RENEWAL STRATEGY AND COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATIONS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

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Abstract

From the time of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in Nigeria in (with the hyper-deregulation of the country's currency), governments of the Federation found it increasingly difficult to satisfy the yearnings of the population. The provision of infrastructural facilities became almost a mission impossible. Poverty in the country was at its peak. There were thus clarion calls on the local communities to rise up to the challenges posed by the incapacitations of the government. response, various local institutions had to take up the challenge of mobilising the local population and resources to do that which the governments had failed to do. It is against the above background that the two studies reported here are used to demonstrate the need for paradigm shift from "top-down" to "bottom-up" development efforts in the country with a view to reducing poverty and developmental imbalance in Nigeria. Content analysis of the data collected showed that the community-based organisations in the study areas and Community-Based Poverty Reduction Programme (CPRP) in Abia State, have been very active in doing that which the governments have failed to do. The paper concludes on the note that the "bottom-up" development strategy should be vigorously pursued and implemented with a view to improving the standard of living of the people, thereby reducing poverty. This is Renewal Strategy for Rural Development – "Working with the people for the development of the people".

Keywords: Renewal strategy, Community development, Community-based organizations, Bottom-up, Top-down, Nigeria

Introduction

In the past, especially during and immediately after the period of colonial administration in most developing countries (including Nigeria), the prevalent development discourse was predicated on development theories that were formulated in the Western industrial countries. It is stating the obvious that the circumstances, the

environment, the political, economic, social and other values that influenced these theories were and still remain totally different to what obtained and still obtain in the developing countries concerned. Thus, the traditional or indigenous values of the developing countries were regarded as antithetical to development. The development projects (introduced by the colonial masters) emphasised western values and devalued indigenous and traditional systems of knowledge, economy and culture. The principles of these development theories greatly appealed to the colonial masters hence their adoption and implementation in the colonies. These principles were those of concentrated growth of few areas with the belief that over time the benefits of the growth of these few urban centres would begin to "trickle" down to the surrounding regions or areas. In Nigeria, for example, there was the concentration of development in the relatively few urban centres and the almost total neglect of the rural areas, hence the emergence of developmental imbalance between areas as well as poverty in the hinterlands of the urban centres. It is regrettable to note that over the years the expected benefits did not trickle down, rather there was more of the 'trickling up' of the resources - human and material - of the surrounding regions to "oil" or "fuel" the industries in the growing and developing urban areas. The developmental imbalance and the ravaging poverty in the rural areas today are therefore traceable to the development theories that guided development efforts in the country during and after the colonial administration in Nigeria. These theories included Myrdal's cumulative causation theory (1957) with its "spread" and "backwash" effects; Hirschman (1958) "Strategy for Economic Development" with its "polarisation" and "trickle down" effects and Friedman's (1966) "centre-periphery" model. The principles of these theories/ models have been highlighted above.

To arrest this ugly situation, there arose the need to change strategies in There was the compelling need to look inward for solution for the developmental problems of the country. There was the recognition of the central role local or indigenous organisations could play in the overall development process. These local organisations have played very central and effective roles in the sustained and participatory development of the local communities especially in the southern parts of the country. These local organisations are involved in a variety of economic, social and political activities that are aimed at improving the overall standard of living of the local The extent of involvement of these local organisations in community development in parts of Southern Nigeria is the subject of the studies being reported here. The role of an international development partner in this respect is illustrated. A bench marked country, Vietnam is also used to demonstrate the bottom-up development strategy which the paper advocates for. It has to be noted that Nigeria is heavily dependent on one product, that is, petroleum, for its revenue. Even though the country is a member of the world's major oil cartel – the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) - she has no control whatsoever over world oil prices. Thus, the fluctuations in the prices of petroleum in the world oil market greatly affect the total revenue of the Federal Government of Nigeria. Since both the State and Local governments are more than 80 per cent dependent on statutory allocations from the Federation Account for the performance of their functions, the fluctuations also directly

affect these latter two tiers of government in the country. In consequence, the tier of government that is charged with the primary responsibility of generating and sustaining development at the grassroot level, which is the tier that is nearest to the local population — the local government — has become increasingly incapacitated and handicapped in the performance of their statutory functions. In the late 1980s, this incapacitation was heightened by the biting effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced by the then military government in 1986 and the hyper de-regulation of the country's currency in March 1992. Then, it became virtually impossible for the Governments of the Federation to meet their obligations to the populace.

The only option available under the circumstance was to call upon the people to engage in self-help development projects to complement the meagre efforts of government in the country. This clearly demonstrates the failure of the "top-down", development strategy and hence the need to involve the people in their own development – development of the people and their community by the people themselves.

Community development programmes give the people the opportunity to determine what is good for themselves thereby achieving a sound development that will not destroy the cultural and traditional values of the people. When people are made to participate in their development, they see the whole effort, not as government work or business but as theirs too. Community participation reduces cost and achieves effective mobilisation of the available human, financial and material resources (Ogbuozobe, 1996). In promoting community development programmes, the people are not only responding to the calls by governments but are also helping the government to build a strong nation. It now becomes necessary to determine and appraise the extent and benefits of peoples' participation in the development of their communities through the various local institutions/community-based organisations. In doing so, the report is presented in seven major sections of this paper. After this introductory section, section two presents the objectives of the studies. The methodology adopted to generate the required data is the subject of section three while section four presents the findings of CPRP as a renewal strategy is discussed in section five. recommendations and policy implications of the findings are contained in section six. Section seven concludes the paper.

Objectives of the Study

Against the above background, the overall aim of the study was to determine and appraise the extent of citizens' participation in the development of their local communities since the enthronement of democratic governance in the country (1999 – 2003). To achieve this aim the following objectives were identified:

- (a) To identify the local institutions or organisations that are actively involved in the development of their local communities;
- (b) To identify the contributions of the organisations toward the development of their communities;

- (c) To identify the sources of fund to execute development projects as well as the roles of local, state and federal governments in the execution of projects;
- (d) To highlight the problems/weaknesses of the organisations; and
- (e) In the light of the foregoing, to suggest the way forward for a more sustainable role of local institutions in community development.

Methodology

The studies the findings of which are reported were conducted in more than three communities, specifically Bodija Market in Ibadan (an urban community) and a number of rural communities in Abia State under the World Bank assisted Community-based Poverty Reduction Programme (CPRP 2004). Focus group discussions were the major instrument used to generate data in Abia Communities.

For the Bodija market in Ibadan city, data were collected on the following variables, among others: the names of the community-based organisations (CBOs) that were of interest to the study, the objectives of each organisation, method(s) of selection of officers, basis of choice or selection of projects for execution, sources of fund, role of CBOs in the conception, planning, execution and management of completed projects, problems in the sourcing of fund, forms of assistance from the governments of the federation and other external sources such as donor agencies, the feelings of stakeholders with respect to the roles of CBOs in the planning, implementation and management of local/community development projects. These studies were conducted at different periods between 1999 and 2004.

Data from the Bodija market study, Ibadan were analysed using descriptive statistical tools. Content analysis was the main tool utilised to ascertain the contributions of the local organisations in the development of the market

As already noted, Focus Group Discussion was the major source of data on CPRP in Abia State. However, additional data was generated using structured "beneficiaries" and "Executors" questionnaires (which were administered on the beneficiaries and executors of the micro-projects). Again, content analysis was utilised to determine, among other things, the impressions of the beneficiaries of the impact of the micro-projects on their lives.

Findings of the Study and Discussion Bodija Water Project

Ibadan city, as in most other cities of the developing countries, there has been an increasingly worrisome gap between the expectations of the city residents (with respect to the provision of basic urban services) and what is actually provided. This gap was accentuated by the increasing inability of the erstwhile military governments in the state (as in the other states of the Federation) to provide even minimal services to the people. There was thus the need to explore other avenues and opportunities of satisfying the needs of the people of Ibadan. One such avenue was the Sustainable Ibadan Project (SIP), a component of the Sustainable Cities Programmes. The SIP which came into being in 1994 "were initiated ... to strengthen old and establish new active partnership between all stakeholders ... through the mobilisation of financial and

technical support in the development and management of Ibadan city" (Adesanya, 1998).

Inadequate supply of potable water in the Bodija market in Ibadan – unarguably the largest foodstuff market in Oyo State – had, since the inception of the market, been one of the greatest problems that had confronted the Ibadan North Local Government Council. For several years, unsuccessful attempts were made to provide potable water in the market. It was not until most recently that the United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) in collaboration with Sustainable Ibadan Project Trust Fund (SIPTF) and the Bodija Market Area Community Development Association, succeeded in sinking a water bore-hole in the market to ease the water problem in the market.

It needs to be noted that the SIP is not a government project; it is not a United Nations Project. Rather, it is an Ibadan project. It was done for the people of Ibadan. It was done by the people of Ibadan. All the people of Ibadan are invited to join in the planning process. These include private individuals, institutions, organisations, trade associations, private sector companies, the various levels of government among other interest groups. These people are the stakeholders. This is Community Driven Development. The participation of the stakeholders here ensured their control over the setting of priority, policy-making as well as control over resource allocation.

A major finding of this study is that through consultations with the people – the Stakeholders (through the City Consultation in 1995) identified by themselves three key issues that were priorities to be addressed immediately. These were waste management, water supply and institutionalisation of the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) process. Other eleven issues were also identified by the stakeholders but the above three were of topmost priority.

In order to adequately address the above issues, a number of Working Group (WG) were set up. The Working Groups comprised of a cross-section of stakeholders – those most directly affected by the issue in question (water and waste management in the Bodija market in this study). The members of working groups working closely together defined the nature of their problems and developed practical solutions to the problem. Solutions to problems are internally developed and not externally driven by 'non-involved' technocrats. This is Community Driven Development (CDD).

Against the developmental experiences of a typical developing ex-colonial country where the "top-down" development strategy had been a norm, a strategy which has been an obvious failure, the question may arise as to why this Working Group/citizen participation strategy. African cities, just like cities of other developing countries in Asia and Latin America, have poorly-adapted system of finance, haphazard fiscal management and an inability to mobilise the resources required for local development despite the availability of land and property assets which cry out for development. Infrastructures are such that the majority of the territory is inaccessible and the quality of services provided is far from satisfactory (MDP, 1988). *To promote sustainable local development, African municipalities must, of necessity, develop a vision based on the awareness of their potentials. They must take bold initiatives, develop partnerships especially with the private sector, and mobilise all sectors of the population.*

It was perhaps in realisation of this that the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS, 1996) noted that "if people participate in the execution of projects by contributing their ingenuity, skills and other untapped resources, more people can benefit, implementation is facilitated, and the outcome responds better to the needs and priorities of the beneficiaries". People have the right and duty to participate in the planning, implementation and management of projects which profoundly affect their lives. It becomes necessary therefore to determine the extent of the stakeholders involvement at the various stages of the water project at the Bodija market, Ibadan.

Zeroing down to the water project which this study investigated, it was found that the stakeholders were involved at various stages of the project. With respect to the water (bore-hole) project, the study found out that Bodija Community Organisation was the stakeholder (working in concert with the Sustainable Ibadan Project) that initiated the bore-hole project. This organisation was involved at all stages of the project – from initiation to planning, financing, execution and management/monitoring. The organisation, together with the United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) and the Ibadan North Local Government Council finally agreed upon the project.

The Bodija Community Development Organisation determined to frontally confront the water problem in especially the Bodija market through the assistance of the Sustainable Ibadan Project Trust Fund sub-working group on water, started a process to explore underground water resources as an alternative to the market. The community approached the Sustainable Ibadan Project Trust Fund (SIPTF) in 1997 for financial support. The Trust Fund willingly obliged to assist the community to execute the water project with the belief that this would assist in improving the standard of living of the people of the community in general and the market in particular.

The whole borehole structure was constructed by the community; the implementation of the project was carried out by the community with supervision by the local government officials. The local government council was not directly involved in either the identification, planning, financing or management of the water project. It only provided the land (site) for the project as well as the officials who supervised the construction of the project – technical/expert assistance.

With respect to funding, it is interesting to note that the Bodija Market Associations or the beneficiaries of the water borehole project provided 27.3 per cent or \text{\text{\$

The water (bore-hole) project has been initiated and executed. But who manages the project? The project is being managed by the community. The maintenance of the entire structure and the cleaning of the environment were taken care of by the community. Security network is also provided by the community. To ensure that the required fund for maintenance is readily available, the community adopted a cost recovery strategy whereby N5.00 is charged for every 25 litres of water from the borehole. And to ensure that there is no fraudulent practice, a meter was

installed at the appropriate point to regulate water sold by the attendant. Also, to further ensure that there are no disruptions in the service of the borehole – disruptions which may be due to the erratic power supply through the then National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), a power generating set was bought and installed to power the borehole in times of power outage. To ensure that all monies collected are properly remitted, a bank account has been opened at the Wema Bank branch in the market. It needs to be stressed that the water (borehole) project in the Bodija market is one of success story. It is the only functioning borehole in the whole of the Bodija market. It must be noted that all the traders in the market are very much satisfied with this water project.

The findings of the study in relation to the water (borehole) project at the Bodija market, Ibadan, bear eloquent testimony to the fact that local participation is a key element in the development process. As the African Development Bank Report (1999) rightly observed "not only is it a means of increasing efficiency, but it also strengthens the sense of community ownership of projects and ensures transparency and accountability in project planning, implementation and management. Participation of the local community can be made effective by encouraging people to contribute partly to the construction, management and maintenance of infrastructure". It needs to be observed that when the stakeholders bear part of the cost of providing infrastructure services, their commitment to the success of the project is greater.

CPRP as a Renewal Strategy for Rural/Community Development in Nigeria

Renewal strategy relates to bottom-up rural development strategy. It empowers the rural dwellers to design and implement their own solutions to their developmental needs. It is a strategy or process by which rural residents, their local organisations and/or institutions identify local needs and, in collaboration with government/private experts design appropriate community-based solutions. Carol Kuhre (1995), the Executive Director of Rural Action in the United States noted that in Rural Renewal Strategy, the participants identify the community needs (in their respective communities). Synoptically, Rural Renewal Strategy must be sustainable to the environment; it must advance the rights of people especially those who have been disenfranchised; and it must actually include these disenfranchised people in the process. The strategy aims to work with people to help themselves (thereby giving the people a sense of belonging).

Renewal strategy finds expression in contemporary rural Nigeria vide the World Bank assisted Community-based Poverty Reduction Programme (CPRP) as has been implemented in six (6) pilot states in the country and is currently being replicated in six other states. The six pilot states are Abia, Cross River, Ekiti, Kebbi, Kogi and Yobe states. The strategy of CPRP in the regard is briefly discussed.

The Community-based Poverty Reduction Programme (CPRP) in Nigeria is a poverty-focussed programme established in six poorest pilot states of the federation (already mentioned above). The choice of these states was based on relative poverty criteria developed by the then Federal Office of Statistics (FOS, now Federal Bureau of

Statistics). CPRP arose from the necessity to adopt an inclusive, demand-driven, bottom-up development strategy to empower community-based organisations (CBOs) and local institutions, and local governments, and at the same time, encourage partnership between them. *CPRP empowers the weak, lower-level institutions to enable them play roles that directly and positively impinge upon the lives of those at the grass root.* A Community Driven Development (CDD) strategy, CPRP has the objective of facilitating the establishment of effective and viable mechanism for strengthening local governments and local/rural communities.

The renewal strategy as a bottom-up development strategy has been illustrated with the account of the "Vietnam Miracle", paraphrased below.

Renewal Strategy in Vietnam

It should be recalled that Vietnam is slightly larger than the United Kingdom and Ireland combined. The country stretches 1,600 km from the North to the South with only 40 km wide at its narrowest point. Vietnam has three regions – the north, centre and south. The country has altogether 53 ethnic minorities that are concentrated in the mountain north and central highlands. Vietnam has had a chequered history. This is a country that was colonised by the French, occupied by the Japanese, bombarded by the Americans and attacked by the Chinese. By the early 1980s, Vietnam was in ruins, mourning about three million dead (roughly 12 per cent of the population) and the third poorest country in the world (Development, 2006).

In spite of the above account, Vietnam's economy grew at an average of 7 per cent per annum in the decade of 1998 – 2006; the percentage of people living in poverty had fallen from well over 70 per cent to less than 20 per cent today. Doney, *et al* (2006) observe that no other country in the world can boast that it has met the UN Millennium Development Goals of halving poverty by 2015 so far ahead of schedule. The question is how did Vietnam – a country that was engulfed in war for over 30 years – manage to achieve this feat? Doanh, Le Dang, one of the country's leading economists, provided the answer which is paraphrased below.

Vietnam was a socialist or centrally planned economy. The system not only prohibited the private sector but also provided no incentives for the farmer to produce food. In the 1980s, a US trade embargo combined with the gradual decline in the socialist countries in East and Central Europe and the Soviet Union led to further economic deterioration in Vietnam. Inflation reached 700 per cent a year in the 1980s – impoverishing everyone. As Doanh observed, the 1980s social economic crisis proved a catalyst for decisive reform and historic turning point in Vietnam's modern history. It was a "Grass roots" movement. Farmers initiated a contract plan system and established a direct link between harvest and earning. State-owned enterprises introduced the 'fence-breaking' movement to apply market-type contracts to their production. Local authorities implemented market-price mechanism in place of central planning. The combination of this bottom-up reform, Doanh notes further, with a rethinking of the economic concept by the leadership led to 'doi-moi' (innovation) in 1986.

After about 20 years, that is, about 2006, of *doi moi*, average per capita earnings rose from \$101 a year to \$640 in 2005 and were expected to reach \$700 in 2006 –

Poverty fell from 58 per cent in 1992 to 25 per cent in 2005 (Doanh, 2006, 17). The point of emphasis here is that the Vietnamese people were the real authors of *doi moi*, and they contribute to be the driving force behind the success of Vietnam. Is there any lesson Nigeria can learn from this?

CPRP as a Rural Renewal Strategy in Nigeria

One of the high points of CPRP thus far in the country is the high level of participation of beneficiaries at the various stages of the projects in their local communities. This explains in part why the poor in the benefiting communities see the projects as "our" project. As with the Ibadan project, the beneficiaries of the CPRP projects are involved in project identification, planning, execution, management, monitoring and evaluation. Participation could be through diverse forms of contributions. It could be monetary contribution or it could be by contributing one's labour and time or it could be by contributing materials or a combination of these. At least the benefiting communities do not see the micro-projects as impositions on them. These are projects they unanimously agreed upon at their village square meetings.

The following references at the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) in some of the communities attest clearly to this.

It was at the Okafia Community Hall that the people — young and old, male and female, the youth including our children, the literate and non-literate, all gathered and unanimously agreed on the health centre project. The decision was based on our past unpleasant experiences especially with respect to our pregnant wives. Hitherto, the nearest maternity/health centre to this community was so many kilometres away in Umuahia. On a number of occasions, our wives who were in labour had to deliver along the road on their way to Umuahia. Some have lost their lives in the process. The decision to embark upon a health centre project was therefore overwhelmingly agreed upon.

A discussant from another project community noted as follows:

The decision for a school project was borne out of the desire of the entire Umuode community to have our children go to school. The whole community gathered at the village square and unanimously agreed on the school project (even though there were other important needs such as – health, water, and the completion of the rural electrification project). We did not wake up one morning and somebody said we must embark upon a school project. With the dilapidated school building, most of our children had stopped going to school. The Umuode community has been contemplating on this school matter for a long time, so that with the opportunity offered by the CPRP, the community collectively agreed to utilise this opportunity to get their children back to school. It was a collective decision.

From another community, a discussant informed that:

"... we collectively agreed at our community hall that among the five most pressing needs of this community — education, roads, water, electricity, and health facility - health was the most important. This was particularly so because of the high infant and maternal mortality in the town as a result of total absence of any form of health facility."

The traditional ruler of this community commented as follows:

" ... I was the one who collected the application form for this project. Thereafter, the community members were called together to decide on which project they would want funded. The decision for a health centre was unanimous. It is our own project.

The benefiting communities of the CPRP derive guite a number of benefits from the micro-projects in their respective communities. These benefits range from enhanced enlightenment to education for the children and improved access to health facilities, market and electricity supply. To the individuals, their standards of living have substantially improved. The poor in the communities now have adequate access to the services being provided by the micro-projects. Space would not permit a detailed discussion of how CPRP has actually reached the poor in the benefiting communities but suffice it to note here that since the goal of CPRP is to reduce poverty by way of increasing the Poor's access to basic services, thereby positively impacting upon their quality of life, that this goal has largely been achieved, at least in the six (6) pilot states. The poor in the benefiting communities now have increased access to the hitherto unavailable facilities. In Abia State, for example, 90.6 per cent of the beneficiaries enjoy more electricity supply than before electricity projects were embarked upon in their respective communities. To the poor in these communities, poverty in their local communities has reduced considerably. There is the provision of better educational and health facilities, reduced cost of education and medical treatment, there is enhanced cohesion/ cooperation between erstwhile hostile members/villages of the same community. It is evident from the above account that CPRP as a Renewal/Bottom-up development strategy has, indeed, reached the poor in those rural communities that have benefited from its implementation. No wonder then that it is being replicated in another six (6) states in its second phase of implementation in the country. It should be noted that the World Bank provides 90 per cent of the fund for the CPRP micro-projects in the benefiting rural communities (which provide only 10 per cent of the total cost of a project as counterpart fund). The maximum for each project is N5 million. Each benefiting community therefore gladly provides N500,000.00 while the World Bank provides N4.5 million. Should a project cost more than N5 million, the benefiting community provides the excess.

The findings of these studies show active participation of the local organisations in the conception/initiation, planning, execution/implementation and management of the projects executed.

Conclusion

In concluding this paper, it is important to note firstly that the "top-down" development strategy has succeeded only in exacerbating inequalities in development between regions and particularly between the urban and rural areas of the country. Secondly as national and international economic environment are subject to change, a re-assessment of strategies is paramount to the creation of employment and social development. The focus is now on "Bottom-up" approaches to rural/community development. This calls for cooperation between those involved in local community development initiatives and those who design community development support services. New capacity is paramount in allowing local communities to be more involved in their development. Adult education can make this possible. The rural poor in Nigeria can be positively touched and poverty drastically reduced if strategies such as that of CPRP as discussed above are adopted and implemented.

Recommendations: Towards Sustainable Renewal/Bottom-up Development Strategy in Nigeria

Development at whatever level is about people – the betterment of the lives of the people. The rural areas of the country had suffered neglect in the past – from the time of colonial administration to about the mid-1980s. However, in the very recent past, the accent of development has been on the people, hence the concern of governments, non-governmental organisations, the international community, donor and international development agencies, on the living standards of the people especially those in the rural areas. It was this concern that gave birth to the Community-based Poverty Reduction Programme discussed as well as the Bodija Market water project in Ibadan and the 'doi-moi', or the Vietnam miracle – discussed above. All have one common objective – poverty reduction and the improvement of the overall well-being of the people. The success of the CPRP programme in the six pilot states for instance, had led to its replication in another six states. The question that readily comes to mind is how this type of programme can be sustained for the benefit of the poor and for the overall development of the country. The following suggestions if adopted would go a long way in this regard.

- The starting point in reaching out to the poor vide the provision of basic services/ infrastructural facilities is the need to identify and take an inventory of the physical/ natural resources of a community, the strengths and weaknesses of the area, and thereafter plan along with the active participation of the local community. This is usually the starting point of any rural Renewal Strategy process. Having done this, it becomes possible to consider together with the people the various possibilities upon which local development projects could be organised and enhanced.
- With developmental fund available from government or international development/ donor or aid agencies, the initiative for a community's development should come from the local community. It should not be imposed on them. The community should, at the completion of the project take over and exercise ownership of the project.

- The benefiting community, through its Project Implementation Committee, should take charge of the management of activities connected with the project. This way the community is enabled to contribute and control the project as it progressed and gained momentum.
- Renewal strategy for rural development in Nigeria should focus attention on children and young people in schools. This is to say that the States' Ministries of Agriculture cannot exclusively deal with agricultural issues. Other areas of importance to rural development must be identified and influenced. In this respect, it is necessary for the educational sector to work in partnership with other sectors so as to achieve a successful restructuring of the present rural economic structures in Nigeria. Such partnerships (not only with the educational sector) are important to rural development. The above suggestions/view points are, by no means, exhaustive. Nonetheless, it is strongly believed that by their adoption, the country would be enhancing rural communities' inherent potentials, thereby securing their long term survival.

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