KENYA

COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT:
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

June 27, 2002

Rural Development Operations
Eastern and Southern Africa
Africa Region
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Table of Contents

Executive Summary 5

Chapter 1. Introduction
  Background and Objectives of the Study 13

Chapter 2. The Historical Context - Overview of Development Strategies Since Independence
  Sessional Paper 10 of 1965 16
  The Reign of Sessional Paper 1 of 1986 18
  District Focus for Rural Development 19
  Social Dimensions of Development 21
  The National Poverty Eradication Plan (1999-2015) 21
  Kenya Rural Development Strategy 23

Chapter 3. Community Participation in Government Service Delivery
  Government Structures Involved in Service Delivery
    Provincial Administration 25
    Sector Ministries 26
    Local Authorities 27
    Elected Representatives 30
  Interactions between Various Official Structures
    District Level 31
    Sub-District Level 33
  Community Participation through Official Structures
    Participatory Poverty Assessments 36
    The PRSP 36
    Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans 37

Chapter 4. The Water Sector - Transition to a CDD Approach
  Milestones in Water Policy 40
  Models of Community Participation
    in Water Management 42
  Lessons from Indigenous Management Systems 43
  Organizational Issues in Water Systems
    Common Consumer Understanding 44
    Self-Help Groups 45
  Issues in Community Management of Water Facilities 45
  Options for CDD in Kenya 47
Chapter 5. CDD from the Perspective of Civil Society  
Post Independence Shift in the Provision of Basic Services 48  
Local Level Institutions 49  
The Concept of CDD as Understood by Civil Society Organizations 49  
Choice of Focal Development Areas 50  
Choice of Activities within Focal Development Areas 53  
Community Entry 54  
Community Based Planning 55  
The Role of Local Contribution 58  

Chapter 6. Selected Institutional Approaches And Experiences in CDD  
Kilifi District Development Programme 61  
The Aga Khan Foundation 62  
Intermediate Technology Development Group 64  

Chapter 7. Institutional Options for CDD in Kenya  
Institutionalization of Villages (Village Focus) 67  
Empowering and Improving the Functioning of Local Authorities 68  
Designing a Supportive Development Administration 70  

Chapter 8. Conclusions and Recommendations 72  

Annex 1 Lessons Learned from Comparative World Bank Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa - Selective Review of Community Driven Approaches  
Background 74  
Selected Country Experiences 76  
Lessons Learned from Selected Country Experiences 81  

Annex 2 Persons Met and Places Visited 83  

Annex 3 Attendees at Stakeholder Workshop 85  

References 87
The primary authors of this report are Messrs. John T. Mukui and Munguti Katui-Katua and Ms. Wairimu Mungai. We wish to acknowledge the support of the World Bank Country Director, Mr. Makhtar Diop and the entire Kenya Country Team in the production of this report. World Bank Internal Reviewers Brian Levy and Tia Duer provided useful comments through the production of the report, as did external reviewers Elkana Odembo, John Batten, Karega Mutahi and Christine Kilalo. Lucie Muchekehu organized the stakeholder workshop, and Josephine Armar assisted with editing the final report. Christine Cornelius and Nyambura Githagui of the World Bank managed the task.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS/HIV</td>
<td>Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome/AIDS Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKDN</td>
<td>Aga Khan Development Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKF</td>
<td>Aga Khan Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Administration Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATIRI</td>
<td>Agricultural Technology Information Response Initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDD</td>
<td>Community Driven Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDTF</td>
<td>Community Development Trust Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>District Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDO</td>
<td>District Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DfID</td>
<td>(British) Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFRD</td>
<td>District Focus for Rural Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPT</td>
<td>Graduated Personal Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTZ</td>
<td>Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPG</td>
<td>Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITDG</td>
<td>Intermediate Technology Development Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWRM</td>
<td>Integrated Water Resource Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KARI</td>
<td>Kenya Agricultural Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDDP</td>
<td>Kilifi District Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRDS</td>
<td>Kenya Rural Development Strategy Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRSP</td>
<td>Kwale Rural Support Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LASDAP</td>
<td>Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATF</td>
<td>Local Authority Transfer Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTEF</td>
<td>Medium-Term Expenditure Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for Africa’s Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPEP</td>
<td>National Poverty Eradication Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODA</td>
<td>Official Development Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Public Accounts Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAMNUP</td>
<td>Participatory Approaches to Meeting the Needs of the Urban Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEC</td>
<td>Poverty Eradication Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFP</td>
<td>Policy Framework Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIC</td>
<td>Public Investment Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPA</td>
<td>Participatory Poverty Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRA</td>
<td>Participatory Rural Appraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRGF</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRSP</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Permanent Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUA</td>
<td>Participatory Urban Appraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARDEP</td>
<td>Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDD</td>
<td>Social Dimensions of Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRDP</td>
<td>Special Rural Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UIS</td>
<td>Urban Informal Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

What is CDD?

CDD is broadly defined as “the attempt to empower communities to shape their future, by giving them more resources and the authority to use these resources to improve their standard of living”

1. This report explores relevant policy and institutional features which colour the CDD experience in Kenya. By attempting to summarize existing data and experience on CDD in Kenya, the focus remains on the various institutional approaches used by different programs. These include a wide spectrum from government and non-government, including a look at the enabling legal and administrative environment for community mobilization and civic engagement. The overall objective of this analytical work is to assess the possibilities for using a community driven development approach in Kenya, to increase formal linkages and downward accountability of service delivery mechanisms, and social inclusiveness in the poverty reduction effort.

2. The first chapter of the report provides a background and introduction to the study. Despite serious challenges to poverty reduction efforts, positive factors do exist which lead us to believe that a more locally based, community Driven approach could succeed in Kenya. The study’s objective is to critically analyse these factors, to inform the Government’s PRSP process as well as the Bank’s CAS development. On May 24, 2002, a stakeholder workshop was held in Nairobi to discuss the report. The meeting was well attended, with government, civil society, donor partner and local representation (Attendees listed in Annex 3). The views of the workshop have been incorporated to the extent possible.

Development Strategies and Community Participation in Government Service Delivery

3. The next two chapters review major policies in Kenya which have had bearing on the present economic and social circumstances, and on attempts at community driven development. This policy analysis mainly focuses on institutional issues, covering the interrelations between provincial administration, central line ministries, and local government over time, and the impact of their relations on local service delivery. The major milestones are presented sequentially. Development planning in Kenya has taken the form of sessional papers, which set the long-term development agenda. The two most important sessional papers issued since independence are Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya* and No. 1 of 1986 on *Economic Management for Renewed Growth*. In addition, the analysis
includes a look at the institutional arrangements for service delivery, funding mechanisms, flow of resources to the grassroots, and efficiency in service delivery. An attempt is also made to see what each development episode left as a permanent mark on the social, political and economic landscape of Kenya..

4. Most of the development initiatives implemented since independence have emphasized a poverty focus without losing sight of economic growth. Most of the initiatives of the sixties and seventies were based on ideas and involvement of scholars and international development agencies, without much local participation. The process therefore meant that Kenya was implementing new development paradigms based on changes in focus in development thinking, from trickle-down, to redistribution with growth, to basic needs. In 1986, the government launched an economic reform program, with Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth, as the blue print for the envisaged structural adjustment and economic reform up to year 2000. The paper recognized the dominant role of the private sector in revitalizing the economy, the importance of efficient use of scarce resources and control of the budget deficit, the need for a market-based incentive system, and balanced development of both urban and rural areas. Despite the statements of intent, the liberalization has continued on a slow and patchy course.

5. At the institutional level, the Government in 1983 adopted the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD), as an attempt to decentralize various management responsibilities to the districts. The district development planning process has been generally carried out at the level of the district departmental heads in charge of Ministries and the DDO, who was in charge of putting together the district plan. The District Development Committee (DDC) is the supreme body on matters pertaining to development in the district, as enshrined in the DFRD document. It has been rightly argued that DFRD and the accompanying district planning process was a mere dispersal of central government control outside the national capital without tangible transfers of powers to make decisions at the local level. The process merely transferred the national structure (of the executive and line ministries) to the district level. The institution of the DDC has in the past given the provincial administration an enhanced role, but in fact, since the majority of budget decisions are made centrally, either at MOF or by central government ministries, the ability of the DDC to influence allocation of funds to districts has been minimal. DFRD, however, has resulted in the transfer of national structures to the district level, which increased the role of the provincial administration in development matters at the district and lower levels. In practice, DFRD, due to the continued focus on line ministry planning and budgeting, has not resulted in any meaningful devolution.

6. Other relevant initiatives undertaken in the last decade include the Social Dimensions of Development (1994-1997), the National Poverty Eradication Plan (1998-99), the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2000-present), and the Kenya Rural Development Strategy (2001-present). The development of these policies have involved deeper consultation with a wide cross-section of stakeholders, including civil society, communities, and donors. The training of government staff on participatory methodologies and their participation at community-level consultations has deepened their understanding of poverty processes, and are now more equipped for pro-poor programming. However, the implementation process thus far has not resulted in significant increases in community participation. To have maximum impact, these recent development initiatives will need to be viewed as new development paradigms that factor in communities in planning, implementation and monitoring, rather than new funding windows (from donors). The initiatives will also need to include a coherent analysis of organizational structures and their attendant impact on grassroots development.
7. An analysis of the current state of public institutions involved in service delivery follows, seen through the lens of CDD. The major concern in this study is to determine the mechanisms which allow communities working with government and other stakeholders have a say in determining the services to be delivered. Do systems and mechanisms exist? Do existing institutional structures create an enabling environment for CDD in Kenya? A few successful examples of successful attempts at CDD, working with a slightly modified government system are given. Most notable are the Arid Lands Resource Management Project and the Agricultural Technology Information Response Initiative.

8. The structure of the provincial administration was inherited from the colonial statutes and institutions. Most Kenyans view them as an extension of the executive up to grassroots level. The official levels stop at the sub-location, which is headed by an assistant chief. The provincial administration is seen as the instrument that allows the executive to exercise authority at the local level. While many studies and commissions have made reference to the reform of local government, few if any have attempted to provide options for the reform of the provincial administration. In a discussion with community members in Bombolulu, Mombasa municipality, a community member defined a location as an administrative area under the umbrella of a chief, while another defined a chief as a Government appointee in charge of a location. Kenya’s spatial and administrative organization is therefore defined by the provincial administration. The institution of the provincial administration is embodied in two pieces of enabling legislation, the Chief’s Act (cap 128) and the Administration Police Act (cap 85). The Chief’s Act gives legitimacy and authority to all members of the provincial administration, right from the provincial commissioner to the assistant chief. The powers vested by the Chief’s Act were substantially reduced in 1997 through administrative reforms agreed upon under the umbrella of the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG). The Act also changed its name from Chief’s Authority Act to Chief’s Act.

9. The current state of DFRD, combined with the continuing role of provincial administration down to the grassroots level, casts doubt on the ability of provincial administration and line ministries to coordinate development at the local level. The development functions of the provincial administration are ill defined, and are not clearly delineated from those of line ministries. The provincial administration does not have specified development functions in the district, but rather tends to officiate over projects undertaken by ministries. The progressive centralization of functions and resources that has characterized post-independent Kenya has left the local authorities with only a limited range of services. The local authorities reported that they have little or no influence on the planning and implementation of projects and programs funded by the central government. Jurisdictional disputes between local authorities and central government are most apparent at the municipal level, and communities residing in urban areas did not have clear information on the separation of functions of central government and the respective local authority.

Local Authorities

10. Kenya has retained a hierarchically nested administrative organization, from nation, province, district, division, location, to sub-location, applying to both provincial administration and line ministries. As currently constituted, local authorities constitute a dual administrative structure parallel to provincial administration and the line ministries. Urban local government consists of city, municipal and town councils. Rural local government is provided by county
councils, which are the residual authorities for all areas not falling under one of the urban authorities. Other than Mombasa (which doubles as a district) and Nairobi (which is also a province), all the urban local government authorities are spatially nested within county councils. Some urban centres have urban councils of their own, which are administratively and financially part of the parent county council. County councils provide only a very limited range of services, typically, maintenance of rural water supply and rural access roads, managing of markets in trading centres, refuse collection, and some limited support to primary education. The progressive centralization of functions and resources that has characterized post-independent Kenya has left the local authorities with only a limited range of services.

11. The study reviews the interaction between community level institutions and local government, and the likelihood of enhanced local participation increasing the downward accountability of local government. The success of community empowerment, to realize the objective of efficient and effective implementation of planned activities, will depend greatly on the interface with the lowest level of elected leaders. The elected civic leaders are products of popular elections, and the community exercises the power to hire and fire at least once every five years. As communities become more sensitised and their access to information and technical know-how increases, they are more likely to realize the importance of electing leaders who can effectively represent them in political forums and institutions.

12. This political representation is critical in ensuring effective, efficient and quality delivery of service. Civic leaders are normally grassroots-based, unlike Members of Parliament, and live in their constituency. The councils are well placed to provide efficient and effective delivery of services in the areas of education (especially primary education), water supply, health, agriculture extension, road networks, and conservation of forests, to name a few. Most service delivery could be handled by a revamped local authority system. With increased activity, a better revenue base and a higher profile, the local authorities could attract higher calibre professionals and civic leaders. In addition, most civic leaders rise from humble positions or professions in the local community (e.g., teaching and farming) and are able to relate with the people and their aspirations. It is, however, important to analyse the situations in rural county councils separately from municipalities, as civic leaders from the big municipalities are more likely to be emotionally distant from the daily experiences of their electorates.

13. In a positive move, the Local Authorities Transfer Fund (LATF) Act of January 1998 pegged the fund to 5% of all tax collected under the Income Tax Act. This was a very positive move, as the total funds available are anchored on an enabling legislation and not on the discretion of the Ministry of Local Government, and has resulted in a substantial increase in funding to local government. The Government is implementing LATF through the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP). LASDAP are prepared through a participatory process with beneficiary communities. Some of the requirements under LASDAP (e.g., preparation of books of accounts and revenue enhancement plan) have assisted local authorities to be more up-to-date with their information base.

14. The communities who were consulted welcomed the opportunities provided by LASDAP, as most local authorities had no meaningful activities at the grassroots level prior to this, due to the shortage of finances. LASDAP consultative processes have differed from one district to another, and also appears to depend on whether the process took place in a rural or urban area. In the urban areas, there seems to have been no clear-cut rules as to how the ward-level consultations were to take place. In Mombasa’s Bombolulu area, the first meeting was called by a welfare officer from the municipal council, while the follow-up meeting was called by the chief. There were conflicting messages from the two structures. The community could not
remember who passed the information, but they are sure they were told that the LATF money was to be spent directly by the communities rather than the municipal council.

15. There has been some implementation of community activities funded under LATF in Embu. According to the Embu County Council, the communities had ranked the priorities and monetary value attached to them. Most of the LATF money was assigned to activities which were prioritised by the communities, and adopted by the full council without amendments. Some of the community projects funded under LATF were in health (an extra room in a health centre for maternity cases, or a laboratory), bridges to connect various hamlets (to improve access to factories, tealeaf collection centres, and primary schools), and Drainage in the market centres to prevent flooding of markets. Going by the example of Embu County Council, it is clear that greater support to functions and financing systems of local authorities can make substantial impact on poverty reduction.

The Water Sector – A Hopeful Example

16. As in most countries, the provision of water as a basic need transcends any one institutional structure. The fourth chapter of the report provides an example of the Water Sector in Kenya as an example of Government’s transition to a CDD approach. It outlines the evolution of public policy on the sector, various community approaches, the role of the various actors in the sector, and lessons which could inform a wider, multisectoral application of these approaches. Water is often the key entry point in the formation of cohesive local development organizations, and often these organizations expand to a multisectoral mandate by taking on a broader, spatial planning function.

The Civil Society Perspective

17. Chapters Five and Six discuss relevant civil society experiences in community development in Kenya. This work has been supplemented by findings from the recently completed local level institutions study. Experiences of community based organizations working either independently or with support of outside development agents are given. External development agents include non-governmental organizations, religious organizations, and bilateral agencies directly involved in service delivery and community-based planning at the local level. The analysis includes their relationships and types of interactions with local communities, government structures, and amongst themselves. It attempts to draw out common approaches based on experience and best practice, and common institutional bottlenecks and constraints confronted by various approaches.

18. As part of this study, organizations were asked to interpret CDD from where they sit, including selection of focal development areas, geographical coverage in the target districts, organizational structures and community-based management systems, entry and exit strategies, and application of elements of community-based planning. The study revealed that the concept of CDD was understood by most development agents as an enhanced participatory planning process. Their interpretation of the concept depended on an agent’s experience through implementation of community development program in Kenya. Some did not consider the concept as new but rather as “the same old participatory approach” they have invested in over the years. Despite the general agreement in the interpretation of CDD, there were differences in the manner in which the principles are applied to community development work.
19. The concept of CDD was described as community-based planning and how it is implemented at the grassroots level. It was described as having developed from a rapid rural appraisal methodology which was used to map existing resources in an effort to draw up programs with or without involvement of the beneficiary communities. Unlike traditional applications of PRA, CDD involves communities in generating needs, and include community’s control over resources, decision-making, implementation, and monitoring at the local level. Community involvement is supposed to be done in an inclusive way, rather than involvement of only some community members in an effort to prevent local elite capture. In addition, a CDD approach promotes multi-sectoral partnerships among institutions operating with communities (government, NGOs, CBOs, and private sector).

20. The success of CDD was premised on what happens on the ground rather than in relationships between the external development agents and the community institutions. It is based on creation or use of community institutions that are inclusive, that have laid-down procedures for electing representative leadership, have proper procedures for sanctions and rewards against errant members and leaders, have inclusive ways of generating new leadership, and are sensitive to particular circumstances (e.g., youth, the elderly, and disabled). Experiences of programmes financed by GTZ, the Aga Khan Foundation, and others are highlighted.

Selective Review of Community Driven Approaches from World Bank Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa

21. Annex 1 to the report provides an overview of CDD in the Africa Region, with selective examples drawn from recent experience. The objective of this section is to provide a context for the Kenya CDD review. Many problems identified from the current Kenyan situation, the problems of dualistic government structures and unclear decentralization, and the variable capacity of local level institutions were identified in other African countries. This section provides examples for potential future engagement in Kenya on these similar issues.

22. Many of the countries whose experience is highlighted above have similar colonial histories and administrative structures as Kenya. Each, however, is at a different stage of thinking as regards decentralization. We suggest the following lessons are most relevant to Kenya:

- **For Sustainability of Community Investment Projects** - Local Governmental structures must play a greater role in the planning, design, implementation, and operation and maintenance of small scale community investment projects.

- **For CDD to Provide a Supporting Role in Decentralization** When designing community interventions, policymakers should take great care to define the program goals within the context of the country’s decentralization framework. Otherwise there may be negative impacts on local governance. In countries with weak decentralization policy, resulting in little or no decentralization, community driven development can play a positive role in enhancing local governance and at the same time support decentralization initiatives.
Conclusions and Recommendations

23. Chapter seven presents three options for the successful implementation of CDD in Kenya. They are (1) the institutionalisation of villages (village empowerment); (2) empowering and improving the functioning of local authorities, and (3) designing a supportive development administration (realigning the centre). These options are not viewed to be mutually exclusive, or exhaustive. They were designed to provoke discussion during the stakeholder workshop.

24. The Institutionalisation of Villages - The concept of a village does not have real recognition in the planning and service delivery systems in Kenya. The sub-location is often seen as the lowest unit for development planning, but a sub-location may be too big in terms of size, population, and diversity of interest groups or communities. This raises the need to define the lowest spatial unit of community organization, and how that unit fits in the established planning processes. All communities, especially in rural Kenya and in urban informal settlements, know their village boundaries. One option would be to formalize the concept of village as understood in the respective communities, with self-selected leadership rather than a downward extension of official administration. The KDDP program is an example of a program premised on self-defined villages, and would serve as the model for village-level planning and vertical upward and downward relationships with other structures.

25. The lack of a nationally accepted definition of village is likely to throw considerable confusion on the determination of boundaries in implementation of CDD. Countries that have clearly defined villages (such as Uganda and Tanzania) have expanded and consolidated community participation using participatory techniques. It should be noted, however, that the stakeholder workshop struggled with this concept, as it did not fit comfortably in the administrative structure or the local government structure. The group was more comfortable with the looser concept of “community”. However the authors of the report maintain that the spatial definition would be important for scaling up and achieving an institutionalisation of participatory processes.

26. Empowering and improving the functioning of local authorities - The success of community empowerment, to realize the objective of efficient and effective implementation of planned activities, will depend greatly on the interface with the lowest level of elected leaders. The elected civic leaders are products of popular elections, and the community exercises the power to hire and fire at least once every five years. As communities become more sensitised and their access to information and technical know-how increases, they are more likely to realize the importance of electing leaders who can effectively represent them in political forums and institutions. As explained above, the authors of the report feel that the LASDAP process is a breakthrough in community planning as it has been translated into actual budgets and actionable plans. It also involved councillors who are elected representatives of the communities.

27. Options for supportive development administration (realigning the centre). - The findings of this report emphasize the need to redefine the role of provincial administration and line ministries at the local level. There is a general feeling that Kenya should follow the examples of neighbouring states and adapt a role for provincial administration which facilitates participatory development, and is in harmony with decentralized local government. District departmental heads could report to the local council at the district level. The activities of the technical personnel would be under the direct supervision of local authorities. The ministries at the national level would consist of small national secretariats for generation and propagation of new ideas, policy direction, regulation, and quality control.
28. The CDD approach is not presented as a panacea for all the problems related to achieving sustainable development in Kenya. CDD is seen as an option to be considered in achieving Kenya's poverty reduction goals. Beneficiary participation and the use of participatory methodology are nearly universally considered as fundamental to achieving sustainable development. The question to be answered is how to build supportive institutions which sustain local participation in the development process. With the objective of creating a sustainable participatory processes, institutional realignments may be necessary. However experience from other African countries testifies to the need to work at building from the bottom sustainable institutions which are accountable in a political, administrative and social sense to their members. Engineering change from the top is not likely to succeed.

29. One can envisage a process which would move Kenya towards achieving conditions where CDD could reach a meaningful scale and have an impact on poverty alleviation. How to move from plan/policy to implementation? A good starting point would be a broadly accepted set of processes and rules for CDD, which development actors would respect when they wish to operate in a locality. Fragmented, ad hoc approaches have prevented successful scaling up. A vision of institutionalised village committees with plans and organizations is not unattainable. The challenge is the rate at which capacity can be built, both at local government level and at community level, to realize the vision.

30. Change in government policy and structures will take time. What we can do now is to begin to empower communities and local government, starting with increasing information flow, thus beginning to establish the conditions for increased downward accountability. Equally important is to recognize and strengthen the planning process at the lowest level possible, and to link this planning process institutionally to existing structures with lowest level of government, so plans are considered and incorporated. LASDAP is showing some movement in this direction.

31. The role of local government should be enhanced, and their structures reoriented to deliver according to local demands. Lost trust must be regained. This study clearly identified the existing potential for community acceptability, accessibility, accountability and the potential for regular information flows between village and local government. Councils are well placed for local accountability. Local government has seemed to embrace the participatory approach through LASDAP and LATF. How can this process be strengthened?

32. Finally there is a need to remove the duality and ambiguity of roles between local government and devolved central government bodies. For the achievement of multiple objectives, for increasing fiscal efficiency, for better quality of service, and for better clarity of accountability mechanisms, this is an important process to start.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1. World Bank support to Kenya continues to face serious challenges. The track record of its support is mixed, with very few recent examples of real impact on the ground. Support to poverty alleviation efforts are hampered by many factors, including:

   - Highly centralized administrative structures which have changed little since colonial rule
   - Weak local government which has been disenfranchised by central government, effectively operating only in cities and small towns
   - A record of poor government delivery of basic social services, and declining social development indicators

2. Despite these daunting constraints, some positive factors lead the World Bank to believe that it would be worthwhile to analyse the possibilities for adopting a more locally based, community driven approach to development in Kenya. These include:

   - A strong and well organized civil society - including women's groups, religious groups, and various advocacy groups – at the village and national level
   - An ongoing Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP) process (including extensive, best practice district consultations) which recognizes the need for more participation and delegation of responsibility to the local level, provides an effective entry point for discussions and buy-in from Government of Kenya
   - Glimmerings of hope that local government could be further empowered to take on a wider governance role – witnessed by preliminary results of the Local Authorities Transfer Fund and a willingness of Government to undertake reform of the Local Government Act.
   - A Government of Kenya Rural Development Strategy which has as its three crosscutting themes governance, participation and empowerment
   - A Government of Kenya Water Strategy which intends to transfer ownership and responsibility for rural water supply to communities.
   - Examples of World Bank projects which have had some impact on the ground using community level approaches (the Early Childhood Development Project, the Arid Lands Resource Management Project, the HIV/AIDS Programme, and the Second National Agricultural Research Project), and the extensive experience of bilaterals and other donors who have found ways of building local level capacity in Kenya
   - A large community Driven component of the multisectoral HIV/AIDS project which will need support as it develops institutional and financial mechanisms for financing interventions at the grassroots level
3. Past experience suggests that decentralization will not work without vibrant, participatory communities. One starting point can be to empower communities by giving them more resources and authority to use these flexibly. Thus, community-Driven development (CDD) aims to give control of decisions and resources to community groups. These groups often work in partnership with demand-responsive support organizations and service providers including elected local governments, the private sector, NGOs, and central government agencies. CDD is a way to provide social and infrastructure services, to organize economic activity and resource management, to empower poor people, improve governance, and enhance food security of the poorest.

4. CDD is a vision of prosperity through the empowerment of local communities. Poverty reduction requires functioning processes that help people improve their capabilities, which enable people to take charge of their local affairs instead of being supplicants before higher authorities. CDD aims to build on local capacity by harnessing community participation, to improve social capital by strengthening incentives for participatory development.

5. In this context, two pieces of analytical work, this one on prospects for community driven development in Kenya, and one on local government and local service delivery, will explore opportunities for more effective delivery of services to the poor. The two studies, while having separate terms of reference and study teams, have the objective of creating a shared vision of local empowerment through decentralization and community involvement, where the allocation of public funds is Driven by local priorities.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

6. The overall objective of this analytical work is to assess the possibilities for using a community driven development approach in Kenya, to increase formal linkages, downward accountability of service delivery mechanisms, and social inclusiveness in the poverty reduction effort. This objective has two parts.

- To influence the implementation of the PRSP. The Government has gone through an extensive consultation process to identify priority areas for poverty reduction, but has not gotten very far in determining how these priority areas should be tackled. The current budget allocation process focuses primarily on line ministry allocations, which do not effectively target Government spending to local needs. It does not give room for the implementation of local, multisectoral planning of priorities (as envisaged by a district MTEF process). Local government mechanisms, though undergoing reform process, need to be strengthened to provide the kind of downwardly accountable service delivery that will make a difference to poor people. Various institutional options will need to be considered to create the kind of structural change needed to achieve poverty reduction. A strong endorsement for beneficiary participation in the poverty reduction process is mentioned in the PRSP, with no concrete proposals for achieving this objective. There is recognition of the tremendous untapped human potential lying at the local level. This work would present options for Government to consider, for effective translation of PRSP priorities to poor communities.

- Along with the local government study, to provide input to the upcoming World Bank Country Assistance Strategy (CAS). An expected pillar of the upcoming CAS (scheduled for FY03) will be delivering to the poor. Using a CDD approach is a
potential option in Kenya for achieving our poverty reduction objectives, and this study will assess the potential for using such an approach.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE - OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. This chapter covers the milestones in major policy options and programs undertaken by the government since independence. The major milestones are presented sequentially. The major focus in each policy regime is the planning process (especially the degree of community participation), lessons learnt, and how the lessons were taken up in subsequent development initiatives. In addition, the analyses include institutional arrangements for service delivery, funding mechanisms, flow of resources to the grassroots, and efficiency in service delivery. An attempt is also made to see what each development episode left as a permanent mark on the social, political and economic landscape of Kenya.

2. Development planning in Kenya takes the form of sessional papers, which set the long-term development agenda. The two most important sessional papers issued since independence are Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya* and No. 1 of 1986 on *Economic Management for Renewed Growth*. The sessional papers are implemented through medium-term development plans which are further given operational meaning through the annual budget speeches by the Minister for Finance.

**Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965**

3. Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 was the first attempt at broad-based policy package by the independent government. It laid down the development path which Kenya has followed since then, namely, a mixed economy with growth as the major objective. The Sessional Paper emphasized the need for reduction in unemployment, increased Africanisation of the economy, and subsidization of education should not compromise economic growth. Although Kenya had just acquired independence and the majority of the population did not have access to basic needs (e.g., education and health), the Sessional Paper emphasized the need for reduction in unemployment and increased Africanisation of the economy.

4. The first Development Plan (1964-70) was superseded by a thoroughly revised plan covering the period 1966-70, so as to harmonize the plan with the long-term vision in the Sessional Paper. The second Development Plan (1970-74) emphasized balanced economic development through rural development. This theme was later revisited in 1983 as the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD).

5. The rapid growth in the economy in the first decade after independence was based on factors that later turned into serious problems for economic management. Industrialization was partly based on import substitution and Government (parastatal) involvement in manufacturing. Beginning in 1969, the Minister for Finance advocated expansionary budgetary policies to “utilize idle resources” – in the pure Keynesian tradition. Due to international exchange rate
instability, the government in late 1971 imposed import controls and direct controls on retail prices, which were intended as short-term measures for maintaining price and exchange stability, but became a long-term feature of Government intervention in economic activities. Consequently, the 1974-78 development plan emphasized a greater role of Government in directing the economy.

6. The 1979-83 Development Plan was written at a time when the popular economic thinking was with regard to alleviation of poverty and provision of basic needs. The experience of the sixties in Kenya and other African countries had shown that the trickle-down development theories as embodied in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 had failed to alleviate poverty among the majority of the populace. The 1979-83 Development Plan shifted the policy framework to “alleviation of poverty” without losing the objective of economic growth, in a development framework referred to as “distribution through growth”. Changes in key incentive indicators in late 1982, mainly exchange rate (a 15% nominal depreciation) and interest rate adjustment, had long-term effects on resource allocation and influenced future thinking on economic reform. There was increasing recognition of the need to ease the economy from the regime of tight economic controls e.g., to change key incentive indicators (e.g., exchange rate and interest rate), and to reduce direct government involvement in economic activities (e.g., through privatisation of state-owned enterprises). In the late seventies and early eighties, the Government started reassessing its extensive involvement in industrial and commercial activities, spurred by budgetary pressures and an unfavourable economic environment. In May 1979, the Review of Statutory Boards was released, whose recommendations led to the merger of the Wheat Board and the Maize and Produce Board into National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB). This was followed by the Report of the Working Party on Government Expenditures (1982) which recommended that the government divest itself of investments in various sectors.

7. From 1982, Kenya went through a process which consolidated power in the executive. Constitutional changes withdrew security of tenure of the Attorney General, judges and Auditor-General. Government involvement in producer organizations and statutory boards increased. In 1983, the farmers’ lobby, the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA), was reorganized as the Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union (KGGCU). The only main producer organization that survived with some degree of autonomy was the Kenya Tea Development Authority (KTDA), as tea factories were designed as limited liability companies owned by farmers, while the KTDA operated as a management consultant. In the early eighties, there was a consistent loss of power of producer organizations and the civil society. There was also increased centralization of funding decisions and reduced funding for service delivery by local authorities. The recent efforts to liberalize the cash crop sector (principally sugar, tea and coffee) is an attempt to return the control from regulatory and marketing agencies to farmers.

8. During the first two decades after independence, policy formulation was not the preserve of Government and the donor community. For example, the 1966-70 Development Plan stated that “the university is expected to play a part in planning activities largely through its research and advisory contributions. In particular, the Institute of Development Studies... is expected to contribute in an important way to the analysis of data necessary to the planning operation and will advise...” The close collaboration between the Government and the University of Nairobi, external scholars and development agencies led to a continuous academic analysis of Government policies and projects.
9. The milestones in the policy regime include the 1966 Kericho Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development and the subsequent creation of the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP), and the setting up of the International Labour Office (ILO) research team that produced the seminal report on Employment, Incomes and Equality (1972). The 1972 ILO report led to the publication of Sessional Paper on Employment in 1973 as Government’s official policy response to the report. The collaborative efforts between the government and scholars also earned Kenya an important place in the academic literature, including the concept of the informal sector and Harris-Todaro model of rural-urban migration.

10. In a chapter titled “The Myths of Kericho: Was SRDP Experimental?” Mutiso (1975) argues that, although the Kericho conference for a lot of Kenyans was ‘sold’ as a local effort, “in Kericho, there were few locals”. Mutiso argues that “the myth of Kericho ought to be thrown in the garbage heap of history so that we can develop meaningful rural development systems outside the intellectual framework of the sixties.” According to Mutiso, “perhaps the real lasting contribution of SRDP was to really bring to the fore the question of the developmental role of the Provincial Administration”, an issue we are still debating three decades later.

11. Although SRDP was experimental, it has important bearings to the scope of this study. First, it drew lessons on agricultural extension that led to recommendations in favour of agricultural extension to organized groups rather than individuals. Secondly, the findings of the SRDP on the role of women groups were used to recommend the functions and structure of the then proposed Women’s Bureau. Thirdly, SRDP was designed to generate ideas for preparation of district plans. Fourthly, the findings shed light on the merits and demerits of grants-in-aid system as a fiscal device that enables a recipient to obtain resources from a donor subject to some conditions. Fifthly, SRDP validated the findings of the 1971 Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission), which cited administrative structure as one of the shortcomings of development policy in Kenya.

Sessional Paper Number 1 of 1986

12. In 1986, the government launched an economic reform program, the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth, as a blueprint for the envisaged structural adjustment and economic reform up to year 2000. The Sessional Paper recognized the dominant role of the private sector in revitalizing the economy, the importance of efficient use of scarce resources and control of the budget deficit, the need for a market-based incentive system, and balanced development of both urban and rural areas. The Sessional Paper measured community participation in terms of willingness to pay user charges for various government services, where cost sharing was given the friendly label of “participant support”.

1 One of the outcomes of the agricultural extension messages of the sixties and the seventies was the structural shift in production systems and consumer demand from traditional ground-hugging crops (e.g., sweet potatoes and traditional legumes and vegetables) to cash crops (e.g., tea and coffee) and new seed varieties (e.g., hybrid maize). The traditional crops tended to provide their own canopy and mulch that assisted in regeneration of the soil. The new crop varieties are more dependent on imported inputs or inputs with high import content e.g., fertilizers and pesticides. The unique definition of food security in terms of maize availability threatens the viability of food production systems that has resulted in intermittent food insecurity.
13. Despite the statements of intent, the liberalization was slow and patchy (Swamy, 1994). The Government introduced a free health care system in 1965. However, in 1989, the government introduced graduated user charges with higher rates at hospitals than at health centres so as to encourage patients to first seek treatment at the lower levels. Seventy five per cent of the user fees were to be refunded to the health institution and 25% be used to enhance preventive and promotional health services in the respective district (see Development Plan, 1994-1996). The Government exempted dispensaries from user fees, except for minimal charges by the community for paying local employees (clerks, cleaners and security personnel). In 1987, the Government started a process of gradual increases in user charges for artificial insemination services, and in the early nineties withdrew subsidies in livestock dipping.

14. The suspension of donor balance of payments support in 1991 related to lack of progress on parastatal and civil service reforms. Ironically, however, most of the reforms were undertaken during this period of suspension of balance of payments support. The liberalization of grain marketing that started with gradual relaxation of movement controls was completed by abolition of movement permits and the conversion of the role of the grain marketing parastatal to a buyer and seller of last resort. The liberalization of the external account that was initiated in 1988 with the rationalization of the import tariff structure and prudent management of the exchange rate was completed with deregulation of the exchange rate in March 1993.

15. The Government also became increasingly conscious of the effect of a bloated civil service on personnel costs and subsequent reduction in service delivery. The Report of the Presidential Committee on Employment (1991) stated that “it is common to find a situation whereby the same farmer is visited on different days by several extension officers from various ministries who may give either conflicting advice, or similar advice but with different emphasis. Jurisdictional disputes between ministries also occur from time to time.” Downsizing of the civil service was started in 1993, but a significant reduction in number of ministries did not take place until the late nineties.

16. In 1992, there were 29 ministries, various regional development authorities, and a host of advisory committees (e.g., the Permanent Presidential Commission on Soil Conservation and Afforestation, the Permanent Presidential Commission on Water Conservation, and the Permanent Presidential Commission on Music). As of June 2001, there were 16 ministries headed by 26 ministers (excluding the President and Vice-President), 50 assistant ministers, and 19 permanent secretaries. There was, however, some savings on cost of personnel administration and office accommodation.

DISTRICT FOCUS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

17. At the institutional level, the Government in 1983 adopted the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD), as an attempt to decentralize various management responsibilities to the districts. The three inter-related outputs of the district planning process were the district development plan, the annual annex to the district development plan, and the infrastructure inventory. The district development plan has the same life-span as the national development plan and was used to translate the agenda of the national plan to the district-specific conditions. The district development plan was given operational meaning through the annual annex to the
district plan, which was a three-year rolling budget setting the district implementation program and budgets.

18. The district infrastructure inventory was an important input in the budget rationalization program since it incorporated information on location, condition and utilization of infrastructure facilities. The inventory was also a valuable input in the preparation of district development plans, as the database was used to support arguments for the need to construct, rehabilitate or maintain particular facilities. The facilities included in the infrastructure inventory include roads and airfields, primary schools, secondary schools, service and training institutions (e.g., teacher training colleges, farmers training centres, and village polytechnics), water facilities, health facilities, cattle dips, livestock holding grounds and auction facilities, grain storage facilities, and cooperative societies. The District Development Officer (DDO) was to ensure that the inventory schedules were completed by the district departmental head of the ministry responsible for the facility. The completed infrastructure schedules were required to have (a) a clear description of the nature and function of the facility, (b) location of the facility, (c) careful evaluation of the extent to which the facility is utilized, and (d) specific statements on the condition of the facility and what improvements are necessary to maximize the facility’s service delivery.

19. The inventory was to provide raw material to the formation of strategies and policies. As the Ministry of Planning and National Development (MPND) noted in an internal document, “cattle dips are built to eradicate ticks and promote meat production; schools are built to educate children and raise their potential for productive employment; and health facilities are built to provide treatment and prevent illness. The inventory gives insights into whether the facilities are contributing to these strategies and policies.” However, the preparation of the district infrastructure inventories was discontinued due to lack of funding.

20. The district development planning process has been generally carried out at the level of the district departmental heads in charge of Ministries and the DDO, who is in charge of putting together the district plan. It has been rightly argued that DFRD and the accompanying district planning process was a mere dispersal of central government control outside the national capital without tangible transfers of powers to make decisions at the local level. The process merely transferred the national structure (of the executive and line ministries) to the district level. Devolution of power is generally understood to mean transfer of authority for decision-making, development planning and management to independent or semi-autonomous local governments, the functions and responsibilities of which are outside the direct control of the national governments. In practice, DFRD, due to the continued focus on line ministry planning and budgeting, has not resulted in any meaningful devolution.

21. The District Development Committee (DDC) is the supreme body on matters pertaining to development in the district, as enshrined in the DFRD document. The membership of the DDC includes the District Commissioner (chairman), departmental heads of line ministries, members of parliament, KANU chairman and Mandeleo chairlady. The DDC establishes local development priorities, monitors the technical work of its executive committee and other sub-committees, and monitors the progress of development activities in the district. Although members of parliament from the district attend the DDC, the DDC structure does not exist in the statutes enacted by parliament. At the lower levels, sub-location, location and division sub-DDCs are chaired by the relevant levels of the provincial administration. The institution of the DDC has in the past given the provincial administration an enhanced role. However, since the
majority of budget decisions are made centrally, either at MOF or by central government ministries, the ability of the DDC to influence allocation of funds to districts has been minimal.

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

22. The liberalization of the economy that started in 1985 was deepened in the early nineties, including introduction of cost-sharing (user fees), retrenchment, sale of state-owned enterprises, price decontrols, removal of import licensing, foreign exchange deregulation, and removal of government subsidies. In the short-term, these policy changes were expected to have a deleterious impact on the livelihoods of the poor. The support to vulnerable groups was to be provided through the Social Dimensions of Development (SDD) programme.

23. The Government made a contribution to the SDD program, and also expected donors to contribute. Funds were earmarked separately at the national level and in the districts. At the local levels, independent committees were instituted to generate local level priorities. The Government presented the SDD programme to three successive consultative group (CG) meetings in Paris in December 1994, July 1995, and March 1996. Despite government's lack of access to external resources for budgetary support, "the donor partners continued to provide support for poverty reduction through various programmes and projects which are targeted to specific communities and areas" (Social Dimensions of Development Programme: Progress, Prospects and Priority Actions, 1997). Some of the examples cited were Community Development Trust Fund financed by EU and PAMNUP funded by the United Kingdom.

24. Throughout the 1990's, there was an increasing trend amongst donors to increase funds allocated to NGOs for targeted poverty. Many bilateral donors initiated separate district development programs. In the case of SDD, there was little donor input at the national level, other than substantial funding from UNDP for design of the system and hosting of national and regional workshops, as well as the initiation of poverty-focused programs in six pilot districts.

25. Most of the bilateral programs at the district level and significant funding to NGOs were started during this period, and therefore has important implications for this study in terms of generating lessons on community-Driven development in Kenya outside of the formal Government structure.

THE NATIONAL POVERTY ERADICATION PLAN (NPEP), 1999-2015

26. The Government, in February 1999, published a long-term plan for poverty eradication covering the period 1999-2015. The National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP) was formulated on the basis of knowledge gained from the national poverty studies. The first participatory poverty assessments (PPA) had support from DFID and the World Bank, while UNICEF funded activities in Kisumu and Mandera.

27. The PPA work received substantial intellectual and material inputs from Amref, DFID, World Bank, and UNICEF. The constituency of bilateral and multilateral agencies that built around preparation of PPAs continued to support the preparation of the NPEP. Civil society also had substantial input, in particular, successfully lobbying for inclusion of some aspects of the basic rights charter (called the Charter for Social Integration). The Basic Needs are Basic
Rights Campaign was a collective movement of civil society organizations, including ACTIONAID, to incorporate basic needs as basic rights in the constitutional review process that were to commence in 1998. Civil society was pushing for inclusion of the charter into a bill of rights that would be translated into law by parliament, but this did not materialize.

28. The NPEP presents a case for use of participatory approaches in community-based planning. Some experimentation with poverty eradication have been conducted by Poverty Eradication Commission (PEC) based at the Office of the President. A board that includes the private sector, civil society organizations, and Government manages the PEC. The PEC has funded a number of community-based programs, some of which have been a reaction to community proposals sent to the commission. Communities consulted during this study however, were not aware of any guidelines for accessing funds under PEC, and for monitoring and evaluation of community activities supported by PEC. Some communities said that the funds are given out to community groups as benevolent funds from the executive. Some civil society organizations also raised concern that availing funds to communities without attention to aspects of social capital and organization can disempower beneficiaries and reduce community participation in activities that require community input for sustainability.

29. The NPEP sets out a long-term vision and goals with respect to sustained reduction in poverty. This has created some confusion about what it is that constitutes Kenya’s long-term vision, especially between the vision of industrialization that preceded the poverty eradication plan. There is also unclear linkage between the vision (the poverty eradication plan), medium-term planning (national development plan of 2002-8), the short-term implementation plan (PRSP and MTEF), and the annual budget.

POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY PAPER (PRSP)

30. In December 1999, the Board of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) approach to reducing poverty in low-income countries. Previously, support by the Bretton Woods Institutions to low-income countries was based on the Policy Framework Paper (PFP). One of the past criticisms of the PFP approach was that its preparation and implementation was shrouded in secrecy, involving the Bretton Woods Institutions and senior staff of central bank and ministry of finance of the host country. The preparation of the PRSP broke away from this tradition, and opted for a policy framework designed through an internal participatory process in the low-income countries. The downside of the PRSP approach is that, although it is a more consultative process, it does not include detailed macroeconomic indicators and projections, useful features which accompanied the PFP.

31. The Government prepared an interim PRSP in early 2000, which was based on contributions from sector ministries and other arms of government. Some of the policy initiatives that followed the interim PRSP include initiation of the liberalization of marketing of major cash crops, e.g., sugar, tea and coffee.

32. In early 2001, consultative processes were initiated in all the districts to generate district-level PRSPs. In ten districts, the process was conducted through participatory processes involving communities. Some of the criticism that the district process as not being inclusive and participatory were from the districts where a less intensive consultation took place, and only a
limited number of community leaders participated in the district consultative process. At the
district level, DDOs organized the district consultative processes directly, with the assistance of
lead NGOs and main government departments. The success of district consultative process and
its link with the district development plan was therefore dependent on the creativity and
commitment of the respective DDO and the lead agencies. In addition, ten districts generated
their PRSP reports through a community-Driven consultative process, and therefore stood a
better chance of preparing district development plans based on community needs. Although
mechanisms are not yet in place to incorporate communities in implementation and monitoring
of planned activities, there is thinking being developed along these lines.

33. The district consultative forums took place around February-March 2001, and the
national-level PRSP was ready by June 2001. The timetable for preparation of the national
budget is normally in its draft stage in March, and the budget for year 2001-2002 did not
therefore have time to fully reflect the priorities filtered from the district PRSP consultations.
Despite this, the PRSP priorities of Rural Development, Health and Education have been a
factored into the resource allocation process. This is more evident in the draft 2002-2003 draft
budget.

34. The PRSP would need to address more clearly the issues of local governance and weak
institutions as it relates to community driven development. The PRSP mentions the need to
complete the review and rationalization of ministerial functions, revision of the role of district
administration in development, and accelerating the implementation of local government
reforms. More clarity is needed as to how these measures are going to be implemented, and
how the functions of central government and local authorities will be rationalized and
harmonized at the local level.

KENYA RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (KRDS)

35. The Kenya Rural Development Strategy (KRDS), scheduled for completion in 2002,
recognizes that one of the factors that have constrained success of past rural development
efforts is the limited “beneficiary participation in programme identification”. The mission of
the KRDS is “to define a road map to facilitate participatory rural development through
equitable and improved access to productive assets and services to promote food security,
employment, higher incomes and welfare”.

36. The strategy recognizes the need to initiate modalities for devolution of power to the
local authorities, including “review of the relevant local government and fiscal legal
instruments”. It does not, however, specify the desired division of functions between the
central government structures and local authorities at the district and grassroots levels. The
strategy does recommend the devolution of additional responsibility to local authorities.

37. The KRDS, like the PRSP, is to be implemented with mutual assistance of civil society,
local authorities, the private sector, cooperatives, and the central government. It proposes the
formation of the KRDS Trust Fund that will be managed by a board of trustees comprising of
the private sector, civil society, donor community, and the central government. The strategy
has chances for success as it incorporates participation of beneficiary communities, has
membership from a wide spectrum of stake-holders, and recognizes the need to shift the burden
of planning and implementation to institutions of elected representatives (local authorities) rather than the civil service and the provincial administration.

38. The KRDS is predicated on a number of policy reforms, such as a redefinition of the role of local authorities, the role of provincial administration and the current district structures which operationalise the District Focus for Rural Development Strategy. In addition, by proposing a special fund, the strategy subsumes that the trust fund will be a separate budget line from the rest of the Government expenditures and avoids the fundamental need to reform how line ministry funds are prioritised and used. Finally, the strategy seems to have drawn lessons from the ongoing attempts to reform the Local Government Act but shies away from recommending the necessary central government reforms to redefine division of resources and functions between the central and local governments.

SUMMARY

39. Most of the development initiatives implemented since independence have emphasized a poverty focus without losing sight of economic growth. The initiatives of the sixties and seventies were based on involvement of scholars and international development agencies, without much local participation. The process therefore meant that Kenya was implementing new development paradigms based on changes in focus in development thinking, from trickle-down, to redistribution with growth, and to basic needs.

40. Apart from the SRDP, which was used to generate ideas on institutional processes, most of the structures used in development administration were a result of commissions of inquiry. The role of the provincial administration in development was first questioned by the pamphleteers of the SRDP. However, through DFRD, the transfer of national structures to the district level increased the role of the provincial administration in development matters at the district and lower levels.

41. The initiatives undertaken in the last decade include the SDD, NPEP, the PRSP, and the KRDS. These processes have involved deeper consultations with a wide cross-section of stakeholders, including civil society, communities, and donors. The training of government staff on participatory methodologies and their participation at community-level consultations has deepened their understanding of poverty processes, and are now more equipped for pro-poor programming. However, the implementation process thus far does not involve significant increases in community participation. For example, grants from the poverty eradication commission are seen as benevolent contributions from the executive. In addition, the contributions have undermined community organization and efforts of other actors on the ground who insist on community contributions (in cash or kind). To have maximum impact, these recent development initiatives will need to be viewed as new development paradigms that factor in communities in planning, implementation and monitoring, rather than new funding windows (from donors). The initiatives will also need to include a coherent analysis of organizational structures and their attendant impact on grassroots development.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT’S SERVICE DELIVERY

1. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the central and local government structures involved in service delivery. This includes a discussion of the types of structures, their functions, how they relate internally and with other structures of Government, how they relate with communities, and recent experiences in community participation through these structures.

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES INVOLVED IN SERVICE DELIVERY

The Roles and Functions of the Provincial Administration

2. The institution of the provincial administration was inherited from the colonial statutes and institutions. Most Kenyans view them as an extension of the executive up to grassroots level. The official levels stop at the sub-location, which is headed by an assistant chief. In some areas, the assistant chief appoints village elders to assist him/her in the day-to-day administration at the grassroots level. The provincial administration is seen as the instrument that allows the executive to exercise authority at the local level.

3. While many studies and commissions have made reference to the reform of local government, few if any have attempted to provide options for the reform of the provincial administration. In a discussion with community members in Bombolulu, Mombasa municipality, a community member defined a location as an administrative area under the umbrella of a chief, while another defined a chief as a Government appointee in charge of a location. Kenya’s spatial and administrative organization is therefore defined by the provincial administration.

4. The institution of the provincial administration is embodied in two pieces of enabling legislation, the Chief’s Act (cap 128) and the Administration Police Act (cap 85). The Chief’s Act gives legitimacy and authority to all members of the provincial administration, right from the provincial commissioner to the assistant chief. The powers vested by the Chief’s Act were substantially reduced in 1997 through administrative reforms agreed upon under the umbrella of the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG). The Act also changed its name from Chief’s Authority Act to Chief’s Act.

5. The Administration Police Act gives a district commissioner authority to recruit administration police (AP) to serve only in the district of appointment. The administration police were introduced in 1958 to replace tribal police that used to exercise authority under the Tribal Police Act of 1929. The force reports to the Head of State and not the police commissioner. At the grassroots level, APs are understood to be the force that protects members of the provincial administration and assist them to carry out their duties under the Chief’s Act. The IPPG reform package did not give sufficient attention to the Administration
Police Act. Consequently, the provincial administration can exercise powers beyond the Chief’s Act as long as such orders are executed by the administration police. Although the IPPG reforms were intended to enhance the environment where citizens express their views and elected leaders interact freely with the citizens, they suffered from lack of dissemination at the grassroots level, and therefore the benefits of improved local-level governance and interactions have not been fully realized.

The Roles and Functions of the Sector Ministries

6. Under the current organization of Government, the central government is divided into Ministries, each headed by a Minister appointed by the Head of State, from among both elected and nominated members of Parliament. There are also assistant ministers, whose portfolios are not spelt out in the organization of government. Each Ministry is headed by an executive and accounting officer referred to as Permanent Secretary. Due to the fact a permanent secretary is the accounting officer for the ministry, there is a specific portfolio assigned to each PS even in cases where a ministry has more than one PS.

7. At the lower levels, there are provincial and district departmental heads of line ministries. Most ministries are normally represented at the district level. The officers from the Planning portfolio of the Ministry of Finance and Planning (district development officers) and the office of the president (district commissioners) coordinate all development activities at the district level. Below the district level are front line ministry staff such as agricultural extension workers, public health technicians and education officers.

KARI’s Agriculture Technology and Information Response Initiative

Appropriate and improved technology and information are key to growth in not only agriculture but every other sector. To achieve and sustain growth in the Agricultural sector, there is need for effective dissemination of research technologies and information. Various dissemination approaches have been used in the past but the impact remains minimal at farm level. In 2000, the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute formulated a new initiative, the Agricultural Technology and Information Response Initiative (ATIRI) whose main goal is to work with partners to enhance farmers information and technology demands. The purpose of this initiative is to catalyse the dissemination process by instituting a paradigm shift from the 'supply model' to a 'demand model'.

This initiative brings together CBOs, GoK extension staff and farmers to make demands on KARI through proposals submitted to selected KARI centres. These organisations will only help the CBOs put their demands into a proposal but will not own the proposals. The CBOs can also submit their proposals directly to the centres. Capacity building of the partner organisations is also an objective of the initiative through training in various fields. These include team building, participatory approaches and business approaches.

Under NARP II (Second National Agricultural Research Project), an ATIRI grant fund was set up to finance approved proposals. These proposals ranging from the production of foundation seeds, water harvesting, multiplication of dual purpose goats, establishment of nurseries, etc. include on-site demonstration of the technologies and training of farmers by the service providers. The grant (ranging in amount from $2,000 to $5,000) is deposited in the account of the farmer organization or community (usually with the NGO or the service provider concerned being a joint signatory). In most cases, day-to-day advice is provided by selected extension workers or NGO (service provider) staff. It is quite common for the ATIRI to provide per diem and fuel for vehicles of extension staff. In some places, extension staff helped communities or farmers' groups prepare the proposals for submission to ATIRI. ATIRI is under implementation in nine regional research centres (Embu, Lanet, Kitale, Katumani, Kakamega, Kisii, Mtwapa, Naivasha and Njoro).
**The Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP)**

ALRMP is a World Bank funded programme operating in the twelve arid districts of Kenya. It has been operational since 1996. The objective of the programme is to strengthen communities to better enable them to cope with drought. The project has three components - drought management, community development and marketing and infrastructure. Three aspects of ALRMP are relevant to this study.

1. **Empowering district planning.** Drought management, in the form of an early warning system, district drought contingency plans, natural resource management planning, and strategic drought mitigation investments, are all carried out within a district planning framework which includes all actors active in the district. Decisions concerning the distribution of famine relief, carried out by lead NGOs in each district are also taken in a common forum. Local government is included, especially as they play a key role in livestock and other marketing activities.

2. **Tapping into traditional leadership/resource management structures.** Pastoral associations have been formed as umbrella groups for the various water, veterinary and other user associations developed to manage community social services. These associations fit with traditional management structures, and have formed apex structures to capture economies of scale and advocate for common interests at district and national levels.

3. **Community Micro projects.** Pastoral communities interface with district technical teams in the form of mobile extension teams. These teams carry out intensive PRA process which includes aspects of natural resource management relevant to community survival. Communities are assisted in carrying out priority investments, with a 70% maximum contribution coming from outside resources. NGOs in the districts form part of these teams and use similar methodologies to ensure a consistent approach across the districts. Close to one thousand micro projects have been financed.

A beneficiary assessment of the project is now being carried out, and the Government has requested a second phase which would involve expansion of the programme to additional semi-arid districts.

---

8. Each departmental head of a line ministry is in charge of local level planning and implementation of the activities of the line ministry, with inputs from the DDC. The departmental heads work with the DDO to produce the district development plan, however the sectoral allocation remains under the control of Nairobi. Previously, the district commissioner had more discretion over use of funds, but reforms introduced recently have put the entire responsibility for implementation of district activities and accounting for funds in the hands of the departmental heads.

**The Roles and Functions of Local Authorities**

9. As described above, Kenya has retained a hierarchically nested administrative organization, from nation, province, district, division, location, to sub-location, applying to both provincial administration and line ministries. As currently constituted, local authorities constitute a dual administrative structure parallel to provincial administration and the line ministries.

10. According to Hooper (2001), the current system of local government in Kenya is codified in the 1977 Local Government Act, cap 265 of the Laws of Kenya, and subsequent amendments. Urban local government consists of city, municipal and town councils. Rural local government is provided by county councils, which are the residual authorities for all areas.
not falling under one of the urban authorities. Other than Mombasa (which doubles as a district) and Nairobi (which is also a province), all the urban local government authorities are spatially nested within county councils. Some urban centres have urban councils of their own, which are administratively and financially part of the parent county council. County councils provide only a very limited range of services, typically, maintenance of rural water supply and rural access roads, managing of markets in trading centres, refuse collection, and some limited support to primary education.

11. There is no clear policy framework for decentralization in Kenya. Because of this, the term "decentralization" is interpreted in different ways. One interpretation is that it is a process of geographical deconcentration of responsibility and resources away from Nairobi, while retaining control within the central government system. An example would be providing resources to primary school head teachers, who are central government employees, to buy textbooks. An alternative interpretation is that it is a process of genuine political devolution, where service delivery responsibility and resources are devolved from central government to elected local governments.

12. The second interpretation is that generally accepted in other east and southern African countries (for example, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia). These countries are all pursuing to a greater or lesser extent, a programme of political devolution. The overarching frameworks for government policy in both Tanzania and Uganda identify the decentralization of political power and resources as central pillars of poverty alleviation. However, in Kenya, most "decentralization" initiatives to date have emphasized geographical deconcentration of central government, with only a limited role for elected local governments.


14. Between 1969 and 1974, the GPT (a local payroll levy that was a principal source of revenue for local authorities), was progressively transferred to the central government, which weakened the financial position of local authorities. According to the *Report by the Independent Probe Committee on Financial and Management Problems of Nairobi City Council* (1983), GPT "was considered as a form of poll tax which had the colonial taste and hence totally unacceptable in the new political style of the country". This development, as well as the subdivision of districts and creation of numerous urban local authorities, has led to further weakening of the financial base of most local authorities.

15. The laws governing local authorities have no rival in obscurity and confusion. The laws include the Local Government Act, which governs the operations of municipal, town and
county councils. In addition, cities and municipalities also operate under powers delegated by various statutes e.g., under the Public Health Act (cap 242) and the Education Act (cap 211). The delegation of powers is not matched by delegation of resources to undertake the functions of the central government at the municipal level. A notable exception is primary education, where specified municipalities manage primary schools other payment of teachers who are the responsibility of the Teachers Service Commission. In the case of water, Nairobi City Council is a duly appointed water undertaker under the Water Act. A detailed analysis of the functions assigned to Nairobi City Council are contained in Report by the Independent Probe Committee on Financial and Management Problems of Nairobi City Council (1983).

16. Following the recommendations of the Report of the Working Party on Government Expenditures (1982), the Government abolished the Local Government Service Commission and brought senior and professional employees of local authorities under the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission. The relationships between the chief officers appointed by the Public Service Commission and the elected representatives (mayor and councillors) were observed to be amount to mutual suspicion.

17. Local authorities reported to this study that the Ministry of Local Government is a major impediment to adjustments in revenue collections. The Government introduced the local government service charge in 1988, but its collection was stopped in year 2001 although the law governing the service charge was not repealed. The Single Business Permit was introduced at the same time as the service charge was abolished.

18. The Government has launched a local government reform program that has already recorded a number of achievements, notably, the introduction of Single Business Permit, the introduction of the Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF), and preparation of a draft bill to amend the laws governing local authorities. Most of the issues that are addressed in the reform of the legal regime governing local authorities have been mentioned in previous reports of enquiries. For example, the Ongeri report (1983) proposed that the Government consider small percentages be pegged to various aspects of national taxation to accrue to a fund known as the National Percentage Income for Local Authorities. The Local Authorities Transfer Fund Act of January 1998 pegged the fund to 5% of all tax collected under the Income Tax Act.

19. The local authorities appreciated the Government’s efforts to increase their revenue base through LATF. Some municipalities did report the amount is not sufficient to make a big difference, especially for the municipalities with massive debts. For example, Mombasa intimated that they require ten years under the current LATF income to clear outstanding debts, while Nairobi requires about 20 years. Secondly, the municipalities with outstanding debts face credibility problems with their beneficiary communities, since the funds were justified through a community Driven process, while in reality service delivery can not be substantially improved before the debts are repaid in full.

20. The Mombasa case is quite telling. The transfer of their share under LATF coincided with increase in local government salaries and transfer of the garbage-dumping site to a location about 10 km away from the previous dumping site. The two factors coupled with the need to reduce their indebtedness has resulted in a situation where some of the funds allocated under LATF will be not be fully available for improvement in service delivery in the short-term. Despite these daunting facts, the LATF experience to date gives hope that the impact of local
authorities on poverty alleviation can be enhanced through reform of the Local Government system.

The Roles and Functions of Elected Representatives

21. There are two main institutions which house elected representatives, the local authorities and the National Assembly. Local authorities consist of representatives elected at the ward level. The local authorities operate through systems of committees, composed of elected councillors, and chief officers which are appointed by the Public Service Commission. The committees allow for some participation of other interest groups in their areas of jurisdiction, but few authorities have so far allowed insiders in their meetings.

22. County Councils, on their part, appear to have made little effort to capitalize on their representative advantage. There are undoubtedly serious capacity constraints in terms of staff skills and resources. Councillors may have little formal education, and lack understanding of council processes. There is little evidence that County Councils have made efforts to involve citizens in the planning and delivery of services and development initiatives. There has been little attempt at accountability of officials to citizens on the quality and coverage of services provided. Councillors, though in theory representing the inhabitants of the ward which elected them, have no formal structures at ward level for listening to, and reporting back to, their electorate on a regular basis.

23. During fieldwork carried out through this study, participants cited several constraints in the operations of local authorities.

- Unease about the appointment of chief officers by the central government. In addition, since the chief officers were in charge of day-to-day management of the major departments in local authorities (e.g., town clerk, treasurer and engineering departments), their views were implemented regardless of the interests of elected representatives.

- Most local authorities were viewed by communities as closed-door shops that allowed little infusion of ideas from the people. In some instances, even councillors were accused of serving partisan interests (e.g., the local Member of Parliament) rather than the electors. It was suggested that inclusion of interests of civil societies should be anchored in law.

- Councillors stated that they are rarely consulted before important policy changes are made. This affects the quality of debate in the council meetings. In addition, councillors have very little influence at the ward level, as most development activities are coordinated through the provincial administration and line ministries.

- Communities cited that the local authorities do not normally consult them, especially before the introduction of the LASDAP consultative process. The needs of communities as forwarded by councillors tend to be in the form of elegant tombstones—large indivisible assets—that the local authorities cannot afford to maintain.
24. Members of Parliament have the mandate to enact laws. Parliament operates through a system of committees that include the public accounts committee (PAC) that scrutinize the reports of the auditor-general, the public investment committee (PIC) that scrutinizes the reports of the auditor-general (corporations), and host of other committees. However, MPs have very little official access to information on on-going policy debates. Their policy contribution is for the most part witnessed during the discussions around annual budget allocations, mostly after the fact. The Parliamentary committees receive very little external inputs, other than the PAC and the PIC which may summon persons adversely mentioned in the audit reports and the accounting officers of the respective ministries. Unfortunately, the PIC and PAC normally discuss financial misappropriation which took place about four years before. The discussions normally focus on whether particular expenditures were authorized by parliament or whether any other written law was broken.

25. The lack of access to information has a deleterious impact on the quality of parliamentary debate, especially in drawing the long-term development agenda of the country. Recently, Parliament has introduced statutes which give MPs direct authority over government expenditure in their constituencies. Notable examples are the constituency AIDS funds and the local road boards. However, the inclusion of MPs in the constituency road boards was successfully challenged in court, on the basis that it violates the separation of powers between the executive and the legislature.

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS OFFICIAL STRUCTURES

26. This section focuses on the relationships between the provincial administration, departmental heads of line ministries, and local authorities. The system of interactions is defined by the functional classification of the structures at the local level.

District Level

27. At the district level, the relationship between the three structures is defined by the composition of the DDC. The DC is the chairman of the DDC, the departmental heads are members of the district executive committee that report to the DDC, and the clerk to the local authority is a member of the DDC.

28. The local authorities reported that they have little or no influence on the planning and implementation of projects and programs funded by the central government. Although local authorities visited provided the DDC with copies of their annual reports and budgets, the converse was not true. In Mombasa, for example, the district departmental heads, other than the district accountant, did not have the expenditure summaries of the central government for all sector ministries. It was not therefore possible to obtain the total expenditures of central government for Mombasa municipality.

29. The communities residing in Mombasa and Nairobi did not have clear information on the separation of functions of central government and the respective local authority. For example, communities residing in Mombasa north coast along the Mombasa-Malindi highway were not aware that the responsibility for maintenance of the highway was the responsibility of the central government. There is no single service, including secondary education, that they assigned to the central government. The lack of public understanding of the separation of
functions of municipal and central governments was explained as one of the factors contributing to poor public perception of local authorities. For example, the local authorities stated that they are aware of the existence of constituency road boards. However, they had no information as to how much money was allocated to the respective constituencies or the particular roads they were to be used on. The local authorities doubted the ability of the boards to plan on the use of resources if they did not involve the local authorities, especially in urban areas.

30. The jurisdictional disputes between local authorities and the central government were most apparent at the municipal level. Mombasa is both a municipality and a district. In the case of education, the local authority is responsible for all public primary schools and early childhood education centres (pre-units), while the central government is in charge of secondary and tertiary education. In case of health, the local authority is in charge of all health clinics, other than Coast General Hospital (Makadara) and Port Reitz which are under the central government. This has resulted in sub-optimal use of resources.

31. The central government is also in charge of major roads leading into and out of Mombasa. The local authority is not involved in the planning and execution of central government activities the roads sector. An instance was cited where the central government repaired a road leading to Mombasa but the construction plan did not include any provision for streetlights, as the street lighting falls under the Mombasa Municipal Council.

32. Mombasa Municipal Council is not a water undertaker. The piped water system serving some parts of Mombasa municipality falls under the National Water Conservation and Pipeline Corporation. In cases where a municipality is also a water undertaker, the normal practice in many countries is to charge for garbage and sewerage services through water bills. This is deemed equitable as sewerage facilities are normally used with a piped water supply. Unlike Nairobi, Mombasa Municipal Council finances sewerage and dustbin services from the general fund. Unfortunately, Mombasa Municipal Council also has huge rate arrears, estimated at Shs 400 million.

33. Nairobi City Council is a duly authorized water undertaker under the Water Act. The Council has had difficulties in collecting sufficient revenue from water consumers. This is due to illegal water connections, seepage, and water meters that have been tempered with to understate consumption. The problem of wastage of the treated water is further compounded by a slow billing system (irregular posting of bills and misuse of a credit system that is only supposed to be applied in case of overcharge).

34. In the case of delivery of health services in Nairobi, the central government is in charge of Mbagathi and Kenyatta National Hospital, while the City Council manage and finance its own health clinics, which include two specialized clinics (chest clinic and another that specializes in venereal and skin diseases). The chest clinic includes free treatment for all cases of tuberculosis. The Council finances Pumwani maternity hospital, while its management is now in the hands of committee of representatives of the Council and independent individuals. The catchment area of the chest clinic and Pumwani maternity hospital goes beyond the Nairobi area to cover the dormitory towns of Nairobi (e.g., Githurai, Kiambu and Ongata Rongai) and the surrounding districts. The annual budget of the Council devoted to health services is around Shs 500 million, while the user charges from the health facilities are normally around Shs 10 million p.a.
35. The Nairobi City Council spends an estimated Shs 260 million per year on primary, pre-school education, and special education. The Council only collects admission fees for pre-unit and primary school, while the parents-teachers associations handle fees paid to each school. The Council also provides personnel to the primary schools in the form of manual workers, clerks and security.

Sub-District Level

36. Based on the recommendations of the Working Party on Government Expenditures (1982), the current structure of the DDC has branches at the location and division levels. The chairmen of the sub-DDCs are the respective heads of the provincial administration. The location sub-DDCs were weak or non-existent, and had weak links with local communities, CBOs and NGOs operating in their areas. In addition, the flows of information between the various sub-DDCs in the hierarchy were weak, and there were no cases cited where local interests had filtered to district-level plans and budgets. This was explained by the subservient position of the chief in relation to the DO and the DO in relation to the DC, which hinders meaningful bargains in pushing local priorities along the hierarchy. Unclear links between councillors and these structures also hinder local planning, as does the fact that no funding decisions are made based on these plans. Allocation of line ministry funds is determined on a sectoral basis at the district level, with little discretion over spending priorities delegated to lower levels.

37. Urban informal settlements present unique challenges in administration, planning, and community organization. They are characterized by diverse representation e.g., religions, economic inequalities, and tribes. They are underrepresented in administration and civil leadership. The high population density, diverse needs and cultural values makes it difficult to apply any meaningful consultation and planning processes covering a whole slum. The insecurity of land tenure compounds the problems, and limits meaningful investment by the residents and external development agents.
Community Initiative Account (CIA) under the Kenya HIV/AIDS Disaster Response (KADRE) Project (1)

Since the late 1990s HIV/AIDS has increasingly been recognized as a multi-sectoral issue given its impact throughout the Kenyan economy and society at large. In particular, HIV/AIDS has significant long term effect on human development and there is all likelihood that it will work against all efforts made in poverty eradication and health for all. Therefore, response to HIV/AIDS requires a multi-sectoral response and not one that is generated entirely from within the health sector.

Kenya Government Commitment:
Government response against the epidemic is geared towards reversing the trend of the epidemic and minimizing its social and economic impacts on Kenyans. This commitment is demonstrated through adoption by parliament of the Sessional Paper No 4. of 1997.

The national policy gives clear guidance on the future institutional and legal framework for responding to AIDS hence, it has greatly boosted the multi-sectoral approach. For instance, AIDS Strategic Plan is designed to provide a framework within which a collaborative effort can result in the reversal of the rising prevalence of HIV and a reduction of the impact of HIV/AIDS on society and the economy through implementation of high impact programs by all key players.

The Strategic Plan is therefore designed to facilitate policy makers, planners, managers, researchers, stakeholders in both the public and private sectors, community groups/ and non-governmental organizations to direct the focus of their activities and apportion resources towards the identified priorities in the fight against AIDS. The plan is deliberately pro-poverty as it recognizes the important role the planned interventions against HIV/AIDS will play to de-link the vicious circle between the spread of HIV/AIDS and poverty.

Decentralization and greater Involvement
Implementation will be decentralized by maximizing use of existing structures and strengthening them to effectively and efficiently mobilize stakeholders' participation in implementation of community driven initiatives. This strategy will involve establishing and strengthening structures, systems and mechanisms at National, Provincial, District and Constituency levels.

Implementation Strategy
Government response to the HIV/AIDS Disaster is marked by establishing National Aids Control Council (NACC) which is a secretariat at the National level to oversee the entire implementation process and coordinate the Kenya AIDS Disaster project.

Institutional capacity Building
The HIV/AIDS Community Initiative Account (CIA) is a Government of Kenya arrangement coordinated by the National AIDS Control Council (NACC) to provide an opportunity for institutional capacity building that gives high priority to the expansion of community-Driven local initiatives through a decentralized and multi-sectoral approach. Based on this view, the Community Initiative (CIA) will strengthen involvement of civil society organizations, the private sector and research institutions in the national response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and it make financial resources under the project available to these organizations.

Multi-sectoral Involvement
There are over 450 NGOs/CBOs dealing with HIV/AIDS in Kenya. These NGOs have specific strengths in resource mobilization both nationally and internationally. It is intended that NACC will continue to capitalize on existing infrastructure and strengths to increase coverage and quality of service provision. However, there is need to enhance the capacities of these NGOs/CBOs to enable them perform better and to scale up some of the best practices in prevention, care and support especially at district and community level –as well as encourage the formation of new NGOs/CBOs. Research Institutions, Religious and Private Organizations are also among the target groups to invited by NACC to address specific HIV/AIDS issues.

(continued in box 2)
Community Initiative Account (CIA) under the Kenya IV/AIDS Disaster Response (KADRE) Project (2)

Accountability at district level
Projects will be identified, reviewed and approved through a collaborative process at the constituency, district, provincial, and national levels. NACC committees (through technical sub-committees) will be responsible for approving and monitoring performance of projects financed under the Account.

At all levels the NACC system will have Technical Committees to review proposals from implementers based on the budget threshold levels. Comments to proposal review must be given within the number of weeks specified in the CIA Manual that is available as a public document to all. If there is failure to comply with this guideline, the NGO/CBO/private sector entity can forward their proposal to the next higher level or to NACC directly. NACC Secretariat will work closely with FMA to ensure that after satisfactory accounting for

Community's role in planning
CBOs must present clear evidence that a community project committee exist to facilitate implementation by previous grants and approval, funds are released within 7 days.

Equity, targeting and coverage
Equity will reflect articulate consideration on how well regions are covered by donor funded organizations already in the region. Special attention will be given to how projects are designed to address the different needs of men and women, equal representation in decision making and implementation process of HIV/AIDS interventions. All 70 districts in Kenya will be eligible for support through the HIV/AIDS account. The NACC will, however, allocate funds according to an agreed formula to all districts and all NACC offices with a special; focus on guiding NGOs and CBOs to ensure equitability in their project work

Enhanced community participation for demand-Driven interventions
CIA place high priority to improved participation of community members as beneficiary and implementers of their own project in order to ensure that HIV/AIDS interventions address concerns at household and community level. Therefore, communities will be empowered to play an active role.

The 'community' includes all those who are interested and involved in the project, who are prepared to participate and who will benefit from the services of the project. This encourages formation of community members into Associations or Membership Community Based Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations as well as

Community projects will be identified following an examination of HIV/AIDS related problems by communities themselves through a participatory process.

CBO. Such a committee must have been elected by community to help in planning, implementation and monitoring of the sub-project on behalf of the community. CBOs should have at least 10 members, 50% of them women.

Funding of community Driven initiatives
Proposals should present solutions to identified priority problems and show evidence of widespread support within the community. In order to enhance participation of community groups, CBOs and NGOs. NACC will implement an intensive campaign to disseminate the objectives and working principles of the CIA through sensitization, information, education and communication activities using its structure at district levels (DACC and CACC ) to disseminate information. In all cases, A Finance Management Agency (FMA) appointed by the Government of Kenya will transfer funds directly to the implementing entities.
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION THROUGH OFFICIAL STRUCTURES

38. The purpose of this section is to give an overview of community participation in generating local and national priorities, and aspects of monitoring of progress that listens to the voices of the people. The discussion is based on three experiences: participatory poverty assessments, the poverty reduction strategy paper, and the local authorities service delivery action plans.

Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPA)

39. Kenya has conducted three participatory poverty assessments as a complement to statistical measures of poverty derived from household-based surveys. The three PPAs (1994, 1996 and 2001) were based on application of participatory methodologies in selected districts. The two assessments also included urban areas, and slums in the urban areas. For this reason, they provide a wider menu of policy options compared with statistical measures which derive estimates based on aggregation. However, the concept of people's voice in the PPA process involved consultation and information sharing, and did not imply engagement with Government or any direct community influence on policy and decision-making processes. The PPAs complemented the welfare monitoring surveys which collected information on money-metric measures of poverty and social indicators. However, the PPAs did not have an action program, and are therefore widely viewed as tools of information gathering, rather than tools of community empowerment or filter of community needs for district and national level planning.

40. However, the Government personnel involved in the PPA found their way in the Poverty Eradication Commission and PRSP secretariat, and therefore used the experience gained to implement community-based programs and to draw community needs based on participatory tools.

41. In year 2001, the GTZ-supported Social Policy Advisory Services (SPAS) unit in the Ministry of Finance and Planning undertook a detailed participatory process in six districts. The previous two PPAs were released as national reports, but separate reports for participating districts were not published. The draft outputs from SPAS project consist of independent site reports (three per district) which are culled to produce a district report. The findings of the six district reports are further analysed to produce a national report. The SPAS process has two advantages over the traditional PPAs. First, it picks the voices of the communities, rather than being merely a tool of collecting qualitative information from the communities. In this respect, it is a deeper process of understanding the poverty process at the local level. Secondly, it empowers the participating communities in finding solutions to their local problems, and produces issue-based actions that the communities can undertake independent of outside agents (including Government structures). Thirdly, the cascading process of moving from site to district to national report provides a clear picture of how the emerging issues were generated.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

42. The PRSP provided Government personnel with a forum, or legitimacy, to talk to the communities on a national scale. The planning and design of PRSP consultative process involved substantial inputs from the civil society e.g., the PRA department of Egerton
University assisted in the design of data and information collection tools. At the national and local levels, the implementation of the research design also involved inputs from Amref, Pamfork and the private sector. The core Government team in charge of PRSP included personnel who had been involved in the first two PPAs, and had therefore sufficient acquaintance on training and practical application of participatory methodologies. Prior to the launch of the PRSP, all the Government personnel in the PRSP secretariat and other professionals in the Human Resources and Social Services Division, and the ten DDOs from participating districts received further training on participatory methodologies. The personnel trained in participatory methodologies were involved in community and district level consultations as principal facilitators.

43. The preparation of the district PRSP involved district-level participation in all districts, and in-depth community participation in ten districts. In the ten districts, the findings at community level and at district consultation forums were triangulated in the preparation of the district PRSP report. The district consultation process also depended on the development philosophy of programmes active in the respective district. For example, KDDP was the lead agent in Kilifi. Community consultations were conducted at the lower levels, and community reports prepared for each participating zone. The zonal reports and the outcome of the district consultation process were triangulated to form the district PRSP report.

44. The PRSP document has the twin objectives of poverty reduction and economic growth. This implies measures to improve economic performance and priority actions to reduce incidence of poverty. The PRSP will provide the basis for the development of a pro-poor and pro-growth Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). However, due to resource constraints, the MTEF has been slow in shifting the composition of recurrent expenditure away from personnel emoluments to operations and maintenance and its impact may not be seen immediately.

Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans (LASDAP)

45. The Government is implementing the Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) through the implementation of LASDAP. LASDAP are prepared through a participatory process with beneficiary communities. The local authorities welcomed the move to boost their revenue base, especially after suspension of the local authority service charge. Some of the requirements under LASDAP (e.g., preparation of books of accounts and revenue enhancement plan) have assisted local authorities to be more up-to-date with their information base. For example, a local authority reported that it did not know how much money it was owed in rates, until they compiled the information during the preparation of the revenue enhancement plan. In addition, some local authorities reported that some of their financial problems are caused by slow process of approval of revisions in revenue base by the Ministry of Local Government. The Ministry will therefore be in a position to gauge the effects of its regulatory role on the revenue of the local authorities.

46. The total revenue provided to the local authorities through LATF represents 5% of income tax. This was seen as a safe move as the total funds available are anchored on an enabling legislation and not on the discretion of the Ministry of Local Government. In addition, allocation of funds among local authorities was also based on non-discretionary criteria that may not be easy to abuse. Thirdly, the transfer of resources is direct from the Paymaster
General Account, which gives little room for circumvention either at source or before reaching the account of the local authority. However, the local authorities reported the total funds under LATF (5% of income tax) may not be adequate.

47. The communities welcomed the opportunities provided by LASDAP, as most local authorities had no meaningful activities at the grassroots level due to the shortage of finances. The consultative process has differed from one district to another, and also appears to depend on whether the process took place in a rural or urban area. In the urban areas, there seems to have been no clear-cut rules as to how the ward-level consultations were to take place. In Mombasa's Bombolulu area, the first meeting was called by a welfare officer from the municipal council, while the follow-up meeting was called by the chief. There were conflicting messages from the two structures. The community could not remember who passed the information, but they are sure they were told that the LATF money was to be spent directly by the communities rather than the municipal council. This could result in considerable tension in the second round of the LASDAP process, as communities may not believe that the funds were to be used to pay accumulated debts.

48. Unlike PRSP, the preparation of LASDAP was seen as a local government affair, and did not get sufficient publicity or participation outside of the local government and the provincial administration. For example, there was minimal participation of civil society organizations, although a few (e.g., ITDG) had inputs at the design stage, due partly to the fact that NGOs in Kenya have minimal interaction with local authorities, either at the Council level or at the grassroots level with individual councillors.

49. In Embu, the LASDAP meetings were organized by welfare and technical officers of the local authority, while follow-up involved councillors who had been trained on implementation of the LASDAP processes at the community level. The communities had faith that the community needs would be implemented because it involved the councillors and the local authority. The local authority, in turn, had faith in the process because they had been briefed on the legal foundations of the source of funds, and the minimal discretion in the entire program.

50. There has been some implementation of community activities funded under LATF in Embu. According to the Embu County Council, the communities had ranked the priorities and monetary value attached to them. Most of the LATF money was assigned to activities which were prioritised by the communities, and adopted by the full council without amendments. Some of the community projects funded under LATF were in health (an extra room in a health centre for maternity cases, or a laboratory), bridges to connect various hamlets (to improve access to factories, tealeaf collection centres, and primary schools), and drainage in the market centres to prevent flooding of markets. At the local authority level, the Council repaired a grader and a tipper for carrying murrum. The Council also bought culvert-making machinery that is even being hired out to earn some revenue.

Summary

51. The role of the provincial administration is commonly understood to be security and administration. At the developmental level, the provincial administration chairs the formal government structure at the district level and below. The roles and functions of local authorities
have diminished over time due to a shrinking resource base. However, communities tend to assign roles to local authorities which officially belong to the central government. Elected representatives (councillors and members of parliament) have limited official access to ongoing policy debates, which limits the quality of debate in local authorities and parliament.

52. The municipal councils were given substantial obligations for service delivery in education, health, and water and sanitation. The Nairobi and Mombasa municipalities have accumulated substantial debts as most of their income goes to health and education. In Mombasa, there is no direct cost recovery for water and sanitation, while collection of land rates are problematic.

53. Community participation through the normal Government planning structures is limited and disjointed. However, there have been attempts to include community consultation in preparation of the national agenda, mainly through the PPAs, PRSP, and LASDAP. The PPAs have contributed to subsequent use of participatory approaches in drawing up the national agenda, while some of the personnel that participated in the PPA were later involved in NPEP, PRSP, and routine operations of the PEC. In terms of participatory community planning, there has been a deepening of community-based planning in six districts under the auspices of GTZ-SPAS project.

54. The LASDAP process is a breakthrough in community planning as it has been translated into actual budgets and actionable plans. It also involved councillors who are elected representatives of the communities. Apart from a few districts, the types of investments funded through needs identified by the beneficiaries involved low capital outlays with low recurrent budget, and hence may be sustainable.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WATER SECTOR – TRANSITION TO A CDD APPROACH

1. There is general agreement that water is not only a basic need but also an economic and social good. The Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1999 on National Policy on Water Resources Management and Development outlines the overall goal for water development as facilitating the provision of water in sufficient quantity and quality within a reasonable distance to meet all competing uses in a sustainable, rational and economical way. There are about 330 gazetted water sources countrywide reaching approximately 80% of their catchment population. There are over 1,800 water supplies currently operating, of which about 1,000 are public-operated schemes. NGOs, self help groups and communities run the rest. The role of central Government in water supply and sanitation remains largely regulatory.

MILESTONES IN WATER POLICY

2. Developments in domestic water supply in Kenya can be divided into four periods. The first period relates to the first decade after independence (1963-1971) when the policies, programs and institutions that existed were, broadly speaking, extensions or modifications of colonial policies. Community participation was not a critical component except where coercion was exercised on communities for labour. Service delivery was guided by Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African socialism and its application in Kenya. Under this policy, major services including water were either provided in full or subsidized by Government.

3. The second period (1972-1980) represented efforts at achieving a balance between competing uses and users of water. This resulted in awareness of the centrality of water in the overall goal of socio-economic development, and hence the need for innovative ways of project implementation. The establishment of the Ministry of Water by an Act of Parliament in 1974 demonstrated this recognition and the importance of water as a resource for socio-economic development. There were cases of coerced community participation, but the communities were willing to participate since the economic returns were evident. The long term strategic vision behind the establishment of the Ministry of Water was that improved domestic water supply would improve human health, increase the productivity of human resources in food production, and increase the time available for other economic and leisure activities.

4. The third period (1981-1995) was greatly influenced by the policies and intervention of multilateral and bilateral agencies and NGOs in the water sector. Early in the period, there were substantial external resources for the water sector. However, towards the end of the period, the focus was on mobilization of local resources to supplement dwindling external resources for water supply and sanitation programs. The Harambee spirit (which means let's pull together), which had already made appreciable impact in education, became an important source of local resource mobilization for water supply and accounted for nearly 30% of all...
water supply projects. With a weak economy, participation in local mobilization of resources has proved very difficult although a few successes have been recorded.

5. The District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) initiated in 1983 increased human capacity at the district level, increased the co-ordination between the different sectors and actors (donors and NGOs) involved in district water supply and sanitation projects. It also provided for limited community participation in the planning, implementation and management of water and sanitation projects. However, it lacked financial resources and the Government did not decentralize its powers on water policies in a real sense. On paper, DFRD emphasizes full community participation in water supply projects at the local level. However, in practice this does not happen as the legal framework within which community groups could have effective control over their activities is lacking. Recognizing this, between 1990 and 1992, the Government developed a National Water Master Plan which set out a long-term strategy for implementation of much-needed reform in the water sector.

6. From around 1995, there has been increasing focus on community management of water supplies. The decline in public resources for investment in new water projects and O&M have diminished the role of the public sector in the provision of water. There has been a gradual deterioration of infrastructure facilities. There is an assumption that these problems can be tackled through the development of appropriate technology and community-managed water resources. Current estimates indicate that about 75% of the urban and 50% of the rural populations have access to safe drinking water (National Development Plan, 2002-2008). The Water Act in its present form has inherent defects often exploited by some actors. For example, it is not mandatory for service providers to offer or maintain specified service levels. Furthermore, illegal connections and tampering with installations is not criminalized.

7. The Government currently envisages that operation and development activities will be decentralized to other actors, including local authorities, the private sector and increased involvement of communities in order to improve efficiency in service delivery. The Government places capacity building in water and sanitation as a key concern. The Government is in the process of preparing a strategic framework to redefine the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders by streamlining the legal, institutional and financial frameworks in water supply and sanitation. An integrated water resources strategy paper is being finalized while the Water Act is under review to harmonize it with the National Water Policy and other Acts that touch on water issues. However, the declared Government vision of “water for all by the year 2000” which was popular with politicians and Government officials in the eighties and early nineties seems to have been shelved.

8. In the context of decentralization, it is important to review the role of the National Water Conservation and Pipeline Corporation vis-à-vis local authorities, private water companies, and water users. The corporation mainly relies on water engineers from the central government for technical support. In the case of Mombasa, the municipality is unable to recover costs of sewerage and garbage collection because consumers pay their water bills directly to the corporation. In other municipalities which are not water undertakers, e.g., Embu, the local authority buys the water in bulk from the corporation and distributes to their consumers. Embu municipality bears the burden of water losses, non-payment by consumers, and a poor payment record from Government departments.
9. The local authorities reported dissatisfaction with these arrangements. They feel that the institutional arrangements need to be resolved as part of the ongoing revision of the water laws. The institutional arrangements governing water will be an important test case for decentralization and the commitment to devolve power.

MODELS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN WATER MANAGEMENT

10. In 1984, a World Bank report on the proceedings of an international workshop on community participation had some interesting observations that are equally relevant today: "The workshop participants agreed that top-down programs are bad, but could not reach consensus on what are the practical, concrete implications of this perspective". Invariably, opinion is still divided over the definitions of involvement and participation.

11. For the past two decades, the Department of Water has promoted community participation in management and maintenance of water supplies in an effort to ensure sustainability. Several donor funded projects undertaken in Kenya in the 1980s mainly as part of the International Decade for Water and Sanitation provide useful lessons in understanding the concept of community participation and its implications for CDD in Kenya. In the water and sanitation sector, one can identify several community participation or empowerment models. Although generalizations can be made, it is important to bear in mind that owing to differences in culture, geography and economic status, there could exist some interesting variations in the application of these models. As a general rule, participation is always influenced by the prevailing local situations.

12. Three points of view generally emerge in determining the best practice models for community participation in water projects which could be put in context for CDD. One model links community participation with political emancipation of the poor, where participation means giving priority to education and skills to use personal and community resources to identify their needs and to seek solutions together. This view recognizes the fact that poor communities have the economic resources to improve their living conditions but lack the organizational and institutional frameworks to exploit these opportunities. Subsequently, community components should stress the development of community problem-solving skills through a range of participatory techniques for inclusive planning and implementation. Critics of this approach point out potential short-term losses in economic efficiency and program performance as a lot of time and resources get tied in learning processes.

13. A second view of participation stresses the role of external experts in defining relationships, using local information to make appropriate designs and making correct assumptions about what people want, and how they can work together as families and communities to meet their wants. An important consideration is how their traditions, customs and beliefs affect their efforts to transform resources into goods and services. Here participation occurs principally in the implementation and operation of schemes/projects rather than in their identification and preparation. Experience has shown that this approach tends to postpone the responsibility for operation, management and maintenance by the communities till handing over. This model of participation may lead to lack of community ownership, and thus create dependency on external development agents.
14. A third approach to participation has been associated with the requirement that local people should contribute towards the resources necessary to implement the project or desired service and participate in implementation activities. The philosophy behind this model is based on the assumption that people tend to attach higher value to things that they have paid for and are more inclined to care for them. Community contributions to the cost of a project or service also reduce the cost to the partners addressing the community need. This approach has been popular among donors including NGOs. The concept of matching grants in projects finds an explanation in this model. A potential downside of this model is that people may value but not take an active role in implementation.

15. However, in practice, community projects in the water sector may combine elements of the three models, namely, use of community participation as a tool of empowerment and emancipation, use of external experts, and require community contributions. For example, a water project as an entry point to an integrated project could provide for learning, improvement of social capital and general improvement of livelihoods. At the same time, the design and choice of technologies could have inputs from the communities based on traditional knowledge and community ability to manage and sustain the technologies. Finally, the community could have financial and in-kind inputs to the project, and design equitable and enforceable levies on beneficiaries.

LESSONS FROM INDIGENOUS MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

16. Traditional methods of managing community goods (such as ownership, access, use, and disposal) were the dominant management systems in pre-colonial Kenya. Generalized observations on the patterns of customary management of communal goods seem to offer options for community driven development in the present era.

17. Traditionally, communities considered land and the natural resources on it as communally owned. In some areas, the community itself was defined as a clan, which is a small subdivision of the tribe or of sub-tribes. In other areas, the community was the whole tribe or even combinations of tribes depending on the relations that existed between the tribes. Individual clans or tribes owned land, and ownership was defined by the activities carried out on the land e.g., grazing, firewood, hunting and cultivating.

18. In both pastoralist and agrarian communities, individuals had equal access to the use of land and the resources on it. Individuals who contravened established social norms were never denied access to land as sanctions for undesirable conduct were rarely extended to rights of access to land. The land belonged to the tribe, clan or family circle and could not, therefore, be disposed of. One of the resources that went with land was animals both domesticated and wild. Among the livestock keepers, there were community enforcement mechanisms for sharing access to water and pasture, movement of livestock within the rangelands across seasons, and sharing of pasture among various livestock species.

19. A number of major changes in land ownership and land use in Kenya were initiated in the colonial era. The changes were mainly in the interest of settler farmers, and shattered communal ownership systems among the majority of Kenyans. Ownership of land was effectively changed from traditional communal systems to individual ownership. In general,
local solidarity has been viewed as a coping mechanism for the poor rather than an engine of
development at the local level.

20. The system affected not only land but also all other natural resources that go with the
land including water, forests and to some extent wildlife. This meant that the land was defined,
identified and registered in the name of an individual excluding all other persons. Water
remained a public good with its apportionment and management remaining vested - through the
Water Act (cap 372) - in the Minister in charge of water affairs. Access to water was however
not addressed by these Acts. This meant that one could not cross through another person’s land
to the water without the permission of the registered owner.

21. The introduction of the concept of easement both in land law (Registered Land Act) and
under the Water Act - whereby a person has to be granted a right of way through another
person’s land to arrive at a communal resource (water, market, main road, etc) - reinforced the
fact that communal ownership of the resource was diminishing and that individual ownership of
resources was the accepted way of life. In essence, the traditional laws applicable to the
management of communal goods have been irreparably compromised. The limited applicability
of easement laws is a major threat to community ownership, management and sustainability of
water supplies.

22. The pastoral communities still practice communal ownership of land and watering
points. However, in some pastoral areas, a lot of land that used to be dry season grazing has
been allocated to private individuals, thus limiting access to pasture and water. Beginning in
1968, the Government encouraged some pastoralist communities to register as groups under the
Land (Group Representative) Act. In Kenya this is one of the traditional systems that was
somewhat preserved by law. The policy was abused to benefit particular groups or individuals,
and some of the land passed to private ownership without the consent of the communities.

ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES IN WATER SYSTEMS

23. It has become clear in the water sector that the nature and type of management systems
determine participation and sustainability, which are in turn determined by type of water
technology. Two main management systems for water supplies in rural areas and to some low-
income settlements have a bearing on CDD.

Common Consumer Understanding

24. This type is associated with traditional systems that governed the sharing of communal
goods. Under this regime there existed a council of elders who enforced the traditions of each
community. The community revered this administrative system as the elders presided over the
use of communal assets. There have been attempts to formalize this system by drawing up rules
and regulations, including registration of groups under the Department of Social Services and
the subsequent election of new officials, have tended to complicate the issue of management.

25. The traditional systems are based on mutual trust, and introduction of changes in
membership and management erodes the traditional norms. New regulations bring in penalty
systems that may not be enforceable or contravene traditional norms. For instance, the
community may not be willing to see one of their own sent to prison for stealing some pump
spare parts. However, the use of traditional systems of sanctions and rewards has been successfully used in Wajir through pastoral associations, started with the support of a project of the Government and Oxfam.

Self-Help Groups

26. In Kenya, some community water management organizations are registered as self-help groups under the Department of Social Services. The groups mainly manage low cost technologies, although the types of technologies for water supply vary from community to community and across ecological zones. This type of management has been around for a very long time and is cheap, as it demands little contributions from the beneficiaries. The members tend to know one another well, which assists in prompt community mobilization for action and decision-making.

27. While this system has worked quite well, it has certain critical disadvantages for an ideal model in CDD. There is no legal basis for this type of registration under the laws of Kenya. The by-laws and regulations drawn and adhered to by these self-help groups have no legal backing, even though they resemble the guidelines and rules regulating societies under the Societies Act. For instance, they cannot enter into a binding contract (including financial and employment contracts), cannot legally own or dispose of a property in their name, and cannot effectively punish those who misuse their assets.

28. Kenyans, especially women, have formalized their social and economic relations around this type of registration. The self-help groups have had appreciable impact on rural organization and livelihoods, and in low-income urban areas. This type of registration therefore introduces difficulties in enforcing sanctions among members, in the management of community assets, and in the ability of the groups to access resources outside of the members. This type of registration may therefore face limitations in managing large self-help initiatives which cover a big population and involve entering into contracts with suppliers, employees, service providers, and external development agents.

29. Overall, five legal frameworks have applied in the past to community management of water supplies, namely, community projects under the Water Act, water user associations under the Societies Act, NGOs under the NGO Act, cooperative societies for water development and management under the Cooperative Societies Act, and water management companies under the Companies Act.

ISSUES IN COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT OF WATER FACILITIES

30. Community involvement in management and decision-making can result in greater cost-effectiveness, and community sense of ownership of the infrastructure and technologies. It is normally based on institutional arrangements that span from the national level (for policy guidelines) to grassroots level or community. The policy of Integrated Water Resource Management (IRWM) aims at shifting away from public-sector planned, built and operated infrastructures to those based on technical support on demand by communities involved in community-based planning and management.
31. Within the community, ownership, management, and even type of technology may depend on the gender composition of members involved in the decision-making process. Existing access to and distribution of resources may be based on traditional hierarchies that embed gender differences. For example, female-headed households tend to have less bargaining power in communities than male-headed households. Women specific uses of water may require special protection training and capacity building as Government may find it difficult to legislate on gender issues in community water supplies.

32. There are two overlapping dimensions in mainstreaming gender equity into IWRM, namely, (a) the identification of means to address differences in needs and priorities that arise from different activities and responsibilities of women and men; and (b) the identification of opportunities to address inequalities in access to and control over water resources. Both dimensions can be taken into consideration in CDD programming.

AN ILLUSTRATION FROM KWALE

One of the well-known examples in the water sector is Kwale Water and Sanitation Project (1983-1994). The project was supported by SIDA, UNDP/World Bank, through the Ministry of Water Development and a local NGO. After an elaborate community participation process which lasted two years, the project took off, and demand for water facilities from communities began to overwhelm the Project. The innovative community approach quickly made the Kwale Project famous, and has attracted high profile visits by the World Bank President, the Administrator-General of the UNDP and the Swedish Minister for International Cooperation. More importantly, the communities trusted the project staff and made the contribution required towards project implementation in their area.

The partnership between the community and the project grew stronger, and training of local people (especially women) as mechanics was undertaken. The committees were trained in management including elementary bookkeeping and confidence in the project was high. In 1987, the Minister for Water presided over a much-publicized ceremony where 47 projects in various parts of Kwale were handed over to the community for management and maintenance. In all, over 500 projects were handed over to communities over time.

As the project funding came to a close in 1994, the sustainability of the community projects began to show signs of sickness and early fatigue. A recent study shows that about 30% of the hand pumps have fallen into disuse. The problems associated with the Kwale participation model were not unique from experiences in other water projects and form very useful lessons in relation to CDD.

These lessons relate to size of intervention, project or service; community set up and resource base; level of technology; organizational structures and governance culture; availability of external inputs for infrastructure and service provision beyond the ability of local community; institutional arrangements to support the water technologies; and safety of facilities (e.g., pumps and pipes).

33. There are some questions that need to be reflected in the management of water resources. Does the project seek to promote the protection of water catchments and the management of river basins? Is planning for the project based on an integrated analysis of productive and domestic uses of water resources? Does this analysis recognize the different needs and priorities of women and men? During the process of trading off, do both women and men express their needs and are their needs taken into account? Have special efforts been made within project activities to ensure that women's voices are heard? Have databases been developed which are gender-disaggregated? Can these databases be used to monitor the differential impacts of programming on women and men?
OPTIONS FOR CDD IN KENYA

34. The water sector has had a fairly long experience in dealing with community participation. The sector has been a major battleground between pro-participation social scientists and their technical counterparts who proposed grandiose water project designs. Technical personnel quite often saw community participation as an unnecessary expense that caused delay and sometimes lead to changes in designs to allow a future role for community-level operation and maintenance.

35. The experience gained in the water sector could inform CDD programming provided that it takes into account the integrated nature of development and appreciates the geographical and cultural situations that facilitate or mitigate success. It is also important to note that the existing registration regime of most self-help groups does not make legal persons.

36. The success of CDD programs in the water sector requires synergy between individual household needs and a common goal that satisfies that need, and some regulations to ensure availability and equity in access. It is also possible for projects and programs to be designed to take into account specified individual household needs that are known in advance.

37. When considering institutional arrangements for CDD, the basic objective should be to move progressively from institutions which exist in the community towards one that will empower communities to effectively and efficiently take charge of the management in a sustainable and equitable way. For instance, in rural Kenya water can only be viewed as an economic good to the extent that it is a factor of production and its use can increase people's income. Similar justifications can be made for food security and provision of health services, among others. In the context of poverty reduction, a project or service can only be sustainable if it contributes to the economic welfare of individuals and households and helps produce or save money. This implies that a community may not be interested in a project with high capital and recurrent expenditures that does not pay for itself or does not contribute to raising incomes.

38. Based on this analysis, a water project should not be a stand-alone community investment but an entry point for how the water can increase incomes and welfare in an integrated fashion. Consequently, the legal and institutional frameworks need to take into account the multidimensional nature of development and improvement of the value systems (social capital) in the communities. Increased social capital need to be backed by socio-economic gains. In Embu, for example, improvements in social capital can only be sustained by paying greater attention to agricultural revival. Similarly, in the Coastal districts of Kwale and Kilifi the collapse of the local economy is a threat to gains made in development of social capital supported by NGOs and bilateral agencies.

39. The challenge for CDD is how to ensure investments in the rural economy focus and address issues of poverty reduction, reduce risk and vulnerability, promote widely shared growth ideals, reverse environmental degradation and invest in water, health and education. The communities were optimistic that the recent policy initiatives were genuine and consultative. Others were sceptical about Government commitment to improving their welfare. In Embu, one focus group said 'it has taken more than thirty years for you people to write about improving rural development; it will take another thirty years before you do anything. Anyway, the good thing is that you have remembered us'.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER FIVE

CDD FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

1. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse community participation in the non-governmental or civil society sector. Civil society is taken to include community-based programs supported by bilateral agencies through intergovernmental cooperation agreements, non-governmental organizations, and community based organizations that may or may not be linked with outside development agencies (e.g., NGOs and bilateral agencies).

2. Most programmes of bilateral and multilateral agencies normally implement programmes agreed upon between the Government and the funding agency and are normally implemented with or through Government departments. These programs normally implement programs agreed upon between the Government and the funding agency and are normally implemented with or through Government departments. At the community-level, they may involve development of independent institutions of beneficiaries which resemble those initiated by NGOs. The inherent limitation is their ability to do advocacy work for the poor, although they may have appreciable influence in the direction of government policy at the district and national level.

3. The programs started by international NGOs (e.g., OXFAM, AAK, Plan International, ITDG) are not directly funded by foreign governments, have the flexibility to develop their own agenda based on local and national experiences, and have a broader latitude to engage in advocacy work. They normally work with community-based institutions rather than through government departments, although their work may involve co-optation of government extension personnel at the local level.

POST-INDEPENDENCE SHIFT IN PROVISION OF BASIC SERVICES

4. The Government has over the years since independence demonstrated appreciation for human development as key factor in poverty eradication. The once popular slogan “uhuru na kazi” (freedom and work) was a key rallying call for community mobilization and participation in rebuilding the nation after the fall of colonial rule. The Harambee (let’s pull together) movement assisted communities through pooling of resources to complement government’s efforts in rural development. Harambee has continued to be used as a safety net for most Kenyans. The pooling of resources and skills at the village level enabled poor communities to undertake their own self-help (harambee) projects.

5. At the same time, the Government invested heavily in basic social services and agriculture. The commitment to boost education was based on the premise that education would contribute to economic and social development through provision of skilled labour and a well-informed population. The demand for education and other basic social services has continued to grow much faster than the government’s capacity to effectively respond. Due to economic...
constraints over the last two decades, however, government expenditure on the social sectors also declined, with the problem being compounded by declining ODA resources to Kenya beginning the early nineties. The unmet needs for basic services at the local level provided a challenge to civil society (as institutions and communities) to increase their involvement in service delivery and other aspects of community development.

LOCAL LEVEL INSTITUTIONS

6. From the in-depth study of Kenyan local level institutions (Kopiyo and Mukui), the following key things emerged:

- At the village level, there are institutions which revolve around issues of identity, spiritual matters, morality from traditional and religious perspectives, rites of passage, sector development issues, protocol and governance issues, and gender issues and power relations (though silent).
- Lineage, blood relations and marriage form a strong base for bonding for both men and women.
- The institution of the village elder plays an important role in the village.
- Women groups and the church form the most important structures by providing both the socio-political as well as the socio-economic support for village development dynamics.
- Most of the local level institutions function without written accountability mechanisms
- Most local level institutions have existed against a fragile backdrop of apathy and rudimentary basic survival.
- The capacity for local level institutions to scale up or draw-down for effective rural development have been affected by the ripple effect occasioned by collapse of central government service delivery at the local level.
- Individual initiatives by NGOs have yielded some fruit but failed to create community-wide impact due to limited resources, perception, community expectations, and political manipulation, among other reasons.

Suggestions from villagers in the three communities indicate that people are suffering from civic inertia and apathy. The communities were weak in terms of advocacy, and expressed helplessness in their ability to negotiate their own future. Ravages of HIV/AIDS, diminishing land resource, and food deficits are major debility factors. Since the central government stopped to exist in terms of service delivery, the people in these villages have done well through mutual support at their own level in order to exist till tomorrow.

THE CONCEPT OF CDD AS UNDERSTOOD BY CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

7. As part of this study, organizations were asked to interpret CDD from where they sit, including selection of focal development areas, geographical coverage in the target districts, organizational structures and community-based management systems, entry and exit strategies, and application of elements of community-based planning.

8. The study revealed that the concept of CDD was understood by most development agents as an enhanced participatory planning process. Their interpretation of the concept
depended on an agent’s experience through implementation of community development program in Kenya. Some did not consider the concept as new but rather as “the same old participatory approach” they have invested in over the years. Despite the general agreement in the interpretation of CDD, there were differences in the manner in which the principles are applied to community development work.

9. The concept of CDD was described as community-based planning and how it is implemented at the grassroots level. It was described as having developed from a rapid rural appraisal methodology which was used to map existing resources in an effort to draw up programs with or without involvement of the beneficiary communities. Unlike traditional applications of PRA, CDD involves communities in generating needs, and include community’s control over resources, decision-making, implementation, and monitoring at the local level. Community involvement is supposed to be done in an inclusive way, rather than involvement of only some community members in an effort to prevent local elite capture. In addition, a CDD approach promotes multi-sectoral partnerships among institutions operating with communities (government, NGOs, CBOs, and private sector).

10. The success of CDD was premised on what happens on the ground rather than in relationships between the external development agents and the community institutions. It is based on creation or use of community institutions that are inclusive, that have laid-down procedures for electing representative leadership, have proper procedures for sanctions and rewards against errant members and leaders, have inclusive ways of generating new leadership, and are sensitive to particular circumstances (e.g., youth, the elderly, and disabled). It was stressed that monitoring and evaluation should be a continuous process of taking stock as part of implementation and generation of new plans and budgets, rather than landmarks along the project cycle. ACTIONAID has replaced the regular annual planning and reporting system with accountability, learning and planning system (ALPS) which bases the reports on reflection processes with the partner communities.

The Kenya Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF)

The CDTF is funded by the European Union, and has been operating since 1998. It disburses funds directly to communities on the basis of applications received by a central project implementation unit. The intention is to mobilize human and financial resources and to support local communities to implement small projects aimed at raising standards of living and income. NGOs often play the role of intermediaries between communities and the program. The CDTF is managed by a Board of Trustees, and the PMU is operated by technical assistance. The government is on the board. About 50% of total funding has been for the education sector. The program has been refinanced and is ongoing.

CHOICE OF FOCAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS

11. Beginning around 1994, some organizations have grounded their choice of focal development areas on national poverty statistics based on the national welfare monitoring survey and evaluation programme. The poverty indicators are money-metric (based on monetary household expenditures or incomes) which are district-based and do not therefore reflect intra-district inequalities or pockets of poverty that may exist in districts regarded as
non-poor. Some agencies have, however, used social indicators (e.g., infant mortality, child immunization, and access to basic services like water) and participatory poverty assessments in the targeting of their programs. A case in point is Aga Khan Development Network which reported that its choice of Kwale for its health program was influenced by low statistics on child welfare and child survival (mainly immunization coverage). Based on PPA-2 for Makueni district which brought out disability as a key issue in poverty and vulnerability, Amref has expanded its program to increase geographical coverage in Makueni district and integrate disability in the program.

12. Other organizations have emerged from historical circumstances, including the need to supplement the activities of other agencies on the ground. One example mentioned was the influx of CSOs in UNICEF-supported districts (e.g., Kisumu). In the case of SARDEP, the program grew out of a phased-out semi-arid lands project by the same donor which was previous implemented directly through the government structures. Some CSOs have partitioned portions of districts as focal development areas (e.g., AAK, AKF and DANIDA in Kwale), while others work in the same areas but cover different sectors or community needs. AAK was cited as having based its new development initiatives on the basis of a national study conducted in 1996 to identify new areas of support. This led AAK to move to development areas where there were hardly any CSOs on the ground that were supported by external development agents.

13. The use of district-level poverty indicators may have led CSOs to focus on some districts and ignored pockets of poverty in non-poor districts. The donor debate about rural development has also been directed to places where there are ongoing programs, which might have led to balkanisation of the country in terms of allocation of government and donor resources. Even in areas where big CSOs have chosen, no CSO covers all the areas of a district or all the community needs (or sectors). For example, a new CSO may opt not to go to Kilifi since GTZ has a program, but that program does not cover the whole of Kilifi.

14. In Kwale where there are several CSOs and a history of major government/CSO interventions, poverty indicators have not shown significant improvement. However, statistics on child survival (e.g., immunization coverage) have shown significant improvement in the last decade. It is not possible to assign specific reasons to Kwale's poverty situation, since the area has also witnessed collapse of sugar, bixa and tourism industries. The case of Kwale, however, demonstrates that the success of CSOs and communities also depend on the general health of the local economy. The same sentiments were expressed in Embu, where the collapse of coffee and tea sub-sectors were seen as major threats to CDD and other aspects of local survival.

15. In the urban informal settlements (UIS), AAK chose Korogocho (1992-2001) slums as a focal development area, but most northern and local NGOs only have isolated interventions in some villages in the UIS. The interventions include water and sanitation, health, micro-credit, and non-formal education.

16. Maji na Ufanisi conducted participatory urban appraisal (PUAs) in Kibera (Laini Saba and Kianda), Mathare 4B and Korogocho. The PUAs included community priorities and action plans, and budgets were assigned to the priorities. The communities were advised to organize themselves and develop a process for implementing their priorities. Only Laini Saba was able to form itself into an organization (with a constitution and registration) and developed a memorandum of understanding for implementing the programs and to define relationships with
Maji na Ufanisi. Maji na Ufanisi subsequently supported Laini Saba’s Ushirika wa Usafi on water and sanitation.

17. The peculiar circumstances in UIS have limited the sustainability of programs, the most crucial one being insecure land tenure. Most CSOs are unable to put up permanent community facilities (e.g., schools and health centres) due to complications of land tenure, although a few seem to have gone round this problem. The survival of community institutions created under these programs has also been threatened by “Kiberanization” of the slums brought about by instigating tenants to unilaterally decide the rent to pay for the temporary residential houses. In some areas, this has led to demand for community institutions and groups that are mono-ethnic. Some CSOs (notably ITDG) have, however, made efforts to engage communities and leaders to understand that the residents are in the slums because they are poor but not because of the rents they are paying. The debate about the role of external agents in local development and its long impact on social and economic aspects of life is not yet settled. For example, some parts of central and eastern Kenya have had minimal interaction with external development agents, but have guaranteed their own survival.
The World Bank’s Early Childhood Development (ECD) Project.

Since 1997, the Kenya Government and some five Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have been involved in an innovative approach to implementing an early childhood development (ECD) initiative. The bulk of funding for the US$ 35 million worth ECD project with counterpart funds from the Government of Kenya (GoK) is from a World Bank credit through the International Development Association (IDA). The credit component is US$ 27.8 million. However, NGOs are engaged in the project not merely as co-implementers with the government, but also as co-funders, who are each contributing at least 25 percent of the budget of their designated component. In terms of cash, the NGOs are expected to contribute a total of US$ 2 million, while GoK and the communities, the latter in cash or kind, are expected to contribute the remaining US$ 5.2 million.

The project targets some six million Kenya children under the age of six years. About half of these children are from families living below the poverty line. The project that took off in October 1997 seeks to achieve the following impacts: (a) improve child cognitive and psychosocial development; (b) improve child health and nutrition; (c) increase school enrolment; and (d) reduce dropout and repetition rates in lower primary. The project consists of two core components: improving ECD worker training, performance and supervision; and community capacity building, mobilisation and parenting education. Three pilot components are also in place to test the options to develop cost-effective replicable models. These are (a) improving the financing of ECD services in poor communities by community grants; (b) raising nutrition and health status of preschool children, particularly those belonging in the vulnerable first three years of life; and (c) smoothing the transition from preschool to primary school.

In order to provide outreach, the government in October 1997 contracted six NGOs to participate in the project. Apart from supplementing government efforts in the implementation of the community grants and health and nutrition pilots to support ECD, the idea was to test models of implementation and share experiences among the implementing partners. For the community grants pilot, ActionAid Kenya (AAK), the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) and African Housing Fund (AHF) were contracted while CARE International in Kenya (CARE Kenya), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF) were contracted for the health and nutrition pilot.

In the course of implementation of the ECD project, important lessons are emerging that both affirm and challenge perceptions of sustainability. CARE Kenya’s community pharmacies (CPs) in the Western Kenya implementation area and CRS’ women-led community banks in Garissa indicate that ECD centres can be sustained through innovative approaches to income generation. In the Garissa case, mothers’ close affinity to their children and the fact that they are the first contact with a hungry out-of-schools child make them ideal beneficiaries for the community banking initiative. Equally, AAK’s Home (Maryatta)-based Child Care Centres that target the under-three-year-old child as an alternative model of providing ECD services are providing important lessons in the potential of community goodwill. That this is happening in an impoverished community that has traditionally been marginalised in the education stakes testifies to what can be achieved through community mobilisation. So successful has the project proved in its short life span that some communities have contributed more than GoK’s share of community support grants (CSG) in partner funds.

CHOICE OF ACTIVITIES IN THE FOCAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS

18. At the operational level, CSOs support activities that enhance the efficiency in the operations of government (e.g., support for government extension agents) or to needs that the government does not adequately address in the focal development area. CSOs also focus on enhancing the ability of communities to use the existing resources through promotion of access
to basic social services (e.g., water, education and health), rather than intervening directly in the management of the sources of livelihoods. For example, the limited NGOs in central province are not directly involved in promoting better governance in coffee and tea at the local level, and are not in fishing and sugar in Nyanza and Western provinces. However, they assist in access to water, soil conservation, promotion of non-farm sources of livelihoods through group-based lending, and in HIV/AIDS, which are all essential for boosting local productivity.

19. The only notable exception was interventions in northern Kenya which focuses on animal health and livestock marketing. This has included promotion of more environment-friendly breeds of animals (e.g., the camel improvement project under Farm-Africa), pastoral associations under the arid lands project, training of community resource persons in animal health, community-based animal drug stores, and enhancement of equitable and sustainable systems of utilization of water and pasture in the rangelands. The CSOs have also made appreciable efforts in putting the issues of north in the national agenda, including through a thematic group in PRSP specific to pastoral development.

20. Other elements that define choice of activities include (a) a philosophy that the NGO has technology transfer as one of its vision and mission (e.g., ITDG and AKF to a lesser extent), (b) a philosophy that development is premised on transformation of mindsets and processes and subsequent replication of such transformation to new areas and in national institutions (e.g., GTZ), and (c) advocacy for change in favour of the poor on the basis that governments are not necessarily representative of competing interests and dropouts in the development process (e.g., AAK). Other CSOs base their activities on rights-based issues and governance to influence policy debate and public opinion e.g., empowering citizens in the democratisation process. The choice of activities appear to be grounded on a belief that the work of CSOs in not to replace government.

21. It is possible for a development agent to enter a community with a predetermined development agenda, rather than wait to be informed by PRA. In this way, the PRA process may become a forum to implement pre-packaged programming. The target community can also shift its priorities to fit what it considers to the donor's preference. For example, an NGO, which takes education as a critical factor in development, will find ways of incorporating an education component even where the communities did not raise education issues as priority. In other cases, program performance may be based on predetermined indicators rather than what the community views as success. If participation is based on rigid expectations tied to a specific time frame and expected outcome, it would not lead to genuine empowerment.

COMMUNITY ENTRY

22. In the case of bilateral programs, community entry is normally through a sector ministry e.g., KDDP entered Kilifi through the ministry of water development. When the program moves from sectoral to integrated approach, it normally encounters difficulties in co-opting other ministries through a sector ministry. In the case of programs outside of bilateral cooperation but which used a sector ministry as the entry point, there is no difficulty with co-opting other ministries since they work with ministries to the extent that they rely on their technical personnel and extension agents, rather than working through the government structures. A case in point is KRSP which started as a health program, but later integrated other components of livelihoods.
23. NGOs operating in districts are formally required to discuss their programs with government departmental heads (e.g., DDO, sector ministry and DC) and introduce their programs to the DDC to ensure proper coordination and avoidance of overlap. The relationships have improved over time, as there is greater information sharing on the design of NGO programs. At the local level, the chiefs, as government personnel in charge of administration and security, are involved with NGOs, especially in the start-up of programs in the community. There was little mention of involvement of local authorities, except Plan International in Embu that works with the municipal council, the FAO Food Security program in Bondo which is working with the local authority and trying to improve the relationship between the local authority and central government structures, and ITDG in Mavoko county council.

24. The particular point of entry in the community varies. For example, AKDN uses existing structures e.g., primary schools and health facilities as entry points. In education, AKDN’s support to primary schools include pedagogical support to teachers, and involves beneficiaries (school children) in the identification of needs, the implementation of child-centred programs (e.g., sanitation) to build their behavioural foundations at an early age, and brainstorming sessions on relevance of education after school.

COMMUNITY-BASED PLANNING

25. At the local level, community organization and empowerment often also involves starting new community structures, and struggles with the issue of encouraging existing government structures to be more responsive to community priorities. In the early to middle nineties, most NGOs started community entry and mobilization through diagnostic PRAs, using local community resource persons assisted by outside facilitators (e.g., consultants) to generate profiles of community resources, community needs, the causes of poverty, and interrelationships between various dimensions of poverty (e.g., effect of education and water on livelihoods). The findings of such PRAs are used in some cases as background information to generate factors to be studied in quantitative baseline surveys that the programmes use as bench-marks for measuring progress over the life of the project.

26. As a follow-up of PRAs, the NGOs for the most part focus on the setting up of community institutions which are inclusive, transparent in their operations, and have elements of social capital. The setting up of community institutions would be accompanied by limited interventions as rallying points around the building of social capital e.g., setting up or strengthening committees for managing health facilities and education institutions. The community institutions were used to draw up realistic community plans which would be implemented by the communities with the support of the NGOs. Such community plans may or may not correspond with the initial findings of the PRAs conducted at entry, and may involve substantial redirection of the original program design.
IUANI CASE STUDY

In 1969, Iuani Welfare Association in Makueni district was registered to cater for burial expenses, mainly for residents of major towns who hail from the area. Between 1969 and 1980, membership grew and the accumulated monthly contributions was substantial. In 1983, a meeting was called by the members to decide on how to use the reserve fund. In that meeting, three proposals were put forward. First, to buy a matatu for passenger transport. The second proposal was to draw out the money and divide among the members. The third option was to utilize the funds on development projects in the area.

The third option won. In subsequent meetings, the highest priority was accorded to construction of co-ed secondary school. There were two primary schools and no secondary school in the area. They bought a plot on which they constructed a school. The classrooms were constructed using permanent materials, but other structures (e.g., dormitory and kitchen) were initially of temporary materials. They employed teachers and the government supported them with a head teacher. The primary schools have increased from 2 to 9.

In 1993, the school appeared in the top 100 KCSE results in the country. The school started attracting students from far and its finances somewhat stabilized. The welfare association decided to move the resources previously spent on the school to a public health facility. They bought another plot near the school and constructed a dispensary. The government posted a nurse-in-charge. The general population and the students used to walk about 20 km to the nearest health centre at Kilala. In 2001, a maternity wing was added.

In 1997, they wrote a memorandum to government requesting that they be designated as a separate administrative location and ward. They were given a conditional acceptance, namely, to construct a chief’s office. They fulfilled the condition and were designated as an independent location in October 1999. Individual farmers have organized themselves into primary marketing groups and now control a sizeable portion of the sale of vegetables and legumes in Wote, the district headquarters. In April 2001, the community conducted a three-day PRSP of their own aimed at generating priorities and budgets.

27. Community structures are often issue-based e.g., health, school or water point management committees. They have recently moved to creation of federations/umbrella community structures to which the issue-based committees report. For example, in Kwale under KRSP, the issue-based committees report to the village committees, which have in turn federated into fewer cluster committees. The cluster committees have been identified as a necessary vehicle for community needs that go beyond the village. The leaders of the umbrella organizations normally rise from the grassroots through a delegates system. The success of the delegates system has been assured by transparent rules for generating leadership at the lower levels.

28. In Lango Baya area under the support of AAK, community-based organizations are in charge of vetting proposals from the issue-based committees, supervise projects, monitor resource use, and AAK disburses funds to the issue-based committees through them. The building of community institutions tends to be expensive at the beginning of a project. However, the umbrella institutions were reported as having realized huge savings in resources NGOs previously devoted to administration, and hence increased resource flows to the communities.
29. Community structures tend to build on the traditional values, in cases where local value systems were taken as representative and inclusive. However, there are cases where a program focuses on a sector regardless of whether it is identified by the community as a critical need e.g., education at the Coast. Some traditional value systems may be inequitable, and NGOs may therefore opt for other criteria to ensure efficiency and sustainability. For example, AAK has realized considerable progress in the management of water programs, which emphasizes higher female participation in the management of water systems. The women are reported to have better concern for maintenance of the water facilities and transparency in the management of user fees as any breakage directly affects the distance they have to walk to fetch water.

30. In every community, there exist specialized primary groups, for example women groups. However, they are normally specific to members’ interests or serve particular spiritual or secular interests. For example, it would be difficult to use a women’s guild under the PCEA as the basis for general community activities where there are several denominations in the same project area. Even asset-based committees may not be inclusive e.g., a primary school committee may not serve the interests of households with non-school age or have school-age children who do not attend school. Existing community structures, other than those created by other external development agents, may not therefore reach disadvantaged groups (e.g., AIDS orphans, the disabled, and the elderly). The interests of existing primary membership-based groups are, however, directly supported through the wider community structures created to support an NGO project.

31. At the grassroots level, there are many indigenous primary groups e.g., women groups performing independent activities for the benefit of their members. The activities are for mutual support of members or what is generally described as the moral economy of the peasant. An existing primary group rarely changed its core function even after it gets involved with activities of an external development agent (e.g., NGO or government). The activities included merry-go-round (cash or in-kind) and assisting each other in times of distress (burial, cultivation) or celebrations (marriage, circumcision). Even where primary groups of individual members of households are brought together under an external project, they initiate activities independent of those they conduct at the project level. This is mainly done to ensure economic viability of the households of the individual members. The involvement of external development agents may improve or blur their vision but they rarely lose sight of their primary objective.

32. Among the prerequisites for realizing transparent, accountable and effective management committees are trust, training and empowerment (Barasa 2001). The community has to trust that their leaders will do the needful and do it when it needs doing. The leaders on the other hand have to be shown (trained) on how to do it. But the community has to be empowered through deliberate and focused capacity building to know and demand for their rights, access resources, as well as assess value for investments thereto, and monitor and measure performance of committees. The third component is pivotal to sustainable accountability and transparency within the system. The first two prerequisites are normally adequately addressed by most community projects. However, the achievement of the third component normally varies since the level of awareness differs between leaders and the community members they serve as a result of concentrating training and other aspects of capacity building on the leaders.

33. Most primary groups first come together bound by some level of trust to address local needs. For example, a women group at the village level does not include every woman in the
neighbourhood because there are some minimum requirements, including trust. Such trust is cultivated through continuous interaction. After a group is formed, cohesion within the group was largely determined by trust of members for each other and their overall trust of their leaders.

**COLLABORATION WITH GOVERNMENT: AN ILLUSTRATION FROM EMBU**

Plan International in Embu has developed a community empowerment program implemented with the participation of ministries of health and education, Embu Municipal Council, and a network of community based organizations. In 1993, Plan International carried out a survey in Shauri Slums covering food, income and expenditure which revealed that majority of households were surviving at the bare minimum. After a PRA process, shelter was identified as the priority, and dialogue was subsequently initiated to meet that need.

A committee of the poorest 66 households was constituted to identify the site where the housing improvement will take place. The committee met the Embu Municipal Council to request for a plot to launch their housing project, which the municipal granted. They were asked to report to the new site with tools of labour, as each one of them was responsible for building their own house.

Plan International and the municipal council conducted a training seminar on house construction, which was attended by at least one person from each participating household. Meanwhile, the council provided a tractor to assist in physical works and a clerk of works to direct construction activities. During construction, the council provided free water as part of its contribution. About two thirds of the households have moved into the new houses. A number of households have been unable to pay Shs 2,300 required by the Municipal Council for household water connection, while others have not yet moved from Shauri slums to the new housing project as they have not completed their houses.

During the process of construction of houses, the individual house owners were responsible (though jointly with other households) for the purchase and utilization of building materials. The clerk of works only played a guiding role. Through this process, the households have learnt the need to plan and execute their action plans within budget constraints. An important dimension of this process has been the acknowledgement and realization that a lot can be achieved to alleviate poverty through improved use of existing local resources and latent capacities in the community. The public health technicians from the Ministry of Health provided technical support for latrine and drainage during construction. As a result of experience gained from this collaboration, the ministry of health has also supported other community requests in environmental health.

Within Embu municipality, communities have even demanded representation in committees of Government and local authorities so that they can be involved in planning, monitoring and supervision of projects. In Embu County Council, civic elected representatives pointed out that the level of awareness in the wards was very high, and they are hence careful not to make mistakes. Embu provides a lesson that an empowered populace can enforce transparency and accountability from elected leaders. However, the people and elected leaders have little role in ensuring transparency among central government officers.

**THE ROLE OF LOCAL CONTRIBUTION – THE CARE AND FEEDING OF A GIFT HORSE**

34. In most cases, the participatory process includes identification of local resources to support community initiatives. The support may include labour, locally available materials, and matching financial contributions. In the case of water programs, the communities may dig the
trenches and provide all unskilled labour. Community contribution should also be matched by a systematic build-up of social capital and internal capacity.

35. The matching funds concept has found a comfortable place in the implementation of some CSO programs. Such funds may be transmitted to particular community groups directly, or through intermediary community institutions. For example, under the SARDEP program, transect area committees (TAC) have been created in Keiyo that cut across from the high plains up to the lowlands. This was designed to create common interests in environmental conservation and in the use of the commons (e.g., water). The projects in each transect submit proposals through the respective TAC which receives a commission for screening proposals and for supervising the design and implementation of the planned activities.

36. Under KDDP, the communities receive graduated matching funds based on community priorities. The basis for graduation is to gain experience in skills and levels of social capital, and to increase the community’s ability to match a higher level of grant. KDDP reported that the cost of community implemented projects under matching grants could be a low as half of costs associated with normal procurement under government or donor implemented programs.

37. The administration of matching grants under community-based federations was described as more equitable, more demand-responsive, and well placed to balance the conflict of interests at the grassroots level. It is also able to balance competing community needs e.g., the linkage between a water project and health facilities, education institutions, and balance between competing demands for water (e.g., livestock and domestic use).

38. The federation of primary groups and grassroots institutions also involves federating of power and resources. Since members of the federations normally rise from the grassroots institutions in a delegates system, they must be seen to deliver. There may be minor costs in targeting the most-disadvantaged areas, but such fears have been proved wrong in the SARDEP program in Keiyo. In Embu, the communities did not insist on equal shares of resources under LASDAP, but allocated more to the deserving areas.

39. This aspect of management of community institutions may have some bearing on macroeconomic reforms. In public finance, CDD can be visualized as changing the relative share of personnel emoluments vis-à-vis operations and maintenance (O&M) and the capital outlays. The second level of efficiency is created once the resource envelope has netted personnel costs and ring-fenced against irregular leakage en route to the communities.

40. Provision of resources to communities was recognized as a way of empowering them and assisting them to actualise their plans e.g., by matching grants. The main issues of concern are targeting for poverty alleviation, the structure and systems available to facilitate funding, and upward and downward accountability.
KEY ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS BEST PRACTICE IN KENYA

**SELECTION OF FOCUS AREAS**

Criteria:
- History, Partner Preferences, Pre-determined Target Groups
- Government Agreement and Constitution
- Vision, Mission, Strategy
- Policies and Principles
- Poverty and Needs Based Data

**LOCAL LEVEL GOVERNMENT LINKAGES**

1. **Entry:**
   - Orientation
   - Agreement
   - Identify Partners

2. **Participatory Planning and Capacity Building:**
   - Involve LG Partners
   - Access Available Data
   - Identify Available Resources

3. **Implementation and Information Sharing:**
   - Regular Reporting
   - Access LG Human Resources

4. **Monitoring and Evaluation and Capacity Building:**
   - Information Sharing
   - Linking Community Planning to LG Planning

5. **Phase-Out or Phase Over:**
   - LG Monitoring
   - LG Support
   - LG Manage

**COMMUNITY INTERVENTION**

1. **Entry:**
   - PRA – Identify
     - Priority Needs and Available Resources
     - Community Partners
   - Community Agreement
     - Length of Intervention
     - Objectives of Intervention
     - Intervention Strategy

2. **Participatory Planning:**
   - Baseline Survey
   - Identify Community Groups – Existing and New
   - Identify Community Leaders, Volunteers and Resource People
   - Identify External Resources
   - Plan and Agree Development Activities

3. **Implementation and Capacity Building:** (Leadership, Management and Technical)

4. **Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation and Capacity Building:** (Community Institutions, Accountability)

5. **Phase Out or Phase Over:**
   - To Community
   - To External Agency
   - To Other External Resources
   - To Government.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER SIX

SELECTED INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES AND EXPERIENCES IN CDD

1. In order to understand experiences and practices on CDD in Kenya, the study conducted a literature review and discussions with key players at different levels. This chapter will present a summary of findings on CDD practices under three relatively large-scale programmes.

KILIFI DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

2. The KDDP program provides good lessons for best practices in implementation of CDD program, mainly based on the key elements that the program adapted in all stages of program design and implementation. For instance, the targeting of the program and the implementation of the strategic approach are based on concrete CDD concepts designed to influence the quality of life and poverty reduction in the communities. The targeting of the KDDP and its efforts to cover a wide part of the population also demonstrates efforts towards inclusive participation. Kilifi district qualifies as a deserving area for a poverty reduction program given its poor indicators in health and other aspects of socio-economic development e.g., under-five mortality rate, low literacy levels, poor infrastructure for service delivery (e.g., access roads, water, health facilities), and gender disparities arising from cultural practices.

3. The program adopted a multi-sectoral approach that provides a participatory forum for a wide range of key players. KDDP chose to work with the Government as a partner since the government has permanent structures and resources at district level. The program is administered under the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, and has a joint monitoring committee with representatives from various ministries. The program recognizes that rural development is most promising when it combines different approaches and tools in a holistic, demand-Driven process. KDDP consider rural development as a change management process, rather than mere provision of funds and technical know-how.

4. The implementation process is based on the concept of Participatory Implementation Development (PID). The community joins the PID cycle after a PRA process that allows them to identify their own concerns and possible solutions mainly through use of locally available resource. PRA was used to initiate relatively small projects that could be financed by the communities themselves. KDDP adopted a step-by-step learning and action system that enables the community to undertake their action plans with their own limited resources. Through experience from implementing their own projects, the communities know that every step involve responsibility, capacity and accountability. In this way, the community gains experience required to handle bigger projects.
5. The communities have active committees to manage the community projects e.g., water committee, school committee and the upcoming savings and loans committee. For example, some villages identified the need to open up the interior and undertook the responsibility of constructing an access road without outside assistance. They also identified the need to improve the learning situation of their children who had to travel far to school or alternatively remain at home. The community now takes pride in a nursery school they have constructed to accommodate children who used to learn under a tree. The almost completed primary school is expected to contribute towards improving literacy levels and quality of life for the children in the village. A water well, has drastically reduced the burden of travelling long distances for water. The progress made in the village by the community themselves brings hope to a situation that was otherwise desperate.

6. By taking greater responsibility in development projects, the community has had an opportunity to build their capacity that translates to better management of their resources, broader linkages and the confidence to demand for basic service delivery and social right. This is demonstrated when the community after finishing the school followed up with the Ministry of Education to demand for a qualified teacher. At the time of this study, the water committee headed by a woman chairperson was following up the water providers to review the high tariffs attached to their common collection water point. These observations provide a clear indication of empowerment and possible transformation.

7. Community structures are a critical component of KDDP program or any other program as they provide a forum for delegating responsibilities. The village level structures are more important given the complex socio-cultural issues that need to be addressed e.g., strong cultural beliefs, gender, power and social status. When well thought out and guided through consultation with the people, community structures can remain cohesive, inclusive and functional. The community structure links very well with the inter-sectoral capacity building PID team. The main purpose of these structures is to facilitate a continuous process of planning, reviewing and implementation. These structures also provide the much-needed forum for sharing and feedback on other social related issues. The major question is how the development structures relate with other already existing traditional hierarchy of power and leadership. These observations present a lesson that building functional community structure requires adequate resources and technical capacity that is often not available among the small CBOs. KDDP has documented this process for wider replication in Kenya. CDD could benefit greatly from KDDP’s elaborate planning process.

INSTITUTIONS OF THE AGA KHAN DEVELOPMENT NETWORK.

8. AKF program design and implementation strategy is based on the premise that poor people must become more active in fostering their own development, and have good leadership that enables the poor to develop the skills and confidence they require to tackle a wide range of development challenges, inspire and support them to seek quality in their own local organizations and help them express their demands on both public and private institutions.

9. AKF uses integrated approaches that are community based, participatory and innovative and that reinforces civil society and respect local culture. The priority areas are health, education, rural development, and NGO enhancement with emphasis on community
participation, gender, the environment and human resource development. The key characteristics of the foundation’s approach are:

- Area development - promotes integrated development of a given area.
- Long-term engagement - attaches importance to taking the necessary time to build locally sustainable models of development.
- Solution oriented - develops models that can be adapted in a variety of.
- Interactions with agencies - seeks local counterpart organizations to implement projects and also develops long term relationships with donor
- Agencies for project funding and with peer organizations for technical and intellectual exchange on generic issues of poverty.

10. The Kenya School Improvement Programme (KESIP) is a community development project, which builds on schools as entry points. The program was based on the experiences gained in Kisumu pilot project. KESIP focuses on improving quality and service delivery in education to poor communities. For instance, to make education a relevant stepping-stone to quality life, KESIP support integrated learning programs facilitated by curricula that are more relevant to real day-to-day challenges. For example, through participatory approach KESIP identified gender disparity hence developed a system to allow more equitable gender participation. Another focus was cost effectiveness in management of schools. They also mobilized the children to greater participation in different cross-cutting issues that affect them in daily life through school club e.g., fighting malaria, reproductive health and sexuality. In KESIP, a participatory approach was adopted to include the stakeholders and the community, including the municipal council, the school management and PTA.

11. The AKF has initiated and supported rural development programmes based on their long experience in India and Pakistan. It seeks sustainable solutions to problems of poverty in rural communities and other resource-poor areas. It incorporates elements such as rural savings and credit, community-based natural resource management, productive infrastructure development and increased agricultural productivity. These are linked by a central concern for community-level participation and decision-making. The ultimate goal is empowering the people to make informed choices. A central strategy is to create or strengthen an institutional structure at the village level, to enable them to set priorities and make informed decisions. AKF facilitated the formation of well-linked village based structures which help to systematically identify community concerns. These concerns were then forwarded to central committees for processing the action plans, and then linked them to relevant institutions and collaborators.

12. The community institutions organize forums e.g., an annual open day for all the institutions so as to learn and share their experiences and their vision. Other stakeholders like NGOs and private sector also attend the open days. The experiences of this program have shown that it is possible to work through local institutions. AKF seeks to empower the local community to promote self-reliance, and also recognizes that communities develop at their own pace especially with respect to development of community institutions.
WORKING THROUGH GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS: THE CASE OF MAZERAS DISPENSARY

The specialized agencies of the Aga Khan Development Network working in health (Aga Khan Health Service) and education (Aga Khan Education Services) base their support on the premise that a major mistake made by non-governmental development agents is to ignore the existing government institutions. They thus only strengthen rather than duplicate Government services. For example, CSOs have no business recruiting nurses.

Mazeras dispensary was started in 1893. Initially, the government-managed dispensary was not able to provide adequate basic health services mainly because it often lacked supplies and equipment. The need to improve the dispensary was identified by the community as one of their priority action plans. A community health management team was elected by the community to manage the dispensary and was provided with technical support by the Aga Khan Health Service. The dispensary serves two sub-locations. Each of the ten constituent villages has its own village health committee, and each village selects a representative to the dispensary health management committee.

The health management team includes key community representatives and resource people (e.g., MoH, local councillor, and religious leaders) whose major role is to facilitate linkages with relevant institutions. The health committee also links with other village development committees that address other issues.

The dispensary operates on a cost-sharing basis with minimal donor support. They buy their own drugs, as had not received drugs from government stores for six months. The committee had already bought a microscope, and have substantial savings in the bank. The committee has installed electricity and has extended the facility to accommodate a maternity wing and laboratory equipment.

The health management committee demonstrated a high level of management capacity with clear understanding of bookkeeping, transparency in finance management and in decision-making. For example, copies of their detailed accounting records are pinned on the notice board. This capacity has enabled the committee to generate resources and to effectively use them for their day-to-day operations. Although the committee works on volunteer basis they expressed pride and motivation derived from their confidence and capacity to make a difference within their community. While the Mazeras dispensary reflect an example of best practice, there is need to replicate the experience in neighbouring communities, otherwise the dispensary will be overwhelmed by the increasing demand for services from the neighbouring villages.

Community outreach is free at the local level. They organize seminars e.g., on HIV/AIDS. As a result of the community outreach, local people do not shy away from sensitive issues of reproductive health (e.g., family planning).

INTERMEDIATE TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT GROUP (ITDG).

13. The vision of ITDG focuses on a more equitable and just world in which technology enriches and benefits the lives of poor people by building their technical skills. ITDG has interventions that respond to a wide range of rural and urban community demands, which include transport, energy, shelter, and pastoralism.
14. PRA is used to develop community action plans and possible solutions. The advocacy component of ITDG involves a process where the community review policies and guidelines that affect their livelihood and also develop communication packages to disseminate their views. The capacities provided enables communities to form peace committees that facilitate conflict resolution processes, especially among livestock keepers. Its program in the Redeem Village, located in a Nairobi slum, represents a successful experience where ordinary poor women have made progress in information production and have recorded a video about their lives.

15. Due to the vacuum of community organizing at the local level, ITDG has maximized its use of local authorities at the ward level. ITDG found LASDAP as an opportunity to ensure local participation in plans and budgets. ITDG is one of the few NGOs that participated in LASDAP both in the design stage and in its implementation at the local level.
The Maasai Integrated Development Partnership Project (MIDPP) is a joint collaboration between development organizations and the Maasai community in Magadi division, Kajiado district. The project is designed to streamline all development activities and reduce duplication. The project aims at alleviating poverty in the Division through development in education, health, water, credit, transport, shelter and marketing strategies.

The project is involved in building the capacity of women groups, artisans and local institutions to design, plan and manage development initiatives that meet the changing needs of households in Magadi Division. MIDPP is an innovative partnership project of five development agencies with ITDG acting as the lead agency. The five development agencies are Magadi Soda Company (MSC), Semi Arid Rural Development Programme (SARDEP), African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF), Africa Conservation Centre (ACC), Dupoto ee Maa (DEM), the relevant Government departments and the Maasai community in Magadi. MIDPP built on the Maasai Integrated Shelter Project (MISP), a pilot initiative of ITDG, while MISP was a spill over from ITDG Maasai Housing project, which operated throughout Kajiado District.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) defining how the partnership would work and how partners would relate to solve conflicts, share resources, and other aspects of collaboration was agreed and signed by the participating partners including the communities and the Government. Institutional contracts were signed by all the implementing partners stating their roles, activities, budgets, mode of monitoring and reporting. A management and monitoring body - the Project Steering Group (PSG) - was also established to scale up the project, recommend funds disbursement to partners, approve individual partner activity plans, and monitor the project progress. Membership to the PSG is comprised of 14 members as follows: 4 representatives of the implementing partner institutions, 1 representative from the private sector (represented by the Magadi Soda Company), 1 political representative, 2 women representatives, 2 youth representatives, 2 community representatives, and 2 Government representatives. Project partners report regularly to the PSG meetings. The minutes of the same are circulated to all partners and copied to the donors and the Government of Kenya.

Each participating organization has a primary responsibility in the project, although other partners and Government departments are involved in implementation of the specified activities. The primary responsibilities are: overall project management and co-ordination (ITDG), water (SARDEP), education (DEM), micro enterprise development (ITDG), support to health (AMREF), housing and shelter development (ITDG), and transport infrastructure and facilities (ITDG and Magadi Soda Company). ITDG is manager of the grant from The Royal Danish Embassy, while other agencies are subcontracted to carry out the different tasks.

The partners identified areas of intervention for reducing poverty in the area in a concerted effort. The main causes of poverty were identified as: diminishing wealth brought about by misuse of grazing land and severe drought, high illiteracy levels and low enrolment in schools, negative cultural attitudes affecting various aspects of life in the locality such as low regard towards the girl-child, inadequate infrastructure in terms of roads and transportation, and general poor health status of the people. The shift to sedentarisation has increased the demand for diversification to widen the economic base of the community.

The project adopted an integrated approach in the development of all the project activities. Past experience had shown that sectoral approaches resulted in solving only a small proportion of problems facing the community, poor co-ordination and sometimes leading to contradictory and duplication of project activities that do not truly address the core problem of the communities. In recognition of the diversity and complexity of the problems in arid and semi-arid areas, an integrated approach was therefore deemed most appropriate, with community participation from the outset. An integrated approach recognises the need to co-ordinate multiple project inputs, and emphasises the interconnectedness of development initiatives and contributions of different partners. The project integrates income generation so as to address the poverty issues in the locality. The project has particular focus on women, youth and children. The lessons learnt from the project will be used to scale up the project in other marginalized areas of Kajiado and Kenya at large.

This project is a partnership process where all stakeholders contribute to the development process. The project draws on the lessons learnt from previous work and on indigenous knowledge of the community. This is premised on the principle that the project's primary stakeholders (the participating community) is better placed to challenge, question and make choices from the development initiatives and the menu of technologies available. The development process is therefore locally driven incorporating the principles and concepts of sustainable livelihoods, partnership, inclusiveness, and participation. This helps to promote a sense of ownership among the target beneficiaries, which is very vital for the sustainability of the process.
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER SEVEN

INSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS FOR CDD IN KENYA

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF VILLAGES (VILLAGE FOCUS)

1. The concept of a village does not have real recognition in the planning and service delivery systems in Kenya. The sub-location is often seen as the lowest unit for development planning, but a sub-location may be too big in terms of size, population, and diversity of interest groups or communities. This raises the need to define the lowest spatial unit of community organization, and how that unit fits in the established administrative units e.g., sub-location, location or ward. Several villages with similar needs could team up to raise a joint program of action depending on the prevailing relationships and nature of the project.

2. The lack of a nationally accepted definition of village is likely to throw considerable confusion on the determination of boundaries in implementation of CDD. Countries that have clearly defined villages (such as Uganda and Tanzania) have expanded and consolidated community participation using participatory techniques. It is open to interpretation as to what actually constitutes a village in Kenya. The lowest administrative unit (sub-location) is too big, while clusters used by CBS can combine two villages into one cluster, divide one village into two clusters or cut across villages.

3. All communities, especially in rural Kenya and in urban informal settlements, know their village boundaries. One option would be to formalize the concept of village as understood in the respective communities. The second step is to provide procedures for election of village leaders by the communities in a participatory way, such that they are community leaders rather than a downward extension of the official administration. It is important to note that in Tanzania and Uganda the total number of villages in each country is officially known. The recognition of the villages in the planning process can be used to ingrain participatory development and empowerment of local communities. It would also make it possible to follow-up the participation and empowerment process with transfer of resources to specified communities without political manipulation and for those resources to be used in an equitable way.

4. Based on the reorganized development areas as defined by the communities, it could be possible for villages to undertake rapid appraisal and implementation of priority action plans under their elected village leaders. For example, they could carry out activities using their own resources, combined with external resources, when available, in the following areas:

- Construction or rehabilitation of schools, undertake programs to increase student enrolment, and purchase and supply of equipment including textbooks.
- Organization of AIDS prevention and mitigation (e.g., support AIDS orphans), vaccination campaigns, building health posts, improving management of health
facilities, purchase of laboratory equipment, and construction of latrines for environmental sanitation.

- Improve group-based agricultural extension, provide a link between research and extension, increase interface between farmers and extension staff, improve marketing and sales of produce, undertake joint acquisition of inputs, and soil conservation.
- Improvement of traditional water sources, construction of new water points, increasing access to domestic water through rain water harvesting, quality monitoring of water sources, promotion of small scale provider services, and protect the water catchments.
- Building and maintaining access roads, bridges and boreholes.
- Protect the environment through afforestation, use of energy saving stoves, and protection of the commons and public facilities from threats of individualization.

5. Once a village or community has gone through the participatory appraisal and planning process, external development agents (including tiers of government) could as a matter of course accept and build upon the action plans generated by the community for CDD interventions. Experiences from other countries of Africa where CDD has started (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cote D’Ivoire, Guinea, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali and Uganda) point to the comparative advantage of starting CDD programs simultaneously in as many districts as possible. Recently in Benin a group of organizations building on the wealth of earlier experience in participatory approaches went for national coverage.

6. The use of villages as project area units has been in use by NGOs in Kenya for the last decade. However, their success has been mixed. The NGOs created village development committees as structures to sustain local governance, but did not always involve them fully in the design of programs, funding of community activities, or when implementing activities in the communities. The NGOs did not give them sufficient latitude, devoting little resources to build their social capital and governance systems. The NGO-supported community institutions did not therefore feel answerable to them. However, the CBOs and village committees are used as the vehicle through which issue-based programs are filtered and administered, which has given them a completely a new face.

7. In addition to recognizing the role of a village unit in development planning and implementation, there is need to harmonize with the local authorities, as they constitute the lowest forum of elected leaders. This can create a chain for upward and downward accountability of elected leaders right from the village, to the ward, and district. It is useful to explore how villages could link up with the local authority in a reformed local government structure. There may be need to address these issues as part of constitutional reform.

EMPOWERING AND IMPROVING THE FUNCTIONING OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

8. The success of community empowerment to realize the objective of efficient and effective implementation of planned activities will depend greatly on the interface with the lowest level of elected leaders. The elected civic leaders are products of popular elections, and the community exercises the power to hire and fire at least once every five years. As communities become more sensitised and their access to information and technical know-how increases, they are more likely to realize the importance of electing leaders who can effectively represent them in political forums and institutions.
9. This political representation is critical in ensuring effective, efficient and quality delivery of service. Civic leaders are normally grassroots-based, unlike Members of Parliament, and live in their constituency. In addition, most civic leaders rise from humble positions or professions in the local community (e.g., teaching and farming) and are able to relate with the people and their aspirations. It is, however, important to analyse the situations in rural county councils separately from municipalities, as civic leaders from the big municipalities are more likely to be emotionally distant from the daily experiences of their electorates.

10. The progressive centralization of functions and resources that has characterized post-independent Kenya has left the local authorities with only a limited range of services. The councils are well placed to provide efficient and effective delivery of services in the areas of education (especially primary education), water supply, health, agriculture extension, road networks, and conservation of forests, to name a few. Most service delivery could be handled by a revamped local authority system. With increased activity, a better revenue base and a higher profile, the local authorities could attract higher calibre professionals and civic leaders.

11. Currently, local authorities have difficulties in service delivery as their wage costs (employees and civic leaders) account for 70-80% of total expenditures (DFID, 2001). Funds made available under LATF in the past few years, though modest compared to the national budget, have made a major impact on local authority financing and on their planning and budgetary systems. For example, out of a LATF allocation of Sh 11 million, Embu County Council has completed the construction of 11 bridges, assisted a number of health facilities and schools with roofing materials, and improved several market centres and their drainage systems. The focus in Embu County Council is service delivery, as the civic leaders and their electorate have made it clear they would like all LATF funds spent on service delivery and none on Council headquarters.

12. Going by the example of Embu County Council, it is clear that greater support to functions and financing systems of local authorities can make substantial impact on poverty reduction. The project implementation process at the ward level, and community supervision and monitoring have ensured that materials are delivered as per delivery notes, and used as per the schedule of work. For this reason, employment of local persons is ensured, and responsibility for delivery of locally available materials is given to local persons. With improved communication through functioning bridges, farmers are now able to deliver produce on time (mainly coffee and tea). The bridges have also ensured greater safety for children crossing rivers while going to school.

13. For local authorities to play an effective role in service delivery, career development of staff should be enhanced through training in use of information technology, finance management, accounting and procurement procedures. In the past, the local authorities have been unable to attract higher calibre professionals as are seen to be disconnected from centres of power, and have a bad reputation for not paying well when they pay at all.

14. The local authorities appreciated the recent reforms in business licensing (single business permit), LATF, and the ongoing local government reforms. However, the financial base of local authorities could be further improved by giving them access to the Road Maintenance Levy Fund, decentralizing licensing of motor vehicles operating in their districts,
and an increase of LATF to 20%. Despite the weaknesses in the current functioning of local authorities, the communities reported that they are freer with the councils compared with central government offices, and tend to forward issues which are the responsibility of central government to local authorities.

OPTIONS FOR SUPPORTIVE DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION (REALIGNING THE CENTER)

15. The findings of this report casts doubt on the ability of provincial administration and line ministries to coordinate development at the local level. The development functions of the provincial administration are ill defined, and are not clearly delineated from those of line ministries. The provincial administration does not have specified development functions in the district, but rather tends to officiate over projects undertaken by ministries. The function which is most clearly associated with the provincial administration is security. There is a general feeling that Kenya should follow the examples of neighbouring states and adapt a role for provincial administration which facilitates participatory development, and is in harmony with decentralized local government.

16. Based on cost of service delivery, the government structure could start by recognizing the boundaries of villages and subsequent recognition of villages as lowest administration units headed by elected village representatives. The KDDP program is an example of a program premised on self-defined villages, and would serve as the model for village-level planning and vertical upward and downward relationships with other structures. Several villages can form a cluster (ward) that elects a civic leader through a popular vote, as a delegates system may be unrepresentative based on differences in population. This would be a less expensive option, especially in sedentary, high-density populations. The government extension staff (e.g., public health technicians, agricultural extension staff, community development assistants, and adult education officers) would be based in the wards (clusters), reporting to local government.

17. The wards would then federate directly to the district level. Currently, most districts are rather small due to the redefinition of boundaries which has taken place in the last decade. District departmental heads would be report to the local council at the district level. A local government service commission headed by representatives of local authorities would recruit all technical personnel in the districts. Its membership would be based on people selected by defined geographical clusters of local authorities. The activities of the technical personnel would be under the direct supervision of local authorities. The ministries at the national level would consist of small national secretariats for generation and propagation of new ideas, policy direction, regulation, and quality control.
What We Heard from the Workshop...

Village Focus
- Hard time defining village concept – ended up re-defining it as community - the lowest level of organization for planning. Then it was found relevant, viable and a way forward
- What is important is that a mechanism exists so local demands are received – more likely to address real needs. However need inclusive mechanism.
- Seen as a vehicle for efficient resource allocation, for ownership, for sustainability
- Indigenous knowledge critical, present at this level
- Felt concept is applicable in rural and urban area, but characteristics different.
- Information flow a real constraint to CDD.

Strengthening Local Authorities
- Viable and useful idea - Ongoing and new reforms are relevant, there is a track record.
- Good place for revenue mixing.
- Need a transformed L.A. well linked with centre, with better human/resource allocation
- Council boundaries not well known, duplicate
- Downward accountability mechanisms better defined
- Basic philosophy/role of different layers of government need to be well understood to engender change (why they exist).

Realigning the Centre
- Restructure, yes. And strengthen the existing.
- Current system has overlaps and duplication – need to trim for efficient service delivery.
- Decentralization should go to lowest levels possible – to avoid parallel systems.
- Need to delink P.A. from development.
- Urbanization – service delivery requirement different, new challenges
- Harmonize and mix central (thin), local govt (more), and local stakeholders (CBOs).

That the CDD Topic has Relevance to Ongoing Initiatives –
- PRSP Implementation
- Local Government Reform
- Constitutional Review
- Synergies with donor programmes
- Synergies with NGO/CBO initiatives
- Synergies with Private Sector/philanthropic activities

What was the Ultimate Objective – Vibrant, Capable Communities
- With a sense of direction
- With capable, representative leadership
- With access to resources – their own and from outside
- With access and two way communication with relevant government institutions
COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT (CDD) – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The CDD approach is not presented as a panacea for all the problems related to achieving sustainable development in Kenya. CDD is seen as an option to be considered in achieving Kenya's poverty reduction goals. Beneficiary participation and the use of participatory methodology are nearly universally considered as fundamental to achieving sustainable development. The question to be answered is how to build supportive institutions which sustain local participation in the development process. With the objective of creating a sustainable participatory processes, institutional realignments may be necessary. Experience from other African countries testifies to the need to work at building from the bottom, sustainable institutions which are accountable in a political, administrative and social sense to their members. Engineering change from the top is not likely to succeed.

2. The question is - how to create institutional mechanisms which will move participation beyond an event. Critical elements to achieving this objective include:

   - Access to information – are decisions transparently made and results available?
   - Mechanisms for inclusion and participation – do women, youth, the disabled participate meaningfully?
   - Downward accountability – are there structures for political accountability, administrative/internal checks and balances, and social sanction?
   - Local organizational capacity – is there the capacity to mobilize for collective action? Are funds available to build on existing capacity by “learning by doing”, but also funds available to build and support sustainable organizations which link communities to the outside world? Are there opportunities for communities to federate when it is seen to be in their interest?
   - Is there an opportunity for civil society to act as a monitor and evaluator of the public sector?

3. One can envisage a process which would move Kenya towards achieving conditions where CDD could reach a meaningful scale and have an impact on poverty alleviation. How do we move from plan/policy to implementation? A good starting point would be a broadly accepted set of processes and rules for CDD, which development actors would respect when they wish to operate in a locality. Fragmented, ad hoc approaches have prevented successful scaling up. A vision of institutionalised village committees with plans and organizations is not unattainable. The challenge is the rate at which capacity can be built, both at local government level and at community level, to realize the vision.

4. Change in government policy and structures will take time. What we can do now is to begin to empower communities and local government, starting with increasing information

---

flow, thus beginning to establish the conditions for increased downward accountability. Equally important is to recognize and strengthen the planning process at the lowest level possible, and to link this planning process institutionally to existing structures with lowest level of government, so plans are considered and incorporated. LASDAP is showing some movement in this direction.

5. The role of local government should be enhanced, and their structures reoriented to deliver according to local demands. Lost trust must be regained. This study clearly identified the existing potential for community acceptability, accessibility, accountability and the potential for regular information flows between village and local government. Councils are well placed for local accountability. Local government has seemed to embrace the participatory approach through LASDAP and LATF. How can this process be strengthened?

6. Finally there is a need to remove the duality and ambiguity of roles between local government and devolved central government bodies. For the achievement of multiple objectives, for increasing fiscal efficiency, for better quality of service, and for better clarity of accountability mechanisms, this is an important process to start.

JETHRO VISITS MOSES: AN ILLUSTRATION BASED ON EXODUS 18

The next day Moses took his seat to serve as judge for the people, and they stood around him from morning till evening. When his father-in-law (Jethro) saw all that Moses was doing for the people, he said, “What is this you are doing for the people? Why do you alone sit as judge, while all these people stand around you from morning till evening?”

Moses answered him, “Because the people come to me to seek God’s will. Whenever they have a dispute, it is brought to me, and I decide between the parties and inform them of God’s decrees and laws.

Moses’ father-in-law replied, “…Teach them the decrees and the laws, and show them the way to live and the duties they are to perform. But select capable men from all the people – men who fear God, trustworthy men who hate dishonest gain – and appoint them as officials over thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. Have them serve as judges for the people at all times, but have them bring every difficult case to you; the simple cases they can decide themselves. That will make your load lighter, because they will share it with you. If you do this and God so commands, you will stand the strain, and all these people will go home satisfied.
Annex 1

Lessons Learned from Comparative World Bank Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa
Selective Review of Community Driven Approaches

Background

1. Community Driven Development (CDD) is broadly defined in this context as the attempt to empower local communities to shape their future by giving them more resources and the authority to use these resources to improve their standard of living. Many projects the Bank and other donors finance are already moving in this direction, but still too few resources filter down to communities.

2. Many African countries today have little or no local participation, decentralization, or local funds. Sub-Saharan Africa has the greatest centralization of development administration in the world. Accountability is poor, and what little exists is upward to donors and central governments, not downward to local people. Community development and integrated rural development have been tried in the past with disappointing results. Recent research suggests that the problem lay in the inability of central government agencies and donors to respond to local priorities and take advantage of local skills. The result: poverty remained deep in the 1980's, although countries of the region got some of the largest flows of net aid per capita in the world.

3. In general, African incomes started growing again in the 1990's, and political change brought a new interest in decentralization and community participation. Social funds and other similar funds were created to channel money to needy communities. The immediate success rate of these schemes was high. They showed that participation by beneficiaries in projects meant improved project design, implementation and outcomes. In a recent internal analysis of World Bank projects in Africa, 75% of projects with some kind of community participation were rated satisfactory, compared to 60% of the total. However, such project remain dependent on outside financial support, and sustainability results are mixed. Reasons given include the almost total dependence on donor finance, they were not embedded in permanent institutions, and their scale and geographical spread was limited. Social Funds, as designed in much of the 1990's, represent community development without institutionally sustainable empowerment, and this limits its impact and sustainability. CDD aims to remove these limitations, and so improve on the success registered by social funds.

4. CDD is seen as a form of poverty reduction in its own right, as the processes involved help people improve their capabilities and functioning by enabling them to take charge of their own affairs. Economists now accept that communities have considerable capacity to plan and implement programs, which has often been cloaked by a lack of empowerment. Vibrant community structures constitute social capital, a much neglected asset that can yield high economic dividends. CDD aims to build on social capital by harnessing community

---

3 This review will be supplemented in later drafts to include more recent experiences from other sub-Saharan African countries, and is now focused on countries with similar governmental structures to Kenya.

participation, but also to improve social capital by strengthening incentives for participatory development.

5. The five main dimensions of CDD are:

- empowering communities – organizing to diagnose local problems, come up with solutions, lay down priorities, elaborate action plans and strengthen organization and accountability
- empowering local governments – through strengthening decentralization rules, provision of untied aid, assuring inclusion and representation through participation, and strengthening organization and capacity
- realigning the centre – by shifting of responsibility, focus on facilitation, standard setting, monitoring outcomes, provision of training, and providing rewards and penalties to improve local government performance
- improving accountability – encouraging downward accountability to users of services through information sharing, and harmonizing upward accountability mechanism through clear rewards and penalties, and,
- building capacity – to develop community capacity for problem solving, by learning by doing

6. Community development and CDD should be designed to fit a country’s circumstances. An important starting point is to harmonize and strengthen ongoing efforts in community participation. In many countries, a plethora of uncoordinated donor-Driven funds already exist. The challenge is to agree on a common vision and methodology, moving towards common goals. Secondly, countries with weak or no local governments need to engage in a dialog with stakeholders and donors on the merits and feasibility of decentralization.

7. Many countries have crossed the initial stage and achieved some progress in participation and decentralization. The challenge they now face is to scale up operations. Experience shows that by learning by doing, by strengthening accountability and capacity mechanisms, successful community empowerment will typically create a good environment for effective local government, and the two can evolve in a mutually reinforcing mechanism.

8. Communities at this stage typically rely on temporary funds from social/other funds financed by donors. Local governments could gradually take over this task, as is in the case of Zambia. Responsibilities are being transferred in stages from a social fund to local governments, and local governments which perform well are able to advance faster along the path to additional resources and responsibilities. This has proved a good way to promote competition in good governance, accountability and capacity creation. In the later stages, scaling up can lead to consolidation, where decentralization is fully operational, local governments are functioning well but still need further upgrading of local skills, and fine-tuning of political, administrative and fiscal arrangements. Donors could then switch progressively from direct funding to providing budget support to central governments.
Selected Country Experiences

Zambia

9. The EU, as early as 1985, initiated a Micro projects Program administered by the Ministry of Finance, to support small investments proposed and implemented by communities. This program successfully supported community initiatives which met the poor's urgent needs through promotional campaigns to encourage submission of proposals, formation of project committees, review and selection of proposals by pre-appointed committees, and disbursement of funds directly into community bank accounts for their control and use. These features were retained when the Bank got involved through its Social Recovery project over the 1990-1991 period. The existing project management structure was used for the disbursement of US$ 21 M of World Bank funds. The project's outcome was rated satisfactory, and led to a second phase of Us$ 30 M in 1995. The main lessons learned from the first phase which were incorporated in the second phase included:

- Effective community based development requires technical support to ensure quality of works and attention to arrangements for recurrent cost implications. Uninformed and misinformed choices were in some cases the resulted in community demands which poorly reflected community preferences, and low ownership.\(^5\)
- Incentives for community participation and mechanisms for inclusiveness should be present and emphasized.
- Need for evaluative data, not just the supply of rigorous evaluations, but a demand for them as a management tool.
- The need to ensure that funds do not undermine existing institutions, and ongoing decentralization efforts. Greater coordination with district councils and district staff of central ministries was emphasized.
- NGO participation was seen as sub-optimal, due to lack of clear policies and guidelines for their participation.

The second phase project responded with substantial capacity building efforts and a proactive communications strategy at the community and local government levels. The realization was made that the Zambian experience relied on demand Driven and participatory mechanism, but was only successful to the extent that communities could express their demand effectively.\(^6\)

10. A third operation, the Zambia Social Investment Fund (ZAMSIF), was approved in 2000 with an IDA contribution of US$ 65 million. It is the first of a new phase of support, originally envisaged to be implemented in a more decentralized fashion, through district coordination. However, it was felt that local structures were not uniformly strong enough to warrant disbanding of the central management unit. The project combines training, incentives for improved performance through management of projects and programmes combined with a phased approach. Better performing districts take on more responsibility and improve their

\(^5\) Project management in the first phase relied on communities to organize themselves into committees and prepare proposals, only coming in after a proposal was made. As a result, 75% of project funds ended up financing schools and classrooms. The explanation was the pre-existence of strong parent-teacher organizations who were able to mobilize and avail funding. Efforts were made to diversify but were frustrated by lack of community level organization in other sectors.

\(^6\) "Local Solutions to Regional Problems" Frigenti, Harth and Haque, Africa Region, The World Bank, 1998
management. A “learning by doing” approach was applied to the development of the decentralization policy. The strengthening of local government capacity is seen as a key development objective of ZAMSIF. Thus far, 22 districts have entered the first stage of project participation in the district investment fund, and are receiving intensive training. For the social investment fund, direct funding to the communities from the semi-autonomous unit housed in the Ministry of Finance still takes place until the districts graduate up the criteria ladder. However ZAMSIF project design builds in much stronger involvement and role in decision making of district government compared to the previous two operations. Clear and explicit qualification criteria exist for local authorities, and they receive capacity building support to enable them to meet the criteria.

Malawi

11. The first Social Action Fund for Malawi (MASAF) was approved in 1996, which IDA contributed US$ 56 M. It was stated that the government’s “top-down style of management and over-centralized administration created significant hurdles to managing development programs, with these institutional constraints exacerbated by severe capacity limitations within government. A study showed that 40% of funds for projects destined to poor communities was spent on administration. The design assumed that communities were capable and willing to co-finance activities and implement them, that the choice of facilitation would be left to the communities, and that the project would work largely as a funding mechanism. Another objective of the project was to create a level playing field where government and non-governmental facilitators would compete. District mechanisms, including the district commissioner and local government, were put in place to ensure sufficient mobilization and coordination, but approval processes were held at the centre, initially, to ensure equity and efficiency. Funds were disbursed directly to communities. Another smaller component provided a public works food-for-work and cash scheme was included.

12. An autonomous unit to manage MASAF, reporting to a steering committee chaired by Ministry of Finance, was created. Zonal officers were put in place to assist in implementation. A pilot phase was commenced, which exceeded expectations in terms of demand and expenditure. Lessons from the pilot included that communities were capable of carrying out their own procurement, mechanisms for NGO involvement were satisfactory, and that women participation was satisfactory. It was also found that rural areas were taking off faster than urban, attributed to the lack of social cohesion in the towns and cities.

13. MASAF fully disbursed its funds in 1999, three years ahead of schedule. It was recognized as an efficient mechanism for creating and refurbishing the social and economic infrastructure. It created employment opportunities and income generation, and contributed substantially to community empowerment. Some of the lessons from the first phase which were incorporated into the second included:

- Need for government policy to manage the interface between the program and different levels of government
- Inadequate information flows and poor coordination between key project implementers
- Need to reduce political interference
- Need for greater quality assurance of micro projects
• A predominance of education projects due to weak capacity to organize around other sector priorities (i.e., lack of water specialists, specialized works capacity)
• An interesting but problematic preference for the construction of civilian police units due to rising insecurity

14. A second phase (MASAF II) was approved in 1998, with an IDA contribution of US$ 66 million. The Government has stated that MASAF is Government’s number one project and is the main instrument for implementing its poverty alleviation strategy. The unit now reports to the Office of the President and Cabinet. A new component called Sponsored Subprojects was added to specifically target vulnerable groups such as orphans, street people, people with disabilities, the aged and those affected by HIV/AIDS. This component is being implemented through sponsoring agencies. In response to government policy towards decentralization, an effort to link community structures with District Council planning was included, but has been slow to take off due to slow progress in the implementation of the decentralization strategy.

15. A Social Action Fund Project was approved for Tanzania in 2000, with an IDA contribution of US$ 60 M, with the objective of increasing and enhancing the capacities of communities and other stakeholders to prioritise, implement, and manage sustainable development initiatives and in the process improve socio-economic services and opportunities. Lessons learned from other social funds included:

• the use of a pilot phase to test and finalize operating procedures,
• the use of local approaches and existing capacity in PRA,
• coordinate across sectors using decentralized local government structures, and
• the inclusion of poverty monitoring component to ensure the fund remains a tool for executing the government poverty eradication strategy, using rapid household and community surveys to measure service delivery and the monitoring of key economic indicators.

16. Implementation was preceded by a pilot phase financed under a preparation facility, which operated in 8 districts for a year. The final design includes both a community fund and a smaller public works program, aimed at financing labour intensive works as a safety net for targeted rural areas. The project is managed from a unit in the Office of the President, with district steering committees (chaired by the District Executive Officer, the head of the local government technical team) who process, recommend and approve subprojects. Funding is made directly to community groups.

17. The most recent progress report for the project reports that with local government reform, the project is proceeding with increased involvement of district councils, aimed at strengthening the decentralization process. The intention is that project design will be adapted as the decentralization process proceeds.
Zimbabwe

18. A Community Action Project, with an IDA contribution of US$60 million was approved in 1998 for Zimbabwe, which has the objective of strengthening the ability of poorer rural communities to mobilize, implement self-help projects, collaborate with relevant local institutions, and benefit from the assets they create and maintain. It followed the government’s Poverty Alleviation Action plan, and was designed to work through the country’s Rural District Councils (RDC), targeted through a poverty ranking process. A statutory fund structure in the centre disburses money to district review committees within the RDC.

19. In parallel, an RDC Capacity Building Program, with an IDA contribution of $12 million, supported Zimbabwe’s decentralization process from 1997 to 2000, by strengthening human and physical resources at the local level. This built on a series of Urban Sector and Regional Development projects in the 90’s which generally focused on infrastructure and the capacity of Urban councils. It was observed in the evaluation of the project that “prior to the project, despite enabling local government legislation, the bulk of service delivery was carried out by the central government through line ministries, largely bypassing local government. By the third year, this situation had changed with half the local councils classified as ‘high performing’, and by learning by doing, institutions were strengthened.”

20. Unfortunately, due to Zimbabwe’s macro and political situation, the country went into arrears with the World Bank in 2000, and disbursements were suspended. The last status report indicated that the government was attempting to keep the community action project mechanism alive with the use of government funds.

Guinea

21. In 1999 IDA loaned the Republic of Guinea US$ 22 million to support their Village Communities Support Programme. It is the first in a series of three phases, with the objective of strengthening local governance and promote social and economic empowerment. By the end of the first phase, it is expected that local communities would have developed the capacity to identify and prioritise their own infrastructure and service needs, mobilize and use transparently the resources necessary, and oversee implementation, operation and continued maintenance of said infrastructure. At the same time, decentralization will be supported by the establishment of a legal and regulatory framework, improved support for local level development from the centre provided, and human and physical capacity for local authorities enhanced.

22. The components of the first phase include a local investment fund (LIF) in a pilot zone consisting of one fifth of the country, as well as capacity building for local government and rural road rehabilitation for a wider number of localities. The project is managed centrally by a PCU in the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation, supported by regional coordinators. The LIF is managed by this unit, while the local government component is managed by their parent ministry. The rural roads component is managed by a third ministry. The project differs from a traditional social fund as it is attempting to improve the way government operates at the local level, with a systematic attempt to design a mechanism, through piloting, which will be able to be scaled up.
23. Progress thus far is reported to be satisfactory, with 40 localities preparing annual investment plans. Takeoff of the decentralization and capacity building components has been slow. However the country has decided to expand the approach to urban areas as well as rural, which may mean an adjustment in project targets.

Burkina Faso

24. In 2000 IDA loaned Burkina Faso US$ 67 million to support their Community Based Rural Development Programme. It is the first in a series of three phases of support for the National Programme for Decentralized Rural Development (PNDRD), a key component of the PRSP. The PNDRD has the objective of poverty reduction through accelerating the pace of public transfers to rural areas for much needed socio-economic and productive infrastructure, by reinforcing the capacity of local institutions to sustainably deliver a number of services selected by and for their populations.

25. Programme activities will: (i) strengthen the capacity of villages and local government to prioritise, plan, implement, and maintain community based investments; (ii) provide decentralized funding for demand Driven and community managed infrastructure and services; and (iii) support the ongoing but very young decentralization process. The first phase aims to cover two thirds of the country with various donor support, about half of which coming from IDA. Initially, funds for local capacity building, and a local investment fund will flow through a central project implementation unit to provincial operational units. In parallel, a substantial institutional capacity building component will prepare local governments for their future role as decentralized entities. The project is building from a successful community based natural resource management model, but has enhanced the model to ensure that more emphasis was placed on community and local government capacity building to ensure the model could be scaled up.

26. The project has been effective for less than a year, and is showing a high degree of ownership and commitment from the government. Funds have been transferred to pilot areas based on their local development plans.

Niger

27. The Bank appraised in 2002 a first phase IDA support to the Republic of Niger totalling US$ 30 million to support their Community Action Programme (CAP). It is the first in a series of three phases, with the objective of poverty reduction and improved governance through local capacity building efforts, and implementation of demand Driven micro projects. By the end of the first phase, it is expected that local communities in 20% of the country would be covered, with progressive geographical expansion over the subsequent two phases. The CAP would aim to support Niger’s emerging process of decentralization by giving communities the responsibility and resources for local development and by providing emerging local governments with the means and administrative capacity to support the communities to which they are accountable. The programme is long term in recognition that decentralization is a process which cannot be achieved quickly. It is twinned with a GEF (Global Environment Facility) Grant which will allow communities to address long term resource management and ecosystem issues which may not normally be identified as immediate priorities.
28. Communities will have access to a Local Investment Fund, where all villages within a commune will be covered. Micro projects will be proposed by communities as part of a local development plan. Initially, funds will flow through regional coordination units, with the goal of funds flowing eventually through local government to support fiscal decentralization, once accountable structures are in place. The project is expected to commence in early 2003.

Summary - Lessons Learned from Selected Country Experience and Relevance to Kenya

29. Many of the countries whose experience is highlighted above have similar colonial histories and administrative structures as Kenya. Each, however, is at a different stage of thinking as regards decentralization. We suggest the following lessons are most relevant to Kenya:

- **For Sustainability of Community Investment Projects**
  Local Governmental structures must play a greater role in the planning, design, implementation, and operation and maintenance of small scale community investment projects.

- **For CDD to Provide a Supporting Role in Decentralization**
  When designing community interventions, policymakers should take great care to define the program goals within the context of the country’s decentralization framework. Otherwise there may be negative impacts on local governance. In countries with weak decentralization policy, resulting in little or no decentralization, community driven development can play a positive role in enhancing local governance and at the same time support decentralization initiatives.

- **The capacities of local governments can be enhanced by providing technical assistance**
  CDD techniques for increasing accountability are being used to increase local government accountability, an essential part of the decentralization process. By the use of public disclosure, use of participatory procedures, sanctions, and by using transparent and objective criteria, community faith in public institutions has been rebuilt, and communities appreciate their role and responsibilities in public investment activities.

- **Efficiency of Resource Allocation**
  The allocative efficiency of funds can be enhanced by delivering public goods and services in a way that fits local preferences better than centrally controlled and implemented programmes. Local planning systems can increase allocative efficiency by encouraging all communities within a district to express their preferences rather than only those few communities which isolated participatory methodologies can reach.

7 From “Promoting Decentralization: social funds can have positive impact on local governance” by Dinah K. McLeod Spectrum, Summer/Fall 2000, and “Promoting Good Local Governance through Social Funds and Decentralization” by Andrew Parker and Rodrigo Serrano, September 2000, The World Bank.
Letting communities handle procurement and financing of investments can provide greater benefits in terms of effective supervision, accountability, local capacity building and production efficiency, but must be matched to project size and complexity. Once communities and local governments demonstrate their ability to handle funds effectively, resources should be decentralized to them.
Annex 2

Persons Met and Places Visited

**Embu County Council**

Cllr. Abel Mwaniki Njeru
Cllr. Micheal Njiru S. Magati
Cllr. Erastus Nthia M’Chabi
Cllr. Abraham Gichovi Njeru
Cllr. Salesius Ireri
MB. Lucy N. Nyagah
Chris V. Munyi
Micheal Kiraba Njue
Nelson Njiru Njeru
Alfred Gakundo Kigoro

Council Chairman (KYENI NORTH PART WARD)
Finance, Staff and General Purpose: Committee Chairman
(KYENI SOUTH/KARURUMO WARD)
(NGANDORI WARD)
(KITHIMU WARD)
Clerk to Council
Council Treasurer
Works officer
Accountant
Administrative officer

**Embu Municipal Council**

Eng. Tiberius Mbeti Kithenya
Jane W. Nyaga
Albert Mbogo Mwaniki
B. N Kinyua
Cllr. Kanambin Kaburi

Works Engineer
Snr. C.D.A
Ag. Town Treasurer.
Town Clerk
His Worship, The Mayor

**Ministry of Health - Embu**

Dr. Mwangi Muraguri
Mwanzia Kavale
Mwaniki Mwangi
Ruth Mwangi
Mr. Kago
Eng. C. Ndegwa Gitahi
Ms Agnes Kagendo
Dr. Albert Mathenge

MOH, Embu
Provincial Public Health Officer
District Public Health Officer
District Public Health Nurse
Public Health Officer
District Water Officer. Ministry of Environment and Resource
Coordinator, Health Programme, Presbyterian Church of E.A-Embu.

**Local Level - Embu**

Mzee Njuki Mukunji
Mrs Beatrice Kanini
Mr. Kanambin Kaburi

and 10 committee members of Majimbo Housing Project (FGD)
Community Leader AIDS Campaign Group, Embu Municipality.
Chairman Karurumo Market Welfare Community.
Kanja Market Welfare Committee
MP Manyatta (Phone interview)

**Mombasa Municipal Council**

Mr. Manoa Obat
Mr. Edward Karani

Nominated Councillor, Mombasa Municipal Council
Town Clerk, Mombasa Municipal Council
Mr Enos Kindai  Deputy Town Clerk, Mombasa Municipal Council
Mr D.O. Tambo  Treasurer, Mombasa Municipal Council
Mr Chiragdin Farouk  Deputy Municipal Engineer, Mombasa Municipal Council

**International Organizations**

Mr. Dan Gustafson  FAO Resident Representative
Mr. Richard Hogg  British High Commission
Mr. Ian Shapiro  DFID
Mr. Martin Leach  DFID
Mr. Guy Jenkinson  EU
Dr. Aues Scek  Social Policy Advisory Services (SPAS), GTZ
Dr. Walter Saltzer  Kilifi District Development Programme (KDDP)
Mr Kenda Mwenja  Kilifi District Development Programme (KDDP)
Mr. Par Vikstrom  SIDA
Engineer Wilfred Ndegwa  WHO
Kenneth Ayuko  Team leader, community support team Bondo Project (FAO/Ministry of Agriculture)

**Central Government**

Mr. Alfred Lang’at  Chief Public Health Officer, Ministry of Health
Mrs. Blanche Tumbo  Senior Public Health Officer, Ministry of Health
Engineer K.G. Chesang’  Director of Water Development, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources
Mr. L.K. Biwott  Commissioner of Mines, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources
Mr. Joseph Mukui  Rural Planning Department, Ministry of Finance and Planning
Mr. Kibos Yegon  Economist, Local Government Reform Secretariat
Ms Rose Okoth  Senior Sociologist, Local Government Reform Secretariat
Mrs. Milka Thairu  State Counsel, Ministry of Local Government

**NGOs/Civil Society**

Mr. Josiah Omotto  ITDG
Ms Isabella Masinde  ITDG
Mr. Mohamed Elmi  OXFAM
Mr. Martin Oloo  Aga Khan Foundation
Dr. Salim B. Sohani  Aga Khan Health Services - Kenya
Mr Mwambi Mwasaro  Kwale Rural Support Programme (KRSP)
Mr Ombech Abidha  Kenya School Improvement Project (KENSIP), Mombasa
Ms Doris Mwobobia  ACTIONAID-Kenya, Coast Region
Mr Elphas Ojiyambo  ACTIONAID-Kenya, Coast Region
Mr Lawrence Mwagwabi  ACTIONAID-Kenya, Malindi Rural Development Initiative
Mr Abrahaman Chengo  Bombolulu Self-Help
Mr Kazungu Kahindi  Bombolulu Self-Help
Mr Kibwana Salim  Bombolulu Self-Help
Ms Amina Mweba  Bombolulu Self-Help
Mr J. Musau  Participatory Approaches to Meeting the Needs of the Urban Poor (PAMNUP)
Dr. Willy Mutungu  Executive Director, Kenya Human Rights Commission
Annex 3

Workshop Participants
May 24, 2002, Holiday Inn Nairobi
“Challenges and Opportunities for Community Driven Development in Kenya”

Kenda Mwenja  Kilifi District Development Programme (KDDP)  
Eng. J. Sifuma  Community Dev Trust Fund  
Cllr. Abel M. Njeru  Chairman, Embu County Council  
Lucy M. Nyaga (Mrs.)  Clerk to Council, Embu County Council  
Wairimu Mungai  WB Consultant on CDD  
Nyambura Githagui  WB Snr. Social Dev Specialist  
Guy Jenkinson  European Union Delegation  
Deborah Ongewe  NGO Council  
Isaac Gituka  Min. of Local Government  
Fatuma S. Abdikadir  ALRMP/Ops office  
Saadia A. Mohamed  ALRMP/Ops office  
John T. Mukui  WB Consultant on CDD  
Jason K. Waithaka  Dept of Social Services, Ministry of Human Affairs, Heritage and Sports  
Julius Kilungo  USAID/Kenya  
Margaret Gulavic  PRSP/MTEF  
Robert M’maitsi  PRSP/MTEF  
Par Vikstrom  Embassy of Sweden (SIDA)  
Dr. Aues Scek  Team Leader, Social Policy Advisory Services, GTZ  
Japheth Mbuvi  WSP-AF  
Augustine M.R. Odipo  Assn of Local Authorities of Kenya (ALGAK)  
Mohamed Elmi  OXFAM  
Judy Mwaura  PRSP/MTEF  
Dr. John R. Batten  Independent  
Tatsuo Fujita  JICA/MOARD  
Millicah W. Thairu  Ministry of Local Government  
Lojomon K. Biwott  Ministry of Environment & Natural Resources  
Meera Mehta  World Bank  
Elkanah Odembo  UFADHILI  
Samwel Ongayo  AMREF  
B.N. Kinyua  Embu Municipal Council  
Hesbon Onyango  UNDP  
Phtitalis Were Masakhwe  AMREF KCU  
Monguti Katui Katua  WB Consultant on CDD  
Rose A. Okoth  Ministry of Local Government  
Katherine Muoki  MoFP
Kurisu Masanori  JICA
Jiddah Choke  JICA
Wacuka Ikua  WB
Karega Mutahi  ADCL
Moshe Finkel  ADCL
K.K. Yegon  KLGRP, Min. of Local Government
A. Muhinda  Maji na Ufanisi
Robin Achoki  Ministry of Finance & Planning
Gakubia R.N.  Ministry of Environment & Natural Resources
Gertrude Kopiyio  GSI
J.K. Wanjama  Director, Ministry of Agriculture
P. Kandie  K-MEPP
Blanche Tumbo  Ministry of Health
L.K. Shitahka (Mrs)  OVP, MMAM&S
Lucas Ojiambo  WB
Mute Lawrence  Clarion – Centre for Law & Research
Monica Mutuku  KCDF
J.L.K. Too  NCC
Richard Hogg  DFID
Dan Gustafson  FAO
Geoffrey Atiegi  Action Aid (K)
Christine Kilalo  World Neighbours
J.P.M. Ngugi  MOLG – Kenya Local Govt Reform Programme
Jane Kiragu  FIDAI-Kenya
Monica I. Aoko  MoFP
Astrid Agostini  FAO Rome
A.E. Gutu  MOFP
Roy Kelly  Local Govt. Secretariat
REFERENCES


Embu County Council: Minutes January 2002. (LASDAP)


World Bank 2001 Local Level Institutions - Local Level Organizing For Community Development In Kenya. November


World Bank, Small Service Providers make a big Difference, Water and Sanitation Programme, Field note number 5.
IMAGING

Report No.: 24688 KE
Type: SR