather than the output as such (1974 a :1). For him this over-concern leads only to institutional maintenance which is essentially anti-development as it emphasizes what happens in the process of achieving objectives than with projects and their ends. This to him is much more political than administrative.

All these, however, boil down to how we conceive of the rural "community". He argues that instead of looking at communities as liable to conflicts due to development situation Community Development had tended to portray them as having common value and objectives and basic harmony of interest which

are absolutely false.

Assessing whether the rural administrative structure had the capacity and potential to support rural development, Ouma-Oyugi (1974 b) concurs with Wallis that the system is weak. Factors which account for these weaknesses varied from administrative incapacity of the implementing departments to peoples concerned and this includes lack of resources, frequent transfers, low level of education etc.... among others. They have rendered administrative capacity in a sub-district too weak to sustain any conceivable development programme. These observations have certain bearings in as far as self-help movement is concerned.

John E. Reynolds (1974 1-4) also states that the movement had developed in a context where various traditional forms of community maintenance and improvement activities are also present. For him Harambee activities have a local and intra-ethnic, orientation as well as distinct national and inter-ethnic orientation. There is for him also a rapidly expanding commitment to formal education among rural populations in Kenya as is evidenced by the considerable amount of self-help activity devoted to the provision of educational facilities. While self-help has been an important developmental strategy in this country, the role of ethnicity, according to Reynolds, in shaping the course, content, and extent of the self-help movement

has been very substantial but not understood so far. So he proposes to research into the ethnic question as a determining factor in self-help activity.

For him already preliminary evidence shows that the Luo-and Kikuyu-occupied districts and provinces have the highest rates of self-help projects per capita compared to other areas in the country. He concludes that this is because both the Luo and the Kikuyu are characterized by a relatively high degree of cultural and socio-political solidarity and thus, it means "a positive relation between the degree of cultural homogeneity and ethnic solidarity on the one hand and the degree of participation in Harambee movement on the other."

John Anderson (1970) supporting this view argues that the coming into being of many Harambee schools is a consequence of intra and ethnic competition. He asserts that there is inter- a feeling of an overwhelming drive as individuals, as neighbours, clans and as tribal communities to compete for both government educational provision and the opportunities that lie ahead. Since good jobs and upward mobility are determined by educational attainment these communities cognizant of these facts have embarked on various school projects.

Commenting also on why there was such a proliferation of Harambee schools Keller (1973) states that two factors explain this phenomenon; firstly, it is the ideology of Harambee itself which has become so potent and crucial in rural development. Secondly, the perceived tremendous opportunity for the educated elite which in consequence have fuelled the Harambee spirit.

These views are also shared by Nicholas Nyangira (1970a; 1970b) who observed that in Harambee initiation it was randomly done with strong clan backing. He particularly observed that in Vihiga Division of Western Kenya when Clan X puts up a Health centre, Clan Y wants to do the same even if the health centre which Clan X is building is three miles away. So the rivalry here also is manifested at intra-community level. Nyangira also sees a very important role played by the chiefs in these processes particularly at barazas and fund raising sessions. He calls for their training to enhance their effectiveness.

Another scholar Kariuki (1980) in an unrelated paper raises the issue of informal leaders in rural development. Also known as opinion leaders, informal leaders have been openly recruited and trained as rural animators for change in Senegal. There they work closely with extension agents where they are expected by the social system members to be more open to change and competent in modern technology.

An informal or opinion leader is regarded as "a leader or those individuals from whom members of society seek information, and advice", and, informal leadership is thus considered to be:

"the ability to influence others' opinion or overt behaviour consistently in a desired way"

(Rogers with Svening 1969, p.208)

For the bulk of the social system members new ideas or techniques (innovations) are suspect until they are legitimized and supported by their prior adoption by the informal or opinion leaders (see Kariuki 1980:1).

Kariuki goes on to show that in Tetu Division informal or opinion leaders take a lead in adopting new ideas and techniques compared to formal leaders and non-leaders. Apart from other things they also are better disposed to mass media, venturing out and further from their divisions than the other two groups. Status-wise informal leaders owned more land, employed more labour, scored high on literacy and formal education.

So as entrepreneurs they are known to venture into the unknown and admired and followed by the members of the social system. The leadership of self-help movement comprise a good number of informal or opinion leaders upon whom commitment in project implementation largely lies.

Nevertheless, by way of summary of the community development approach, we agree with Ng'ethe that three or so important points emerge from it and these are firstly, that for effective development to occur the peasantry has to be involved in development participation at the grass-roots level; secondly, the peasants or rural communities would get involved out of their felt needs; and thirdly, that a modified traditional structure will be a key institutional mechanism for community participation as they seek ways and means of responding to their needs (Ng'ethe, 1979:34).

The main criticism of community development approach has been that it ignores linkage factors between the centre and the periphery; but structural linkages may not always result into a beneficial mutual exchange of goods and support between the rural areas and the political centres. The relationships appear to depend very much on circumstance obtaining in a particular situation or country. Let us turn now to this second theory of harambee to see what the centre-periphery means and its implications for the rural areas.

The centre-periphery approach indicates that it would be impossible to understand Harambee at the periphery without taking into consideration linkage factors at the centre-such factors as national politics, culture, economics,

technical knowledge and symbolism which among others influence and determine the direction of change in the rural areas.

In this context Mutiso and Godfrey (1973) take culture and argue that the centre and the periphery are polarized in terms of values, interactions and mobility. In this connection the polarization is represented by the indigenous system (i.e. the rural areas) and the centre or elite (i.e. the centre of political power) respectively. Harambee here represents the periphery's alienation from the political centre as well as the economic centre. The desire of the people in the periphery is to use Harambee to open mobility channels into the centre or, to coopt leadership from the centre with the purpose of reallocating resources to their advantage (P.7)

Holmquist (1972) elaborating on this points out that self-help or Harambee is political and usually transcends community boundaries. For him the peasants have a strategy of mobilizing influence to bring it to bear on "outside aid allocation process". What they do is that they coopt the most powerful persons and especially the elected officials. Together with their Members of Parliament they search for patrons and present themselves as clients. But before that could come about Holmquist observes that the coopted leaders at their home front "act as organizational

catalyst and moral boosters for unorganized communities in project development".

One other important factor he mentions is leadership accountability, which he argues demands that the patrons respond to the demands of community members by delivering the tangible development goods to them. This accountability on the part of leaders has created an opportunity for people in the rural areas of Kenya to extract developmental benefits for local projects from many national sources. Thus in the words of Holmsquist patron-client relationship is a peasant strategy for meeting their needs. He recognises that peasant groups are in constant competition with each other over scarce resources of the government and, therefore, they initiate projects inspite of their uncertainty for their success. They would not wait, as communities that build the best projects are likely to receive aid. This he calls "pre-emptive strategy" of the peasantry which has brought about the putting up of numerous projects irrespective of whether they would be completed or not (see Holmsquist 1972:17).

Finally, this theoretical perspective has been extended to a class hypothesis, and this is the third major theory of harambee that we want to review.

The arguments centre on two segments of a competing petty bourgeoisie represented by peasants, commercial and trading

Africans and Civil Servants in the rural areas, and the segment which consists of a bureaucratic elite of educational achievement.

The petty bourgeoisie of the rural segment's influence on Harambee in Holmquist's (1972) view is based on the fact that they needed self-help to preserve and advance their political and economic positions. They consider themselves the best suited to mobilize the peasants to help themselves instead of the resources-rich bureaucracies (p.67). The result was an intense community competition as reflected by the proliferation of various harambee groups and projects. The competition was necessary Holmquist argues because resources were scarce and furthermore, it was necessary to organize into groups because the nature of the desired project was such that they were not private but communal property. In the process the communities acquired patrons and offered themselves as clients. The petty-bourgeoisie became the patrons and they accepted the role according to Holmquist because they were competing for scarce political positions which would in the end be used to one's "economic advantage". To the rural segment of the bourgeoisie self-help was necessary because the bureaucracy accumulated most of the functions of policy-making and development planning to itself.

On the other hand the bureaucratic segment contended that "self-help was out of control". And beside that also self-help investment was in most cases consuming resources and, therefore, not productive. The solution was, therefore,

to channel self-help through formal centralised-planning institutions. Here one can foresee that in terms of relationship of power this would seriously curtail the local people initiatives and enhance the power base of these bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie class category. This conflict thus led to the sharing of power to control Harambee between bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the alliance of peasantry/rural bourgeoisie on the other (Holmquist, 1972).

The elite competition can easily develop into a conflict and attempts to control each other. Thus the bureaucratic elites citing the need to stay "within the plan" or "security reasons" would for example refuse the political elites the licence to hold Harambee meetings and the politicians would react by sending extra large donations through local clients who do not need licences to hold meetings. Thus, despite local initiative, the fate of a project can end up by being resolved at the centre (Colebatch, 1973) particularly when a project needs a sponsor like a Member of Parliament who has access to national resources. In such a case Ng'ethe (1977: 10-12) argues that the competition is by proxy, so it doesn't matter "whose" strategy Harambee is. Different strata according to him make use of it depending on their immediate need and interest.

The various political interpretations sketched above are a little confusing because it is not clear what the argument is according to Ng'ethe (1977:11). He questions why if Harambee is a peasant strategy the elites feature so prominently in it. Who benefits more, the peasants or the elites? He concludes by saying that answers to such questions need empirical investigations. He says that to understand such phenomena it is better to argue that Harambee served the ideological purpose of mystifying the inequalities between the various societal strata by making it appear legitimate to accumulate so long as one is doing one's duty by participating in development through the contributions outside one's home area. To put it the other way round, the idea of Harambee serves the political interests of a particular stratum in the political system.

Ng'ethe (1979) follows up this argument in his Ph.D. thesis by analysing Harambee as a political phenomenon. He sought to find out the reasons why Harambee and Harambee projects became the most important linking factor politically between the rulers and the ruled in Kenyan nation. To Ng'ethe, Kenyatta, faced with rising expectations after independence chose the political technique of controlling Kenyan state. The essence of this was the patron-client system which depended on participation in Harambee and Harambee projects. Harambee became the object of this political control through its ideology perpetrated by its leaders.

For their support in maintaining the system established by Kenyatta, the national elites were allowed and indeed had to become entrepreneurs. The peasants for their part started harambee projects but they were largely responsible for providing the resources needed to implement the projects. Therefore, to Ng'ethe in the course of the whole series of exchanges between the government, the elites and the peasants, the peasants were the only group which did not obtain fair exchange for its part in enabling the patron-client system to continue (see also Joel D. Barkan et al 1980:1).

Contrary to Ng'ethe's findings, Thomas (1980) demonstrates empirically that local level development through Harambee efforts is not characterised by an overall pattern of discrimination against the poor and that costs and benefits are distributed among all socio-economic groups. Contribution levels according to her are higher among more affluent socio-economic groups while benefits are enjoyed across socio-economic strata. Also, benefits accruing particularly to higher or lower socio-economic groups vary according to type of project. To her, although Harambee is heavily dependent on local leadership the project committee structure does provide some limited organizational experience and opportunity for rural people to develop management skills.

It is conclusive from these approaches that traditional self-help movement is nascent to the modern Harambee. It would also appear that its maturation into a modern social movement capable of articulating and achieving felt needs is

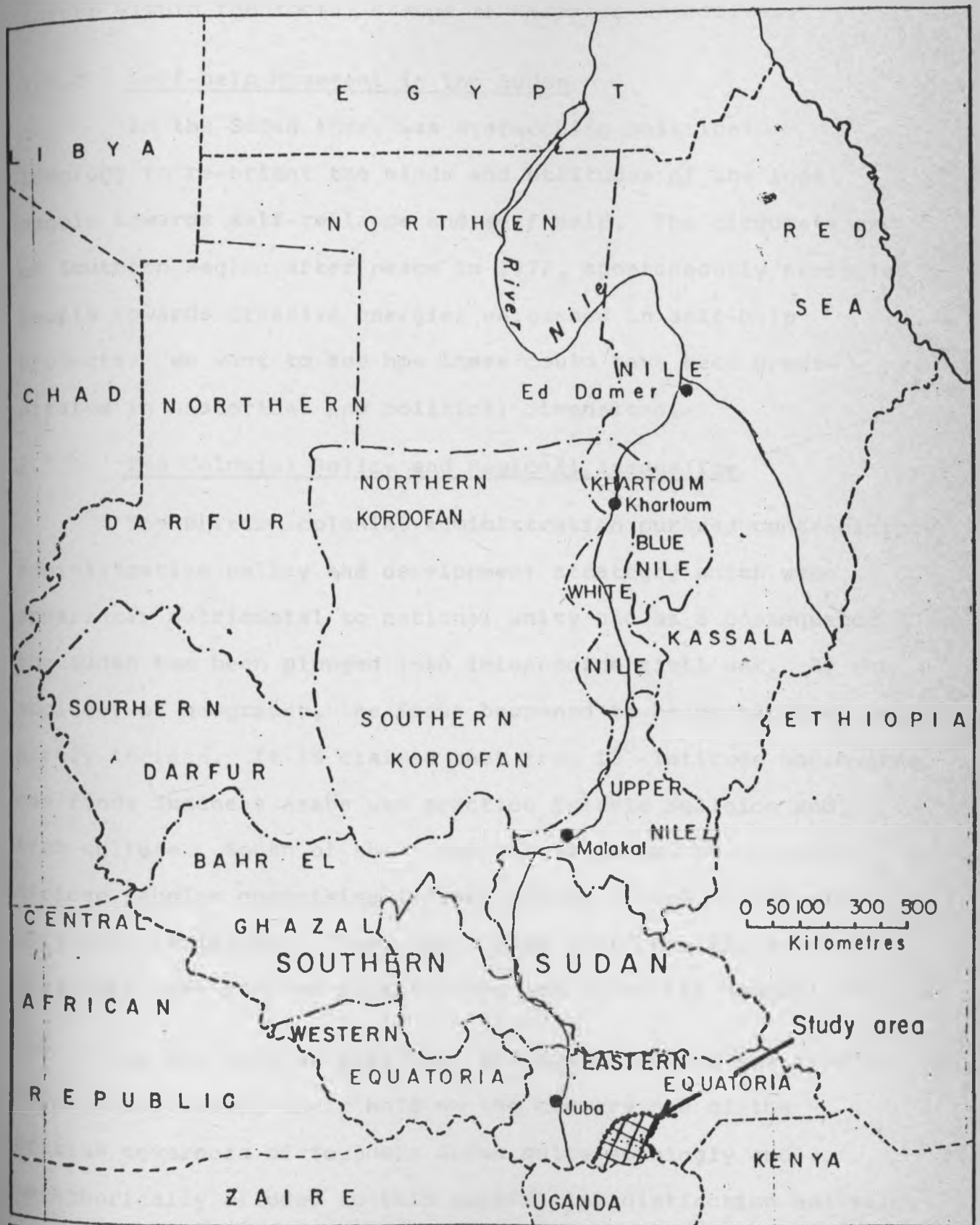


FIG. 1

LOCATION OF STUDY AREA IN SUDAN

dependent partly on the political philosophy that legitimizes it and gives it a national character, and also on the dynamic forces within the social groups of Harambee themselves.

2.3.0 Self-help Movement in the Sudan

In the Sudan there was overarching political ideology to re-orient the minds and attitudes of the local people towards self-reliance and self-help. The circumstances of Southern Region after peace in 1972, spontaneously propelled people towards creative energies unleashed in self-help projects. We want to see how these could have been precipitated in historical and political dimensions.

2.3.1 The Colonial Policy and Regional Inequality

The British colonial administration pursued contradictory administrative policy and development strategy which were apparently detrimental to national unity and as a consequence the Sudan has been plunged into internecine civil war. By the accident of geography, the Sudan happened to be partly Arab and partly African. It is claimed that from 12° latitude northwards one finds Sudanese Arabs who practice Islamic religion and Arab culture. South of that latitude is inhabited by negroid African peoples comprising various ethnic groups with various cultural traditions. They, apart from their own traditional religions have adopted Christianity and Islam (El Sammani 1976:12).

As far back as 1919 when the Egyptians and the British² were consolidating their hold on the country one of the British governors of Southern Sudan quite amusingly and metaphorically alluded to this superficial distinction and said:

"If one has clever and stupid boys in the same class no one can blame the masters if they expend their time and trouble on the former, who will best repay their efforts to the detriment of the latter. So if one has a country which is supposed to be progressive and another which is backward bracketed together all energy and regulations be made for the benefit of the former" (British Southern Policy: p.2).

This statement probably reflected the practical objective of the colonial administrators in the south and in fact they began to lay the strategy for achieving it.

Among others, free movement of people and some items of trade between the north and south were prohibited. Those who went about in the north and south had to obtain special permits and licences for their businesses. Jellabiah, a long loose gown usually worn by the Muslim north was banned in the south. The aim was to allow African culture to flourish ostensibly in the background of western proselitization while restricting Islamic influence from the north. It was argued in support of this policy which prevailed up to 1945 that:

"the people (of Southern Sudan) are African black... naked or dressed in bright colours...They have nothing in common with the Arab of Northern Sudan who wears white robes (Jellabiah), prays to Allah, shuts up his women and talks Arabic..." (Southern Front)..

The ultimate aim was eventually for the South to be assimilated to the government of other African possessions such as Uganda and East Africa. The Arab provinces would require different treatment, (Huddathir (1969:74)).

However, the following year in 1946 this Southern policy was suddenly abandoned and the south was seen as

"an integral part of the Northern Sudan and the Middle East".

It was also argued that the previous policy had resulted in the South being left further away behind the north in terms of development (Beshir, 1968: p.61). The change in policy was immediately preceded by a conference attended by Southern and Northern politicians and chiefs in Juba

where the south was formally united with the north in 1947. The inconsistency in these policies proved very disadvantageous to the Southern region in the light of events that followed.

The economic policies pursued by the British colonial administration were not favourable to outlying areas either. As a matter of fact between 1946 and 1971 major public investments were concentrated in irrigation projects that would enable the production of cotton on which the Sudan depended for foreign exchange. Salah El Arifi (1978) writes that before 1956 the colonial administrators had concentrated on building firstly basic infrastructure such as the railway for military and strategic functions. Secondly, to enable the export of cotton and gum arabic. But more emphasis was on cotton for supplying British manufacturers and breaking the dependence on American and Egyptian cotton. Large schemes like Gezira, White and Blue Nile Pump Schemes, the Gash Delta, Nuba Mountains and Equatoria were set up initially with this objective (DSRC NO. 10 1978: 3-5). Cotton growing in Equatoria later waned into insignificance with the onset of war in the South after independence.

Apart from the concentration of capital expenditure in these productive projects in Central and North-East Sudan, social services projects likewise witnessed unprecedented expansion especially in the fields of education and health. The overall result of such geographic concentration of

investment resources was apparent in the form of polar opposites between the "core area" and the "periphery" that suffered the backwash effect of this aspect of development. Henin graphically illustrates this using census data of 1955/56. His results show that (SNR 1963:384-385):

| Region | Province | Per Capita Income (LS) |
|--------|---------------|------------------------|
| A | Blue Nile | 42 |
| | Khartoum | 33 |
| B | Kordofan | 27 |
| | Darfar | |
| C | Bahrel Ghazel | 14 |
| | Equatoria | |
| | Upper Nile | |

Source: Sudan Notes and Records 1963

Blue Nile Province (now divided into Gezira and White Nile Provinces) had the highest per capita among all the provinces. This is followed by Khartoum Province and as Region A the two areas fall within the "core area" where capital investments were concentrated. Regions B and C represent the far flung provinces of Western and Southern Sudan. They have low per capita income as they fall in the peripheries of development. Although these measures of development represent the growth rather than the welfare

aspects of development it nevertheless enables us to compare regionally the pattern of development we have been talking about.

Given that this represented a lop-sided type of development one would expect that the employment opportunities they provided exercised a certain measure of "pull" on the poor outlying areas of the country where people were already introduced to money economy. In addition, the opening up of these peripheral areas by the extension of Babanusa-Nyalla railway in 1958 and the steamer services between Kosti and Juba definitely facilitated migration to central Sudan and the three towns within Khartoum.

As a matter of fact the originally pastoral Baggara tribes from the mid-west who initially provided the labour for the construction of the railway extension to Nyalla abandoned their old lifestyle and instead chose to migrate as wage labourers to Central Sudan. Two other factors were also related to this phenomenon; the slump in cotton prices in the 1960's and the effect of catastrophic droughts which hit farmers like the Huba and Zaghawa, hence triggering another wave of migration to irrigation schemes and other wage labour centres.

In Southern Sudan Omer Beshir writes that:

"In 1960, for example, something in the nature of large scale migration began out of Equatoria into

Uganda and the Congo, (now Zaire) (1968:83).

This state of affairs emanated from the contradiction in Sudanese system and society. Perhaps Gunnar Myrdal and Albert O.

Hirschman succinctly summarize this when they argue that:

"once a certain region has been able through some initial advantage, to move ahead of other regions the "backwash effect" or "polarization effect" that arises as productive factors like labour, capital and commodities are drawn into the growth area will greatly restrict opportunities in the rest of the country (Roden, 1974 . p. 498).

This is because also the countervailing "spread effects" or "trickling down" effects from the core area are too weak and generally lead to more inequalities and discontents (Roden p. 499). In Southern Sudan the inequalities forced people to choose between secessionism and nationalism as a means of gaining access into the national cake already monopolised by the more advanced northern regions (Badal 1976:466-468). Thus, for 17 years a protracted civil war was fought between the southern guerillas and the government army.

However, in 1972 the war was brought to an end by the signing of a negotiated peace agreement in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Yet in the wake of that war were a dilapidated infrastructure and an economy in ruins notwithstanding the dislocation of the Sudanese society. In order to bring

back life to normality it required the marshalling of resources nationally and externally for reconstruction and rehabilitation. This also cannot be achieved without the necessary political will, accurate perception and action.

2.3.3 The Post-Civil War Era and the Need for Self-Help Strategy

A total of about 220,000 people were already driven into neighbouring countries of Central African Republic (C.A.R.), Zaire, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia as refugees as a result of the war. An additional one million were displaced from their homes and villages. They either lived with the Anyanya guerrillas or fled into the main towns protected by government security forces.

The Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 provided for an autonomous self-governing Southern Sudan. The Regional Government was established in Juba in 1972 and two problems confronted her initially; firstly, the returnees had to be repatriated, resettled and rehabilitated. These were exiles from neighbouring countries, displaced persons from within as well as the handicapped and orphans. This was to be followed by the reconstruction of the social infrastructure and the war ravaged economy as the second major task.

Appeals by the Sudan government for assistance to meet these exercises yielded some positive response but this was inadequate. Donations both in cash and kind from friendly states, relief agencies, individual Sudanese from within and abroad amounted to a mere LS 11 million instead of the projected LS50 million. A Repatriation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Commission(R.R.R.C.) was formed in 1972 and charged with the task of facilitating the return of Sudanese exiles from neighbouring countries and their resettlements (Min. of Foreign Affairs 1973:8). By 1974 nearly three-quarters of the people who had fled to neighbouring countries were brought back by the Commission and resettled in their previous homes (Prah 1984:3-4).

Reconstruction went hand in hand with resettlement of returnees. Many international aid agencies assisted in the reconstruction of schools, churches, roads, hospitals, dispensaries and also bridges. Between 1973 and 1974 they established exclusive zones of operations in the whole of Southern Sudan and their work was not only concerned with reconstruction but extended in the fields of agriculture, cooperatives and health care as well as community development. These agencies among others included German Caritas, Sudan Council of Churches, African Committee for the Relief of Southern Sudan (ACROSS), Norwegian Church Aid (N.C.A.), German Medical Team (GTM), and Lutheran World Federation (L.W.F.).

The physical reconstruction of these infrastructures had little impact given the vastness of the region. In 1975, ILO/UNDP reported that only 10% of the medical services existed in the region. The proportion of children in school had been estimated as half the national average. In other words more needed to be done before the rural people could enjoy some essential social services. Before 1977 development planning was done in Khartoum and in most cases rural areas were not properly catered for. Even with the establishment of the Regional Government in Juba in 1972 no comprehensive development plan was made except the Six Year Development Plan (SYDP) of 1977.

In the event of lack of planning in the Region Deng writes that;

"Vast resources get wasted because of failure to understand the social context and to adopt appropriate measures that would both minimize the negatives and facilitate the acceptance of development and the contribution of the local people" (1978:235).

The frustration of the local people at the inability of the government to bring development to the rural areas has sharpened the taste for local initiative and self-help as this quotation shows:

"The chief must collect the money. The chief must hold meetings and ask his people to build houses and then say to the government "we want a doctor to be brought here" (Deng, F.M. 1978: 197).

When the Six Year Development Plan (SYDP) 1976/77 was formulated amidst lack of development resources it was done with the understanding that self-help movement would be utilised in realising most of the social programmes. The politicians and the administrators had realised this potential and probably to them it would help thwart the rising expectations which could be politically explosive to the government of the day. The development plan thus states that:

"the most important and leading resources for development are every single able-bodied citizen in the region and the land. Money, machinery, technical equipment and other resources take secondary position, being themselves in short supply in the country and particularly in the region. Execution of the plan will thus depend heavily on community self-reliance and self-help". (SYDP 1977:3).

What the government needed was to initiate and activate the politico-administrative units, that is the Sudanese Socialist Union, Village Councils, Village Development Committees and Parents' and Teachers Councils so that the process of self-help could be sent in steady momentum. The assumption here was that while the individual is the object of development he is also the subject of such development as long as he is physically and mentally able to discharge individual and community obligations. While obligations to oneself and the community are not, however, readily and voluntarily discharged by some individuals without some persuasion from the more enlightened members of the community mobilization of the rural community will,

therefore, be carried out by the political organization of the S.S.U (SYDP p.3).

The creation of the politico-administrative structures after 1972 was specifically designed by this dispersionst tendencies which was also a reflection of the 1971 decentralization policy. The Primary Health Care Programme for the Six Year Development Plan (1977-1983) says in part that:

"At the village level the populations are aware of the importance of self-reliance and some form of organization to coordinate their efforts for the development of their communities exists. In some of the communities, people have built health facilities, schools and formed cooperative societies on self-help basis. In other areas the communities have not been able to implement programmes due to the delayed formation of V.D.C's, S.S.U. and other administrative institutions (F.H.C.F 1971 p. 50-51 emphasis mine).

The need for local people to develop a sense of self-reliance and implement their own felt needs was unduly emphasized. Abel Alier the Vice-President of the Republic and First President of High Executive Council in the Autonomous Southern Region in an address to the Regional Assembly in 1975 warned that:

"Some of our citizens have been tempted to think that the world owes a duty to reconstruct the Southern Sudan and to feed citizens in the Southern Region" (Statement to Regional Assembly 6 May 1975:7)

In these trying moments of politics in Southern Region, Abel Alier made an extensive tour of all the provinces between 1975 and 1977. He and his ministers donated generously where people showed some positive response to the call of self-help and self-reliance.³

Community development became synonymous with self-help to some politicians. They urged community development officers (C.D.O.'s) to form village development committees all over the villages in the region with the purpose of mobilizing and encouraging support and commitment in meeting the demands of the people. Through village development committees:

"Our people should be encouraged not to look upon the government as their constant donor. They must learn to provide for themselves essential services through free will sacrifice and toil" (Nile Mirror Newspaper 14 March 1975:8).

So with a sound note from the politicians self-help movements began to witness unprecedented vigour and success. One of the provinces which saw a surge in development through this movement was Eastern Equatoria to the extreme south of the country (see Fig. 1). But in spite of the fact that many villages remain fragmented, scattered and thus in a weak position for development, let us see how the movement fared in Eastern Equatoria.

2.3.4 Self-Help in Eastern Equatoria

Eastern Equatoria Province is the Southern most Province in the Sudan and borders neighbouring countries

like Zaire, Uganda and Kenya to the east. Most of the tribes found in the province extend beyond the international boundaries into neighbouring countries, for example, Lugbara and Kakwa are also found in Northern Zaire and North-West Uganda. The Kuku, Madi, Acholi and Didinga tribal groups also extend over considerable territories into Uganda. At the time of war in the Southern Region almost all these tribal groups migrated into Uganda where some spontaneously settled among the local population although later some of them were resettled in organised settlements far inland such as Onigo near Moyo, Agago in Acholi and Nakapiripirit in Karamoja.

The whole of Eastern Equatoria became a battle ground for the good part of the seventeenth year war. Most of the staying power of the Anyanya guerrillas were located in camps such as Owinykibul, Morta, Lobone and others which were targets of frequent assaults by government troops. The Anyanya guerrillas attacked military convoys on the roads, raided police and army stations, mined roads and the consequences were devastating; at the end of the war roads became impassable and required a determined will in order to reach the villages and out posts. The physical assaults on some school buildings by the guerrillas rendered them useless after the war. This was also true of the bridges, churches, dispensaries and clinics which had fallen into disuse.

The rural economy too was in a dire state and the predicament which awaited returnees was that they had to return to Uganda through the village paths to collect some seeds which also included cassava and potato stems, for planting in the next season. The situation continued until the N.C.A.-operated farms began bulking seeds and loan to farmers.

This background which thus constituted a synthesis of economic hardships and rampant poverty could have muffled the drive for self-help in the initial stages

In the review of self-help activities in Eastern Equatoria Province we draw heavily from government publications, agencies reports and personal observations. Christopher Kenyi's (1983) report on rural development on the West Bank of the province is the first sociological breakthrough in this area.

Kenyi's (1983) sociological research in community development and self-help in Yei River District (on the West bank of the Nile close to Uganda Border) of Eastern Equatoria tends to support the view that self-help movement became vigorous after 1972. His analysis

covers initiation of self-help projects, authority structure, leadership conflicts and constraints facing the movement in the district.

His report shows that projects are commonly initiated either by some resident local leadership or resident or non-resident educated elites with or without blood ties with communities concerned. Yei River District is predominantly inhabited by Kakwa and Kuku who are Bari speakers.

The category of local leaders comprised chiefs, church leaders, village councillors, members of teacher's and parents' council, Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) officials or some elected members of specific functional committees, whereas the resident or non-resident elites without blood ties with these communities were usually employed by different government departments or voluntary agencies for the purpose of promoting rural development. Kenyi found that the authority structures in most village communities in Yei comprises the traditional leadership structure (i.e. the chief, sub-chiefs, headmen) on the one hand, and the more or less superimposed formally organised leadership (i.e. religious, political educational etc..) on the other represented at the village level.

Given these authority structures Kenyi found that planning for self-help projects in Yei was the preoccupation of community leadership and/or government officials who may or may not have been elected by the people. The planning essentially consisted of short-term decision on actions to be taken in the process of realising some particular self-help objectives. After taking such decisions the key people

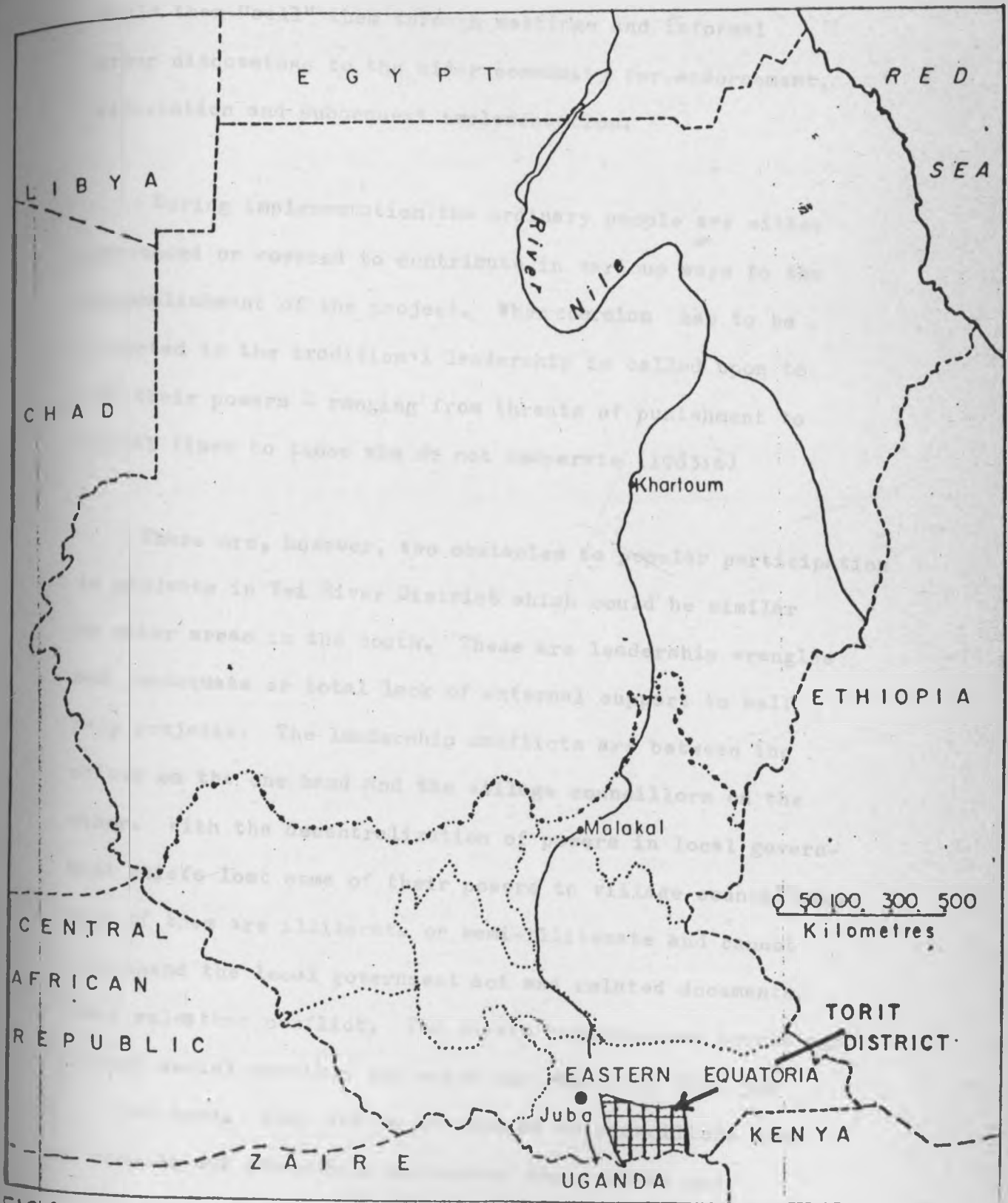


FIG 2

SOUTHERN SUDAN

would then "sell" them through meetings and informal group discussions to the wider community for endorsement, elaboration and subsequent implementation.

During implementation the ordinary people are either persuaded or coerced to contribute in various ways to the accomplishment of the project. When coercion has to be resorted to the traditional leadership is called upon to use their powers - ranging from threats of punishment to actual fines to those who do not cooperate (1983:6)

There are, however, two obstacles to popular participation in projects in Yei River District which could be similar to other areas in the south. These are leadership wrangles and inadequate or total lack of external support to self-help projects. The leadership conflicts are between the chiefs on the one hand and the village councillors on the other. With the decentralization of powers in local government chiefs lost some of their powers to village councillors. Most of them are illiterate or semi-illiterate and cannot comprehend the local government act and related documents. Their roles thus conflict. The chiefs preside over courts and collect social services tax which now stands at LS12,500 per head. They are to be advised by councillors some of whom do not adequately understand their roles and behave arrogantly to them. This tends to confirm the chiefs' fears that their powers are slowly being eroded. The result

is open conflict and continuous struggles for the loyalty of people which is reflected in self-help projects by lack of cohesive action.

The other problem is that of inadequate or lack of assistance to self-help projects - which should include cement, corrugated iron sheets which are unobtainable locally. This has brought about a lag in achieving the completion of some of the projects in the area. Although these problems seem to be widely common there is another aspect of it which is rather technical and that is the guidance from C.D.O.s especially on enabling communities to acquire skills in organization, resource mobilization and long term project planning, a process that needs to be fed on knowledge of wider national factors or forces which impinge on local projects (Kenya 1983: 7-10). Also contact between C.D.O.s and the community is limited apart from their severe needs such as office accommodation, stationery, resources, etc.

Turning now to the East Bank of the Province in Torit District we see a slightly different picture as the annual reports of Norwegian Church Aid (N.C.A.) indicate (see Annual Report for 1978, 1983 and 1984). They report that in Torit District: (See Fig.2).

"In the most developed part of the District like Acholi and Madi most schools both local and refugee have wanted to embark on self-help scheme. In other areas like Kapoeta and Torit (proper) where motivation for sending the children to school is low the response to the self-help scheme has been considerably lower despite extensive campaigns". (NCA 1983:9).

To some extent self-help movement in Acholi and Madi areas of Magwi People's Rural Council administrative area is fairly strong and has brought about the creation of social service facilities to improve the general living standards. This fact can be deduced from N.C.A. Health Project report, for example, which compares child mortality in the two areas that is Magwi People's Rural Council and Torit People's Rural Council areas (N.C.A. Health Project, September 1983).

Table 1 below shows these differences.

Table 2:1 Comparison of Child Mortality in Torit District

a) Magwi People's Rural Council Area

| Area | Village | Died < 1 year | Died < 4 years | Total Died < 5 years |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Acholi</u> | Obbo | 18.31% | 9.86% | 28.17% |
| | Palwar | 7.61% | 15.38% | 23.07% |
| <u>Madi</u> | Pagari | 6.94% | 19.44% | 26.39% |
| | Moli Tokuro | 11.11% | 11.11% | 22.22% |

b) Torit

Torit People's Rural Council Area

| Area | Village | Died < 1 year | Died < 4 years | Died < 5 years |
|---------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Latuka</u> | Hilieu | 29% | 7.25% | 36.2% |
| | Yahi-Yahi | 31% | 11.1% | 42.2% |
| <u>Lafon</u> | Angulumere | 17.65% | 32.2% | 49.81% |
| | Pugeri | 19.51% | 29.91% | 50.16% |

Source: N.C.A. Health Project Report 1983

The table shows that among the neighbouring communities of Latuka and Lafon of Torit People's Rural Council child mortality (particularly 5 years category) is comparatively higher than in Magwi People's Rural Council area. Certainly the distribution of health facilities is one such factor which bring about such a difference even if indicators of nutritional standards and socio-economic well being are decisive.

Table 2:1 The Distribution of Self-Help Projects in
Magwi People's Council Area

| Types of Project | Hadi | Acholi | Totals |
|------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Educational | 7 (11.3%) | 8 (12.9%) | 15 (24.2%) |
| Social | 3 (4.8%) | 15 (22.6%) | 18 (29%) |
| Economic | 12 (19.4%) | 17 (29%) | 29 (46.8%) |
| Totals | 22 (35.5%) | 40 (64.5%) | 62 (100%) |

Source: Compiled with assistance from CDO MPRC January 1980

Educational projects consist of the provision of primary school buildings as well as sub-grade schools (usually a three-classroom building). These projects as observation shows are a typical manifestation of self-help efforts following the importance the rural communities attach to the education of their children.

Under social projects, we have community centres, primary health care units and government personnel houses. Economic projects meanwhile includes access roads, bridges cooperative stores and shops. This type of project constituted 47% of all self-help projects in the area while the shares of social and educational projects were only 29% and 24% respectively. The economic projects tend

to constitute the main bulk of the self-help projects because N.C.A. gives greater portion of its assistance to such projects. In 1977, for instance, N.C.A. Cooperative Project donated a sum of LS1,000 and eight sewing machines to Acholi and a similar number to Madi:

"to stimulate initiative and local production and give assistance to enterprises which promote production and activity in the area"

(Nile Mirror Newspaper February 1977:3)

In the same year also N.C.A. provided cement, timber, skilled workers and trucks for hauling sand and stones for the construction of cooperative stores in each of the 15 villages in MPRC area. The local people meanwhile volunteered their labour and local materials.

Another area of economy-producing self-help projects in MPRC area are the roads and bridges. In 1977, NCA liased with the Engineering corps of the Sudanese Army stationed in Juba to reconstruct eight bridges destroyed during the civil war. The local people volunteered their labour by gathering stones and loading sand on trucks for the work. But the construction of major arteries of road networks in the area have been based to some extent on capital intensive methods; such as in the use of machines (bulldozers caterpillars, . money, skilled personnel and other expensive inputs). The impact of such a project has been negative on the perception of

the people in as far as self-help projects are concerned. In fact Tim Allen (1983) noted in the case of donor projects in the area that:

"People simply cannot understand why they should learn to use ox-ploughs when they feel they need tractors like the ones at the Upper Talanga Tea Project (UTTP); they cannot see why they should be paid less for building a road than people are paid for similar work at Talanga and they cannot understand why they are asked to do so much of the work by hand when the UTTP have machines which do it much faster and more effectively; they resent spending time and money on a medical centre when they know that one could be built so easily with equipment from abroad" (p.5).

So somewhere matters seem to have gone wrong with donor agency's approach towards involving people in development. It is actually the case that there is a lot of inconsistency in the development approaches; in one area, for example, the people are told to contribute cash, labour and materials for putting up schools, clinics or any other self-help projects, while in another community a donor agency builds a school or a clinic using its own resources, usually to the bewilderment and irritation of a neighbouring community. In MPRC area these have made people of Acholi and neighbouring tribes:

"feel deprived....compared to the neighbouring Madi...who are seen to have benefited substantially from the establishment of Uganda refugee camps in the area"

(Phillips - Howard and Jacob 1984:50)

This perception is so widespread that it tends to have a disorganizing effect on some communities in the area. After 1974 when the politico-administrative units were instituted in the area a Senior CDO reported that:

"little had been done besides the formation of the village development committees which were not even understood by the people"

He adds that:

"...many members of the formed committees used to complain to us in writing asking us to tell them to which part of the formed committees from other organizations they belonged".

(RMCRD/SR/DR/DCD/50-11-8VOL.1)

This would imply that participation through these organizational units is nominal and probably it is merely done to demonstrate their loyalty to the government, but not with serious intentions. Self-help movement appears to have a passionate appeal to the farm-oriented groups - the kampones. This would tend to suggest that the system could be the most dynamic and flexible of the institutional units so far discussed.

2.3.5 Summary:

In this discussion we have raised a number of important questions with regards to self-help movement in the Sudan and Southern region in particular. Firstly, we found that Southern Region falls outside the orbit of social and economic development and as a consequence it remained barely touched in development. Secondly, we noted that

regional disparities which characterized colonialism have been aptly perpetuated by successive national governments during independence period. This has inevitably created dissent and flared up in an open civil war fought between southerners and northerners. In the process many people got displaced from their villages with many spilling beyond the national borders.

The political settlement of the problem 17 years later did not mean much to the average citizen as much of their expectations remained unattended to after 1972. As if to contain the status quo politicians as well as party activists feebly attempted to instil a developmental ideology hinged around the concept of self-help and self-reliance. They thought that the Southern Region could deliver itself from the perilous problems of underdevelopment by having people do things for themselves with minimum intervention from the government.

Thirdly, in this context, to realize any meaningful change institutional modification was necessary and the rural areas have to be penetrated and institutionally reorganized around the Sudanese Socialist Union, Village Development Committee, Village Council and Parents' and Teachers' Council so that the rural communities could be steered towards collective goals and may also pool their resources and ideas together to achieve change. But lacking resources themselves and proper bases of organization,

these official institutional units began to falter from the onset as we saw in the review and to degenerate into "empty talking shops". In spite of these shortcomings how much has been achieved by these institutional mechanisms?

Fourthly, we saw in the review that in Southern Region the population consists of an assortment of former exiles or refugees. Development theorists

consider such category of people as generally entrepreneurial, and could effectively play the role of animators in rural development depending on the acquired experience. As many people in Southern Region were refugees in neighbouring countries and given the varied background experiences one would want to enquire as to what extent these experiences are being translated into productive action in social development.

Fifthly, the socio-economic potential of the area of study appears to yield some fruitful benefits since the return from exile in 1972. Farming, though at subsistence level is intensifying and the crops grown are being diversified. Shops and trading activities in commercial and agricultural goods have increased. Employment opportunities have been enhanced by the establishment of the Upper Talanga Tea Project, Regional Development Corporation Farm and Palotaka and Arapi Rural Development Centres among others. These activities have greatly increased mobility

and enhancement of new ideas and techniques. To what extent these have influenced the perception of the people towards community projects requires probing.

Sixthly, the fact that the area is occupied by two different linguistic and cultural groups makes it an interesting arena for the interplay of various factors. Development enthusiasts believe that the process of development is rough and characterized by intra-or inter-community conflicts and tensions. In what ways do these positively or negatively influence self-help projects in Magwi'People's Rural Council area?

Finally, the harambee theory advanced by Mbithi and Rasmusson tend to throw some light on the phenomenon as we have already seen. However, it was criticized firstly as not linking the discussion between the periphery and the centre which were subsequently found to be relevant in conceptualising harambee. Secondly, the authors appear not to have seriously considered the role of local institutions in the process of harambee. In a situation where many institutional arrangements exist and are geared towards self-help activities, this theory falls short of conceptualising the real situation. Our intention is to try in this thesis to fill this gap in the light of the experience of the Southern Sudan.

2.4.0 Hypotheses to be Tested

The following hypotheses emanating from the Chapter would be empirically tested in this study:

1. That the traditional institution of the kampong seems to constitute a larger recruitment base for participation in self-help projects than the politico-administrative units.
2. That the experience of exile is positively related to participation in self-help projects.
3. That there is a close relationship between the socio-economic attributes of the members of the communities and their participation in self-help projects.
4. The higher the agricultural potential of an area the greater the involvement of the community in self-help projects.
5. The greater the degree of ethnic affiliation among the ethnic groups the greater their involvement in Community projects.

FOOTNOTES:

1. It has been estimated that the South has 4.8 million head of cattle; 1.8 million sheep; 2.8 million goats which represent 40%, 16% and 28% respectively of the Sudan's animal population (see Mohamed Hashim Awad 1974: 90). This estimate is exaggerated.
2. The Sudan was governed as a Condominium between the Egyptian and British governments following the fall of the Mahdists in 1898. From then up to 1956 at independence it was called Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.
3. In his tour of the provinces some of the records exist for:
 - (a) Eastern Equatorial Province: Where he (Abel Alier) donated LS5,600 for reconstruction of schools, health centres and a bridge in Southern Bari. In Acholi & Madi he donated LS6,000 for agriculture, education and health projects.
 - (b) Jonglei Province: donated LS10,000 for a bridge; LS150 for women groups and a school. Peter Getkuoth and Lawrence Luablual - ministers donated LS11,250 for schools, cooperatives administration and women groups. Commissioner of Jonglei Province donated LS250 to SSU and a health clinic (See Nile Mirror Newspaper 5th April 1977:1-6).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 SITE SELECTION AND METHODOLOGY:

We set out in this Chapter to operationally define the variables of the study as well as their categories. Subsequently, we shall discuss the geography of the area and the inhabitants found therein as well as sampling and data collection techniques.

3.1.0 Variables of the Study

3.1.1 Dependent Variable

Participation

3.1.2 Independent Variables

Types of Institutional Units

Experience of exile

Socio-economic attributes of Individuals

Agricultural Potentiality of areas

Ethnic affiliation

3.1.3 Definitions of Dependent and Independent Variables and their categories.

3.1.4 Dependent Variable - Participation/Contribution/Involvement.

By the terms participation, contribution or involvement we mean the contributions individuals make in self-help projects either in labour, materials or cash. Labour is conceived of as manual or unskilled labour contributed by men and women for community projects. Materials on the other hand are regarded as building materials got locally

in the area to help accomplish a project. This comprises poles, bamboos, grass for thatching roofs or other components. These are usually locally acquired from the surrounding bushes in the area. Cash on the other hand means money contributed for projects usually by those who could not avail themselves physically in community work such as chiefs, shopkeepers or those employed in government departments. These three items of participation are necessary because they help measure the influence of other variables on participation.

Categories:

As we consider participation in this thesis to be synonymous, with contribution and involvement our categories include:

- (i) manual or unskilled labour
- (ii) local materials, and
- (iii) money

3.1.5 Independent Variables and Categories

(a) The types of institutional Units:

The types of institutional units found in the area are two: firstly, we have the traditional clan-based work-groups locally known as Kampone and, secondly, we have the politico-administrative units known variously as the Sudan Socialist Union (SSU), the Village Development Committee (VDC) the Village Council (VC) and the Parents' and Teachers' Council (P&T.C). Membership in the Kampone work-groups is open to any member of the clan, and similarly, all those who pay the annual social services

tax are automatically members of the SSU. But membership in VDC, VC and P&T.C are elected. Since Kampone Work-groups are broad-based and are a form of traditional self-help we want to investigate whether kampone members participate much more than the official or rather government organised institutional mechanisms.

Categories

The types of Institutional Categories comprise;

- (i) Kampone Work-group
- (ii) Sudan Socialist Union
- (iii) Village Development Committee
- (iv) Village Council
- (v) Parents' and Teachers' Council

(b) Experience of Exile: has been broken into two Variables;

(i) Place of Exile:

By this we mean the various places where people sought refuge due to insecurity as a result of the escalation of war. Depending on the place where one sought refuge one could have acquired practical knowledge and/or ideas, probably as a result of exposure to a relatively developed situation during the war in Southern Sudan e.g. the bordering countries of East Africa. For example in a 1984 survey of 250 households in the area of study 93% were found to have been in Uganda (See Phillips - Howard and Jacob Okwir 1984: ii) It is probable that this category of returnees participates very well in self-help projects than the following quotation could suggest;

"The almost inevitable effect of a refugee community being afforded the means to live without the need to labour is the building of an attitude that the world owes them a living"
"Yeld, R. 1966:6"

In other words are former refugees merely passive recipients who also wait for things to be done for them? In fact our hypothesis says the contrary, that is, it is questioning whether those who went to the bush could be active participants like those who went to the neighbouring countries. The idea is that those who went into exile to Uganda and Kenya could be high participants given the pertinence of self-help movement in those countries.

Categories:

By Place of Exile we mean places where people were exiled and we categorized as follows:

- (i) bush - away from the villages in forests and mountains.
- (ii) neighbouring countries - Kenya and Uganda
- (iii) Towns - in the Sudan
- (iv) Not Exiled

(ii) Period of Exile:

Period of exile is associated with a particular historical period in the lives of individual members of the community when they were away from their villages

The period taken in exile varies from individual to individual. We want to find out whether the length of time some body stayed away in exile affects his participation positively or negatively in self-help projects.

Categories:

These indicators were chosen to represent time taken by respondents in exile;

- (i) 0 years
- (ii) 1 - 3 years
- (iii) 4 - 6 years
- (iv) 7 - 9 years
- (v) 10 - 12 years
- (vi) 13 years and over

(a) Socio-economic attributes of Individuals:

Socio-economic attributes here refer to four factors: Occupation, marital status, sex and age.

- (1) Occupation: Different types of occupations carry with them different types of prestige. We want to see whether this will influence participation in self-help projects or not.

Occupational Categories

This is indicated by actual position in the community;

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Subsistence farmer | (vii) Security Personnel |
| (ii) Retail trader | (viii) Extension Worker |
| (iii) School teacher | (lx) Labourer |
| (iv) Chief/Sub-Chief | |
| (v) Clerk | |
| (vi) Church Leader | |

(ii) Marital Status: In any social group married people normally shoulder more responsibilities than unmarried ones. One of these principal responsibilities centre around the upbringing of young ones whether in the household or through school. The provision of educational facilities is nowadays borne by parents among other welfare provisions. It is worthwhile to probe into the claims by demonstrating more than the other categories of respondents.

Categories

These comprises;

- (i) Unmarried or single
- (ii) Married
- (iii) Widowed
- (iv) divorced

(iii) Sex: Traditionally, rural activities are compartmentalized into male and female spheres of activities. But as development becomes the watch word, the fences break down. In this context, therefore, we want to establish whether men feature more prominently in such development oriented activities as self-help projects than women.

Categories

The sex categories are:

- (i) Male
- (ii) Female

(iv) Age: Age is taken to be an important pointer to wisdom in African Societies.

An old man is respected because he is always regarded as well invested with wisdom and is in a vantage point in life to advise, admonish and settle disputes. With changes sweeping the villages elders have shifted their role to development matters. We want to establish whether participation is progressively related to advancement in age.

Categories:

The age categories are as follows:-

(i) under 25 years

25 - 30 years

31 - 35 years

36 - 40 years

41 - 45 years

46 - 50 years

51 or more years

(d) Agricultural Potentiality of Areas:

By different agricultural potentiality (of the land occupied by Acholi and Madi) we mean the land that varies in height from about approximately 3,000 ft in the Acholi Mts. to about 600 ft near river Nile. The land slopes gradually as one moves from east to west or from highland to lowland. Three apparently different geographical zones could be identified.

Firstly, the western flanks of the Imatong and Acholi Mountains where Upper Tallanga, Palwar, Palotaka and Obbo villages are situated generally have well drained loamy red soils (Barbour 1961:253). Coffee and tea are grown in this zone in addition to other tropical crops. There is economic potential here and also with about 1,000 employees at Upper Talanga Tea project there is a lot of buying power in the area. This certainly should have stimulated the development of monetary economy and improved the social conditions of the people.

The middle zone, secondly, is the undulating part of the country that roughly stretches astride the council area from Agoro in the north-west to Owiny-Kibul in the south-east near the Uganda border. Settlements are sparsely spread and concentrated where soils promise good yields and also where there are permanent water supplies. Most of the vast tracts of land are uninhabited and have become hunting grounds. However, within the settlements people engage in growing staple food crops e.g. sorghum, sesame, sweet potatoes, cassava and various legumes. Cotton used to be an important cash earner for the people in the area but with lack of money for its purchase it has waned into insignificance. Tobacco has replaced it as a cash crop in the area in addition to maize and millet which are also grown for sale.

The lowlands perhaps stretch from around Opari Westwards towards the Nile. Rainfall is sometimes precarious and has led to occasional foodshortages and famine in the area. Tobacco is cultivated ^a on/commercial basis but in small quantities. The main staple food is cassava which is varied with millet and sometimes sweet potatoes. Fishing and fish-mongering forms an important part in the economy of the area. We want to see how the different ecologies of the area influence participation in projects. In other wards we hypothesized that the higher the agricultural potential the higher the participation in self-help projects.

Agro-ecological zone categories are:

- (i) High Potential Area (or Zone) - which comprises the highland areas of upper Talanga, Palwa, Obbo and some parts of Tajok;
- (ii) Middle or Medium Potential area - which comprises Magwi, Omeo and Aovro to the northwest and Owiny Kibul as well as Panyikwara to the South-West;
- (iii) Low Potential area - which includes Nimule, Loa, Opari and Kerreppi to the West near River Nile.

(a) Ethnic Affiliation - here we mean the two ethnic groups found in the area i.e. the Madi and Acholi. To some extent they exhibit a certain degree of ^{intra-ethnic} homogeneity and solidarity which are explicitly displayed in clan-based work-groups. They have become, it appears, powerful denominators of identity as well as socio-economic and socio-political activities. We want to investigate how far ethnic factors affect the level of participation in self-help projects.

However, the Madi ethnic group belong to the Sudanic-speaking groups. The Madi as an ethnic minority, in the Sudan was a creation of 1913 when the British Colonial administrators initiated the present boundary which has somehow alienated them from the bulk of their tribesmen who inhabit North-West Uganda. The following year in 1914 with the further extension of the boundary —

eastwards some section of Acholi tribe were cut off from northern Uganda (see Tim Allen 1983:6).

The Madi social system has the usual age-grade structure where a man owes implicit obedience to his seniors in age in everyday life. In cultivation the Madi show little inclination for communal labour unlike their neighbours the Acholi and Latuka people (see Rowley 1940).

The Acholi on the other hand belong to the Luo speaking Nilotic stock. Most of their socio-economic activities are organized around the clan-based Kampone system which is an innovation acquired from Uganda possibly during exile (Morgan 1975: 613).

To help speed development and modernize agriculture the Norwegian Church Aid opened two Rural Development Centres (R.C.C.'s) in 1975, one at Palotaka in Acholi and another at Arapi in Madi. Apart from extension education to farmers a system of "contract farmers" was established² where farmers are let plots on R.D.C. farms to try out new techniques and seeds before adoption. Cross-border smuggling trade between Uganda and Kenya is quite common around the border areas.

Ethnic Composition:

Ethnic affiliation here is defined by ethnically, linguistically and culturally identifiable groups in the area and they are:-

- (1) Madi
- (2) Acholi

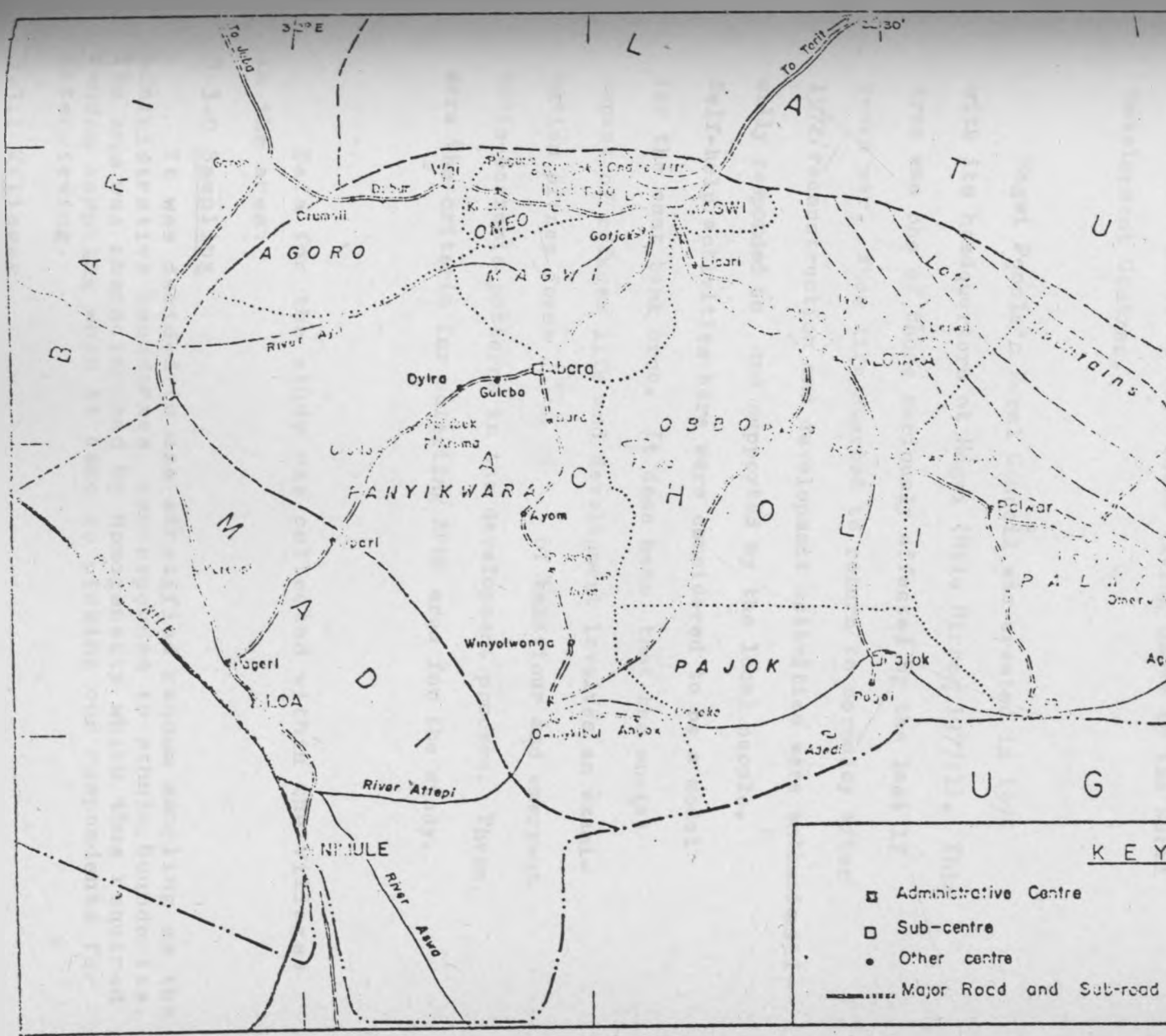
3.2.0 Site Selection and Geographical Area of Study

Southern Sudan forms the Southern part of the Republic of the Sudan. From 12^o latitude it extends to the borders of Central African Republic of Zaire to the west, Uganda to the South and Kenya and Ethiopia to the east. It covers an area of about 648,000 km² and comprises three regions, Bahr-el-Ghazal, Equatoria, and Upper Nile. In 1983 census Southern Sudan's population was estimated as 5 million or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the country's total (see also Fig.1). MPRC area is found in Equatorial Region in Eastern Province.

The Rural Council area is located on the East Bank of River Nile and it extends from Uganda's Northern border in the south to Acholi and Lotti Mountains in the east, Okire or Peeping Tom's Mountains to the north and the Bahr-el-Jebel Nile to the west (see Fig 3). The area falls within approximately 4°N latitude and $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}\text{E}$ longitude. The land gradually slopes towards the west in the direction of the River Nile; from an altitude of about 9,000 ft. or more in the east to about 500 ft. in area of depression where the Nile flows northwards.

The landscape provides a panoramic view. The most important rivers that traverse the area are the Bahr-el-Jebel Nile which enters the area from Uganda through Nimule on its way to the north. The Nile is joined here by such rivers as Aswa which originates in Uganda, Atteppi and Kit which both rise in the Imatong and Lotti Mountains to the east. There are, however, many seasonal streams and occasional swamps in the area.

Rainfall in the area varies but in average of about 1250 mm is expected in the wet season. In the dry season rainfall is less marked except in the highlands. The mean monthly temperatures vary from 20°C in the rainy season to about 35°C in the dry season (Phillips-Howard and Jacob 1984:2).



| KEY | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| ■ | Administrative Centre |
| □ | Sub-centre |
| ● | Other centre |
| — · — · — | Major Road and Sub-road |

Figure 2: ACHOLI AND SURROUNDING REGIONS

Savannah type of vegetation abounds except in the mountains and river banks where tall trees are most evident. Along the river banks elephant grass and swamp vegetation also grow. Agriculture in this area is still technologically simple; the people practice "bush fallow" system. Ox-ploughing is being encouraged and adopted by the people particularly those living close to the Rural Development Centres.

Magwi People's Rural Council was created in 1975 with its headquarters at Magwi (Nile Mirror, 1977:1). This area was one of those seriously affected by the last 17 years war. When life started to return to normalcy after 1972, reconstruction and development activities were enthusiastically responded to and supported by the local people. Self-help activities here were considered to be a model for the east bank area. It does mean that the social impact of refugee life and development involves an examination of new forms of behaviour and emergent socio-economic patterns in the development process. These were the criteria for selecting MPRC area for the study.

Data for the study was collected within the villages in the area.

3.3.0 Sampling

It was decided to use stratified random sampling as the administrative boundaries corresponded to ethnic boundaries. The area was characterized by homogeneity which thus required random sampling when it came to picking our respondents for interviewing.

3.3.1 Villages

The following sampling procedures were followed in choosing the villages to be studied. Firstly, it involved

stratified sampling. The MPRC area was divided into two administrative areas which also corresponded to ethnic boundaries. These were Madi and Acholi areas. After this division a list of all the villages was made for each divided area. These were villages in Madi and in Acholi. Then in each case a simple random sample was taken. This was done by writing the names of all the villages on small pieces of paper which were mixed in a container and then drawn for each particular case. As a result the following villages were picked for the Madi sample: Opari, Loa, Nimule and Kerreppi, whereas for the Acholi sample these were the villages picked; Obbo, Pajok, Omeo, Agoro and Magwi. Thus out of a total of 15 villages 9 were chosen which represents 60% of the villages.

3.3.2 Heads of Household Sample

To select the heads of household, we consulted with two elders and government chiefs in each sample villages to be able to estimate the number of households. This was necessary because of the lack of a list of names of heads of the households in the area. We came up with a rough estimate of between 600 - 1,000 households in each village. A listing was then made to supplement the taxpayers lists obtained from the government chiefs. This also included single or divorced women and those dropped from the tax payer's lists because of certain infirmities

or old age. These were transferred on small pieces of paper and mixed in a basket and since only 15 household heads from each of the 9 sampled villages were needed, they were drawn for each case. In all a total of 135 individuals were realised, located and interviewed in Madi and Acholi which represented between 13.5% - 16.9% of the estimated households in the area. Seventy of the households were Acholis and 65 were Madis. The rationale for choosing the villages and households as units of study is because self-help activities are usually identified with these units

3.3.3 Other Respondents

The remaining 10 respondents were key informants who included 4 sub-chiefs, a Community Development Officer, two agricultural extension workers and three elders.

3.4.1 Data Collection

The primary source of data was the respondents interviewed using interview schedules with both pre-coded and open-ended questions. These were administered to heads of households. We had about 32 questions on the interview schedule which covered socio-economic attributes, flight during the war, return and resettlement; types of assistance received during resettlement; the people's felt needs, how these needs were locally met; assistance acquired from government or aid agencies; form of participation in community-initiated projects; constraints to self-help projects and perceived assistance from external sources.

Participant observation technique was used as a supplementary means of gathering data particularly where ongoing projects afforded the opportunity as was the case with primary school construction at Magwi and Obbo and a health care unit at Agoro.

Additional information was collected from secondary sources at the council offices at Magwi, Community Development and SSU offices at Torit District Headquarters, the Province Headquarters, the Regional Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development, the Regional Ministry of Education and the Regional Ministry of Health and Social Welfare offices in Juba. These were mostly monthly and annual reports about the activities of communities, CDO's, party work and health conditions in the area and the whole province. For our purpose they were rather scanty or incomplete or lacking in detail.

3.4.2 Measurement

In order for us to analyse statistically the participation characteristics obtained with each independent variable frequency distribution is used. This is a convenient way of grouping data so that meaningful patterns can be found (New Mark, J. 1975:10). Percentages for determining the participation levels in the analyses are also used. This is to make descriptive analysis and **comparison possible.**

3.4.3 Problems Encountered in the field

Two problems were particularly encountered; transport and interpreter. Transportation system in the area was not well developed since the beginning of 1970's and the most used means of travelling was the bicycle. To ride across the length and breadth of the council area was not easy taking the heat which sometimes was averaging 27^o Centigrade. Although the designated areas were covered it took much longer than envisaged. The other problem was a good interpreter who could interpret in "Juba Arabic" (a form of Colonial Arabic spoken in the South). Not many people in the rural area know that form of "Arabic" and we were always confronted with a situation whereby a fourth party was needed to get the message clear. Besides certain words could not be properly interpreted into "Arabic" from the local languages.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPATORY INSTITUTIONS

Our aim here is to provide an analytical description of the major institutional units in the Southern Sudan through which participation in self-help projects normally occurs. The analysis consists of data collected through documents and observation, but related to the experiences of the respondents.

Participation, as we defined it involves the contribution of three things and these are manual or unskilled labour, local materials and cash or money. Since participation in self-help projects presupposes membership in the institutional units, we want to see how it influences participation. Our analysis starts with the traditional work-groups called Kampone.

4.1.0. (a) The Kampone Work Groups

As we highlighted upon earlier the kampone work-groups seem to be the largest horizontally-organised clan-centred groups. The institution of the kampone has one main objective and that is the provision of labour in the process of cultivation during the planting period. Emphatically it is also an important means of participation in self-help projects.

The main food crops in Magwi People's Rural Council area are maize, cassava, millet, sesame, sorghum and sweet potatoes, which the population subsists upon. The food crops are grown by practically all villagers in amounts that correspond to their estimated personal needs. The crops are rainfed and cultivated in shifting fields. The whole operation that is the preparation of the fields, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and winnowing may often be done much later.

In MPRC area the villages comprise of clusters of homes spread out about the landscape. In each compound there are several houses. The number of houses in one compound seems to vary from 5-8. Close kin put up their compounds near one another. These compounds usually constitute different lineages which are socially and geographically distinguishable from each other. The largest lineage group is the clan which also forms the nucleus of a work-group as well as determining its membership.

Labour, the most important factor of production, is available to all in the form of time but cultural traditions and differential skills give rise to traditional patterns of interdependence and standard forms of rotation of labour through the mobilization of others.

All fields are owned privately; hoeing is the only work done cooperatively by all men in the kampone. In the

traditional economic systems of the village the labour of others can be mobilised mainly in one way, that is by giving a beer party. Usually only beer is given as compensation for work, although often also food including chicken, fish, game meat or any other may be served. The kampone beer party is announced early in advance with the amount of work to be done specified, and a considerable amount of beer is made for the participating people. All kampone members are under obligation to attend the work-party, while others may join as they wish and would be entitled to the same compensation.

Participation in digging involves parcelling out a tract of land into small measured plots for every member of the kampone. The small plots are measured both in lengths and widths using a measuring rod (i.e. tal) which is about 2 metres in length. The maximum measured piece of plot one is entitled to cultivate is:

$$5 \text{ (tal) width} \times 15 \text{ tal (length)} = 75 \text{ tals}^2 \text{ Or } \underline{300 \text{ sq. metres}}$$

If there are 20 people in a kampone they would cultivate an area of about - $(20 \times 300 \text{ ms}^2)$
 = 6,000 sq. metres

For this the host pays 5 tins of beer for the members in addition to food. The size of plots cultivated usually decreases more or less proportionately with the amount of reward beer available.¹

Digging apart, beer parties may be called for a number of different tasks such as weeding, harvesting or threshing particularly when the task at hand is too large for the family of an individual farmer. Other social obligations apart from these include settling domestic quarrels among members and participating in self-help projects.

Involvement in all these activities presupposes an organization based on authority structure with powers and functions bestowed on such authority. In kampone work groups in MPRC area the following are found;

- (i) Hoe-chief of the kampone (Rwot Kweri) who is the leader and link between the outside and the work-group members. He is responsible for settling household disputes arising within the members of the kampone. He gets directives from the local government sub-chief or an SSU official in his area.
- (ii) The next important office is that of the secretary (karan). He takes attendance at every meeting and handles the correspondence of the group.
- (iii) The treasurer (Lakanlim) on the other hand keeps the cash and accounts of the kampone and presents statements of accounts when members demand so. Kampone "revenue" usually accrues from fines imposed on members who breach the numerous rules that are in the repository of every

member. Overt violations of such rules are penalized on the spot by payment of fines agreed upon by members. It is usually up to the kamponé to decide what to do with the money, but observation shows that it will go into big feasts e.g. Christmas or any day of public importance.

(iv) Doctor of beer or Beer Taster (Dacktar Kongo). This is the man who is given the privilege before anybody else to taste beer to see if it conforms with their set standard. If it doesn't then the group fix a fine which the host pays either in cash or kind.

The rules of the kamponé are many and to ensure their enforcement there is for every group a selected number of men who are designated the police of the Hoe-Chief (locally called acikari). They keep regular watch on members and apprehend those indulging in quarrels or misdemeanour.

The authority of these individuals to wield power and exact obedience is backed by strong normative sanctions that generally impinge on kamponé members. In this way commitment to tasks and solidarity of the group is maintained as is apparent in digging work and self-help projects. Of all those interviewed 80.7% indicated that they were kamponé work-group members.

(b) The Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU)

One of those popular organisations in the area is the SSU. The lowest hierarchy of SSU is represented by the Basic Unit

at the level of the village. The Basic Unit is run by an elected committee, but membership to the party is open to all. The supreme authority of the SSU in the village level is the Basic Unit Congress which is held annually. During the SSU Basic Unit Congress the Secretary renders a report about the village on various issues which include socio-economic and political problems as well as security. The members assembled are given the opportunity to air their grievances on such problems as the conditions of social services in their villages, the flow of essential commodities, prices in the market, delayed assistance promised by some visiting political dignitaries etc.

Resolutions emanating from the congress on various issues, including reports on the implementation of some of the proposals as well as constraints encountered are submitted to the higher authorities for further review and consideration.

Other important functions of the SSU include organizing entertainments for visiting ministers or other members of the party echelon, helping at election times and mobilizing rural communities for public projects. Forty two point nine percent of those interviewed said they were members of the SSU.

(c) Village Council

A village council is organised around the local administration particularly with regards to the policies

to be administered in an area. The Village Council is empowered by the Local Government Act of 1971 to impose local fees on selected commercial items of trade and to fix rates in the local market or agricultural produce brought for sale. These fees and rates which are collected daily form a greater portion of the revenue generated by the Rural Council administration.

The Village Council is also empowered to present proposals for locally-initiated projects for financial consideration from the Council authorities. Membership to the Village Council is not as extensive as with the kampong or SSU, rather it consists of few elected members. Apparently, their meetings are irregular and their powers appear to have been usurped by the administrative officers in the councils.

(d) Village Development Committee

The Village Development Committees (VDC) are usually organized by the Community Development Officers from the Department of Community Development in the Regional Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Development. Initially in 1972 they were called Enlightenment Officers but as convention requires they became CDO's. The CDO's were basically concerned with enlightenment and mobilization of community members for project implementation. As the task technically was becoming complex it was felt that they should work through project committees designated "Village Development Committees".

VDC's are elected members of the community who with the CDO plan and suggest the best strategies for meeting felt needs of the community.

They became very popular and tended to overshadow the activities of SSU branches in the rural area. In 1977 the SSU officers began claiming the functions of VDC's to themselves and began a series of open clashes with the CDO's. Since such a problem could have serious implications and bring the loyalty of those in charge of Community Development into question, the CDO's were asked to dissolve all VDC's and only organise them when a project is actually to be implemented with the support and direction of the Department of Community Development. Members of the VDC's are elected by the villagers and as stipulated they serve on the committee for one year.

(e) Parents' and Teachers' Council

The Parents' and Teachers' Council is composed of elected parents and teachers in an intermediate, primary or secondary school. The purpose of constituting such a council are firstly to ensure **discipline among pupils and students** as well as members of staff. They can sanction the action of a Headmaster with regards to dismissal or suspension of a pupil or member of staff whose conduct has become unworthy of respect. Secondly, the PTC oversee the disposal of funds realized from collection of

"school fund" which every pupil or student is supposed to pay. Its allocation for repair or maintenance work on school buildings is decided upon by the F.P.C. among other competing needs. How is participation realized through these institutional units in project planning and implementation?

4.2.C. Project Initiation and Mobilization for Participation in Projects

Initiation and mobilization for participation in projects are carried out by elements belonging to these various institutional mechanisms. Distributing respondents according to the question "Who do you think initiate self-help projects?" we see from Table 4 below that:

Table 4:1 Initiators Mentioned by Interviewees

| Initiators | | % |
|----------------------------------|-----|--------|
| Government Chief | 98 | (72.6) |
| Kampong Hoe-Chief | 11 | (8.1) |
| Others (SSU, VDC, VC and P&T.C.) | 7 | (5.2) |
| Don't know | 5 | (3.7) |
| No response | 14 | (10.4) |
| Total | 135 | 100.00 |

The single most important elements in the initiation of projects are the chiefs. While the above response in an emphasis of the chief's role it has also been observed that sub-chiefs and chiefs enroll as members of the kampong work-groups where they play the role of animators of change. Planning projects are collective responsibilities which are usually initiated by such categories of opinion leaders in the villages.

To show how members of these organisations are mobilized for participation in projects we describe the process, taking the case of Magwi Primary School (see App. 2). This school originally was built in the early part of 1974 and four years later it collapsed and the pupils and staff were temporarily asked to use the nearby Intermediate school. They used the facilities of that school in the afternoon but somehow it created a lot of inconvenience to the staff and students of the Intermediate School as their programmes became restricted and inflexible because of time. The matter became a great concern to the parents in the village and prompted the newly formed Parents' and Teachers' Council to take steps for redressing the anomaly.

In November of 1979 the Chairman of the P&T.C. called for a meeting to plan for new buildings for the Primary school. Representatives from the SSU, VDC, VC the Community Development Officer, Chief and Hoe-chiefs came to attend.

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting:

- (i) that bricks be made by the parents concerned and that the work be supervised by the Hoe-chief:
- (ii) that any parent who fails to turn up for the work without proper reason or permission from the Hoe-chiefs should be fined LS0.500 milliemes (or half a Sudanese pound) per day;
- (iii) that all working officials and employees within Magwi who are unable to join hands with the villagers because of the work in the offices pay LS3. each, and
- (iv) that anybody who does not comply with the resolutions is to be prosecuted.

These resolutions were circulated to all concerned authorities in the village. The kampones chiefs were to brief their members on the nature of work to be performed and how they were to start the work. The major task was thus thrust on the shoulders of the Hoe-chiefs who were to mobilize their men as well as available resources for the work. (Unlike Hoe-Chiefs, government chiefs are appointed from royal clans and serve until retiring age.)

In December of 1979 work on the school started in earnest beginning with brick laying which was done by different kampones. Men, women and the youth of the village worked according to a schedule drawn by the Hoe-chiefs who also supervised the work where attendance was also recorded. Perhaps two observations can be made at this stage and these are:

- (a) the politico-administrative units together with other authorities in the village such as Hoe-chiefs plan and carry out major decisions for the development of the village as we tried to show above. This is not only confined to self-help projects but pervades other areas of life which includes security, elections or organizing a reception to be accorded to a visiting political dignitary.
- (b) the decision taken and the plans agreed upon are usually implemented by the kampone work-groups, that is the work-group members provide labour, materials and cash. Other members of the rural institutional mechanisms also contribute these items.

Although one of these organisations can be described as traditional (kampone) and the politico-administrative units as modern this distinction appears to apply for the former case in the area of operation. In so far as public projects are concerned kampone members are also active. This is accentuated by the fact that membership in these organizational units overlap. For, example, of those interviewed 8.14% said in addition to SSU they belong to Village Development Committee, 6.7% said they were Parents' and Teachers' Council members in addition to SSU; 20% claimed kampone membership only and 14.1% said they were village council members. Although these claims of membership were made for these organizations actual

regular participation was done through units preferred by respondents themselves. This implies that membership and involvement in projects are two different things for the institutions themselves. While the individual professes membership in more than one institutional unit when it comes to the contribution for projects they do this through other institutional units of their choice. This, we set out to show in the coming chapter.

Footnotes

1. When the reward beer is less than 5 tins of beer say 4, the acreage of land cultivated will decrease because the dimensions will be reduced. We shall have

$$(14 \times 5)$$

$$= 70 \text{ tals}^2$$

$$= 280 \text{ sq. metres.}$$

For 3 tins reward it will be

$$(13 \times 5)$$

$$= 65 \text{ tals}^2$$

$$= 260 \text{ Sq. metres.}$$

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONTRIBUTION PATTERNS IN SELF-HELP PROJECTS

In this chapter we present our analysed data. To begin with we are going to distribute our respondents according to the contribution patterns in self-help projects and in the second part we are going to discuss respondent profiles in terms of the independent variables. This will prepare us for the testing of the hypotheses later in the chapter.

5.1.0 Distribution of Respondents by Dependent Variable

Analysing the dependent variable of participation we observe that out of 135 respondents interviewed, about 90.3% said they participate in self-help projects in various ways, that is, they contribute either labour, local materials or cash. 19.7% said they do not participate in projects. Taking one aspect of participation in projects, that is the contribution of unskilled labour our data show that a high percentage of those interviewed said they contribute it as table 5:1 below indicates.

Table 5:1: Distribution by Labour Contribution

| Response | Number of Respondents | % |
|----------|-----------------------|------|
| Yes | 120 | 88.9 |
| No | 15 | 11.1 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

While 88.9% of those interviewed contribute labour only 11.1% said they do not contribute it in projects. There seems to be an abundance of labour usually of the unskilled type which are tapped by self-help groups for the realisation of community goals.

Distributing respondents by whether they contribute materials or not we see slightly different portrayal compared to labour contributions.

Table 5.2: Distribution by Material Contribution

| Response | Number of Respondents | % |
|----------|-----------------------|------|
| Yes | 105 | 77.6 |
| No | 30 | 22.4 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

The contribution of materials appear to be somehow high compared to labour contribution. Most of the materials, e.g., grass for roof thatch, poles etc. are locally acquired. Out of the people interviewed 77.6% said they contribute such materials, and slightly less than a quarter i.e. 22.4% said they do not contribute materials for projects as shown in the table above.

When we distributed respondents again, by cash contribution, table 5:3 below shows cash contribution in

Table 5:3: Distribution by Cash Contribution

| Response | Number of Respondents | % |
|----------|-----------------------|------|
| Yes | 17 | 12.4 |
| No | 118 | 87.6 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

the area according to the sampled population. Only 12.4% of the respondents say they contribute money compared to a large number of (87.6%) who do not contribute money at all in projects. Comparing the contribution patterns for these items of participation it appears as if the contribution of labour and materials are generally good compared to cash. The cash contribution is low and could imply its relative stint in an area beset with various economic problems.

Participation is congruent with the expressed needs of the communities. Asked what they felt were their needs 71.9% of the respondents mentioned social services listing among others schools, health centres and medicines, water and community centres; 19.3% mentioned economic needs, that is agricultural tools and seeds, good access roads, bridges and

cooperative stores, while political needs comprising peace, stability, security and unity were mentioned by 8.9% of the respondents. We want to see how they participate in the process of meeting some of the social projects earlier on enumerated.

5.2.0 Distribution of Respondents on Independent Variables

We are going to relate participation as a dependent variable to the various independent variables in the coming section when testing the hypotheses. As an antecedent to testing, we want to present an analysis of respondent profiles in terms of the independent variables to help us visualize the characteristics of the sample.

Distributing the respondents according to membership in the various institutional units we see from table 5:4 below: that the kampone work-groups have the highest

Table 5:12 Distribution by Membership

| Type of Organisation-a Unit | No. of Respondents. | % |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|------|
| Kampone Work-Group | 53 | 39.3 |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 46 | 34.1 |
| Village Development Committee | 14 | 10.4 |
| Village Council | 11 | 8.1 |
| Parents' and Teachers Committee | 11 | 8.1 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

percentage of members, followed by the S.S.U. and the Village Development Committee. The Village Council and the Parents' and Teachers' Council have few members.

The distribution of respondents by place of exile shows a remarkable variation in Table 5:5 below:

Table 5:5 Distribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | No. of Respondents. | % |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|------|
| Bush | 22 | 16.0 |
| Town | 19 | 14.4 |
| Exiled in Neighbouring Countries | 81 | 60.0 |
| Not Exiled | 13 | 9.6 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

Of all those interviewed as many as 60% were refugees in the neighbouring countries of Uganda, Kenya and Zaire. About 16% and 14.4% were exiled in the bush and towns in the Sudan respectively. Only a small percentage remained in the villages, that is, 9.6%. Those who crossed the borders into the neighbouring countries were either resettled in refugee settlements in those countries or settled spontaneously among the indigenous people. They had the opportunity to

enjoy the modern social amenities - something unfamiliar back home. Those who sought refuge in the bush stayed in villages protected by the guerrillas but they laboured to put up some rudimentary social services such as schools and clinics which received stationeries and drugs smuggled across the borders with the help of some missionaries.

The period spent in exile also varies considerably as Table 5:6 indicates.

Table 5:6 :Distribution by Period of Exile

| Period | No. of Respondents | % |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 0 Years | 13 | 9.6 |
| 1-3 Years | 10 | 7.4 |
| 4-6 Years | 27 | 20.0 |
| 7-9 Years | 58 | 43.0 |
| 10-12 Years | 15 | 11.1 |
| 13++ Years | 12 | 8.9 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

42.9% said they were exiled from 7 to 9 years, while 20% from 4 to 6 years. Those who said they were away for short period 1-3 or long period 10 years and above were few according to the table.

Table 5:7 :Distribution by Occupation

| Occupation | No. of Respondents | % |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Subsistence farmer | 70 | 51.9 |
| Retail trader | 8 | 5.9 |
| School teacher | 21 | 15.6 |
| Chef/Sub-chief | 4 | 2.9 |
| Clerk | 8 | 5.9 |
| Church Leader | 3 | 2.2 |
| Security Personnel | 7 | 5.2 |
| Extension Worker | 2 | 1.5 |
| Labourer | 12 | 8.9 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

In as far as occupation is concerned table 5:7 above shows that, of the sampled population 51.9% are subsistence farmers and 5.9% are business men. The rest are government employees in the area and Church leaders.

Table 5:8 :Distribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | No. of Respondents | % |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Unmarried or Single | 21 | 15.6 |
| Married | 95 | 70.4 |
| Divorced | 16 | 11.9 |
| Widowed | 3 | 2.2 |
| Total | 135 | 100.1 |

The distribution of respondents by marital status in table 5:8 above shows a higher percentage of married people i.e. 70.4%. 15.4% said they were single or unmarried, 11.9% divorced and 2.2% widowed.

Table 5:9 :Distribution by Sex

| Sex | No. of Respondents | % |
|--------|--------------------|------|
| Male | 115 | 85.2 |
| Female | 20 | 14.8 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

When we distributed the population according to sex as shown in table 5:9 above we found that the males comprised 85.2% while the females were made up of 14.8% of the sample. The males traditionally are heads of household except where the man has died when women assume the responsibility.

Table 5:10 :Distribution by Age

| Age | No. of Respondents | % |
|----------|--------------------|------|
| Under 25 | 13 | 9.6 |
| 25-30 | 25 | 18.5 |
| 31-35 | 29 | 21.5 |
| 36-40 | 26 | 19.3 |
| 41-45 | 13 | 9.6 |
| 46-50 | 15 | 11.1 |
| 51++ | 14 | 10.4 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

Most of the respondents as distributed by age in the above table fall between under 25 and 40 years old. In other words about 68.9% of those interviewed

consisted of these young age categories. Only about 31.1% were over 41 years old. The population consist of basically young people.

Table 5:11 : Distribution by Ethnic Affiliation

| Ethnic Group | No. of Repondents | % |
|--------------|-------------------|------|
| Madi | 65 | 48.1 |
| Acholi | 70 | 51.9 |
| Total | 135 | 100 |

The people who inhabit the area (MPRC) are the Madi and the Acholi. Table 5:11 indicates that of the sampled population 48.1 were Madis and 51.9% were Acholis. Though distinct linguistically they live within the same administrative boundaries and share certain services.

Table 5:12 : Distribution by Potentiality of Area

| Area | No. of Responde-nts. | % |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------|
| High Potential Area | 30 | 22.2 |
| Medium Potential Area | 40 | 29.6 |
| Low Potential Area | 65 | 48.2 |
| Total | 135 | 100% |

According to table 5:12 above which relates the distribution of respondents to the potentiality of areas we see that 22.2% come from high potential zone, 29.6% from the medium potential zone and 48.2% from the low potential zone. The high and medium potential zones fall within the Acholi area whereas the low potential zone runs more or less parallel to the Nile in Madi area to the west.

In this section, therefore, we first presented an analysis of data according to the dependent variable and then looked at the empirical characteristics of respondents according to the independent variables. The question as to how participation (contribution) in public projects is influenced requires a detailed analysis which we set out to present in the coming section on testing of the hypotheses.

5.3.0 Test of Hypotheses and Further Analysis of Findings

5.3.1 Aggregate Sample

Having described the profiles of aggregate sample we want to present and empirically test the hypotheses of the study. We want to test the relationship between membership in rural institutions, experience in exile, socio-economic attributes, agricultural potentiality of area and ethnic affiliation with participation in projects. The first of these hypotheses state "that the kampone work groups constitute a larger recruitment base for participation in self-help projects than the politico-administrative units".

Relating participation to membership in rural institutions in Table 5:13 below we can see that a high percentage of those who belong to the kampone work-groups, the Sudan Socialist Union and the village Development Committee contribute labour for self-help projects compared to the Village Council and the Parents' and Teachers' Council with lower percentages.

Table 5:13 : Labour Contribution by Membership in Organizations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributions | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|
| | Contributed | Don't Contribute | Total |
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 96.2 (51) | 3.8 (2) | 100 (53) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 78.3 (36) | 21.7 (10) | 100 (46) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 92.9 (13) | 7.1 (1) | 100 (14) |
| Village Council | 56.7 (6) | 43.3 (5) | 100 (11) |
| Parents' & Teachers' Council | 51.0 (6) | 49.0 (5) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 83.2 (112) | 16.8 (23) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:14 : Material Contribution by Membership in Organisations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Don't Contribute | Total |
|------------------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 96.0 (51) | 4.0 (2) | 100 (53) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 100 (46) | 0 (0) | 100 (46) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 85.7 (12) | 14.3 (2) | 100 (14) |
| Village Council | 35.0 (4) | 65.0 (7) | 100 (11) |
| Parents' & Teachers' Council | 70.0 (8) | 30.0 (3) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 89.6 (121) | 10.4 (14) | 100 (135) |

When we relate contribution of materials to membership in the institutional mechanisms we see the same trend in Table 5:14 above. The exception here is that members of the Parents' and Teachers' Council contribute in a better way than the Village Council. But when we relate the contribution

Table 5:15 : Cash Contribution by Membership in Organisations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Don't Contribute | Total |
|------------------------------|-------------|------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 9.4 (5) | 90.6 (48) | 100 (53) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 17.8 (8) | 82.2 (38) | 100 (46) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 14.3 (2) | 85 (12) | 100 (14) |
| Village Council | 10.0 (1) | 90 (10) | 100 (11) |
| Parents' & Teachers' Council | 0 (0) | 100 (11) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 12.0 (16) | 88.0(119) | 100(135) |

of cash to membership we find that it is very poor for all groups as Table 5:15 indicates. The cash component of contribution is poor probably because it reflects a general underdevelopment of the economy. Although cotton used to be a major source of income for the household the irregularity of purchase from the farmers had diminished its importance in the area. Tobacco too is faced with a similar problem and is on the verge of ceasing as a cash crop.

Yet the zeal for collective achievement of some of the felt needs is kept alive by the preponderance of the politico-administrative units and kampone work-groups which appear to constitute new identities. For instance, the kampone work-group is basically a clan-based institution with a new mode of operation and name which indicates the fusion of tradition and modernity. The payment of fine using money and the use of kampone work time by government authorities especially the chiefs and sub-chiefs for conveying information to the people are two of the tendencies that have brought the kampone work-groups closer to the penetrative processes of the change agents. They too have mutually attempted to adapt to these sometimes bewildering situations. And that is why with regards to self-help schemes they generally contribute well.

The Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) constitutes as we have discussed earlier one of the aspects of rural institutional

units. The members as we have also analysed contribute highly in self-help projects. Every year they used to organize an annual conference to assess progress made in the villages in the field of development. Though political in nature it tended also to clash with the Village Development Committee organised by the Community Development Officers. The rivalry between SSU and CD Officers in the formation of VDC's has prompted CDOs to stop organizing VDC's unless there is a specific project which it is undertaking with the support from Department of Community Development. The attempts by the party to meddle in the Village Development Committee have always frustrated the efforts of the CDO's and in nearby Ikotos People's Rural Council area it brought a big conflict splitting the people politically. As any such a disagreement was always politically interpreted, it was regarded as tantamount to opposition to the leadership of May Regime and in most cases it is always hushed up. In order to be on the safe side Community Development Officers were instructed to form VDC's only when the projects are about to be started.¹

The village council though always associated with the local administration their functions and powers are usually exercised by the Inspector of Local Government or his assistants. The fixing of rates and market fees which are their stipulated functions are exercised inadvertently by the local government authorities and as such they could not even influence allocation of some funds for

meeting "felt needs" of the people. They lack the, credibility and have been rendered powerless.

The Parents' and Teachers' Council are as we have seen constituted in all the schools in the area. While the VDC and VC do not control any funds at all the P.&T.C. control the "school fund" which is to be disposed of in the maintenance or repair of the school. But the Council's important role is to oversee and recommend transfer of a recalcitrant staff or dismissal of a student. The control of "school fund" (each schoolgoing child pays half Sudanese pound) has brought about animosities between parents and teachers at Omeo where the Headmaster was alleged to have embezzled the fund. In Madi as a whole they use the "school fund" also for paying teacher's salaries or advances.²

Where teachers have gone for months without pay the council approves a certain amount of money from the fund for meeting such needs. Virtually in the whole of Acholi and Madi the school fund has gone to meet advances of salaries or used to support those teachers in dire financial needs. The coffers have nearly often been made empty.

While these problems continue to mar the efforts of these institutional units, they have at least underscored one need - that is they afford the leaders some training in organization and management of local problems. In spite of other shortcomings labour and material turnover for self-help projects are usually high as we have already seen.

The smallness of cash contribution could be a problem perpetuated by the underdevelopment of the economy. Although the majority of the people are farmers the productive activities are directed primarily at meeting consumption needs. Whatever surpluses they make are exchanged in the market to meet such household expenses as salt, sugar, clothing oils, fees and such other expenses as the annual social services tax which men pay. The average income for the area can be estimated as LS100 - 170 (Sudanese pounds) which are much below the estimated national figure of LS870 (Sudanese Pounds - See World Economic Report 1983). It would look as if calling upon the rural folks to contribute cash for projects would be inviting additional strain on an overstretched financial situation. Probably that could be a reason why local participation declines so sharply with regard to cash contribution. But would this apply to all areas? We have seen in the review, for instance, that border smuggling trade is common in Pajok, Owingkibul, Mogali and Nimule areas on Uganda border, beside petty trading as well as selling agricultural produce. Although no statistics were obtained to determine the volume of trade as well as the number of the people involved, it suggests status differences that should be implicit in self-help activities.

The answer to this question may be various. Yet it seems to also lie with the fact that there are checks and balances in the social system which appear to operate in such a manner

which suggests that if one social category of people initiates an idea it is in the interest of the other group to oppose or undermine it altogether. The commoner clans would oppose what the royal (chiefly) clans proposed or, what SSU members feel feasible would be regarded as impractical by the Village Development Committees. While these checks and balances affect all forms of contributions it is profound on cash. On the other hand the difficult economic situation has restricted the constant circulation of cash to ^{the} extent that it has become something scarce.

While cash is scarce labour and materials are abundant and readily available. As our data reveal the highest percentage of contributors come from kampone workgroups, Sudan Socialist Union and the Village Development Committee members.

The second hypothesis we want to test is, "That, experience of exile is positively related to participation in Self-help projects." By experience here we mean firstly, the place of exile and secondly, the period taken in exile. Table 5:16, 5:17 and 5:18 depict labour, material and cash contributions in self-help projects according to places of exile. The percentages of those who contribute labour (those from the bush, town and neighbouring countries) are higher than those who were not exiled. The percentages

Table 5:16 :Labour Contribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Don't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 100 (22) | 0 (0) | 100 (22) |
| Town | 93.7 (18) | 6.3 (1) | 100 (19) |
| Exiled Abroad | 91.9 (74) | 8.1 (7) | 100 (81) |
| Not Exiled | 71.3 (9) | 28.7 (4) | 100 (13) |
| Total | 91.0(123) | 9.0 (12) | 100 (135) |

of those who contribute material in self-help projects are also generally higher for those who were exiles, as table 18 above shows.

Table 5:17 :Material Contribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 79.2 (17) | 20.8 (5) | 100 (22) |
| Town | 87.5 (17) | 12.5 (2) | 100 (19) |
| Exiled Abroad | 88.5 (72) | 11.5 (9) | 100 (81) |
| Not Exiled | 77.5 (10) | 22.5 (3) | 100 (13) |
| Total | 84.9 (116) | 15.1 (19) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:18 :Cash Contribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 20.0 (4) | 80.0 (18) | 100 (22) |
| Town | 0 (0) | 100 (19) | 100 (19) |
| Exiled Abroad | 8.1 (7) | 91.9 (74) | 100 (81) |
| Not Exiled | 6.3 (1) | 93.7 (12) | 100 (13) |
| Total | 8.1 (12) | 91.9 (123) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:18 above on cash contribution shows a similar trend to what we saw in our previous analysis. Contributions generally are meagre where cash is concerned.

Since the categories of people who were displaced from home during the civil war are the ones who participate actively in self-help projects there should be a reason why they should be doing so. Those who fled to some towns in the Sudan and abroad in neighbouring countries particularly Uganda, Kenya and Zaire appear to be specially tipped for participation in self-help projects. Those places of exile appear to have had a positive influence on the attitudes and perceptions of the returnees. This is evidently manifested in their contributions in labour and materials in self-help projects.

Our data also show (with respect to this hypothesis) that of all those interviewed the greatest percentage, 59.3%, sought refuge either abroad or elsewhere in the country between 1961 and 1966, 17.8% sought refuge between 1955 and 1960, 13.3% between 1967 and 1972 and a small percentage of 9.6% remained in their villages throughout the period of conflict.

Between 1961 - 1966, the years when many people ran away, many problems were encountered in the major towns in Southern Sudan when government troops went on rampage. Consequently, many people were displaced from the towns and villages with many spilling over the borders. But the process of flight to safety started as early as 1955 with the beginning of political conflict in the region reaching climax in the 1960's.

When the peace accord was signed in 1972 many people started to stream back from various places of refuge. Between 1969-1970, 16.3% returned home; between 1971-1973 48.9% came back; 21.5% in 1974 and 13.3 have no idea when they returned to their places. Sixty per cent said they were repatriated with the help of UNHCR (United Nation High Commission for Refugees) 28.9% returned by themselves, 6.6% were transferred by the government and 3.7% were already in their home villages. Those who sought refuge in the bush were not altogether cut off from outside contact. The rebels

removed 1

as well as missionaries visited the villages from time to time and called upon the villagers to start some self-help projects e.g. schools, clinics and churches. Whatever projects people came up with were for the provision of educational facilities (which were indeed limited to only three classes) primary health care units and churches. These institutions received material support from some missionary organizations in the form of books and stationeries which were carried on head from border points into the interior. Most of these schools were also situated sometimes far in the bush or forests away from the government soldiers' reach.³

When war ended in 1972 these schools, clinics and churches were also transferred to former settlements. Among the people who endeavoured to provide these basic service facilities were returnees from neighbouring countries or from the towns up country in addition to those who stayed behind. Although the experience of those who remained behind appeared to be unique in as far as the provision of service facilities are concerned their efforts too seem to have been matched by those returnees from neighbouring countries. The inescapable fact is that those who were exiled abroad lived in a situation that was comparatively "developed" in contrast to theirs back home. Continuous residence abroad whether in the refugee camps or elsewhere enabled them to utilise the social services facilities at

Table 5:19 :Labour Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 77.5 (10) | 22.5 (3) | 100 (13) |
| 1-3 | 64.3 (6) | 35.7 (4) | 100 (10) |
| 4-6 | 59.9 (16) | 40.1 (11) | 100 (27) |
| 7-9 | 84.7 (49) | 15.3 (9) | 100 (58) |
| 10-12 | 69.5 (10) | 30.5 (5) | 100 (15) |
| 13++ | 75.0 (9) | 25.0 (3) | 100 (12) |
| Total | 72.8 (100) | 27.2 (35) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:20 :Material Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 61.3 (8) | 38.7 (5) | 100 (13) |
| 1-3 | 64.3 (6) | 35.7 (4) | 100 (10) |
| 4-6 | 38.7 (10) | 61.3 (17) | 100 (27) |
| 7-9 | 69.1 (40) | 30.9 (18) | 100 (58) |
| 10-12 | 72.2 (11) | 27.8 (4) | 100 (15) |
| 13++ | 60.0 (7) | 40.0 (5) | 100 (12) |
| Total | 57.2 (82) | 42.8 (53) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:21 :Cash Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute* | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 16.3 (2) | 83.7 (11) | 100(13) |
| 1-3 | 0 (0) | 100 (10) | 100(10) |
| 4-6 | 19.9 (5) | 80.1 (22) | 100(27) |
| 7-9 | 0 (0) | 100 (58) | 100(58) |
| 10-12 | 0 (0) | 100 (15) | 100(15) |
| 13++ | 65.0 (8) | 35.0 (4) | 100(12) |
| Total | 11.8 (15) | 88.2(120) | 100(135) |

their disposal. At the time of their return home these did not only become "felt needs" but the people also took active part in the building of self-help projects to provide these services.

Tables 5:19, 5:20 and 5:21 above attempt to show that of all those interviewed those who were exiled from home participated in more or less the same way as those who remained back home. In a way period of exile appears not to be a determinant of participation, because even with cash contributions those who do not contribute come mostly from the category of people who were exiled

for long periods of time. It would appear reasonable to summarise that while places of exile could have raised certain level of awareness for such initiatives, these are not related to the period taken away from home as our data show.

Nevertheless, our data tend to confirm the views of other scholars we have already reviewed that circumstances could generate development consciousness in individuals. Just as many people who only went to baptism classes could be aware of their development needs, the fact that people went away from their areas of birth to live as refugees should definitely be regarded as having a positive effect also on former refugees. This impact in our situation is seen by the high level of participation of formal refugees in self-help projects.

This finding is contrary to the views of the politicians who have argued that returnees are prone to putting unnecessary pressure on authority for assistance instead of relying on themselves. It would appear then that such arguments are normally resorted to when challenges to politicians to deliver the goods fail to materialize. The tendency is to throw back the challenges to the local people themselves who are to bear the brunt of their own development. This is of course overbearing.

Something else is also implicit in such attitude; that is, the need for the government to assert its control in order to claim some credibility in the face of its institutional shortcomings. The analysis proves to us that experience in exile is directly related to contribution in self-help projects in MPRC area.

The next (third) hypothesis we wish to present and test empirically is "That there is a close association between the socio-economic attributes of the members of the communities and their participation in self-help projects." The socio-economic attributes we want to relate to participation are occupation, marital status sex and age. In the tables below we relate contribution of labour and materials related to the two tables.

Table 5:22 : Labour Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence farmer | 95.3 (67) | 4.7 (3) | 100 (70) |
| Retail trader | 100 (8) | 0 (0) | 100 (8) |
| School teacher | 95.0 (20) | 5.0 (1) | 100 (21) |
| Chief/Sub-chief | 100 (4) | 0 (0) | 100 (4) |
| Clerk | 100 (8) | 0 (0) | 100 (8) |
| Church leader | 75.0 (2) | 25.0 (1) | 100 (3) |
| Security Personnel | 12.5 (1) | 87.5 (6) | 100 (7) |
| Extension Worker | 25.0 (0) | 75.0 (2) | 100 (2) |
| Labourer | 66.7 (8) | 33.3 (4) | 100 (12) |
| Total | 93.1(118) | 6.9(17) | 100(135) |

We can see from the above table that all retail traders, chief/sub-chief and clerks interviewed participate fully in projects by contributing labour. We can also see that subsistence farmers, school teachers and church leaders contribute well. But the security personnel extension workers and labourers do not participate fully.

Table 5:23 :Material Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence farmer | 83.9 (59) | 16.1 (11) | 100 (70) |
| Retail trader | 90.0 (7) | 10.0 (1) | 100 (8) |
| School teacher | 76.8 (16) | 23.0 (5) | 100 (21) |
| Chief/sub-chief | 100 (4) | 0 (0) | 100 (4) |
| Clerk | 46.7 (4) | 53.3 (4) | 100 (8) |
| Church leader | 75.0 (2) | 25.0 (1) | 100 (3) |
| Security Personnel | 45.9 (3) | 54.0 (4) | 100 (7) |
| Extension Worker | 25.0 (0) | 75.0 (2) | 100 (2) |
| Labourer | 100 (12) | 0 (0) | 100 (12) |
| Total | 74.8(17) | 25.2 (28) | 100(135) |

Table 5:23 above shows the contribution of materials in self-help projects when related to occupation. We can see that chief/sub-chief and labourers contribute labour fully as occupational groups. This high percentage

is followed by retail traders, subsistence farmers, school teachers and church leaders, but the security personnel and extension workers contribute poorly in materials. The retail trader, chief/sub-chief and clerks who contribute well than other occupational categories are of high prestige in the villages.

Table 5:24 :Cash Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence farmer | 9.5 (7) | 90.5 (63) | 100 (70) |
| Retail trader | 60.0 (5) | 40.0 (3) | 100 (8) |
| School Teacher | 33.7 (7) | 66.3 (14) | 100 (21) |
| Chief/Sub-Chief | 75.0 (3) | 25.0 (1) | 100 (4) |
| Clerk | 33.4 (3) | 66.6 (5) | 100 (8) |
| Church Leader | 0 (0) | 100 (3) | 100 (3) |
| Security Personnel | 0 (0) | 100 (7) | 100 (7) |
| Extension Worker | 0 (0) | 100 (2) | 100 (2) |
| Labourer | 0 (0) | 100 (6) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 15.7 (31) | 84.3 (104) | 100 (135) |

But cash is a scarce factor as indicated by the level of contribution in table 5:24 above. Chiefs and retail traders are the highest contributors of cash followed by

clerks and school teachers. But the contribution of the cash is fairly low compared to other types of contributions.

Turning now to discuss participation according to sex and marital status we can see from the analysis in tables 5:25 5:26 and 5:27 that there is not much difference in the level of participation between males and females. In as far as the contribution of labour and materials are

Table 5:25 : Labour Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 93.5 (107) | 6.5 (8) | 100 (115) |
| Female | 86.7 (17) | 13.3 (3) | 100 (20) |
| Total | 91.7 (124) | 8.3 (11) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:26 : Material Contribution by sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 82.6 (95) | 17.4 (20) | 100 (115) |
| Female | 66.7 (13) | 33.3 (7) | 100 (20) |
| Total | 83.9 (108) | 16.1 (27) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:27 :Cash Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 14.7 (17) | 85.3 (98) | 100 (115) |
| Female | 6.7 (1) | 93.3 (19) | 100 (20) |
| Total | 14.1 (18) | 85.9 (117) | 100 (135) |

concerned men and women contribute more or less in the same way. Although women's roles are not always emphasized in self-help activities, the analysis tends to show that they participate more or less on equal footing with their male counterparts. Observations show that **women's roles** are less in the planning stages of projects because the menfolk take it upon themselves to decide on what should be done for the communities with little or no women representation.

When the projects are to be implemented, however, the women take an active part either cutting and carrying grass for the thatch or carrying water for the men to drink during work time or for the preparation of soil for mudding the walls as well as plastering them.

Participation also has been found to be linked to marital status; that is as the analysis in tables 5:28-5:30

indicates, married people appear to participate much more in self-help projects compared to unmarried or single and widowed individuals. Perhaps the highest number of participants comes from the divorced group of individuals whose level of participation tops all contributions.

Married couples, divorced or widowed partners have a reason to participate actively in self-help projects

Table 5:28 :Labour Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 89.9 (19) | 10.1 (2) | 100 (21) |
| Married | 97.9 (93) | 2.1 (2) | 100 (95) |
| Divorced | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (3) |
| Widowed | 85.5 (14) | 14.5 (2) | 100 (16) |
| Total | 95.6 (129) | 4.4 (6) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:29 :Material Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 41.9 | 58.1 | 100 (21) |
| Married | 73.6 | 26.4 | 100 (95) |
| Divorced | 100 | 0 | 100 (3) |
| Widowed | 57.3 | 42.7 | 100 (16) |
| Total | 67.3 | 32.7 | 100 (135) |

Table 5:30 : Cash Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 3.85 (1) | 96.15 (20) | 100 (21) |
| Married | 10.4 (10) | 89.6 (85) | 100 (95) |
| Divorced | 49.0 (1) | 51.0 (2) | 100 (3) |
| Widowed | 33.7 (5) | 66.3 (11) | 100 (16) |
| Total | 12.6 (17) | 87.4 (118) | 100 (135) |

particularly in those which pertain to the provision of educational facilities. Participation in such projects is always the responsibilities of parents who have school going children. Parenthood seems to be implicitly related to the participation in such projects.

On the other hand these categories represent households which by reason of their existence should contribute in whatever form to the efforts needed to put up a project or accomplish a given community task. In all these activities, however, although men make the major decisions the women component is very complementary as we have seen. This has been reflected in their contributions which are substantial compared to those of men.

To complete the picture of socio-economic attributes with participation we are going to look at age. Tables 5:31, 5:32 and 5:33 below show that although the contribution of labour is high ^{for} all age categories or groups it is not so with materials and cash. For the former, the contribution from the young age group (i.e. under 25) is low but generally they are high for the other categories. Although no particular trend can be established from the tables one at least ^{notices} that contribution levels are

Table 5:31 : Labour Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 81.3 (11) | 18.7 (2) | 100 (13) |
| 25 - 30 | 85.0 (21) | 15.0 (4) | 100 (25) |
| 31 - 35 | 84.1 (24) | 15.9 (5) | 100 (29) |
| 36 - 40 | 100 (26) | 0 (0) | 100 (26) |
| 41 - 45 | 92.9 (12) | 7.1 (1) | 100 (13) |
| 46 - 50 | 80.1 (12) | 19.9 (3) | 100 (15) |
| 50++ | 100 (14) | 0 (0) | 100 (14) |
| Total | 94.7 (170) | 5.1 (15) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:32 : Material Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 51.3 (7) | 48.7 (16) | 100 (13) |
| 25 - 30 | 78.4 (20) | 21.6 (5) | 100 (25) |
| 31 - 35 | 100 (29) | 0 (0) | 100 (29) |
| 36 - 40 | 94.5 (25) | 5.5 (1) | 100 (26) |
| 41 - 45 | 68.9 (9) | 31.1 (4) | 100 (13) |
| 46 - 50 | 88. (13) | 11.1 (2) | 100 (15) |
| 51++ | 93.8 (13) | 6.2 (1) | 100 (14) |
| Total | 85.8 (116) | 14.2 (19) | 100 (135) |

high for those who contribute labour and materials. Married people, those with high occupational prestige as measured by type of employment and men as opposed to women appear to stand out as active participants in self-help projects.

Table 5:33 : Cash Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 0 (0) | 100 (13) | 100 (13) |
| 25 - 30 | 0 (0) | 100 (25) | 100 (25) |
| 31 - 35 | 21.5 (6) | 78.5 (23) | 100 (29) |
| 36 - 40 | 22.6 (6) | 77.4 (20) | 100 (26) |
| 41 - 45 | 15.5 (2) | 84.5 (11) | 100 (13) |
| 46 - 50 | 39.6 (6) | 60.4 (9) | 100 (15) |
| 51++ | 0 (0) | 100 (14) | 100 (14) |
| Total | 12.6 (20) | 87.4 (115) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:33 which shows cash contribution according to age depicts a similar trend as we observed with other variables. Cash seems scarce as reflected in this table.

The fourth hypothesis to be tested says that the higher the agricultural potential of an area the greater the involvement of the community in self-help projects.

After distributing the respondents according to the agricultural potential zones we related them to contributions in self-help projects. These are shown in the tables below:

Table 5:34 : Labour Contribution by Potentiality of Areas

| Potentiality of Area | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| High Potential Zone | 93.3 (28) | 6.7 (2) | 100 (30) |
| Middle Potential Zone | 100 (40) | 0 (0) | 100 (40) |
| Low Potential Zone | 90.8 (59) | 9.2 (6) | 100 (65) |
| Total | 94.1 (127) | 5.9 (8) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:35 : Material Contribution by Potentiality of Areas

| Potentiality of Area | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| High Potential Zone | 83.3 (25) | 16.7 (5) | 100 (30) |
| Middle Potential Zone | 100 (40) | 0 (0) | 100 (40) |
| Low Potential Zone | 73.8 (48) | 26.2 (17) | 100 (65) |
| Total | 83.7 (113) | 16.3 (22) | 100 (135) |

Table 5:36 :Cash Contribution by Potentiality of Areas

| Potentiality of Area | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| High Potential Zone | 10.0 (3) | 90.0 (27) | 100 (30) |
| Middle Potential Zone | 12.5 (5) | 87.5 (35) | 100 (40) |
| Low Potential Zone | 10.8 (7) | 89.2 (58) | 100 (65) |
| Total | 83.7 (15) | 16.3(120) | 100 (135) |

Starting with table 5:34 on the contribution of labour in self-help projects we observe a 100% involvement of those who come for the middle zone and contribute labour. Those who come from high and low potential zones show a relatively high percentage of involvement as represented by 93.3% and 90.8% respectively.

In as far as the contribution of local materials for self-help projects are concerned we still observe 100% contribution from the middle zone of potential, followed by high zone at 83.3% and low zone at 73.8% as indicated in Table 5:35.

When it comes to cash contribution we observe from the Table 5:36 above that it is contributed by about a tenth of those interviewed from the various zones.

Cash seems to be ^aproblem in all the three different zones of agricultural potential. To recall, high potential zone refers to agriculturally productive areas of Upper Talanga, Falwar, Lerwa, Pujok and Obbo. In Obbo, Lerwa, Falwar and Upper Talang, coffee and tea (for the latter) plots and plantations are being initiated by individual entrepreneurs. Production has not started on a large scale and this could probably be the reason why the contribution of cash is the lowest of the two items of participation in self-help projects.

The middle zone which covers Magwi, Omeo and Agoro seem to lie in an intermediate position between the high potential and low potential zones. All these villages and others in the surrounding area were deserted during the 17 year-war. Economic and social activities had come to a standstill. Roads became overgrown with grass and trees ; gullies carved by the flow of water dissected the roads and disrupted communications. Primary school buildings at Agoro and Omeo collapsed because presumably of lying in disuse with the villages deserted. So, when the local population returned the social infrastructure was non-existent and hence have to start from scratch. It is probable that the people of Agoro, Omeo and Magwi were motivated by these adverse situations in which they found themselves after 1975 and had to do something about them by organizing small scale self-help activities.

In the low potential zone the situation above was obtained except in Nimule, Loa and Opari where there were some buildings which survived the war conditions. These were schools, chiefs courts and offices and clinics. The regular army stayed in school buildings at the time of war. The tasks which awaited returnees were immense, and an honest attempt to portray this is made in this thesis.

To sum up for the moment we have been presenting and analysing our data with a view to testing the hypotheses of the study. Our variables included institutional membership, ethnicity, potentiality of area, experience in exile and the socio-economic attributes. Our analysis shows that inspite of the fact that kampane work-groups constitute the largest recruitment base among all the institutional units when it comes to participation or rather contribution one sees some variation along the spectrum. Three institutional mechanisms appear to be the main media through which members of the rural communities contribute labour materials and cash. These are the kampane work-groups, the SSU and the Village Development Committee.

Experience in exile as measured by place and period of exile show that all the categories of exiles participate highly compared to those who are not exiled at all. But the contribution of cash is not any better with these groups. Similarly, when we tried to correlate the variable of participation to socio-economic attributes such as

occupation, sex, marital status and age we see throughout a pattern of contribution which tends to favour labour and materials and equally is biased against cash contribution

These analyses raise some questions with respect to the findings we have come up with; why is participation conceived only in terms of the contribution of labour and local materials? Why is cash contribution lagging in self-help projects?

The contribution of labour and materials is common to the area. Labour is easily volunteered when solicited and this is also true of local materials. The local materials used for building projects are acquired free from nearby bushes. As land is still the property of the community access to these bushes is unrestricted.

The problem of cash contributions being meagre perhaps is a reflection of the level of marginal economic opportunities in the area. There is lack of profitable household investment opportunities besides retail trade and smuggling. Such cash crops as cotton, tobacco and some food crops should have greatly improved household incomes. Cotton and tobacco have however deteriorated as sales are not forthcoming.

Although there are two weaving mills at Nzara and Mongalla they preferred cotton from Northern Sudan. As

such, production slumped as cotton for successive seasons remained unbought from farmers. Such element of unfair competition applies also to tobacco. Locally manufactured tobacco by a local businessman Haggar compares very unfavourably in taste and quality. Consequently, "Sportsman" and "Benson and Hedges" have taken over the market, particularly the former. "Sportsman" is of course manufactured both in Uganda and Kenya and since smuggling is so common this brand of cigarette has killed the market for local brands such as "AbuGandul", "Biringi" and "Winner". The economic impact of this on local farmers is great: tobacco production has decreased considerably.

Farmers now rely on food crops where if there are surpluses they will be exchanged in the local market for cash to pay for annual social services tax, additional household consummables and fees among other things. Cash therefore, appears to be very scarce in the light of what we have discussed above. However, to be able to see a complete picture of the situation it is proper for us to proceed with our analysis on the sub-group samples (i.e. the Acholi and Madi) and observe whether there are unusual features in the pattern of contributions to project

5.3.2 The Sub-Samples

Our last hypothesis is concerned with the sub-groups of the study, that is the Madi and the

Acholi ethnic groups who live in one single administrative area of Magwi People's Rural Council area. The hypothesis states that "the greater the degree of affiliation among the ethnic groups the greater their involvement in community Projects." To test this hypothesis we shall separately relate the independent variables to the dependent variable for sub-samples of each area.

(a) Madi Area

We begin by relating participation to membership in institutions in Madi area as Table 5:37, 5:38 and 5:39 show below.

Table 5:37 :Labour Contribution by Membership in Organizations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 96.0 (24) | 4.0 (1) | 100 (25) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 77.3 (17) | 22.7 (5) | 100 (22) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 100 (7) | 0 (0) | 100 (7) |
| Village Council | 80.0 (4) | 20.0(1) | 100 (5) |
| Parents' & Teachers' Comm. | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 89.2 (58) | 10.8 (7) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:38 :Material Contribution by Membership in Organisations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 92.0 (23) | 8.0 (2) | 100 (25) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 100 (22) | 0 (0) | 100 (22) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 71.4 (5) | 28.6 (2) | 100 (7) |
| Village Council | 20.0 (1) | 80.0 (4) | 100 (5) |
| Parent' & Teachers' Council | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 87.7 (57) | 12.3 (8) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:39 Cash Contribution by Membership in Organisation

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 8.0 (2) | 92.0 (23) | 100 (25) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 27.0 (6) | 72.7 (16) | 100 (22) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 14.3 (1) | 85.7 (6) | 100 (7) |
| Village Council | 20.0 (1) | 80.0 (4) | 100 (5) |
| Parents' and Teachers' Council | 0 (0) | 100 (6) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 15.4 (10) | 84.6 (55) | 100 (65) |

Although the kampone contributions are comparatively larger than the other groups the contribution pattern generally appears to favour the politico-administrative units, that is the Parents' and Teachers' Council, SSU and Village Development Committee. Table 5:37 shows that VDC, P & T.C. and kampone members contribute more labour than the other groups. But participation generally is high as shown in the contribution of labour and materials. The cash contribution dwindles to an overall 15.4% compared to the others as the tables show. The problem of cash which continues to plague the rural efforts towards improving social welfare needs no emphasis. On the other hand materials contributed in self-help projects are usually acquired from nearby bush or forests. Poles from various types of trees, bamboos, grass for thatch are readily obtainable from nearby areas and require a devotion of only time and energy. Men usually cut the poles, bamboos and make roof of the buildings in addition to laying mudbricks for the walls.

Women on the other hand cut the grass, carry water both for drinking during work time and also for preparing the soil for mudding and plastering the inner and outer walls. Nowadays, however, as it has been observed among the Madi that men make sun-dried bricks instead of going out to forests to fetch building materials from far. The making of bricks, an innovation widely adopted after the

war, is done near streams or wells which lighten the often laborious tasks of carrying water. As brickmaking requires much water kampone women groups go early to the brickmaking site to fill the barrels with water. By about mid-morning they would be followed by men members to begin work on the bricks supervised by the chief or SSU official helped by askaris. This is also observed among the Acholis; as we shall see.

The fact that experience in exile had an immense transformation on attitudes among the returnees needs no emphasis, but it underlies the need for assessing the perception of such influences on the rural communities.

Table 5:40 :Labour Contribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 100 (12) | 0 (0) | 100 (12) |
| Town | 87.5 (14) | 12.5 (2) | 100 (16) |
| Exiled Abroad | 89.7 (26) | 10.3 (3) | 100 (29) |
| Not Exiled | 62.5 (5) | 37.5 (3) | 100 (8) |
| Total | 87.7 (57) | 12.3 (8) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:40 above relates contributions to the places of exile. These places seem to have provided certain unique experiences in the lives of those who were refugees in those places. One of these experiences is reflected in community activities and local projects investment.

Table 5:41 Material Contribution by Place of Exile

| Membership | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 58.3(7) | 41.7(5) | 100 (12) |
| Town | 75.0(12) | 25.0(4) | 100 (16) |
| Exiled Abroad | 82.8(24) | 12.2(5) | 100 (29) |
| Not Exiled | 75.0(6) | 25.0(2) | 100 (8) |
| Total | 75.4(49) | 24.6(16) | 100%(65) |

Table 5:42 Cash Contribution by Place of Exile

| Membership | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 0 0 | 100 | 100 (12) |
| Town | 0 0 | 100(16) | 100 (16) |
| Exiled Abroad | 10.3 (3) | 89.7(26) | 100 (29) |
| Not Exiled | 12.5 (1) | 87.5(7) | 100 (8) |
| Total | 6.2 (4) | 93.8(61) | 100% (65) |

The three tables above show patterns of contribution that are not diametrically opposed to each other, except perhaps Table 5:42 where those who were exiled in the bush and town do not contribute cash. We cannot tell at the moment whether this is trend or coincidence. But one thing is quite clear for contributions of material and labour, there seems to be not much change for all the categories of exile and the non-exiles. Whether the people are exiled or not seem not to make a difference and perhaps until we consider the Acholi sample, may be there are some differences or patterns that may emerge which will enable us to make firm conclusion.

Table 5:43 Labour Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 75.0 (6) | 25.0(2) | 100(8) |
| 1 - 3 years | 28.6 (2) | 71.4 (5) | 100 (7) |
| 4 - 6 years | 63.6 (7) | 36.4 (4) | 100 (11) |
| 7 - 9 years | 89.3. (25) | 10.7 (3) | 100 (28) |
| 10-12 years | 89.9 (8) | 11.1 (1) | 100 (9) |
| 13 ++ | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Total | 76.9(50) | 23.1 (15) | 100%(65) |

Table 5:44 Material Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 year | 62.5 (5) | 37.5 (3) | 100 (8) |
| 1 - 3 years | 28.6 (2) | 71.4 (5) | 100 (7) |
| 4 - 6 | 27.3 (3) | 72.7 (8) | 100 (11) |
| 7 - 9 | 71.4 (20) | 28.6 (8) | 100 (28) |
| 10 - 12 | 77.7 (7) | 22.3 (2) | 100 (9) |
| 13 ++ | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Total | 60.0 (39) | 40.0 (26) | 100% (65) |

Table 5:45 Cash Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 12.5 (1) | 87.5 (7) | 100 (8) |
| 1 - 3 | 0 (0) | 100 (7) | 100 (7) |
| 4 - 6 | 27.3 (3) | 72.7 (8) | 100 (11) |
| 10 - 12 | 0 (0) | 100 (28) | 100 (28) |
| 13++ | 0 (0) | 100 (9) | 100 (9) |
| Total | 9.2 (6) | 90.8 (59) | 100% (65) |

Table 5:45 shows that many people interviewed said that they don't contribute cash in self-help projects - 90.8% against only 9.2% of the sample who said they contributed. But the contributions in Tables 5:43 and 5:44 above indicate a level of participation which increases with the years lived in exile for Madi people. This positive relationship between participation and exile life could be a major drive behind self-help projects in Madi area. One probable explanation for this is probably cultural which we expounded upon in Chapter six.

It is, therefore, possible that the experience acquired as a result of exile life, be it in the bush, in towns in the Sudan or abroad in foreign countries has created a level of awareness among the returnees such that it is now visibly manifested in their daily endeavour to create some form of development in the area.

On the other hand when we study the tables below on contribution by occupation we observe an interesting relationship between the variables.

Table 5:46 Labour Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence Farmer | 92.9 (26) | 7.1 (2) | 100 (28) |
| Retail trader | 100 (5) | 0 (0) | 100 (5) |
| School teacher | 100 (1) | 0 (0) | 100(11) |
| Chief/Sub-chief | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Clerk | 100 (5) | 0 (0) | 100 (5) |
| Church Leader | 50.0 (1) | 50.0(1) | 100 (2) |
| Security Personnel | 25.0 (1) | 75.0(3) | 100 (4) |
| Extension worker | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Labourer | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 92.3(59) | 7.7. (6) | 100% (65) |

In Table 5:46 on labour contribution by occupation we see that almost all the farmers contribute labour to self-help projects. 92.9% of the farmers interviewed indicated that they participate, against 7.1% who said that they do not contribute labour to self-help projects. Apart from church leaders and security personnel all categories of government employees contribute in self-help projects (100%). Labour contribution to self-help projects is high for almost all the groups interviewed.

Table 5:47 Material Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contribute | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence Farmer | 75.0(21) | 25.0(7) | 100 (28) |
| Retail Trader | 80.0(4) | 20.00(1) | 100 (5) |
| School Teacher | 63.6(7) | 36.4(4) | 100(11) |
| Chief/Sub-chief | 100(2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Clerk | 60.0(3) | 40.0(2) | 100 (5) |
| Church Leader | 50(1) | 50 (1) | 100 (2) |
| Security Personnel | 75.0 (3) | 25.0 (1) | 100 (4) |
| Extension Worker | 50.0 (1) | 50.0 (1) | 100 (2) |
| Labourer | 50.0 (3) | 50.0 (3) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 69.2(45) | 30.8(20) | 100%(65) |

Table 5:47 shows material contribution to self-help projects as related to occupation. There is considerable drop in participation for school teachers, clerks, church leaders extension workers and labourers. Subsistence farmers are high participants as they also represent the largest category compared to other categories of occupation.

Table 5:48 Cash Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence Farmer | 7.1 (2) | 93.9 (26) | 100 (28) |
| Retail Trader | 20.0 (1) | 80.0 (4) | 100 (5) |
| School Teacher | 27.3 (3) | 72.7 (8) | 100 (11) |
| Chief/Sub-chief | 50.0 (1) | 50.0 (1) | 100 (2) |
| Clerk | 0 (0) | 100 (5) | 100 (5) |
| Church Leader | 0 (0) | 100 (2) | 100 (2) |
| Security Personnel | 0 (0) | 100 (4) | 100 (4) |
| Extension Worker | 0 (0) | 100 (2) | 100 (2) |
| Labourer | 0 (0) | 100 (6) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 10.0 (7) | 90.0 (58) | 100% (65) |

Cash contribution as Table 5:48 shown is small and is contributed by Chiefs (50%) Teachers (27.3%) retail traders (20%) and some subsistence farmers (7.1%). The other categories do not contribute cash which we have found to be a limiting factor to the success of projects.

Table 5:49 : Labour Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 90.0 (45) | 10.0 (5) | 100 (50) |
| Female | 73.3 (11) | 26.7 (4) | 100 (15) |
| Total | 86.2 (56) | 13.8 (9) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:50 : Material Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 82.0 (41) | 18.0 (9) | 100 (50) |
| Female | 73.3 (11) | 26.7 (4) | 100 (15) |
| Total | 80.0 (52) | 20.0 (13) | 100 (65) |

The relative high contribution of labour and local materials is part of the general constellation within the Madi and Acholi areas. Taking tables 5:49 and 5:50 on contribution by sex above we observe that the contributions of labour and material for the two sexes are generally high.

Table 5:51 on the contribution of cash on the other hand shows a general downward trend.

Table 5:51 :Cash Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 14.0 (7) | 86.0 (43) | 100 (50) |
| Female | 13.3 (2) | 86.7 (13) | 100 (15) |
| Total | 13.8 (9) | 86.2 (56) | 100 (65) |

Marital status on the other hand influences participation considerably in labour and material contributions. This can be seen in tables 5:52 and 5:53 where we tried to relate contribution to marital status below:

Table 5:52 :Labour Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 87.5 (7) | 2.5 (1) | 100 (8) |
| Married | 97.8 (44) | 2.2 (1) | 100 (45) |
| Divorced | 100 (1) | 0 (0) | 100 (1) |
| Widowed | 90.9 (1) | 9.1 (1) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 95.4 (62) | 4.6 (3) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:53 Material Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 37.5 (3) | 62.5 (5) | 100 (8) |
| Married | 71.1 (32) | 28.9 (13) | 100 (45) |
| Divorced | 100 (1) | 0 (0) | 100 (1) |
| Widowed | 54.5 (6) | 45.5 (5) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 64.6 (42) | 35.6 (23) | 100 (65) |

While all the categories contribute labour relatively in self-help projects it is different for material contributions for unmarried and widowed categories. Their contribution compared to married people is comparatively speaking lower.

We also related contribution of cash to marital status as shown in table 5:54 below:

Table 5:54 : Cash Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 0 (0) | 100 (8) | 100 (8) |
| Married | 6.7 (3) | 93.3 (42) | 100 (45) |
| Divorced | 100 (1) | 0 (0) | 100 (1) |
| Widowed | 27.3 (3) | 72.7 (8) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 10.8 (7) | 89.2 (58) | 100 (65) |

Widows and married people are the ones who contribute cash in self-help projects, this also includes divorced people. Cash contributors seems to represent generally something of only 1 of the Madi sample. This suggests that cash

contribution must be very low in Madi area compared to labour and material contributions.

The age factor in contribution of labour, materials and cash does not show any consistency looking at the figures below. Attempts were made to relate contribution to age as table 5:55, 5:56 and 5:57 below shows:

Table 5:55 :Labour Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 100 (5) | 0 (0) | 100 (5) |
| 25 - 30 | 70.0 (7) | 30.0 (3) | 100 (10) |
| 31 - 35 | 76.4 (13) | 23.5 (4) | 100 (17) |
| 36 - 40 | 100 (9) | 0 (0) | 100 (9) |
| 41 - 45 | 85.7 (6) | 14.3 (1) | 100 (7) |
| 46 - 50 | 77.8 (7) | 22.2 (2) | 100 (9) |
| 51++ | 100 (8) | 0 (0) | 100 (8) |
| Total | 96.9 (55) | 3.1 (10) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:56 : Material Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 40.0 (2) | 60.0 (3) | 100 (5) |
| 25 - 30 | 70.0 (7) | 30.0 (3) | 100 (10) |
| 31 - 35 | 100 (17) | 0 (0) | 100 (17) |
| 36 - 40 | 88.9 (8) | 11.1 (1) | 100 (9) |
| 41 - 45 | 71.1 (5) | 28.9 (2) | 100 (7) |
| 46 - 50 | 77.8 (7) | 22.2 (2) | 100 (9) |
| 51++ | 87.5 (7) | 12.5 (1) | 100 (8) |
| Total | 81.5 (53) | 18.5 (12) | 100 (65) |

Table 5:57 : Cash Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 0 (0) | 100 (5) | 100 (5) |
| 25 - 30 | 0 (0) | 100 (10) | 100 (10) |
| 31 - 35 | 11.8 (2) | 88.2 (15) | 100 (17) |
| 36 - 40 | 33.3 (3) | 66.7 (6) | 100 (9) |
| 41 - 45 | 14.3 (1) | 85.7 (6) | 100 (7) |
| 46 - 50 | 12.5 (1) | 87.5 (8) | 100 (9) |
| 51++ | 0 (0) | 100 (8) | 100 (8) |
| Total | 10.8 (6) | 89.2 (58) | 100 (65) |

Age seems not to be a barrier to participation in self-help projects. In the contribution of labour for self-help projects in table 5:55 above we observe that the participation is very good for all age-categories. Coming to material contribution in table 5:56 we can see that the under 25 years old somehow decline whereas the other categories maintain their participation levels. When it comes to table 5:57 we observe that people under 25 and between 25 to 30 years of age do not contribute anything, but the other categories do as can be seen in the table.

However, age is an important measure of participation for it is never unusual to observe youth and middle aged men participate together in building projects, roads or other community projects. Perhaps, where people participate equally regardless of age is in digging by members of kamponé.

(b) Acholi Area

We start our analysis by looking at the relationship between membership and participation in Acholi area as tables 5:58, 5:59 and 5:60 portray.

Table 5:58 :Labour Contribution by Membership in
Organizations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampong Work-Group | 96.4 (27) | 3.6 (1) | 100 (28) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 79.2 (19) | 20.8 (5) | 100 (24) |
| Village Dev. Comm. | 85.7 (6) | 14.3 (1) | 100 (7) |
| Village Council | 33.3 (2) | 66.7 (4) | 100 (6) |
| Parents' and Teachers Council | 0 (0) | 100 (5) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 77.1 (54) | 22.9 (16) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:59 :Material Contribution by Membership in
Organizations

| Membership in Organizations | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampong Work-Group | 100 (28) | 0 (0) | 100 (28) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 100 (24) | 0 (0) | 100 (24) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 100 (7) | 0 (0) | 100 (7) |
| Village Council | 50 (3) | 50 (3) | 100 (6) |
| Parents' and Teachers Council | 40.0 (2) | 60.0 (3) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 91.4 (64) | 8.6 (6) | 100 (70) |

In Acholi area when we look at the contribution patterns for labour and materials above we can observe that three groups i.e., the kampone, SSU and VDC contributors are the highest compared to the percentage of contributors from the village council and Parents' and Teachers' Council.

Table 5:60 Cash Contributions by Membership in Organisations

| Membership in Organizations | Contribution | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Kampone Work-Group | 10.7 (3) | 89.3 (25) | 100 (28) |
| Sudan Socialist Union | 8.3 (2) | 91.7 (22) | 100 (24) |
| Village Dev. Committee | 14.3 (1) | 85.7 (6) | 100 (7) |
| Village Council | 0 (0) | 100 (6) | 100 (6) |
| Parents' and Teachers' Council | 0 (0) | 100 (5) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 8.6 (6) | 91.4 (64) | 100 (65) |

The three institutions with the highest percentage of involvement in self-help projects contribute mostly materials which they get from within the villages. Contribution of labour and materials, therefore, seems to have a special appeal to the Acholis. Cash contribution does not show,

however, a similar trend; only some few members of the kampong and SSU as well as Village Development Committee contribute it for projects.

One general observation can be made about the kampong work-group members who appear to have the highest percentage of contributions of both labour and materials in the area. The kampong system basically is traditional to their culture and economic system. The reason why people are members of the kampong is that it makes them work harder together and so do more work. Also, it gives the people a sense of security and confidence in the achievement of goals and therefore the communal spirit is strong and people are reluctant to drop out.

The idea of kampong system though analogous to other traditional beer parties is modern. Its adoption is one of the positive consequences of refugee life. In correlating places of exile with participation we see in table 5:61 below that all categories of exiles (bush, town and abroad) have high percentage of involvement compared to those who are not exiled. As far as material contributions are concerned those who were exiled in the bush and abroad have higher percentage of contributors compared to those who went to town or remained in their villages as table 5:62 below indicates.

Table 5:61 Labour Contribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 100 (10) | 0 (0) | 100 (10) |
| Town | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (3) |
| Exiled Abroad | 94.2 (49) | 5.8 (3) | 100 (52) |
| Not Exiled | 80.0 (4) | 20.0 (1) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 94.3 (66) | 5.7 (4) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:62 Materials Contribution by Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 100 (10) | 0 (0) | 100 (10) |
| Town | 33.3 (1) | 66.7 (2) | 100 (3) |
| Exiled Abroad | 84.6 (44) | 15.4 (8) | 100 (52) |
| Not Exiled | 60.0 (3) | 40.0 (2) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 82.9 (58) | 17.1 (12) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:63 Cash Contribution and Place of Exile

| Place of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Bush | 40.0 (4) | 60.0 (6) | 100 (10) |
| Town | 0 (0) | 100 (3) | 100 (3) |
| Exiled Abroad | 5.8 (3) | 94.2 (49) | 100 (52) |
| Not Exilted | 0 (0) | 100 (5) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 10.0 (7) | 90.0 (63) | 100 (70) |

Coming now to discuss cash contribution in table 5:63 above in Acholi area, we see that contributors come from the categories of exiles from the bush and abroad. But money generally appears to be a scarce factor.

While the place of exile represents only one aspect of experience in exile we need to discuss what relationship the period of exile has with participation in self-help projects with period of time taken in exile.

Table 5:64 Labour Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 60.0 (3) | 40.0 (2) | 100 (5) |
| 1-3 | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (3) |
| 4-6 | 50.0 (8) | 50.0 (8) | 100 (16) |
| 7-9 | 66.7 (20) | 33.3 (10) | 100 (30) |
| 10-12 | 66.7 (4) | 33.3 (2) | 100 (6) |
| 13++ | 20.0 (2) | 80.0 (8) | 100 (10) |
| Total | 54.3 (40) | 45.7 (30) | 100 (70) |

There seems to be no relationship between period of exile and contribution in projects. In other words whether one has been in exile for a long period of time seems not to affect the contribution of labour in projects. The same trend is also discernible in table 5:65 where we tried to correlate contribution of materials with period of exile.

Table 5:65 Material Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| 0 | % | % | % |
| 0 year | 80.0 (4) | 20.0 (1) | 100 (5) |
| 1 - 3 | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (3) |
| 4 - 6 | 56.3 (9) | 43.7 (7) | 100 (16) |
| 7 - 9 | 80.0 (24) | 20.0 (6) | 100 (30) |
| 10 -12 | 50.0 (3) | 50.0 (3) | 100 (6) |
| 13++ | 50.0 (5) | 50.0 (5) | 100 (10) |
| Total | 68.6 (48) | 31.4 (22) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:66 Cash Contribution by Period of Exile

| Period of Exile | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 years | 20 (1) | 80.0 (4) | 100 (5) |
| 1 - 3 | 0 (0) | 100 (3) | 100 (3) |
| 4 - 6 | 12.5 (2) | 87.5 (14) | 100 (16) |
| 7 - 9 | 13.3 (4) | 86.7 (26) | 100 (30) |
| 10 - 12 | 0 (0) | 100 (6) | 100 (6) |
| 13++ | 30.0 (3) | 70.0 (7) | 100 (10) |
| Total | 14.3 (10) | 85.7 (60) | 100 (70) |

The relation of cash contribution to the period of exile as shown in table 5:66 above does not show a strong association between the variables. However, there is a weak association between the variables which could be interpreted to mean the longer the period of exile the higher the percentage of involvement in self-help projects as far as contribution is concerned. This suggests that those who have been in exile for longer periods of time contribute more as implied in the size of contributors in the table.

Table 5:67 Labour Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence Farmer | 97.6 (41) | 2.4 (1) | 100 (42) |
| Retail Trader | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (3) |
| School Teacher | 90.0 (9) | 10.0 (1) | 100 (10) |
| Chief/Sub-Chief | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Clerk | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (3) |
| Church Leader | 100 (1) | 0 (0) | 100 (1) |
| Security Personnel | 0 (0) | 100 (3) | 100 (3) |
| Labourer | 33.3 (2) | 66.7 (4) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 93.8 (61) | 6.2 (9) | 100 (70) |

When we tried to determine the closeness between socio-economic attributes on the other hand and participation we see interesting results in the above table. Taking tables 5:67 and 5:68 which test the relationship between occupation and contribution we see that occupation which implies employment with regular income and which carries certain measure of prestige is closely related to participation. The subsistence farmers too maintain a high level of involvement in projects in labour and material contributions.

Table 5:68 Material Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contribution | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence Farmer | 92.9 (39) | 7.1 (3) | 100(42) (42) |
| Retail Trader | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100(3) (3) |
| School Teacher | 90.0 (9) | 10.0(1) | 100(10) (10) |
| Chief Sub-Chief | 100 (2) 100 | 0 (0) | 100(2) (2) |
| Clerk | 33.3 (1) | 66.7(2) | 100(3) |
| Church Leader | 100 (1) | 0 (0) | 100(1) |
| Security Personnel | 66.7 (2) | 33.3(1) | 100(3) |
| Labourer | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100(6) |
| Total | 90% (63) | 10% (7) | (70) |

Table 5:69 Cash Contribution by Occupation

| Occupation | Contribution | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Subsistence Farmers | 11.9(5) | 88.1(37) | 100(42) |
| Retail Trader | 100 (3) | 0 (0) | 100(3) |
| School Teacher | 40.0 (4) | 60.0(6) | 100(10) |
| Chief Sub-chief | 100(2) | 0 (0) | 100(2) |
| Clerk | 66.7(2) | 33.7(1) | 100(3) |
| Church Leader | 0 (0) | 100 (1) | 100(1) |
| Security Personnel | 0 (0) | 100 (3) | 100(3) |
| Labourer | 0 (0) | 100(6) | 100(6) |
| Total | 21.4(16) | 78.6(54) | 100%(70) |

Cash contribution is related to the type of occupations which carry prestige as table 5:69 above shows. Compared to the contribution of labour and materials cash stands in unusual disfavour in public projects. (See table 5:69 above).

Turning now to discuss the association between contribution and sex we observe in tables 5:70, 5:71 and 5:72 that sex generally does not have any relationship with the contribution of items for project implementation. Both men and women contribute labour and materials, but when it comes to cash women are non-contributors and this is understandable because most income generating jobs are taken over by men mostly. Conspicuous, however, is the low

Table 5:70 Labour Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Male | 96.9 (63) | 3.1 (2) | 100 (65) |
| Female | 100 (5) | 0 (0) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 97.1 (68) | 2.1 (2) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:71 Material Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Male | % 83.1(54) | % 16.9(11) | % 100(65) |
| Female | 60.0(3) | 40.0(2) | 100(5) |
| Total | 87.7(57) | 12.3(13) | 100%(70) |

Table 5:72 Cash Contribution by Sex

| Sex | Contribution | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|--------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Male | % 15.3 (10) | % 84.6(55) | % 100(65) |
| Female | 0 (0) | 100 (5) | 100(5) |
| Total | 14.3 (10) | 85.7(60) | 100(70) |

rate of women participation in as far as cash is concerned.

Relating contribution to marital status we see no striking relationships between the correlation of variables in the tables below.

Table 5:73 :Labour Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 92.3 (12) | 7.7 (1) | 100 (13) |
| Married | 98.0 (49) | 2.0 (1) | 100 (50) |
| Divorced | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Widowed | 80.0 (4) | 20.0 (1) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 67.0 (95%) | 3 (5%) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:74 Material Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 46.2 (6) | 53.8 (7) | 100 (13) |
| Married | 76.0 (38) | 24.0 (12) | 100 (50) |
| Divorced | 100 (2) | 0 (0) | 100 (2) |
| Widowed | 60.0 (3) | 40.0 (2) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 70.0 (49) | 30.0 (21) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:75 Cash Contribution by Marital Status

| Marital Status | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Unmarried or Single | 7.7 (1) | 92.3 (12) | 100 (13) |
| Married | 14.0 (7) | 86.0 (43) | 100 (50) |
| Divorced | 0 (0) | 100 (2) | 100 (2) |
| Widowed | 40.0 (2) | 60.0 (3) | 100 (5) |
| Total | 14.3 (10) | 85.7 (60) | 100 (70) |

Looking at Table 5:73 on participation with marital status we observe a high involvement percentage from the categories of divorced and married respondents but generally there is no indication that all the various categories have high percentage of members contributing labour.

Material contribution as depicted in table 5:74 shows a lightly different picture. Whereas the divorced and married respondents have a relatively high percentage of involvement, the widowed and unmarried or single individuals interviewed show a drop in participation. Marital status thus appears to influence contribution of material in a negative way except for the married and divorced categories of respondents.

When we come to the cash component of the contribution we see from table 5:75 above that the widowed, married and single respondents contribute cash. But the percentage of those who actually contribute money is very small which could imply that the amount collected could also be small.

Our last variable to be correlated with participation in Acholi area in age-tables 5:76, 5:77 and 5:78 below show the relationship between contribution of labour, material and cash with age. Our expectation in this respect is that advancement in age is positively related to contribution in community projects.

Table 5:76 Labour Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 62.5 (5) | 37.5 (3) | 100 (18) |
| 25 - 30 | 100 (15) | 0 (0) | 100 (15) |
| 31 - 35 | 91.7 (11) | 8.3 (1) | 100 (12) |
| 36 - 40 | 100 (17) | 0 (0) | 100 (17) |
| 41 - 45 | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| 46 - 50 | 83.3 (5) | 16.7 (1) | 100 (6) |
| 51++ | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 92.9 (65) | 7.1 (5) | 100 (70) |

Table 5:77 Material Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 62.5 (5) | 37.5 (3) | 100 (8) |
| 25 - 30 | 86.7 (13) | 13.3 (7) | 100 (15) |
| 31 - 35 | 100 (12) | 0 (0) | 100 (12) |
| 36 - 40 | 100 (17) | 0 (0) | 100 (17) |
| 41 - 45 | 66.7 (4) | 33.3 (2) | 100 (6) |
| 46 - 50 | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| 51++ | 100 (6) | 0 (0) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 90.0 (63) | 10.0 (7) | 100 (70) |

A quick glance through the tables, however, seems to suggest a loose relationship between contribution of items of participation and age. The contribution of younger people appears to be generally lower compared to that of middle aged and older people. Specifically those under 25 years of age and between 25 - 30 years have low rate of involvement compared to those 31 years and above. While we cannot be very optimistic about this because the small values may also affect our results we can probably assume ourselves on the basis of evidence above that the pointer is towards a close association between contribution and age in Acholi area.

Table 5:78 : Cash Contribution by Age

| Age | Contributed | Didn't Contribute | Total |
|----------|-------------|-------------------|----------|
| | % | % | % |
| Under 25 | 0 (0) | 100 (8) | 100 (8) |
| 25 - 30 | 0 (0) | 100 (15) | 100 (15) |
| 31-35 | 25.0 (3) | 75.0 (9) | 100 (12) |
| 36 - 40 | 16.7 (3) | 88.2 (14) | 100 (17) |
| 41 - 45 | 16.7 (1) | 83.3 (5) | 100 (6) |
| 46 - 50 | 66.7 (4) | 33.3 (2) | 100 (6) |
| 51++ | 0 (0) | 100 (6) | 100 (6) |
| Total | 14.3 (11) | 85.7 (59) | 100 (70) |

5.3.3 Contrast in Participation between the Sub-samples

Having presented an analysis of data on the sub-samples, what divergencies are there in the level of participation in Madi and Acholi areas? What factors determine or influence participation or contribution in public projects?

Going by the data we can see that a number of factors seem to influence the contribution of people in the two areas and one of these is the types of institution to which many people claim membership. Our data show that in Madi area, although the kampone system is widely prevalent

as a socio-economic institution for meeting various needs of the communities, other institutional units like the Sudan Socialist Union, Village Development Committee and Parents' and Teachers' Council with village memberships show a relatively high percentage of involvement in self-help projects.

In contrast, in Acholi area evidence exists to show that the kampone system which also constitutes the largest recruiting base appears to have the highest percentage of contributors as compared to the other institutional units. Even here, though, the SSU and VDC seem to rival the kampone in importance because their members participate highly too. The difference here is brought by the fact that the kampone system is traditional and culturally distinct to the Acholis.

When we analysed experience in exile with participation in the two areas, we noticed that in Madi participation increased dramatically with the number of years spent in exile--at least we could tell this for contribution of labour and materials. A generally high participation was however, observed for all categories of exiles in Madi, which appears to indicate a general positive relationship between exile and participation. In the Acholi sample also the high participation of all categories of exiles was categorical for the area, but data relating to the period spent in exile do not yield any

unusual pattern as was the case with the Madi data. Instead here there seems to be a progressive decline in labour and material output for self-help projects. Why this appears to be the case is discussed in the last chapter.

In as far as the potentiality of the areas (i.e. in terms of productive potentiality) is concerned there are no unusual features; all the zones represent high participation levels even though the medium zone surpasses the rest by a small margin. Perhaps this represents a trend that certainly has implications for the areas and, therefore, begs explanation in the last chapter.

Socio-economic attributes on the other hand, show firstly a high participation rate for the occupational profiles except the lowly paid occupation like security personnel (chiefs, askaris and policemen) and labourers. But those who are usually taken highly in the villages and respected, e.g. chief/sub-chief, businessmen, clerk have a tendency of participating above average in their contribution patterns.

Women too participate very well and somehow rival men in the contribution of labour and materials. They too are heads of households and by virtue of that they are expected to participate in community projects particularly those which pertain to the provision of education. The divorced or widowed women and men are found to be serious contributors

to self-help programmes, even if the numbers of participating women are few in the two sub-groups.

Age appears to determine the level of participation to some extent as observed within the Madi sub-sample. Participation seems to continue to be high with the advancement of age. This trend was also identified among the Acholi respondents. On the whole perhaps the data on socio-economic attributes as measured against participation appear to confirm the hypothesis that socio-economic attributes are related to the patterns of contribution in self-help activities.

The two ethnic groups do not show much difference in contribution levels even if there is a slight difference when we relate experience of exile with participation and also the institutional units with participation. The two ethnic groups (i.e. the Acholi and Madi) both contribute labour and local materials for community-initiated projects in more or less the same way. But institutional participation through the kampone work-groups is much more stressed in Acholi than in Madi.

5.4.0 Summary

In this chapter, we tested the hypotheses of the study and compared participation between the two ethnic groups. Hypotheses pertaining to place of exile and some socio-economic attributes were confirmed while those on types of institutions, period

of exile, some socio-economic attributes (sex, age), potentiality of areas and ethnicity were rejected showing that there is no relationship between these variables and participation in projects.

Footnotes

1. Mr. Santo Ola - Senior Community Development Officer
Torit District
2. Late Sabasio Okumu interviewed in his office November 1979
3. Dario Ochillo - He was a catechist and a volunteer
teacher during the 17th year war. He used to run three
schools in Magwi People's Rural Council Area during the
war. He was interviewed at Torit December 1980

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this thesis we have been discussing and analysing the underlying factors that have prompted rural communities to participate or contribute in self-help projects in Magwi People's Rural Council area in Southern Sudan. To begin with we had raised some fundamental issues as to why and how people participate in self-help projects and what factors underlie such participation. We had broadly stated that the relative deprivation suffered by the Southern Region vis-a-vis the Northern part of the country could have implicitly fuelled the impetus for local solutions to social problems suffered which the communities list as lack of schools, health facilities or access roads. These problems among a host of others were accentuated and perpetuated by the historico-political dimension of the problems the Sudan has gone through in its 30-year history. Inevitably, therefore the rural communities have to do something about their predicaments by initiating and executing local projects to meet some of the acutely felt needs.

It is not surprising ^{therefore} _∟ that self-help activities are rural-based and emerged out of the concern of the communities to improve their welfare. The simplicity of self-help output is visibly an objective indication of the extent of their desperation and determination to develop

their areas, which they realised through various institutional units.

Conceptually, the self-help movement especially in Kenya has been studied using three approaches, which are the community development approach, the centre-periphery approach and the class hypothesis. To recall briefly, the first approach attributes the emergence of self-help to the feeling of relative deprivation resulting from among others irrelevant centralized planning and imbalance in economic growth. Important in this interpretation is the concept of solidarity where social groups collectively define their situation vis-a-vis other groups and consequently react by initiating and implementing projects on self-help basis. This theory, however, treats harambee independently of administrative and political linkages between urban and rural areas which subsequent study reveals are inevitable in such activities.

The next approach, therefore, takes up these issues and argues that harambee is necessarily created by a cleavage between the economic/political centre on the one hand, and the periphery on the other. The periphery is alienated from the centre and in order to rechannel the allocation of resources they coopt leadership from the centre. The displaced national political figures spear-head the movement and use it to spring back to the centre. A related view argues that the harambee groups

coopt powerful politicians from the centre and present themselves as clients. The patrons react by delivering the goods necessary for harambee projects.

This approach has been extended into a class hypothesis. The argument here is that there is a competition between the petty bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic elite for the control of harambee which is said to be vital for their interests. The harambee groups represent these struggles in competing for scarce resources for development.

In this study attempts were made to utilize these approaches in conceptualizing self-help movement in the Sudan. Harambee or the Kenyan version of self-help movement is rather complex taking into consideration the scale and complexity of the projects themselves. Harambee involves the provision of cattle dips, hospitals, schools and institutes of technology, just to mention a few. It involves the use of resources mobilized both horizontally and vertically. Above all harambee finds legitimacy in the state since the late Mzee Kenyatta made a rallying cry in 1963. Politically, since then it has reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Kenya and thus become a viable vehicle of change in the rural areas. These features of Harambee in Kenya place it in big contrast to other forms of self-help movement.

It may well be stated that self-help activities in Magwi People's Rural Council area where the data were collected are a sociological manifestation of the rural poor divorced from any underlying political processes. The elected leaders and politicians have not used their positions and influence to tap resources from the centre for the development of their areas. There seems to be a conspicuous absence of accountability between the elected leaders and the electors characterized by lack of top to bottom movement of tangible inputs to self-help projects. Self-help projects, therefore, appear to draw heavily from the resources and support of the rural communities themselves without outside leverage.

Several hypotheses were postulated; empirical analysis of the data yielded the following findings and conclusions which we present below. The first hypothesis states that "the kampane workgroups constitute the larger recruitment base for participation in self-help projects than the politico-administrative units." The findings show that this hypothesis though true for certain situations is untrue for others. The traditional institution of the kampane is multifunctional with digging taking a primary role. Comparatively, membership is large and participation in projects is generally considerable. However, other institutional mechanisms such as the Sudan Socialist Union and the Village Development Committees are equally strong

in terms of grassroot membership and contribution to self-help projects.

On the other hand while the Madi sub-sample portrays a high percentage of contributors in projects from the membership of the politico-administrative units, the Acholi sub-sample shows that kampono members are the principle contributors compared to other institutional units. In other words membership in kampono and contribution to projects are mutually related in the Acholi group. The question is why would the kampono system outbid the politico-administrative units in project implementation in Acholi? Or, why in Madi are the politico-administrative members more regular contributors of labour and materials in projects compared to kampono members? To the former and latter the reasons are really cultural.

Although the kampono system is traditional to the Acholi it got its name as a result of adaptation and refinement of the sources of change. The Madi adopted the idea when they were exiled in Uganda where the idea of the kampono was already prevalent around communities bordering northern Uganda. To the two groups, through such an institution where labour is pooled for individual work, such work as digging is made easier and efficient than individual labour. It is, therefore, compelling for the Acholi that kampono ways of organizing work be utilized and effectively used in self-help

projects. In as far as the Madi are concerned traditionally communal work was detested (see Rowley 1940) it is thus not surprising that the kampone membership is small compared to the politico-administrative units which according to our findings are the greatest contributors to self-help projects in Madi area.

Nevertheless, it is evident that apart from the provision of labour and materials the kampone system fulfils other social obligations like settling social problems. As we have already seen the kompin of the Wolof of the Gambia and Silika of Maragoli immigrants in Uganda perform similar tasks (see Ames D. W. (1959) Charlseely, S.R. (1976) and Mbithi P. (1974). Since expanded commitment to formal education, health care good, roads etc. became felt needs, traditional work-groups have unleashed tremendous support for their realization.

The second hypothesis tested stated "That the experience of exile is positively related to participation in self-help projects." By experience here we mean the place and period taken in exile as analysed in the previous chapter. It was demonstrated empirically that those who had been exiled in the bush, towns and abroad in neighbouring countries generally appear to have got more involved in projects than those who were not exiled. The urge to contribute in self-help projects can thus be deduced to be related to one's place of exile. This finding concurs well with the perception of some

development theorists who have argued that those who migrated from their villages to towns or other countries were better disposed to effect changes than those who remained in the villages most of the time (see Kariuki 1980 Ouma-Oyugi, 1974 and Pitt 1976). As Kariuki conceptualised it for instance, such "been to's" behave like entrepreneurs because they are known to venture into the unknown and as such are admired and followed by other members of their communities because of the strength of the appeal of their ideas. With over 80% of the respondents being exiled there is a definite influence from refugee life that seems to have shaped the awareness for collective achievement of community goals.

While we expected that those who were exiled in the bush and cut off from outside world would be the lowest participants, our data show that even such a category of exiles were very much involved in self-help projects. In fact they were not different from those who were exiled in neighbouring countries like Uganda and Kenya. This confirms the report of the Regional Ministry of Education in Juba that the Anyanya who were fighting a bush war ran a number of self-help schools in southern Sudan (see Peace and Progress Magazine 1973/74). In fact, even the road linking Owing Kibul with Paracele in Northern Uganda was built by the communities there on self-help basis (see Phillips - Howard and Okwir 1984).

Why then would people who are supposedly encapsulated in the bush partly from the insecurity of the villages as well as lack of contact with outside world be so involved in projects? It is natural for people who ran to Uganda or Kenya or some urban centres in Sudan according to our perception to participate actively in self-help projects because they have become used to them in exile, or just the sheer need for such amenities compels them to start them on self-help basis. Their children used to go to school, attend clinics and they too used to enjoy other amenities which they should rightly have. It is thus logical that they would contribute well towards the realization of such projects for the provision of such amenities. But why those who remained in the bush?

It is likely the reason that it is not the places of exile per se that determine such participation but the migration factor as well. Labour migration has been known in the area even since colonialism when people from the area went to seek work in Uganda and Kenya. Therefore, those who were exiled in the bush during the civil war could have been "migrants" previously and thus better placed to stimulate and activate awareness among communities about their felt needs. The other point is that development is a catch phrase today such that those who only went to baptismal classes in missions appreciate its value. Illiterate chiefs are known to urge people to start self-help projects. Inevitably, such categoric

of people could mobilize public opinion towards developmental projects such that even if they find themselves in the bush they would be able to start schools, clinics or any project of their choice. Besides, those who were exiled in the bush could roam the countryside and cross into Uganda. Whenever people travel they acquire and transmit new ideas and depending on their usefulness they could be put into productive work.

On the other hand when we tested the other aspect of experience in exile that is whether the period of exile (which is a time dimension) was related to participation we found no difference on contribution to projects which suggests no relationship as far as the data are concerned. Whatever the time taken in exile, it appears to have the same impact on the contribution of those interviewed.

The hypothesis "That there is a close relationship between socio-economic attributes of members of the community and participation in self-help projects" on the other hand, seems to be true. We have seen that when we related occupation, marital status and sex to participation the relationships between them are closer. For example, those who are employed as chiefs/sub-chiefs, clerks, teachers and extension workers in the local administrative offices earn salaries, though the payment of such salaries is irregular. Together with the traders this category of individuals are accorded a certain measure of prestige and social ranking in the

villages. Consequently, they are expected to fulfil certain obligations towards the community, e.g., in self-help projects. Chiefs and sub-chiefs are for instance supposed to be influencing the delivery of resources from wherever they could tap them for village projects. But the lack of flow of needed resources has created lack of confidence in such people. There is thus no accountability of such people and the elected leaders to the people in their constituencies. This, however, is not only peculiar to MPRC area but common to almost all areas in Equatoria Province, because Kenyi (1983) reports that one of the obstacles to popular participation in rural projects is the expected assistance from outside the villages such as funds, cement, timber or technical expertise.

While in Kenya, chiefs are very instrumental in influencing the delivery of assistance to local initiatives, Nyangira (1970) for instance shows that they organise barazas and help raise funds for local projects. More than that Holmquist (1972) and Godfrey and Mutiso (1973) show that politicians use harambee for springing into politics. In the process, the local people present themselves as clients and the patrons respond by distributing out large donations for self-help projects. The struggle to get such patrons and their donations leads to the proliferation of many projects. Eventually, harambee becomes a means of savings to the government as investments

into social projects are organised outside government budget.

In as far as the question of accountability to one's community is concerned, in Magwi People's Rural Council area the lack of confidence in chiefs has somehow polarized them into camps. Latent hostilities characterizing such groupings though not outwardly manifested, give the impression that the chiefs and the "government" are construed as unreliable and non-committal.

Those who are married are found to be ardent contributors to projects for providing service facilities by members of the community, particularly schools. Understandably, faced with the prospect of providing education for their children parents are obliged to contribute generously towards such projects.

Similarly, sex plays an important role in participation in self-help projects. Traditionally, men feature prominently in self-help work in Africa. Our study demonstrates that men contributors are higher in proportion compared to women which indicates the relative predominance of male sex role in such activities. Women participation, however, is still considered secondary according to the custom. This also points to the lack of fundamental changes in the social roles and structure of the society where, therefore,

customary rules and traditions still are conserved as the precepts of the community.

Turning now to discuss agricultural potential of the area, the hypothesis states "That the higher the agricultural potential of an area the greater the participation of the community in self-help projects". This hypothesis was not supported by the available evidence. There was a higher percentage of contributors from the average potential zone compared to the higher and lower zones. As to why this appears to be so, it is perplexing but the intervening variable here appears to be the intra-ethnic rivalry where for instance if a community will also try to put up the same project irrespective of the distances between them. The struggle to put up service facilities is also competitive as we have seen particularly between Omeo and Agoro villages and Magwi. This trend is similar to what Anderson (1970), Nyangira (1970) and Reynolds (1974) analysed for some communities in Kenya. Intra-ethnic rivalry according to these development theorists positively relates to initiation and execution of community projects. Probably this factor determines participation than agricultural potentiality of the area.

The hypothesis on ethnicity is not positively related to participation either. It states that "The greater the degree of affiliation among the ethnic groups the greater their involvement in community projects". Here,

nevertheless there is a degree of consistency in the percentages of people who contribute to projects either in Madi or Acholi area. Initially the two communities used to compete for scarce resources which we have noticed are scanty and generally lacking. In 1979 large waves of Ugandan refugees were resettled in the west of the council area and with the provision of essential services that followed the balance of development was tipped. Madi area saw a number of improvements in schools, roads, clinics and other essential services. This was seen by the neighbouring people as unfair and since then much pressure has been exerted on the authorities to correct the imbalance particularly in the numbers of schools.

While this imbalance in social growth generated inter-ethnic agitation characterized by bitter complaints to authorities in Juba and Torit, the Madi on the other hand also complained that they should have their own Rural Council instead of the one at Magwi which is situated in Acholiland. This agitation, which suggests the feeling of relative deprivation among the two societies, has had a negative impact on the Council. Revenue collection has been made difficult because of such attitudes. The Council as such cannot initiate projects or support the implementation of local projects because of shortage of funds. There is, therefore, a feeling among the Acholi and Madi of relative deprivation, where they define their situations collectively and interpret lack of

development in terms of relative advancement of their neighbours. As Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) say for such a group the concept of one group underdeveloping another is a rallying point for the various groups. To give it focus they dramatize their novelty. For the Madi, the concept of the kampone is alien, and so it is not regarded with any importance and therefore, the idea began to wane into insignificance, particularly after 1980's. In contrast, for the Acholi the kampone institution is popular and forms the means by which participation in projects can be realised. Empirical evidence shows the relative importance of this institution. More than this also the kampone system and the politico-administrative units seem to constitute new localized groups. They stand in mutual hostility to the traditional hegemony of chiefs/sub-chiefs.

The traditional authorities derive their strength from the "royal clans" and the local government administration. They have, of course, been over the years consolidated in power and influence such that they carry a certain measure of prestige and wield power. But things have changed, and the past excesses of chiefs, for instance, arbitrary arrests during the war, punishment of tax defaulters, corrupt judgement in courts have made them unpopular.

Events following 1972 suggest the unpopularity of chiefs, because many individuals who were exiled returned to the villages with new ideas which also included new

arrangements and organization of the kampong. The commoners seized upon the new leadership structure which also included those of the politico-administrative units in an attempt to assert themselves in position of authority to challenge the excesses of these chiefs. The chiefs were also being regarded as weak and compromising to the government and generally unsuitable to the tempo of change sweeping the area. So when the politico-administrative units were formed in the villages in the area membership was mostly derived from commoner ranks.

The chiefs and sub-chiefs represent the "ancient regime" which is hated but tolerated although traditionally they continue to command obedience and loyalty. They of course represent or symbolize government authority in the rural areas.

The apparent hostility has now reached what Tim Allen (1984) called an equilibrium where if one tries to do something eccentric depending on where he is allied various factors are brought to bear upon him to render his initiative void. This has somehow elongated the period of completion of projects. This explains why projects like Magwi Primary School, Pajok Communit, Centre and Eria Primary School lagged behind and could not be completed on time.

These intra-community wrangles which characterize political and social life in the villages have a very negative effect on community projects. For instance, health and educational projects in Iyire (Acholi) have failed to take shape as a result of failure of the sub-chief to mediate resources for the community to support projects started by the local people. The same situation also obtained at Ofirika to the north-west.

Kenya's analysis similarly depicts the same situation in Yei River District where conflicts between chiefs on the one hand and other councillors have created fears in chiefs that their powers are slowly being encroached upon. The result is open conflict and continuous bid for the loyalty of the different groups which is adversely reflected in lack of cohesive community action in projects (1983:6).

While these apparent hostilities limit the abilities of the rural communities to improve their welfare, the available government local administration likewise is an impediment to social growth. As we have stated earlier the staff are mostly inexperienced and lack credibility among the communities. Funds are in chronic shortage and revenue collection remains rudimentary and disappointing at Magwi People's Rural Council. Chiefs, Clerks and other junior cadres have gone for months without regular pay. As in the case of Kenya according to Oyugi (1974) such a rural administrative structure then is too weak to bolster any development activities.

In fact it has been reported that the administration of Magwi Peoples' Rural Council spent so much money in the maintenance of vehicles, the purchase of spare parts and fuels from black market at exorbitant prices. The chief of Magwi remarked once that the council vehicles are "a liability to tax payers!"¹ Frequent charges of misuse of public funds at the Council have resulted into the dismissal of one of the prominent SSU secretaries attached to the council in 1983. The activities at the council are confined to institutional maintenance which is anti-development (See Ouma-Oyugi 1974).

Therefore, we can conclude that internal dynamics and the weaknesses of local administrative structure have sharpened the hostilities between modern progressive forces represented by new social groups organised around the kampone system and the politico-administrative units on the one hand and the hegemony of chiefs/sub-chiefs and allied groups on the other. The result is obvious - self-help remains a fledgling movement with no spectacular achievement as compared to the neighbouring countries.

Policy Implications:

We have seen that self-help movement emerged out of the internal dynamism of the rural communities as a response to their welfare needs. To invigorate the momentum and enhance self-help efforts in the rural areas as viable mechanism for

development, the following policy recommendations are suggested:

- (1) Since the institutional framework already exists in the rural areas for self-help activities, it is imperative for planners and policy makers to introduce grants-in-aid for self-help groups. The grant would be used to purchase the complementary inputs necessary for implementing projects. This would boost the morale of the rural communities and might as a result encourage the policy of self-reliance and lessen total dependence on the government.
- (2) Training should be provided to the various committee and Council members so that they can manage and run projects efficiently and effectively. Proper training also is needed for the Community Development Officers.
- (3) At this stage in the Region self-help movement needs some legitimacy from the state and the only way to achieve this is to integrate the concept within the national political mainstream. This should be accompanied by political education to raise the consciousness and need for self-help efforts as one way of bringing about social change in the neglected areas of the country.
- (4) It is important that all the programmes undertaken should fall within the national plans to distribute projects equitably. Even in in situations where donor

agencies provide service facilities for refugees, they should be included in national plans rather than spontaneously carried which results in imbalanced growth and agitation from the indigenous communities.

6.1.1 Future Studies

(a) This study has been mainly exploratory, therefore, much has not been covered. Nevertheless, we have seen the consequences of refuge life on the people of Southern Region. It needs to be emphasized here that there is untapped innovative skills and potential among former refugees who stand out prominently in matters related to rural development. To make policy-makers aware of these potentials future research should among other things be directed to such awareness with a view to harnessing them for socio-economic development.

(b) The kampong system requires further study. What we have done here is simply to describe its salient features, but deeper analysis of its functions in social life and domestic economy is necessary as it will continue to influence and affect the direction of change in the rural areas.

- (c) Aid to self-help groups and rural programmes has not been properly handled in this study because the period taken and the inavailability of data could not make us have all the information needed, and the life-span of some of the projects during implementation was so long that a follow-up now is necessary.
- (d) In this thesis we have been arguing that the traditional self-help movement is not radically distinguishable from Harambee (or modern self-help) except in the types and scales of projects undertaken. While the modern self-help movement is commensurate with the reciprocity and voluntarism of the rural societies such dynamism has not been properly understood; particularly decision making regarding projects and interactions which impinge on projects and as such, this has serious implications for the theories of community development regarding this phenomena. To be able to build on what has been done and add to scholarship in this area it would be necessary perhaps to compare harambee or self-help movement cross-culturally so as to augment or adjust our theories so as to increase our knowledge of the phenomenon.

FOOTNOTES

1. Interview with Headchief, Mr. Ottaviano Oyat
12 November 1980 at Hagwi.

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APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBIDEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGYInterview Schedule

Good morning. I am from the University of Nairobi, Kenya. I am doing research on self-help and would like you to help me with some information about it by answering these questions which follow. Your generous help will be highly appreciated.

1. Sex: (1) Male (2)
2. Age: _____
3. Marital Status: (1) Unmarried (2) Married
(3) Divorced (4) Widowed
4. Place of birth: (1) Village (2)
(3) Province
5. Present Residence: (1) Village _____
(2) Rural Council _____
6. Your Present Occupation: _____

7. How much do you think is your annual income?

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) £s. 0-20 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (6) £s. 41-45 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) £s. 21-25 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (7) £s. 46-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) £s. 26-30 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (8) £s. 51-55 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) £s. 31-35 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (9) £s. 56-60 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) £s. 36-40 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (10) £s. 61 & over | <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. (a) Is this the same kind of work you were doing before the war?

- (1) Yes (2)

(b) If no, what was your occupation before the war?

9. Where were you before the outbreak of war in Southern region?

(1) was responsible with the family? _____

or (2) separated away from the family? _____

10. If separated, where were the family? _____

11. Where did you go during the time of the war? _____

- (a) Did respondent stay in hiding in the bush? _____
- (b) Did you flee in exile to a neighbouring country? _____

- (c) Were you living in one of the towns in the Sudan? _____

12. For those who remained behind during the war give the name of
 the (1) place _____
 or (2) town _____
 where you were living
13. For those who left the Sudan, give the name of the
 (1) country _____
 or (2) place _____
 of exile abroad.
14. (a) If respondent was away from his/her home area, please say
 how long? _____

- (b) Respondent was away: between _____ and _____
 (indicate the years).
15. (a) How did respondent return to his present home area? Were you:
 (1) repatriated by the UNHCR? _____
 or (2) did you return by yourself? _____

(b) If you returned by yourself, indicate the route through which you came _____

16. (a) Did you go back to the same place where you were born?

(1) Yes (2) No

(b) If yes, why did you come back to the same place?

(c) If no, where is your new place? _____

(d) What reason would you give for choosing this new place?

17. List the kinds of aid given to you on your arrival after repatriation.

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| (a) _____ | (f) _____ |
| (b) _____ | (g) _____ |
| (c) _____ | (h) _____ |
| (d) _____ | (i) _____ |
| (e) _____ | (j) _____ |

18. How frequent did you receive some of this aid? Was it:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) daily | <input type="checkbox"/> | (4) fortnightly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) every two days | <input type="checkbox"/> | (5) monthly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) weekly | <input type="checkbox"/> | (6) variable, not specific | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. When do you think was this aid stopped? _____

20. When you were resettled, what did you think the people needed most? (List them in order of importance)

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____
- (5) _____

21. (a) What are some of the things you think people tried to do by themselves to meet those needs through self help?

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____

- (b) What types of assistance did you get from outside sources (i.e. from the government, aid agencies, e.g. N.C.A.)?

Fill the particulars.

| Type of project initiated | Contributions | | Year Began | Year Completed |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| | Govt. | Other agencies | | |
| | | | | |

22. What type of contribution does respondent make:

(1) in kind _____
 or(2) in cash _____
 for self-help projects.

23. (a) On what basis do you participate in self-help activities?

Is it based on:

- (1) Kinship work-group arrangement (e.g. Kampone);
 (2) SSU Basic Unit;
 (3) Village Development Committee;
 (4) Village Council

(please specify and elaborate) _____

(b) If participation is based on clan-based work-group arrangement who do you think initiates self-help projects?

(c) How many members are there? _____

(d) How are clan members mobilized for the task?

Describe briefly how this is done. _____

(e) Give the names of the ones you belong to _____

(f) How different is this mobilization for self-help activities from the method of mobilizing clan members for farm activities?

24. (a) If participation in self-help activities is based on:

1. SSU Basic Unit
2. Village Development Committee
3. Village Council

show in each case who initiates the projects

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(b) How is participation mobilized?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(c) Who mobilized people to participate in the projects?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(d) To which of them are you a member? _____

25. Which of the following methods do you think have been successful in involving rural people in self-help activities?

- (1) direct community fund raising for those projects chosen by the community itself on a 50% partnership with the government;
- (2) direct use of community labour and local materials mobilized for the construction of schools, health facilities, markets, village roads and bridges, etc ... without government support;
- (3) where the government guide community self-help activities to avoid duplication and to coordinate various community initiatives with planned programmes, for example, primary health care programmes.

26. Give the numbers of projects implemented through the above methods.

| Type of project | Year of initiation and self-help method used | Year of completion |
|-----------------|--|--------------------|
| | | |

27. In (1) Ques. 25 above say, how:-

(1) the fund is raised from the local community?

(2) fund is acquired from the government or other agencies, e.g. NCA? _____

28. Do the following rural-based institutions (SSU Basic Unit Committee, Village Development Committee and Village Council) play any part in raising fund for the local self-help activities?

Please indicate how:

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____

29. In (2) Ques. 25 above could you say briefly how and by whom:

(1) labour and local materials are mobilized or gathered for self-help activities? _____

(2) the community project is begun or initiated?

30. Why do you think one of the methods of self-help activities in Ques. 25 is more successful than others? _____

31. (a) According to your observation which types of self-help projects have been receiving assistance from the government and other sources?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(b) Which types do you think have not been receiving such assistance?

(1) _____

(2) _____

- (3) _____
- (4) _____
- (5) _____

32. How do you think the government or other non-government organizations should provide assistance to self-help efforts?

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APPENDIX 2

MAGWI PRIMARY SCHOOL

31st October, 1980

Subject:- Rebuilding of the School

This is to inform all parents of the above School that the Committee Members and the members of the Teacher's and Parent's Council of this School held a general meeting on Saturday 18th, October, 1980, on the above subject.

After long discussion the following resolutions were passed for action:

- (1) All parents are asked to make bricks under the Supervision of Head Farmers (Rwot Kweri).
- (2) Any parent who fails to turn up for work without proper reason or permission from the Head Farmer will be liable to pay 50 P.T. per day.
- (3) All working officials and employees within the compass of Magwi who are unable to join hands with the villagers because of Governmental duties are to pay Ls.3.000m/ms).
- (4) Anybody who does not comply with the above orders is to appear before the Court.
- (5) Works to begin on 2nd November, 1980.

AKWILINO OLUR,
CHAIRMAN,
TEACHER'S PARENT'S COUNCIL,
MAGWI PRIMARY SCHOOL.

c.c. A/Commissioner for Education E.E.P.
D.E. Director Torit Peoples' Rural Council
Inspector of Local Govt. Magwi P.R.C.
Head/Chief Acholi (B) Court
S/Chief Magwi (A) Court
All heads of units Magwi P.R.C.
All heads of Farmers