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SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Dilemma of Options in Kenya

Fuchaka Waswa,
Christine Ruth Saru Kilalo and
Dominic Mwambi Mwasaru





Sustainable Community Development

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To ordinary Kenyans, the "wanainchi"
The resilient rural and urban communities
Whose hard and honest labor

and

Whose struggle for a decent life against all odds is admirable;

and

In whose hands the destiny of their families, communities and the nation lies
May the labor of your hands bear much fruit.
And may the words in the great National Anthem;
"Justice be our shield and defender, ...and plenty be found within our borders"
Be true for you, your children and generations to come.

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"While communities must take responsibility for their own development, good governance should provide the requisite conditions for the same. Good governance is hinged upon good politics, which cannot be divorced from professional ethics and morality. Communities have the constitutional right to decide the quality of their leaders and hence set the pace of achieving decent living standards".

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"Simple practical solutions always work miracles when it comes to shifting the status of people from poverty and indignity to progressive human well-being. The poor know why they are poor and most likely know how to free themselves from poverty. They should be facilitated and not dictated to in this endeavour."

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"The lesson from Kenya's history seems to suggest that poverty in the country has been institutionalized by the dominant group. Only a strong social movement can help communities trapped in poverty to free themselves from this indignity."

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Foreword

The theme of community development has quickly gained prominence in development dialogue perhaps due to the dismal performance the conventional top-down approaches have had on national development. In the past emphasis has tended to concentrate on economic and social welfare of communities, with minimal reflection on the environmental sphere. This explains why the quality of ecosystems has generally deteriorated through the development process.

By "sustainable" community development, the authors wish to re-invigorate the importance of integrating ecological concerns in socio-economic and cultural development processes. In essence they argue for a triple bottom line approach as opposed to the conventional single bottom line approach in pursuit of national development.

The value of communities in the development process stems from the democratic principle of "government of the people, for the people and by the people." An important yet conveniently ignored component in this democratic philosophy is government "with the people." This explains the authors' thesis that national development is hinged on community development, and not the other way round, which tends to maximize on the elusive trickle-down effect.

The term "dilemma of options" has been used in this volume to affirm that no single formula is panacea for sustainable community development. A menu of approaches and strategies exist that different stakeholders and communities could tap into. The choice in this regard

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has been made easier as this volume has attempted to highlight their performance record based on what has been tried in the past in Kenya.

A key lesson in this volume is the truism that poor communities know why they are poor and how they can free themselves from poverty ratchets. The specific roles of other stakeholders in this endeavour, such as government, civil society, academia and the international community, among others, are also discussed.

Reflection questions at the end of every chapter are meant to stimulate discussions and challenge the readers' long-held assumptions and encourage them to make concrete positive changes and contributions to sustainable community development. I consider this volume very timely particularly for countries still trapped in endemic poverty and human ill-being. Policy makers and development partners will have a platform for realistic decision-making that may go against their long-held assumptions about the "dark continent" and Kenya in particular. Academia will find in this volume compelling themes for intellectual discourse and pointers to strategic action research. Community leaders will have a chance to learn documented development lessons and be in a position to avoid what does not work.

I highly recommend this book as a reference guide for international development policy, higher education and to all stakeholders devoted to community and national development.



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Preface

Since independence in 1963, Kenya's efforts towards attainment of sustainable development have remained an illusion despite the culture of hard work associated with Kenyans and massive external support. Poverty, hunger, and disease are still pressing concerns. Their negative effects are likely to increase commensurately with increasing population pressure and global environmental changes like climate change. Most development interventions hitherto attempted have largely failed because they have tended to be top-down and desk-top based and not people-driven. Understanding development and what it takes to achieve it from the perspective of target stakeholders is the key to predictable and practical development. Current development blue prints such as Kenya's Vision 2030 will need to be tailored to effectively involve people if real change has to be realized. This book seeks to contribute to this broad objective based on the authors' more than ten years of experience of working with civil society among marginalized communities in Kenya. The authors have attempted to, among others:

- Provide a menu of practical approaches and strategies on what may work and what may not work in the context of sustainable community development
- Expose readers particularly in development practice and policy, and in higher education and research institutions to research and policy gaps that need further interrogation towards Kenya's renaissance and sustainable development.

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In addressing the theme of sustainable community development, Chapter 1 lays the background of the book by discussing the persistent problem of poverty. So that readers may appreciate the seriousness of poverty, its indignity has been described using local examples that conspicuously demonstrate it, unlike international standards that are too general. Further, despite its wealth in resources, Africa's under-development irony is discussed as a way of reminding its people of their ability to liberate themselves. Paradigm changes that are needed not just to manage it, but to eradicate it are discussed. Being the life-support system, the role of the environment is also discussed with emphasis on paradigms that are likely to foster expected good practice.

Chapter 2 chronologically discusses past development approaches and strategies in Kenya. The emphasis is how the dominant group (political elite) has perpetually and subtly encouraged the under-development of the masses. The chapter discusses the need for a paradigm shift in favor of social mobilization as a means to overcome institutionalized poverty perpetuated by the few political elites. The future of sustainable community development requires deliberate replacement of the "dominant paradigm," which is still elitist-driven, with a more socially oriented, people-driven process. Failure to legitimately dethrone the dominant group that has been overseer of poverty since independence and, worse, allows its appendages to perpetuate itself through patronizing political leadership will most likely bring no significant positive changes that Kenyans long for.

In Chapter 3, critical thematic areas that have potential to make significant and rapid positive change in agriculture-dependent communities are discussed. Key themes in this chapter include the need to develop and institutionalize community leadership, importance of community asset and resource mobilization for self-development, critical role of community-based health care, role of gender-mainstreaming in development, dealing with water scarcity in dry land ecosystems, practical ways towards food security, identifying alternative off-land income sources and critical role of environmental stewardship in sustainable development.

Chapter 4 emphasizes the truism that sustainable community development is hinged upon effective and honest multi-stakeholder participation including government, private sector, civil society, academia and target communities, among others, are equal and inter-dependent partners. Thus how to enter and implement results-oriented partnerships

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is discussed. Critical in this regard are procedures of phasing-in and phasing-out by external stakeholders in order to prevent development of dependency syndromes on the part of target communities.

The critical role of government in sustainable community development is the gist of Chapter 5. It is the thesis of this volume that ultimately economic prosperity, social justice and welfare, and environmental stewardship are depended on the quality of political governance of the day. This volume affirms the widely acknowledged truism that Kenya has not made significant development after more than 50 years since independence due to poor governance, mostly manifested through the culture of impunity, corruption and negative ethnicity. To achieve sustainable community development, the government of the day should be transparent and accountable to the people when it comes to decision-making on resource distribution, access and use. The electorate should be able to hold their government accountable at all times on all things that affect its development, including acts of commission and omission. Where institutionalized poverty seems to persist, a formula for guaranteed social change is provided for communities to use in their endeavour for self-liberation.

Chapter 6 is a wrap up of the key lessons in sustainable community development. It outlines what is likely to work and what may not. As a fundamental principle "poor" people know why they are poor and are therefore better placed to free themselves from poverty ratchets. However due to their limited initial financial base, they need to be effectively facilitated by government and other development stakeholders, at least in the short-term. In order to avoid creation of a dependency syndrome, phasing-out of external support should automatically follow once some key minimum milestones within the target communities would have been achieved. Communities would then take responsibility for their own development, and hold government accountable when it comes to providing the requisite environment for sustainable development.

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The wealth that cartoons and special graphics added to this volume is the work of Tabitha (Fine Art) and Kamau Karanja (ICT consultant), both of Kenyatta University.

Proof reading by Karen Khabere and the editorial input by Dr. Emmanuel Mutisya of the Graduate Program in Sustainability Science (GPSS) at the University of Tokyo, Japan, are highly appreciated.

The authors wish to acknowledge and appreciate all friends and colleagues for their encouragement during the preparation of this volume.

Special thanks go to World Neighbours-East Africa for according the authors the rare opportunity to work with communities in marginal areas of East Africa in the period before 2000. This volume is based on that experience.

And to the God of all creation in whom all things including knowledge consist, be the glory, power and honor forever and ever.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASAL	Arid and Semi Arid Lands
CBHC	Community-Based Health Care
CBO	Community Based Organization
CCB	Community Capacity Building
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CHP	Community Health Promoters
CORPS	Community's Own Resource Persons
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DDO	District Development Officer
DELTA	Development Education of Leadership Teams in Action
DFSRD	District Focus Strategy for Rural Development
EALC	East Africa Labour Congress
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
FPE	Free Primary School Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISR	Intellectual Social Responsibility
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KDC	*Kitui Development Centre*
KRA	Kenya Rainwater Association

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KU	Kenyatta University
MA	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Framework
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MGAN	Mutual Gains Approach to Negotiations
MNCs	Multi-National Corporations
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOU	Memoranda of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NMC	National Management Committee
NMDT	*Ngua Mlambo* Development Trust
NYACODA	Nyakach Community Development Association
PHC	Primary Health Care
PLA	Participatory Learning in Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCD	Sustainable Community Development
SND	Sustainable National Development
TH	Traditional Healers
TM	Traditional Midwives
TOF	Training of Facilitators
TOT	Training of Trainers
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
VDC	Village Development Committee
VSAH	Volunteer Services at Home
WN	World Neighbours-East Africa
WSSD	World Summit for Sustainable Development

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1
Introduction

Abstract: *This chapter lays the background of the book by discussing the persistent problem of poverty and its indignity, using its practical manifestations within communities. Reference is made to Africa's development irony, given its wealth in natural resources and human capital, to question the inability of Kenya to catch up with her peers at independence such as the Asian Tigers. The assumption is made that since the living standard of an average Kenyan is declining, past development approaches are wanting and new ideas need to be tried out to catapult Kenya into a newly developed country as envisaged in the nation's blue print—called Vision 2030. This calls for people-centered visionary leadership that has hitherto been the missing link.*

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> "Something is wrong when the more things change, the more they remain the same in the fight against poverty" in Kenya
>
> —*Authors*

1.1 Background

In 1963, the newly inaugurated Kenya Government embarked on a mission to eradicate three major obstacles that were considered critical to development: poverty, diseases, and ignorance. This was to be actualized through the establishment and implementation of five-year development plans. Today, more than 50 years later, Kenya is still grappling with the stigma of underdevelopment and a widening gap between the rich and the poor. Most key development indicators have been on a downward trend. Recent estimates from the Kenya Bureau of Statistics show that 54% and 53% of the rural and urban people respectively live in absolute poverty.

Although the data may not be conclusive, the general trend suggests that poverty has little to do with natural factors like adverse climate since the levels of poverty in both medium and low potential zones are similar (Table 1.1). The misplaced significance of adverse natural factors is further annulled because many countries with such conditions have broken out of poverty. Financial capital may not also be a critical challenge, given the level of mega corruption and wastage of national

TABLE 1.1 *Poverty levels by provinces in Kenya*

Province	No. of Const.	Poverty levels (%)		2010 population figures*
		Rural	Urban	
Nairobi	08	–	44	3,138,369
Central	29	31	46	4,383,743
Coast	21	61	48	3,325,307
Eastern	36	58	49	5,668,123
North Eastern	11	–	–	2,310,757
Nyanza	32	64	62	5,442,711
Rift Valley	49	48	53	10,006,805
Western	24	60	68	4,334,282
Country Total or Mean	210	53.7	52.9	38,610,097

Source: columns 1–3: Society for International Development, 2004. Pulling apart, facts and figures on inequality in Kenya; * Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010.

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financial resources in Kenya. Poor management of human capital and social capital thus stands out as the critical development challenge. This malaise is directly related to persistent bad politics, which has unfortunately remained the governance culture despite the negative implications that often accompany it.

These statistics are indicative of policy flaws when considered along the economic potential of each province indicated in the table. Western and Nyanza provinces, for instance, are within the medium to high potential agro-ecological zones (Farm Management Handbook, 2010), yet more than 60% of their inhabitants are classified as poor (living on one dollar or less per day). While several reasons may be advanced for such inter-province disparities, poor governance is perhaps the single most important factor responsible for this observation. Details on the role of poor governance in under-development are discussed in Chapter 4. The scenario for the future in most Kenyans' minds can best be described as desperate. While the living standards for the average Kenyan was considered high after independence in 1963, it is widely acknowledged that most households are sinking into poverty with time, and the living standard of an average Kenyan is declining (Figure 1.1).

One possible cause of persistent poverty has been the continuation of political and economic marginalization of communities and regions after independence in 1963. For instance, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965

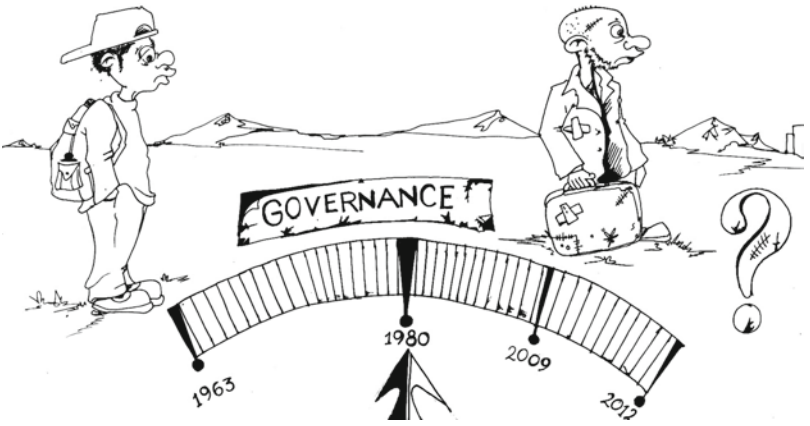


FIGURE 1.1 *Scenario for the future based on current circumstances*

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was anchored on a strategy of investing resources in high potential areas with high economic returns to attain rapid economic growth. This effectively marginalized the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASALs), which have remained the poorest regions to date as evidenced also by the County Development Index (CDI) developed by the Commission for Revenue Allocation (CRA, 2014). How to shift communities from the status from ill-being to well-being (i.e., having materially enough for a decent life, enjoyment of security, enjoyment of good health, having good social relationships, and having the ability to choose and make preferences) remains a critical governance challenge for Kenya. This volume provides a menu of options that could address this challenge.

The status of ill-being (poverty) in Kenya is manifested mainly in hunger, famine, and related problems such as illness, death, crippled children's learning capacities, and reduced potential of people to work (Republic of Kenya, 2000). Borrowing from Chambers (1983), such events contribute to "physical weakness" within the populace that ultimately undermines the realization of the current slogan of "a working nation." Chambers (1983) has discussed the role of physical weakness in perpetuating integrated poverty[1] and what could be done to enhance rural livelihoods through his concept of "clusters of disadvantage."

This scenario is also ironical given that Kenya's economy is largely agricultural. That the fight against poverty cannot be won without fighting hunger was further amplified through the theme for the 2001 World Food Day: "Fight hunger to reduce poverty." Similar observations were made by Baas and Rouse (1997), who indicated that poverty, environmental degradation, and land are directly related in most developing countries.

Alleviation of poverty remains the single most important entry point for sustainable community development in most agriculture dependent economies such as Kenya. This goal is achievable, bearing in mind that the GNP of Kenya and South Korea were statistically the same in the early 1960s. Ironically, Kenya's GDP was USD 32,724 in 2009, while that of South Korea was USD 832,512 (International Monetary Fund, 2010). Leadership that is development conscious would be interested in identifying the factors responsible for the widening gap between these two countries once at par with respect to GNP. In this volume it is hypothesized that the apparent failure of past poverty reduction approaches and strategies is attributed to several factors such as:

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- their tendencies of not targeting hunger specifically;
- drivers not fully involving the target populations;
- emphasizing macro-economic growth with a false assumption that the benefits would trickle down to the hungry;
- being "outsider" driven and owned;
- lacking integrated approaches; and
- generally operating within the context of poor economic and political governance of host countries.

Recently, Mwinyimvua and Mpango (2004) observed that material well-being, as measured by macro-economic indicators such as per capita GDP, does not necessarily translate into a feeling of well being. They attributed this to the tendency of policy makers of paying little attention on levels of income and its distribution, and specific growth strategies that have greater potential payoff for the poor. In Kenya, one key decentralization initiative that could have perhaps made a difference but unfortunately had only limited positive impact was the 1983 District Focus Strategy for Rural Development (DFSRD). Its failure is attributed to its tendencies toward top-down administration. Although designed to masquerade as people-driven and owned, red-tape and political interference were the key challenges in its implementation.

Similarly, International Aid has equally had limited positive impact. For instance, in 2000, foreign aid to the government of Kenya was about US$1.2 billion, which then represented approximately 10% of the country's GDP (Earth Council, 1998). In the same period, the GNP continued to fall as poverty increased. This could be attributed, among others, to the tendency of donors not to invest in people (communities) in pursuit of their own interests and inclination for policy expediency as opposed to felt needs (Randel and German, 1996). Investing in people means encouraging participation, the need to invest in social development and the need for people to have "ownership" of development projects and programs that affect them. A gulf still exists between these aspirations and the styles and capacities of many aid administrations. What the international community should continually seek to understand is that development must be by people themselves, but not for people or with people, as they are the primary stakeholders (Hyden, 1998). Development with people (participation) would make sense if the people and development agencies have a shared vision.

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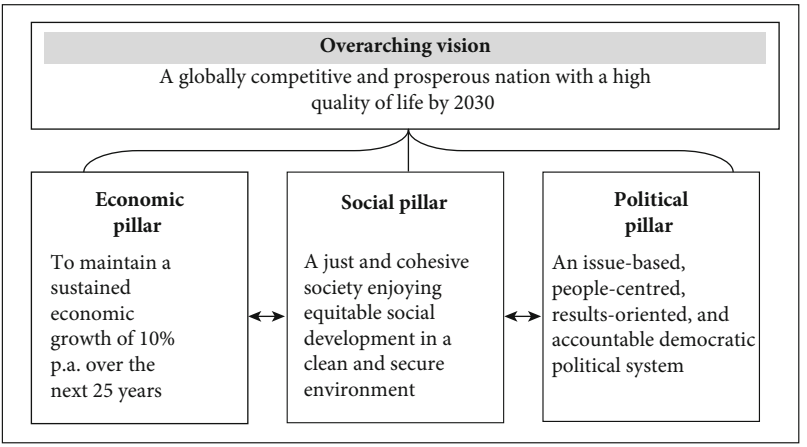


FIGURE 1.2 *Pillars of Vision 2030*

Source: Adapted and modified from Kenya Atlas 2008.

The global importance of agenda 21, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are all indicative of much work that remains to be done to alleviate poverty and enhance human well-being within sustained environmental quality status. The government of Kenya is using Vision 2030 as the platform for development planning and implementation. This vision is based on three pillars working together to lift the country into a newly industrialized country by 2030 (Figure 1.2).

Although all three pillars have potential to yield significant long-term benefits, it will take committed political will to implement particularly the social pillar. Past observations have indicated that the political and ruling elite have no courage to address historical injustices that sowed the seeds of the current problem of inequity in access to and benefit from national resources, particularly land and employment opportunities in the public sector. The post-election violence of 2007–2008 and subsequent agenda 4 of the national peace accord attests to this fact. Today, a national land commission exits, but precarious land issues remain largely unresolved for reasons that are more political than professional.

Whether Vision 2030 will succeed or not remains an open question that is hinged on eliminating bad governance and whether it is a shared vision across the populace. The rather low emphasis put on the environment (is marginally covered within the social pillar) suggests

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the low appreciation of the environment as the single most important life-support system. Based on conventional conceptualization of sustainability, the environment would have been a pillar by itself in the vision.

This notwithstanding, Vision 2030 can serve as a good starting point toward re-invigorating the vision of the country at independence, namely eradication of poverty, diseases, and illiteracy. To these could be added optimized environmental productivity and quality in the context of inter-generation and intra-generation equity. Today (2014)—due to the difficult times the nation finds itself—increasing public poverty, insecurity and terrorism, youth unemployment, corruption and negative ethnicity and high cost of living, Vision 2030 is beginning to be referred to as Vision 3020! Such a reversal of a vision statement should elicit honest interrogation of the development agenda and strategy of the nation.

This book argues for increased emphasis on community-centered approaches as opposed to academic- and desktop-centered approaches[2] if sustainable development is to be realized. This assertion is based on the authors' hands-on experience during their more than 15 years' active involvement in the development of marginalized communities in East Africa when working with World Neighbours[3]. Further, this book seeks to challenge rigid donor policy frameworks and encourage people-driven development initiatives. The basis for this is the truism that failure to be flexible in funding for purposes of policy expediency is partly to blame for the rather dismal development realized in most target communities in the past approximately two decades.

What tends to happen under such donor-community relationship is a "cat and mouse" game that ends once the community succeeds in obtaining the needed funding and then diverts it to its priority needs contrary to donor expectations. The "cheated" donors often respond by tightening their already unpopular funding regime with the overall consequence of wasted time, effort, and resources. The free primary education program scandal and others within the civil society organizations would provide excellent case studies in this regard.

If more than 40 years have been characterized by under-development, it is logical to conclude that other approaches hitherto ignored or unknown may hold the solution to poverty alleviation and eradication in Kenya. In this volume it is argued that:

> If people are poor, know that they are poor and know why they are poor; they should be better placed to find lasting solutions to their poverty.

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Since poverty is multi-dimensional and locality-specific, partnership in fighting it is a critical requirement. As Randel and German (1996) put it, the donor must thus humble himself/herself to the position of a servant, partner, and facilitator and not "master" just because he/she is providing the money. Further, multiplicity of community needs, within dwindling individual resources, is an urgent and obvious call for partnership among all stakeholders in the fight against poverty (Republic of Kenya, 2001a; IISD, 2002).

1.2 Africa' development irony

Africa is endowed with a lot of natural capital (arable land, diverse climate, and mineral wealth). It is centrally placed as a continent considering its borders, latitudes, longitudes, and oceans. With such economic development potential, the irony is that poverty and suffering are still endemic, hence the notion of the "Dark Continent" and "Africa's Resource Curse." Contrary to economic prudence, most African countries produce what they do not consume and consume what they do not produce. Whether this scenario is a "conspiracy" by powerful foreign forces in cohort with African leaders or is a serious leadership deficiency syndrome remains an open question. The following observations about Africa and by extension Kenya further point to the urgent need for visionary leadership to reclaim the continent's position in the global economy.

- Africa was once the place of refuge and plenty as exemplified by the migration of "ancient Israel" to Egypt, when famine swept over Palestine during the era of the Pharaohs. Why and when this positive image changed remains a puzzle.
- Africa was explored by chance. It was initially a transit point to the far east-trade in spices. With time Africa became settled and colonized, dumping site of wastes, laboratory for all manner of tests—chemical, biological etc, place of adventure, power game for European powers (scramble for Africa). Currently Africa is generally viewed as the dark continent of no political or economic significance to the global environment.
- With staggering figures of expert brain drain from the continent, most African governments, especially south of the Sahara, do not seem to be bothered. One then wonders whether it is wisdom on the part of "poor" Africa to subsidize human resources development for the "rich" developed nations for free.

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- Up to 1990, Africa seems to have had no home-grown economic development agenda except independence struggles. In this period, Africa became an experimental site for western designed economic development models, which have all largely failed. A good example is the World Bank-initiated Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which is widely blamed for enhancing poverty because it was forced on nations that do not have social support systems for the poor and the unemployed.
- Although most Sub-Sahara Africa nations are largely poor, the spending regime of their governments are characterized by "awe and shock" when considered from the aspect of opulence. Political leadership is merely a display of power, wealth, and kingship using public resources when delivery of even basic services like primary healthcare and essential infrastructure is still a mirage. A good example is the 2008–2010 bloated Grant Coalition government in Kenya, where recurrent expenditure in terms of salaries and emoluments compares well with those of large economies like Britain.
- Kenya has among the highest elite per capita in Africa, that is, persons with at least A-level qualifications to a university degree, yet has nothing much to show for it. Indeed joblessness among graduates has reached alarming proportions.
- The levels of capital flight are yet another contradiction of poverty in Africa. It is common knowledge that some African leaders[4] have stashed enormous amounts of money abroad, which could settle the "Africa foreign debt." That this injustice is also known to the donor community leaves one to wonder whether there is a conspiracy by Africa's "development partners" to suffocate the continent economically.
- Africa has also had its share of conflicts, which have immensely undermined its development. Today, the concept of "Africa's Resource Curse"[5] has become the continent's trademark name.

With this background, Kenya's, and by extension Africa's, renaissance is long overdue. Already different approaches are being developed for the way forward. Latest in this attempt was the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which came in after two global forums on sustainable development: United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in 1992 at Rio de Jenairo, and the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in 2002 at

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Johannesburg in South Africa. NEPAD's main purpose was to mobilize Africa toward self-initiative for growth and development and ask former colonial masters to support them instead of shifting blame. NEPAD sort to put Africa's destiny into its own hands by pursuing the following development agenda:

- Defense and building on home-grown sovereignty on the basis that dished out independence is not independence at all.
- Trade and not AID (departure from dependency syndrome).
- Development from village (grassroots) to national level.
- Charity cannot eradicate poverty. It elevates it.
- Credit budgeting and not Debit (deficit) budgeting, hence need to avoid wishful thinking and live within its means.
- Strategic planning and not operational planning (long-term planning and not short-term planning).
- Need to produce what we consume and export surplus if any (self-reliance).
- Need to consume what we produce and import the deficit.

The first 10 years passed without any tangible outcome from NEPAD. Time will tell whether the now-restructured NEPAD, including shifting of its secretariat from South Africa to Ethiopia, is the right vehicle toward Africa's development. NEPAD and the global community would do well to examine community development challenges using participatory approaches before designing practical development plans. The sustainable development "audit" based on Rio 20+ does not bring out any significant development progress in most nations in Africa. Development stakeholders for Africa need to conceptualize poverty from a local perspective, because the international standard of the same may not hold the key to poverty eradication in Africa. Although the impacts of colonialism may not be ignored, African people themselves will have to stop the blame game and eradicate their own poverty and human indignity conditions, now that they are independent nations.

1.3 Poverty: from an international to a local understanding

Internationally, under-development is characterized by indicators such as low life expectancy, poor health and hygiene status, food insecurity, low

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TABLE 1.2 *Poverty assessment in selected countries based on Purchasing Power Parity (PPR)*

Country	Year	% Population with income less than PPP of US $2/day
Botswana	1985–86	61.0
Ethiopia	1981–82	89.0
Kenya	1992	88.1
Madagascar	1993	93.2
Nigeria	1992–93	59.9
Rwanda	1983–85	88.7
Senegal	1991–92	79.6
Uganda	1989–90	92.2
Zambia	1993	98.1
Zimbabwe*	1990–91	68.2

Source: Modified from Karekezi (2002): the situation has since changed negatively due to international sanctions on the country.

education and literacy levels, low income per capita, lack of enjoyment of security and human rights, and poor quality of shelter, among others (Nuscheler, 1996). A critical assessment of these factors points to a gloomy situation for developing countries. The role of Africa's poverty levels in global environmental change can also not be underestimated. For instance brain drain continues to undermine Africa's development in myriad ways and particularly loss of skilled labor (Waswa *et al*., 2004). At the same time, dealing with economic and political refugees is a problem the developed countries are finding difficult to manage. Poverty and environmental degradation, including global warming, are challenges world leaders acknowledge as real and requiring urgent attention[6]. Poverty cannot also be de-linked from geo-politics and the emerging globalised economic order.

Now that "money answers all questions," the standard international criterion for absolute poverty is when somebody is surviving on less than one US dollar per day. When purchasing power parity (PPP)[7] is used as the poverty threshold, the proportion of the population that falls below the threshold is very high (Table 1.2). From a local perspective, figures do not mean much. Real observations on the ground describe poverty in ways that could trigger relevant interventions. For instance:

- Poverty is when children cry because they are hungry and one cannot stop them for not having even a handful of flour to give them.
- Poverty is when it rains and one's body is soaked in water while in a house with nothing to prevent it from happening again.

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- Poverty is preventable sickness automatically leading to death.
- Poverty is when children walk and work while naked, and mature into adults as illiterate people when schools are in their backyards.
- Poverty is when one's body becomes the only way of earning some income to meet basic needs.
- Poverty is when people lack basic buffers against the impacts of contingencies like drought, floods, and insecurity
- Poverty is when people rush to scoop petroleum products from over-turned trucks, inferno risks notwithstanding.
- Poverty is when people begin to hunt and eat unconventional products such as domestic pets, rodents, and wild fruits for lack of food.
- Poverty is when casual workers accept life-threatening risks at the place of work in order to afford a packet of flour for that day.
- Poverty is when families live in holes and caves like foxes.

Other descriptions that are community specific certainly exist and could be relevant in designing appropriate entry points for poverty alleviation and elimination. Suffice to say that statistics alone cannot convey the dehumanizing nature of poverty; the pain of deprivation, inferiority and the sense of injustice; the misery, violence and acute emotional uprising that are associated with it. Only empathy-driven approaches that involve target communities have the potential to progressively solve poverty problems.

Putting these in perspective, it becomes clear that past alleviation strategies and approaches have performed poorly because emphasis has been put on academic and macro-economic understanding of poverty and not the real cry of the poor. Poverty in Kenya and indeed most agriculture dependent economies is mainly manifested through hunger, famine, and malnutrition (food insecurity). Major factors that have contributed to increased food insecurity in Kenya are worth noting and include, among others, the following:

- Limited investment in water resources development especially for Arid and Semi Arid Lands. Note that while the total potential land for irrigation and drainage is estimated at 540,000 and 600,000 hectares respectively, only 109,350 hectares have been developed (Republic of Kenya, 2000).
- Lack of early warning systems of looming drawbacks like drought and by extension lack of appropriate coping mechanisms that

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include limited strategic reserves and poor storage of available food.

- Poor access to credit for land development due to several factors such as inappropriate land tenure systems and gender insensitivity implications (Waswa, 2000).
- Prevalence of crop diseases and pests has been responsible for the near extinction of cassava crop in western province. That the Greater Grain Borer (GGB), which infested most agro-ecosystems in Taita, Makueni, and Kitui was nicknamed "Osama,"[8] as an indication of huge economic losses caused by the damage and loss of the much-needed grain in a relatively short period.
- Poor rural infrastructure and marketing channels, which limit widespread distribution of available food. Situations where some regions have more than enough food, with much going to waste, while people are starving in other regions are not uncommon.
- Increasing farmers' preference of exotic crops to locally suitable indigenous crops and vegetables.
- Unchecked reduction in land sizes and loss of agricultural land through alternative uses such as expansion of settlement areas, and degradation, especially loss of fertility. This is a pointer to the need for land use planning skills within communities.
- Inadequate planting materials and provision of seeds coupled with lack of the necessary technical support is frustrating to farmers.
- Crop destruction by wildlife coupled with lack of official compensation policy was a major drawback to food security endeavors among farmers bordering game parks, such as in Taita.
- Politically driven dependency syndrome especially on food handouts in the ASAL target areas remains a hindrance to sustainable livelihoods to date. A mono-directional approach to food security endeavors and apathy on the part of the community reinforces this tendency.
- Political and natural resource-base conflicts as was demonstrated during late 2007 and early 2008 following the disputed presidential elections.

The general scenario agriculturally is a slump in performance attributed to both natural factors like rainfall scarcity and anthropogenic factors like poor world commodity prices, poor rural access road, poor economic planning and governance among others (Republic of Kenya,

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2001b). Focus has also been on cash crops and income commodities such as coffee, tea, and milk. The link of these commodities to food security is remote based on the populations engaged in their production. Such focus on the macro dimension often fails to benefit many Kenyans in their constrained rural-production systems.

The National Development Plan 2001–2008 acknowledges that national food security does not necessarily imply household food security. The reverse is certainly true. That Kenya could import Maize to the tune of 4 million bags to offset a recurrent deficit of 11 million bags in the period 1999/2000 is a pointer to the need for innovativeness and result-oriented strategies and approaches toward improving the agricultural sector. In 2004, similar situations of declining agricultural development were not uncommon. The status of the sugar sector, milk sector, coffee sector, and beef sector attest to this. Ironically, while solutions to alleviate food insecurity and poverty are simple from farmers' perspectives, emphasis is still put on desk-top approaches that tend to concentrate on the already low-impact national factors.

It is apparent that the hope of Kenya's recovery is in the hands of the hurting people themselves—the rural and urban poor whose plight the elites have often exploited for personal and selfish gains. Understanding inherent community characteristics would be important if decentralized development approaches that are currently gaining momentum in development policy are to succeed.

In conceptualizing the community, this book has adopted an ecological approach to its understanding. This is deliberate, as ultimately, the inter-dependence of community components will determine the success of its development. A community can be viewed at different levels: family, clan, village, sub-location, location, division, District, Province country, Regional (e.g. East Africa Community, African Union), and global community. The inter-dependence of these communities is captured in the ecological hierarchical organizations (Figure 1.3).

What happens at one level/hierarchy affects all other levels. For instance what happens at the global level (biosphere) has implications at household (habitat) level and vice versa. This calls for deliberate respect for the common good in pursuit of development, which entails thinking globally as we act locally. Some communities associated with particularly serious ecological implications include the urban poor in slums and the marginalized rural communities trapped in vicious cycles of poverty.

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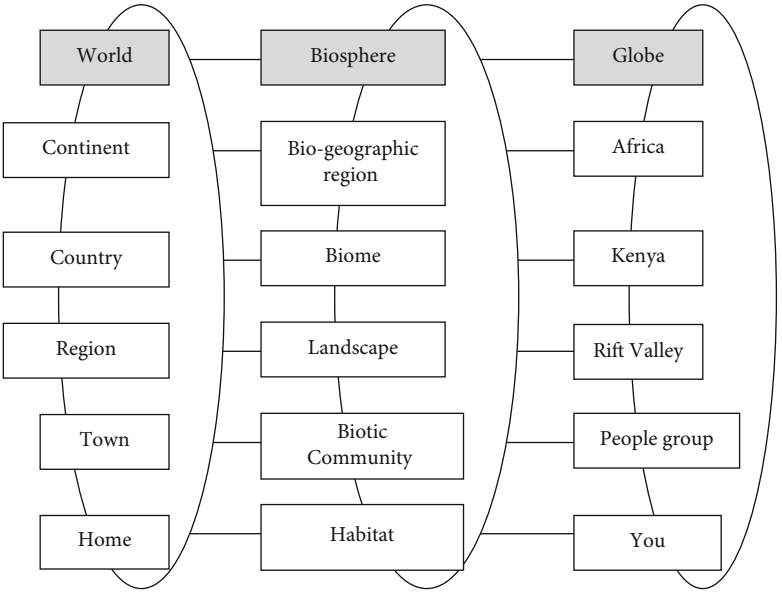


FIGURE 1.3 *Illustration of hierarchical organization*

Communities living in the ASALs are particularly important in the study of poverty dynamics because of the unique features and characteristics that typify these agro-ecosystems, such as:

- low annual rainfall totals;
- low density of infrastructure;
- scarce population, though these ASALs are now important recipients of migratory populations from high potential;
- their suitability for range management, tourism and mineral wealth exploration.

Poverty is thus multi-dimensional and is entrenched by inter-locking clusters of disadvantage as discussed by Chambers (1983). Its alleviation and eradication would require an integrated and multi-disciplinary approach, driven by ethical and moral considerations, as opposed to academic, political, and economic blue prints.

With the understanding that no one half of the world can survive without the other half calls for deliberate efforts from all of us to think about and accept our responsibilities to one another. This concept of the "common

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good" is the foundation of the authors' conceptualization of sustainable development as *development that guarantees intra- and inter-generational equity when it comes to resources utilization for wealth creation and human well-being.* Although various models or visualizations of sustainability have been advanced, sustainable development essentially calls for tradeoffs among environmental considerations, economic objectives, and socio-political concerns. One critical requirement for effective tradeoffs is negotiations that end up with mutual gains among stakeholders. In the African context, these philosophies should be largely pursued with greater focus on food security and poverty alleviation, enhancement of sovereignty in natural resource control, and prevention and control of environmental degradation including pollution. This is because in Africa environmental management is not just about preserving nature or even sustainable economic development: it is a matter of survival (World Bank, 2002).

Survival itself is dependent on addressing multiple needs within communities that individual persons have limited capacity to adequately handle. This in part explains the focus of the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development on the need for deliberate efforts toward partnership in the development process. In dealing with this challenge,

TABLE 1.3 *Factors likely to undermine the achievement of MDGs in Kenya*

Specific MDGs	Anti-MDG factors
1. Halving extreme poverty and hunger	Inflation, widening income disparities and insecurity
2. Achieving universal primary education	Retrogressive culture, poverty itself, insufficiency of motivated teachers
3. Promoting gender equality	Retrogressive culture and political attempts to reverse affirmative action in elective positions
4. Reducing under-five mortality by two-thirds	Few and under-equipped hospitals and health centers, exodus and resignation of doctors and nurses
5. Reducing maternal mortality by three-quarters	Few and under-equipped hospitals and health centers, exodus and resignation of doctors and nurses
6. Reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS, Malaria and TB	Retrogressive culture, attitudes, climate change, medical costs
7. Ensuring environmental sustainability	Lack of an environment-conscious culture in the populace
8. Developing global partnership for development	Political and governance difference regionally and internationally

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world leaders adopted eight millennium development goals (MDGs) to be achieved between 1990 and 2015 (Table 1.3).

These goals are, in principle, a reflection of some of the main development challenges of most under-developed nations, Kenya included. With about one year the progress in attaining these goals particularly in Africa is wanting. According to the 2013 MDG Report, Africa's rate of poverty reduction is insufficient to reach the target of halving extreme poverty by 2015. Although MDGs 2, 3, 6, and 8 are on track, MDGs 1, 4, 5, and 7 remain off track (UNDP 2014). Since this latter category is critical in jump-starting Africa's development, governments in Africa, Kenya included particularly due to its reliance on agriculture, must put structures in place to sustain its development well beyond the MDG timeline. In his closing statement, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. Mr. Ban Ki-Moon emphasized that:

> In the past, we have seen that when the spotlights are switched off, world attention quickly moves on to other issues. With only five years left, we cannot let that happen. "Between now and 2015, we must make sure that promises made become promises kept. The consequences of doing otherwise are profound: death, illness and despair, needless suffering, lost opportunities for millions upon millions of people. (http://www.un.org/en/mdg/summit2010)"

Some building blocks for reversing the negative trends in MDGs and other development targets are in general the gist of this volume. It is hoped that these experiences will contribute to radical political, policy, and research reforms toward rapid and sustainable community development, and by extension national development in Kenya and beyond. The content will also expand the body of knowledge for all stakeholders, stimulate targeted action-research for development, and enhance decision-making about development in both local and international spheres. Graduate students, research scientists, policy makers, politicians, and people in the development sector stand to benefit a lot from this volume because of its realistic, open, and practical approach to felt needs.

1.4 Reflection questions

1 How does the perception of poverty in your community differ from international conceptualization of the same?

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2 In which practical ways could Vision 2030 be used to alleviate and or eradicate poverty in your County?
3 If your community has been a victim of poverty, explain the relevance of the measures it used to free itself from the same.
4 Using your local community as an example, comment on the status of MDGs and suggest ways of making them a reality.

Notes

1 Poverty as caused by multiple and yet inter-linked factors.
2 Office, hotel, and "expert" based with the would-be beneficiaries conveniently ignored.
3 A grassroots International NGO for community development.
4 The Abacha and Mobutu Scandals are globally acknowledged in this regard. The Goldenberg and Anglo-leasing scandals suffice as examples in Kenya.
5 Though endowed with a wealth of natural capital, poverty and resource-use conflicts are still endemic in the continent.
6 See G8 and G20 meeting press statements.
7 PPP is a measure of two US $ a day and is taken as more realistic poverty line.
8 This imagery was borrowed from the terrorist attacks in Nairobi and Tanzania, which left rather heavy losses in a twinkling of an eye.

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2
Development Approaches and Competing Paradigms

Abstract: *This chapter chronologically discusses past development approaches and competing paradigms in Kenya since independence to date. The menu of approaches provides development practitioners with insights on what may work and what may not work in the quest for sustainable community development. Further the chapter provides insight on how the dominant group (political elite) has insisted on using the approaches under interrogation to perpetually and subtly encourage the underdevelopment of the masses. By way of conclusion, the future of sustainable community development requires deliberate replacement of the "dominant paradigm" that is still elitist-driven with a more socially oriented people-driven process, in order to eradicate institutionalized poverty.*

Keywords: development strategies; dominant minority; institutionalized poverty

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> Sustainable nations evolve from sustainable communities
>
> —*Authors*

2.1 Historical perspective of main development paradigms[1]

Egon G. Guba defines a paradigm as "a basic set of beliefs that guide action, whether of the everyday garden variety or action taken in connection with a disciplined inquiry."[2] In this discussion the term paradigm is used to describe a set of socio-economic, political and ideological forces that shape individual and collective mentality and behaviour in given historical circumstances. There are two main paradigms of development since the industrial revolution—capitalism (the dominant paradigm) and the "social justice" paradigm (the anti-thesis or counterpart to capitalism). In each of these two major paradigms there are sub-paradigms (trends or traditions) shaped by the circumstances of struggle between the two main paradigms in a given historical situation.

Examples of sub-paradigms or traditions in the dominant paradigm include mind-sets and operational frameworks variously described as patronage, stick-and-carrot, handout and top-down among others. On the other hand, examples of sub paradigms or traditions in the social justice paradigm include the participatory approach experiences, various forms of active non-violent resistance and violent forms of resistance. From the history of colonial rule and liberation movements it is clearly demonstrated that these sub paradigms in real-life situations overlap and operate simultaneously whether within the dominant or resistance paradigms. However, one form becomes dominant depending on historical factors and prevailing circumstances at a given point or stage in the process of struggle.

The dominant paradigm

Historically, the key features of capitalism as the dominant socio-economic and political model have been colonialism (including plantation slavery), neo-colonialism now better known as globalization. These features of capitalism together constitute the dominant development paradigm. This paradigm serves the interests of the rich and powerful nations and corporations in the world while subjecting the majority of

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nations in the world to abject poverty and powerlessness. Internal to a country, the same paradigm similarly serves the interests of the rich and powerful while keeping the rest of the population in poverty and servitude. Kenya perhaps stands out as a leading example of extreme capitalism as evidenced by the extreme inequalities within the populace.

The anti-thesis: social justice paradigm

The Social Justice paradigm is essentially resistance to the excesses of capitalism. The history of colonialism, neo-colonialism and globalization has continually shown that the oppressed all over the world have resisted (and continue to resist) foreign and local domination in defense of their economic, political and cultural interests. The core and underlying characteristic of this paradigm is the "politics and culture of resistance." It is this *unbwogable*[3] *spirit of resistance* that denies the dominant paradigm complete victory, and, consequently, keeps the struggle raging even in the oddest of circumstances.

The contestation between paradigms is characterized by processes of interaction that sometimes lead to the appropriation of an adversary's fighting force to beef up the appropriator's capacity in the ongoing struggle. The process of appropriation, taking place in the arena of fierce political contestation between the two paradigms, ejects the political and ideological "sting" that belongs to the adversary paradigm. A successful process of appropriation assimilates the aspects considered positive by standards of appropriating paradigm while rejecting political and ideological baggage from the adversary paradigm. The following examples illustrate this point.

Information technology in the era of globalization is an aspect of advanced technology developed within the circles of the dominant paradigm with a view to promote the interests of powerful forces in the world. However, the resistance paradigm has in some cases appropriated aspects of information technology and used them effectively against oppressive forces in whose domain this technology was developed. Internet and related forms of communication, for example, are extensively used by organized resistance groups of various kinds. The initial economic, political and ideological interests have been subverted and replaced with opposing interests within the resistance paradigm. Consequently, information technology in the era of globalization is a two-edged sword in the hands of protagonists in both paradigms.

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On the other hand, the dominant paradigm similarly appropriates fighting forces from the resistance paradigm. Participatory methodology is a case in point. Developed within the paradigm of resistance in Latin America, Africa and Asia, participatory methodology (especially in the circles of informal or popular education) was a weapon of the oppressed against the oppressor.[4] However, as participatory methodology got mainstreamed and up-scaled, it steadily got appropriated by forces of the dominant paradigm. Ironically, some of the leading promoters of appropriated forms of participatory methods today include the World Bank and its satellites.

In this respect, participatory methods are used mechanically and manipulatively within the dominant paradigm to advance the interests of key actors in that paradigm. The initial ideological and political contents of participatory methodology in this case are jettisoned and participatory methods are no more than a bag of tools (even tricks!) at the service of forces within the dominant paradigm. The crucial question about the use of participatory methods, therefore, is: in which paradigm are they being applied? These methods are not neutral in the struggle between forces of competing paradigms.

2.2 Development paradigms in the context of Kenyan history

The colonial paradigm

Socio-economic development of colonized societies was perceived and implemented within the framework of economic, political and cultural interests of the colonizing nations. In the era of 19th- and 20th-century imperialism colonized countries were expected to "develop" through the action of foreigners controlling both the natural resources of a country and the labour of its people. The effective occupation of Kenya by the British and subsequent declaration of Kenya as a British colony in 1920 subverted the process of development from focusing on the priorities of indigenous people and placed that process in a development framework that gave priority to foreign interests. Kenyan land and related natural resources were declared to be the property of the British monarchy. Henceforth, use, access and ownership of land was regulated and administered by the colonial regime on behalf of the British monarchy and in

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accordance with colonial legislation. Through forced labour laws, the colonial administration availed cheap labour to British entrepreneurs.

Given the colonial legislation and ideology, labour and natural resources were factors of creating wealth that were already given. Therefore, what counted thereafter were inputs by foreigners - capital and technology. Consequently, wealth produced in the colonized countries "belonged" to foreign investors and the colonizing country. Colonial regimes in their laws, politics and propaganda provided legitimacy for this theft and for inequality between colonizers and the colonized. And that was the colonial paradigm of "developing" colonized countries. In this paradigm development of a colonized country meant, among other things, the infrastructure investment made by the colonizers was meant to maximize extraction of wealth from the colony. Examples of such infrastructure include road and rail networks, communication networks, power generating plants and manufacturing industries. Other examples are social service infrastructure (meant to service the labour inputs) such as schools, health facilities, water supply and so forth.

Since the wealth produced was siphoned away to foreign countries, development of infrastructure did not improve the quality of life for the majority of the population. On the contrary, such development left the people more impoverished than they were before. Development within the framework of colonial paradigm was in actual fact a process through which colonized countries are impoverished while the colonizing countries consequently flourished.[5] This colonial paradigm is still operational in the post-independence period because political transition at the time of independence did not translate into paradigm and ideological change.

Although forces working within the resistance or social justice paradigm caused the removal of colonial regimes, the same forces did not succeed in building the supremacy of the social justice paradigm over the dominant capitalist paradigm. Therefore, the political transition at independence closed the chapter of colonial era and opened a new chapter of neo-colonial era. Nothing substantially changed in regard to economic, political and cultural relations characteristic to the dominant paradigm. Labour and natural resources or raw materials were still subordinated to capital and technology in the legal framework and ideological outlook governing relations in the process of producing wealth.

A recent case in point is Tiomin Kenya Ltd and the proposed mining of titanium in Kwale district along the Kenyan coast. The underlying

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assumption is that the Canadian Company, Tiomin, incorporated in Kenya as Tiomin Kenya Ltd, has "discovered" titanium in the Kenyan coastal region. Kenyans have no ownership claims over these mineral deposits because they were "discovered" by Tiomin Kenya Ltd.

Development in this context is defined within the colonial paradigm: namely, physical and social infrastructure development required for exploitation of mineral wealth in question. Who benefits from this wealth? What are the benefits to the local people and the Kenyan economy as a whole? What basic framework and principles are guiding negotiations and contractual agreements between the Kenyan Government and the concerned foreign company are basic questions often not asked.

Instead Kenyans are bombarded with propaganda meant to hide the truth concerning exploitation through the colonial paradigm of development. The principal message of propaganda from Government and Tiomin Kenya Ltd to the Kenyan people is that Kenya critically needs foreign investments (capital and technology) in order to develop. Consequently, the Kenya Government (like the colonial regime before it) must do all it takes to create circumstances favorable to foreign capital. This assumed supremacy and adoration of capital on the one hand, and subordination of labour and natural resources on the other are manifestations of political and cultural hegemony of the dominant paradigm that still reigns supreme in Kenya since the colonial era.

Just as it was in the colonial era, exploitation of local labour and natural resources by owners of foreign capital and technology would most likely leave communities more impoverished than they were before. In the case of mining titanium in Kwale, risks of environmental disasters are high since the Government has resolved to grant a mining license without an independent environmental impact assessment report. The Government's position is taken despite documented threats indicating existence of radioactive materials and possibility of depleting the water table and causing a flow of saline water from the sea into existing and future boreholes and wells. This form of impunity has its origin in colonial ideology and mindset of the ruler against the ruled.

The resistance (social justice) paradigm

Resistance to the colonial development paradigm has been expressed through different forms of popular struggle against colonial exploitation,

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repression and arrogance. This struggle was inspired by values of social justice, patriotism and dignity of human life. Issues concerning labour and natural resources (especially land) became focal points of struggle. Struggle for the rights of workers in plantations and urban areas on the one hand, and struggles of rural communities for the return of alienated lands on the other combined forces to propel the independence movement in the continent in late 1940s and early 1950s.

The independence movement called for sovereignty as a basic framework of organizing and controlling development forces and factors of creating wealth: namely, labour, natural resources, technology and capital. Kenyans fought for an independent state that would create conditions to ensure that the social justice paradigm delivers people's economic, political and cultural aspirations and expectations. These aspirations and expectations were shattered by lack of meaningful reforms upon achievement of independence in 1963 and subsequent emergence of dictatorial regimes in the post-independence era. Political leadership had been taken over by local elites schooled and cultured to conform to colonial mindset.

This factor is one of those that drove the demand for the second liberation[6] which slowly but steadily gathered momentum. This posed a challenge to the post-independence ruling class. Despite the ruthless dictatorial regimes perpetrated by the ruling classes and their foreign allies, the popular forces for a second liberation could not be stopped. With realignment of geo-political forces by superpowers following the end of the Cold War in the mid 1980s, support to the Kenya African National Union (KANU)[7] dictatorship from some key superpowers such as the US began to dwindle. This change in the international power relations coupled with the growing human rights movement created a favorable atmosphere for forces opposed to the KANU dictatorship to flourish. In December 1991, the KANU regime caved in to popular demand for multi-party democracy by removing Section 2A from the Constitution. The wave for change grew stronger and stronger as Kenyans demanded a fundamental review of the Constitution through a people-driven process. The KANU regime, the main obstacle to the demand for a new constitution, was swept out of power in the General Elections of December 2002 by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC).

But as it were, the more things changed, the more things remained the same. The NARC government has generally not lived to its promise of change, which resulted into its humiliating defeat in the 2005 national

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constitutional referendum (Maina *et al.*, 2005). To date the struggle for reforms continues as Kenyans painfully realize that the removal of KANU was only a battle won but the war is far from being won. Forces for radical reforms in line with people's expectations and aspirations are faced with the fact that they are dealing with powerful forces entrenched in the socio-economic, political and cultural structures within the framework of the dominant paradigm.

The continuing struggles for reforms, including those relating to constitutional reforms, reflect the basic struggle between the dominant paradigm protecting the interests of the elite rich and powerful and the social justice paradigm defending and promoting the interests of poor and vulnerable popular masses. However, there are peak moments when significant changes take place in favor of forces in the dominant or social justice (resistance) paradigms. As Kenya goes through a critical transition towards a new constitutional dispensation, the basic question is whether an opportunity exists for resistance forces within the social justice paradigm to build up momentum and grow into a power block that can realistically challenge the hegemony of the dominant paradigm. The opportunity may exist but it may also pass un-utilized if forces within the social justice paradigm fail to take advantage of such opportunity.

2.3 Competing development approaches in Kenya

The history of development approaches in Kenya inevitably reflects the reality of struggle and competition between the haves and the have not, that is, capitalism and resistance paradigms respectively. Since the reality of competing paradigms is an ongoing phenomenon, several or various development approaches can, and in fact, do co-exist. The point to note is that some may be more dominant than others at a given point in time. Following this realization, we choose to discuss development approaches in Kenyan history as traditions rather than chronological events that took place and ended at given points in our history. However, it is important to place each approach or tradition on a timeframe in terms of its origins and growth.

Another point to note is the fact that the list of development approaches discussed below is not meant to be exhaustive. In fact, in the light of competing paradigms and the phenomenon of appropriation between paradigms, the potential for new development approaches is always present. Therefore, it is possible that there are new development

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approaches evolving but they may escape attention currently unless and until they become distinguishable trends. Finally it should be noted that while approaches may be theoretically categorized to belong either to the dominant paradigm or to the resistance paradigm, in real life situations approaches may overlap or get appropriated. Therefore, an approach (whether in the dominant or resistance paradigm) must competitively build its popularity and dominance through the thick and thin of existing political contestation. Some of the approaches that have in past shaped Kenya's development landscape are described below.

The charity tradition

"When we give food to the poor you call us saints. When we ask why the poor are hungry you call us communists!" (Bishop Don Helder Camara from Brazil). Charity, donations, alms, handouts and other such terms attempt to describe the act of giving material help by the rich to the poor. In Kenya this tradition is associated with religious institutions and rich people's organizations such as the Rotary Club and the Lions Club. Rich individuals and some donor organizations overseas are significant components of this tradition. This tradition goes right back to the colonial days. Although not fashionable currently, it is still a powerful tradition handling huge sums of money and handout materials. Further it moralizes poverty and steers clear of any attempt to analyze social reality to identify causes of poverty and factors that perpetrate it. Further, it disapproves a questioning mind and instead fosters a mentality of resignation to fate or supernatural forces, erodes self-confidence among the poor and breeds dependency syndrome in constituencies where it is dominant.

In some religious circles this approach draws legitimacy from a brand of theological ideology that puts emphasis on spirituality and encourages its faithful to disengage from earthly concerns in order to save their souls. Engagement in aspects of material development is viewed as necessary evil that must be tolerated as long as the soul is still imprisoned in the body. Mundane activities are profane, secondary and subordinate to spiritual salvation. Actors in this tradition falsely claim to be a-political or neutral in relation to taking political positions on issues at stake and related struggles.

In reality this tradition is one of the major forces within the dominant paradigm. Actors in this tradition shun or even rebuke forces from the

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resistance paradigm that question or challenge the status quo and the dominant paradigm. To that extent, those actors are a political force in support of the status quo and the dominant paradigm. Therefore, their claims about political neutrality have neither basis nor merit. Given the fact that the forces of the dominant paradigm are currently prevalent in our society, the charity tradition continues (and will continue) to be a major trend among development approaches in Kenya in the foreseeable future. It may be unfashionable in some quarters but it remains a powerful force that cannot be wished away!

The worsening conditions of de-humanizing poverty in our country will continue to breed the mentality of resignation to fate and dependency among the poor, on the one hand, and, on the other, encourage "saints" of charity programs in their "good works." This oppressive situation is most desirable by those whose interests are served or promoted by the existing status quo. However, given the dialectics of competing paradigms, the seed of revolt and liberation is sown in those same conditions of oppression and de-humanizing poverty. At an appropriate moment the *unbwogable* politics and culture of resistance find expression in concrete acts of revolt and struggle to challenge forces of oppression and de-humanization in specific cases of repression and/or humiliation. Therefore, in the context of competing paradigms and dialectical relations between those paradigms, opportunities for initiating change do exist even in those cases where the charity approach is predominant and the overall situation looks hopeless.

The self-help and mutual support tradition

This tradition is the anti-thesis of charity. It is deeply rooted in the history of resistance. Evidence is abundant in the history of resistance to colonial rule by peasant communities and the labour movement. "Pacification Campaigns" (this is the term used by colonial historians to describe colonial invasion) to hoist the British flag over conquered territories were resisted with all the resources available to the local populations. This struggle produced heroic men and women such as MeKatilili wa Menza, Mwangeka wa Malowa, Waiyaki wa Hinga and Koitalel arap Samoei.

The second wave of this struggle came in the 1920s and 1930s with the formation of ethnic associations such as the Kikuyu Central Association, Ukamba Members' Association, the Taita Hills Association and

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the North Kavirondo Tax Payers' Association. These associations were formed following restrictions by the colonial government to form multi-ethnic organizations for fear of coordinated resistance to colonial rule. The third wave of resistance came in the late 1940s and early 1950s when rural-based resistance organizations joined hands with organized labour to form a national independence movement. The Land and Freedom Army (Mau, Mau) was part of this broad national independence movement.

The seeds of the labour movement were planted as early as 1900 when railway workers in Mombasa resorted to industrial action as a weapon to challenge the excesses of exploitation by colonial business enterprises. Significantly, industrial action was organized along the lines of labour versus capital. African, Asian and European workers joined hands to demand their rights irrespective of race, color or ethnicity. By 1920 East Africa Labour Congress (EALC) was formed to coordinate the struggle for workers' rights all over East Africa with the railway workers as the core of this organization. The colonial administration panicked and banned EALC. Other trade unions were declared illegal. Similarly, rural-based organizations were forbidden except those dealing with welfare and organized along ethnic lines.

Declaring trade unions illegal did not stop workers organizing to defend their rights and protect their interests. Instead the number of trade unions grew rapidly in the 1930s and became a powerful movement in the 1940s and early 1950s despite a major disruption during the Second World War, between 1939 and 1945. Pioneer trade union leaders like Makhan Singh, Chegge Kibachia and others gave the trade union movement a national perspective and international linkage and alliances. These attributes immensely enhanced the struggle for national independence especially after the merging of the trade union movement with the peasant movement to form a national independence movement.

Both peasants' and workers' organizations mobilized their own resources to fight back colonial injustice and protect interests of their members. Their struggles depended on the human, material and financial resources of their members and patriotic persons or groups from the masses of the working people. These resources were mobilized through well-organized networks that facilitated communication, contacts and linkages between organizations and leaders in the country and, in some cases, outside the country. Material and financial support from external sources was negligible. Self-reliance was one of the major pillars

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in workers' and peasants' movements against colonial rule, which was perceived as anti-local development.

The principle of self-reliance through mobilization of local resources for mutual support and achievement of common objectives is manifested in traditional Kenyan societies by various forms of collective response to challenges of socio-economic development. Examples include mutual support groups in the rural areas, especially during cultivation and harvest seasons. In turns, each member benefits from the labour of the entire group, and, in that way, more gets done for everyone than in the case where everyone worked alone in their field. The same principle underlines the practice of merry-go-round especially among women groups in both urban and rural areas.

Many individuals and homes have achieved their dreams through the principle of collective mobilization of resources to support an individual member. Building on the same principle and experience from traditional Kenyan societies, the cooperative movement, especially in the post-independence era grew phenomenally. The movement flourished both in the rural and urban areas. Producer and consumer cooperatives were at one time economic engines in the rural areas. Similarly, savings and credit cooperative societies have been a source of critical economic support to workers and their families in urban as well as rural areas.

Despite the massive corruption and losses that the cooperative sector suffered during the dictatorial regimes of the KANU era, this movement survived. It is still one of the strongest sectors in the Kenyan economy. To a great extent, the cooperative sector has resisted total appropriation by the dominant paradigm because of its "movement" nature. Despite legislation that undermined the voice of the membership by concentrating power in the hands of Central Government, the "*unbwogable*" spirit of democratic practice within the movement prevented complete cooption and destruction by forces within the dominant paradigm.

The principle of collective mobilization of resources for a common cause or objective also inspired efforts of local people towards communal projects at community level. Numerous schools, dispensaries, feeder roads and so forth have been constructed through local resources with little or no external resources. The *Waswahili* used the rallying cry, "*halambee*!," to express the spirit and practice of pulling together resources and energies to overcome a given challenge. Jomo Kenyatta,[8] unable to pronounce the consonant "l," popularized this rallying cry as "*harambee*!." As will be shown below, the positive attributes of *harambee*

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as a force within the social justice paradigm were jettisoned once *harambee* was appropriated into the dominant paradigm by the ruling classes starting with the Kenyatta regime. The theft, cheating and other acts of anti-people behaviour associated with *harambee* within the dominant paradigm are completely contrary to the attributes of *harambee* within the social justice paradigm where *harambee* originated.

The patronage tradition

The patronage tradition has its origins in the patriarchal structures that characterize most of traditional Kenyan societies. The colonial state, led by a European elite that came from societies that were also predominantly patriarchal, easily incorporated patriarchy as a force in the dominant paradigm because of authoritarian values and styles of leadership inherent in that system. Consequently, the rich and/or powerful were perceived as parents while the poor and oppressed majority were viewed as children in mainstream politics and the political culture as a whole. Furthermore, this cultural and political system completely marginalized women and youth from formal decision-making processes and forums. In this system, women in particular suffered multiple forms of repression starting from the household and extended family to all spheres of public life.

With control over natural resources, labour, technology and capital in its hands the colonial government and its agencies were in a position to play parent while forcing colonized peoples to play child in respect to resources for socio-economic development. Individuals, families and communities that were perceived to be obedient and loyal to the colonial state were rewarded while those perceived otherwise were punished. As the struggle for independence intensified in early 1950s, the colonial regime made deliberate efforts to transform the loyalists into a solid economic class (a middle class) whose interests would be best protected by the colonial status quo. Such a class was expected not only to support the colonial administration but also to act as a buffer between the impoverished masses and the "white" settlers.[9] The material progress made by loyalists and traitors was thus a product of patronage and a reward by the colonial administration for their good work.

The practice and system of rewarding political loyalists was entrenched in the colonial social order. The elite and ruling classes in the post-independence era simply built on that system and perfected it within

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the context of KANU dictatorial regimes under presidents Kenyatta and Moi. *Harambee* occasions became one of the most effective modes of seeking or receiving patronage from the centre of political power. Business and political leaders seeking specific or general favors did so by making generous "*harambee* contributions" to projects associated with those who wield influence and political power. In the era of Kenyatta such contributions were directed to "Gatundu Hospital" or "project of the President's choice." Both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes used the system of Provincial Administration (inherited intact from the colonial regime) by making it, like the colonialists before them did, the basic mechanism of processing and dishing out rewards and punishments in line with desires and interests of those in the centre of power.

If power wielders are on one side of the patronage coin, the other side is made of sycophants steeped in the mentality of subservience. The entrenchment of patronage as a major political feature in the post-independence dictatorships was characterized by personality cults around power-wielders, on the one hand, and on the other a high degree of sycophancy among those who served in that system. Senior civil servants and politicians in the ruling party were expected as a matter of duty to be sycophantic even at the expense of professionalism and ethical behaviour. Song and dance in praise of "the guest of honor" and dignitaries in *harambee* occasions and public functions became part and parcel of official entertainment. Officials from the Ministry of Culture and Social Services made sure that all articles lined up for formal presentation were vetted and censored. As expected, the criteria for selection were downright sycophantic with excesses of personal flatter that embarrassed a sober mind.

Patronage in the context of dictatorial regimes bred and fuelled corruption along with related vices of such regimes. Such vices of patronage were perpetrated through networks and syndicates that penetrated society right down to the village level. Patronage appropriated the self-help tradition by hooking self-help groups into patronage networks controlled by rich and powerful individuals closely connected to the corridors of power. This scenario caused a mushrooming of "self-help groups" formed by opportunistic elements from both the local and national elite. Such networks of organized sycophants formed the mechanisms used for bribing and intimidation especially during periods leading up to general elections and occasions when the ruling elite or the dominant faction within it finds itself in a political crisis.

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The coercive wing of these politically created self-help groups is the phenomenon of organized political thugs in the name of youth wingers. In some cases these youth wingers turn into armed militia ("Jeshi la Mzee" type) personally loyal and answerable to respective political godfathers. In such circumstances, the rule of law is critically undermined. Depending on the degree of closeness to the centre of power, such militia operate freely un-hindered by the police and other official forces of enforcing law and order. In fact, when necessary, the formal organs of state power are made to collaborate with given private militia to achieve specific objectives. The most vivid examples of this scenario come from the MASS ACTION events during the movement for political reforms before the fall of KANU in December 2002. Prominent demonstrators such as Bishop Njoya were specifically targeted for physical lashing by private militia and some plainclothes police operatives in full view of uniformed police officers and even the media.

The service-delivery/welfare tradition

This tradition and approach to development is rooted in government civil service. Service delivery by the government to the taxpayer is a duty that every regime is expected to do to the satisfaction of the public. However, hardly any government can deliver services to the satisfaction of the taxpayer, especially in the prevailing conditions in the so-called third world or "developing" countries. Yet, it is in the realm of satisfactory delivery of services that both the voter and the political aspirant draw their expectations and promises respectively. The bulk of items in the list of promises made by individual politicians and manifestos of contesting political parties are to do with delivery of services. Similarly, success or failure of an individual politician and a ruling regime is judged using criteria drawn largely from service delivery expectations and promises.

It is not surprising therefore that politicians and civil servants perceive civil society organizations (CSO) involved in development work as government's handmaids expected to fill the gap or complement government role in service delivery. This mentality is often unquestionably accepted by mainstream development organizations or agencies especially those working in the areas of education, health and water development. In their assigned ancillary role, these civil society organizations are expected to confine themselves in the technical aspects of the services they offer. Their operational framework is not only strictly

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technical but also sector-based. The political, economic and cultural environment in which these services are delivered is a subject matter left to politicians, legislators and policy makers. In other words, these civil society organizations are expected to confine themselves in their technical roles and "NOT to meddle with politics!" They are not supposed to "mix" development with politics, or also mix faith and politics.

This development tradition has been one of the most influential forces serving the dominant paradigm of socio-economic development. In a dictatorial situation such as the one experienced in the era of the KANU regimes under Kenyatta and Moi, professionals and professional practice were in some cases completely subjected to the whims of self-seeking politicians closely associated with the centre of power. Professional ethics and even the rule of law were often bent by professionals to suit the interests of their masters and, of course, their own as well. Mis-governance and subsequent acts of corruption such as grabbing of land from the poor and alienation of public utility plots by the rich and powerful took place during these regimes through facilitation of sycophantic and "politically correct" professionals. Just as the powerful grew filthy rich through plunder of national and public resources, so did the professionals who served as handmaids to powerful individuals and syndicates close to the centre of power.

Within the civil service in particular, professionals who resisted political patronage (favors and/or intimidation) and continued to perform their duties within the framework of the law and professional ethics attracted the wrath of corrupt political moguls. Instead of recognition for their good works through conventional rewarding methods such as promotions, such professionals got harassment and intimidation by powerful agents within the network of political patronage controlled by the ruling elite. The situation was worse for those professionals who openly supported or perceived to support the cause of the poor and marginalized sections of society. Labeled as communists, rebels, subversives, inciters or agents of foreign powers, they were dismissed from their jobs especially if they were civil servants or employees of companies associated with the ruling elite or companies that wanted to play safe with those in power. A case in point is the university professors and lecturers especially during the period between August 1982 and December 1991.

Using the excuse of attempted military coup of August 1, 1982, the Moi regime pounced on the so-called radical university lecturers and anyone

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perceived to be holding dissenting views from those of the establishment. Many lecturers lost their jobs through political incarceration such as jail terms following tramped up charges, political detention and forced political exile. This trend had already started in the 1970s. It rapidly grew after the attempted coup in August 1982 that provided the regime with a perfect excuse to deal a deadly blow to their perceived opponents.

Opposition to the KANU regime did not die because of persecuting or forcing into exile people with dissenting views. On the contrary, it grew into concrete demands for human rights and democratic reforms. In the period covering late 1980s and early 1990s, intellectuals from all walks of life displaced from the mainstream provided intellectual leadership to civil society organizations and programs that helped to propel the pro-democracy movement that overthrew the KANU dictatorship through the General Elections of December 2002. As described above, the service delivery tradition like other major forces within the dominant paradigm promotes political servitude. It detests critical thinking and questioning of established power relations in the status quo. This tradition is one of the major forces behind the "civil service" mentality of un-questioning compliance with laid down norms. The extreme form of this mentality is sycophancy produced by material conditions of patronage-based political system.

Civil society organizations that operate within the service delivery tradition are often inevitably forced to operate within the space of the dominant paradigm. Therefore, they are basically disadvantaged to facilitate or participate meaningfully in the kind of advocacy that challenges oppressive forces and power structures within their working environment. However, as described above, in its extreme form this tradition creates conditions that cause such frustration and dissatisfaction to individuals with a questioning mind that some of such individuals become critical resources in the resistance paradigm. Increased numbers of such individuals are usually an indication of serious crisis in the status quo. Such crisis could be precipitated by either factional struggles within the dominant paradigm or by the main struggle between forces of the dominant and resistance paradigms.

The relief tradition

This tradition is a major force in the dominant paradigm. It is situated in the realm of global geo-political forces controlled by the rich and

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powerful nations of the world. This tradition is characterized by relief aid packaged in the language of humanitarian assistance. The usual occasions that attract relief aid are natural and political disasters.[10] The relief tradition in the post-independence Kenya became clearly visible starting from 1964/65 following extended drought conditions and subsequent devastating floods that caused havoc in many parts of Kenya and especially the arid and semi-arid areas of the North Eastern Province, the North Rift Valley and North Western parts of Kenya. Massive international relief aid was channeled to the affected areas through government and church related organizations. Since the natural phenomena of drought and floods are recurrent, these areas of Kenya have become a traditional target of relief aid, while the culture of dependency has been entrenched in these areas. Indeed, normal development process has been overshadowed by relief activities. The case of *Ukambani* area, which suffers persistent food insecurity despite being traversed by two perennial rivers, is a telling example of misplaced priorities.

These same areas have been, in the post-independence period, affected by an influx of refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia and Southern Sudan following political turmoil in those countries and the Eastern Africa region as a whole. Consequently, relief aid in these areas has become a permanent feature. Some of these areas have become virtually dependent on relief aid. This scenario is maintained and perpetuated by interests of local ruling elite and geo-political concerns or interests of super powers.[11] Therefore, behind these apparently altruistic activities are vested interests of actors and forces at all levels serving the global hegemony in the framework of the dominant paradigm. Given this scenario, genuine development processes within the framework of the social justice paradigm are effectively undermined. Similarly, the success or failure of peace initiatives to resolve some of the major conflicts in this part of Africa is largely determined by the said geo-political concerns and interests more than the desire to end death and suffering of people in those areas.

Consequently, relief as a major force in the development circles is basically anti-people. Resistance to the oppressive conditions associated with relief aid is most often sporadic because of situations the victims of relief aid have to live in. People suffering repression and humiliation in refugee camps, for example, can organize only ad hoc acts of resistance given the prevailing circumstances. Despite such limitations, the repressive conditions in those circumstances create fertile ground for

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seeds of revolt and liberation processes by the oppressed. The mentality of dependency and subservience are one side of the coin. The other side is the anger and resolve to revolt in pursuit of dignity and freedom.

The "hardware" development tradition

The "hardware" development tradition is characterized by macro development projects involving billions of shillings acquired from wealthy nations as grants or development loans. This is usually referred to as development aid. This aid is disbursed through various ways like direct aid from governments of rich nations to governments of third world countries within given political and economic arrangements. Secondly, funds from national governments from rich countries to support bilateral projects in a "developing" country. Thirdly, loans from international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to poor countries for specified macro projects. Fourthly, funds released through United Nations organizations such as UNDP and UNICEF for specific projects in the Third world countries. Fifthly, funds from governmental aid agencies representing respective foreign governments to support bilateral projects and other socio-economic activities in the recipient countries. Sixthly, development funds channeled through civil society organizations such as national and international non-governmental organizations as well as religious organizations. Finally, direct foreign investments by foreign companies and individuals may also be classified as a source of development funds in the context of macro economic, political and cultural trends.

The "hardware" development tradition, like the relief tradition, is located within the parameters of the dominant paradigm. Development aid from powerful nations and actors within the dominant paradigm flowed into Kenya on attainment of independence as grants and "friendly" loans to support a newly independent country. Similarly, foreign investments from other industrialized countries from the North came into Kenya to compete with British companies that had hitherto enjoyed formal monopoly under colonial arrangements. Independence thus effectively ended the British monopoly in Kenya in regard to economic, political and cultural influence.

Development aid by foreign governments and their agencies falls within the framework of the donor country's foreign policy. Essential to foreign policy is the ultimate concern to protect or promote interests of

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the motherland. Therefore, development aid from foreign governments inevitably has strings attached. Such strings may be clearly expressed in contractual documents or subtly hidden behind charities. Development aid from non-state actors also has strings linked to general and specific agenda of the donor. Development aid driven by purely altruistic motives does not exist.[12] Similarly, direct foreign investment from private sector actors has an agenda. Indeed, this is the only case where the agenda—profit making—is not hidden. Given un-equal power relations between rich countries of the North and poor countries of the South, policy guidelines and legal regimes governing investment matters favor interests of foreign investors at the expense of local workers and citizens as a whole. In most cases foreign investments have not only failed to generate wealth that is shared with ordinary people in the host country but also produced conditions of worsening poverty for the majority of citizens.

The socio-economic and political hegemony of rich nations over poor nations is promoted and sustained by state as well as non-state actors. However, hegemony necessarily produces resistance. This is why oppressors cannot have total victory and sustain it forever. Forces of resistance are active in both rich and poor countries since oppressed classes and their allies in both cases respond to the exploitation of the dominant paradigm by fighting back in all forms available to them. Given this scenario, opportunities are created for building solidarity between groups and/or organizations operating within the resistance paradigm in the rich countries and those operating in the same paradigm in poor countries.

However, in the context of struggle between paradigms such opportunities are not clear-cut. Agents and actors in the dominant paradigm also use the solidarity language to advance their agenda. And the criteria of distinguishing foe from friend are neither clear nor permanent. The dynamic situation of struggle between paradigms and inherent appropriation of fighting weapons by one paradigm from the other make it impossible to have a permanent and clearly discernable criterion. Such criteria must be defined and re-defined continually with changing circumstances.

The people-centred traditions

In response to the "hardware" development tradition that virtually equated development to advancement of physical infrastructure without

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relating such development to benefits accruing to the majority of the people, various trends emerged to emphasize the fact that development is about people and not about things (Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere[13]). Like conventional democracy, *development is viewed as by the people, with the people and for the people.* These trends may be classified as people-centred development traditions. The most visible of these trends or traditions are:

- Participatory approach and people-centred development
- Participatory approach and people's empowerment
- Rights approach to development.

People-centred development traditions can be perceived as forces operating within the resistance paradigm. However, the fighting weapons of these forces have often been appropriated by agents and actors from the dominant paradigm and used to suppress the interests of the majority.

2.4 Participatory approach and people-centred development

In the context of the Kenyan history, it is more appropriate to talk about traditions of participatory development approach rather than a participatory approach. Few examples are discussed in the following section.

The DELTA tradition

The first distinct version of participatory development approach in post-independence Kenya was promoted through the DELTA[14] programme. This program was ran by the Catholic Church and adopted by the National Council of Christian Churches of Kenya, NCCK, in the 1970s and 1980s. Given the entrenchment of KANU dictatorship during that period, the participatory methods promoted by the DELTA program were classified by the establishment as anti-government forces hidden behind religious organizations. DELTA propagated democratic learning processes, tools of class analysis, liberation theology, and organizational basics in progressive community development work. The DELTA program also promoted academic debate and social analysis on topical issues of development by involving scholar activists in the training activities—the core business of DELTA.

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DELTA was officially disbanded in 1983 following the coup attempt of August 1, 1982, and subsequent crack down by the government on all persons, groups, organizations and institutions perceived to be anti-government. Although the formal DELTA programme was abolished, the work started by DELTA continued and with time spread from the churches to virtually all non-governmental organizations in Kenya. This continued to happen despite the 1980s being the most notorious decade in the era of KANU dictatorship. Torture, detention, kangaroo trials, and disappearance of people suspected to be political dissidents or opponents characterized this period. Perhaps one reason why the establishment failed to stop the spread of participatory methods was its increasing popularity then all over the world as a force of promoting liberal democracy especially after the fall of the Soviet Union and the Communist Block in the mid 1980s.

The participatory rural appraisal tradition

The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, played a major role in giving legitimacy to the tradition of participatory approach to development in official circles and corridors of power during the 1990s. This happened especially through the works of scholars, such as Professor Robert Chambers, in activist research that has helped to build a body of knowledge now popularly known as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Some of the preliminary research work by Professor Robert Chambers was done in Kenya in the late 1980s in collaboration with the Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi. More research work was done in India where PRA tools and methods were further developed and documented. In the mid 1990s PRA was introduced to Kenyan civil society organizations as a methodology developed in India through collaborative work between Indian civil society organizations and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex.

PRA methodology demystified research as a domain of academia. In the context of activist engagement with problems facing communities in a given place and time, PRA methodology enables ordinary village folk to collect and analyze data for purposes of immediate intervention on priority problems at that point in time. PRA methods and processes help rural communities to build confidence in their own capacities and consequently create solid ground for organizing to advance their struggles to improve their livelihoods. With improved organizational capacity,

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such communities are enabled to access further information concerning their situation from official government and non-government sources.

Within no time it became clear that PRA was not simply a methodology for rural folk only, but also an enabling process research and learning for all categories of disadvantaged population including slum dwellers in urban areas. PRA can thus be viewed as a form of activist research. Consequently, a more appropriate name to describe this methodology and process is Participatory Learning in Action (PLA). However, PLA has not managed to get as popularized as PRA. Therefore, PRA as a methodology is used liberally even in non-rural areas or situations. The PRA tradition in Kenya easily fused with the DELTA tradition. As development activists will testify this fusion enriched the experience of participatory approach in Kenya.

The Community Organization (CO) tradition

The CO tradition was brought to Kenya in the mid 1990s from the Philippines through a joint programme that involved a number of civil society organizations including donor organizations.[15] Civil society organizations working in urban areas especially the sprawling slums of Nairobi found it increasingly difficult to organize residents and operate in a manner that led to tangible or satisfactory results. Therefore, the starting of a CO training program in *Korogocho* in 1994 was a welcome move for a number of civil society organizations working in the densely populated slum areas. Some of these sent participants to the first round of training.

Drawing from the revolutionary history of Filipino society, the CO tradition in Kenya emphasized starting with organizing around immediate but simple issues that had opportunity for scoring easy victories. Small victories would inspire people, build confidence and attract numbers. With better organization and bigger numbers, residents would be in a better position to embark on more complex issues especially those concerning established economic, political and cultural systems and institutions. The assumption was to start with the symptoms and progressively move towards structural causality. Organizational development was expected to grow correspondingly from simple primary units or groups to networks at all levels.

The CO program did not perform to the expectations of the founding organizations. The reasons for this phenomenon are obviously complex

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but one stands out very clearly in our opinion. And this is the ideological mismatch between the Kenyan host organization and some of the Filipino trainers. The Kenyan host was known for her staunch support to the then ruling party, KANU. She could not stand revolutionary talk or practice. In the pretence of giving the Filipino trainers political protection, she prevailed on the trainers to limit their activities at the symptoms level, that is, within the conventional developmental practice. She did not want to associate herself with opposition politics. Since the partners involved in the establishment of the CO program were unable to sort out this problem, some of the more progressive Filipino trainers got frustrated and left the country. The "moderates" remained but failed to save the program as a force on the side of people's struggles. However, the original CO training program left behind an experience and tradition that made significant contribution to the body of knowledge concerning participatory approaches in Kenya. For practitioners, the more variety there is in the tool kit, the better since one has a bigger range of tools to choose from as situations on the ground demand.

Participatory approach and people's empowerment

All traditions of participatory approach to development claim to be committed to people's empowerment. Indeed, a truly participatory process is empowering to all those who are party to that process. However, this empowerment is limited to the domain of attitudes and cultural fetters. In our opinion, this is the most crucial aspect of empowerment—internal revolt, defiance and resistance to the status quo as defined by the dominant paradigm. This is the seed to the culture and politics of resistance. This seed, however, cannot grow into a revolutionary tree that bears fruit for the majority to enjoy unless the democratization process goes beyond the realm of values and attitudes to engage issues of power relations institutionalized in political and economic systems that perpetrate oppression and exploitation of the majority by a few in the ruling classes. The shortcomings of the various traditions of participatory approach described above hinge around the fact that these traditions focus on awareness and organization but fail to address the pertinent issues of structural political domination and corresponding systems of historically created economic injustice.

There seems to be a naïve assumption that revolutionary methods can be transplanted from one set of historical circumstances to another

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without reference to historical conditions and a revolutionary methodology. The effectiveness of the educational processes used by Paul Freire, for example, has to be seen against the background of revolutionary forces in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s and the revolutionary movement in Latin America as a whole. Similarly, the efficacy of organizational principles and models from the CO tradition must be seen in the context of revolutionary organization in the history of popular struggles in the Philippines. While the history of struggles in other countries may be inspiring and educative in terms of information on revolutionary practice, such history or experience cannot be transplanted or replayed in another historical situation even in the same country.

The challenge is innovation in the application of revolutionary methodology with a view to generate a revolutionary movement inspired by the culture and politics of resistance. It is such movement that gives life and relevance to revolutionary principles, methods, and practice in new situations of struggle. In the case of the Kenyan experience described above, the civil society organizations that played host to revolutionary methods and experiences from other countries operated within the confines of the dominant paradigm and failed to effectively spread their operations into the realm of the resistance paradigm. Consequently, they failed to generate a revolutionary movement and instead continued to operate within the developmental framework that excludes engagement with structural causes at political and economic fronts. In this respect, talk of people's empowerment remained mere rhetoric.

Rights approach to development

The human rights movement is one of the major forces currently influencing socio-economic, political and cultural trends in the world. It is rooted in the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights and subsequent covenants on civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights on the other. The human rights movement is an unstoppable wave sweeping all spheres of public and private life of citizens in all nations of the world. In regard to development, a rights approach is asserting itself in the power corridors of major donors and reputable agencies and institutions involved in international development agenda. It is probably a matter of time before the rights approach is made a cardinal requirement for actors in the third world countries to access development funds from major donors just as it was (and still is) the case in respect to participatory approach to development.

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As all signs indicate, the rights approach is potentially a force to reckon with within the dominant paradigm. Indeed, the human rights movement itself is an important aspect of the globalization phenomenon, the current leading force in the dominant paradigm. However, given contradictions created by the struggle between paradigms and especially the phenomenon of appropriation of fighting weapons by one paradigm from another, the human rights movement and the rights approach in particular do create significant opportunities that can be very useful to actors within the resistance paradigm in third world countries. The recent history of popular struggles in Kenya is a case in point.

The human rights movement appeared on the Kenyan scene in late 1980s and early 1990s, when it was given expression through demands for gender equality and the rights of children. The other major expression was the demand for civil and political rights by pressure groups and human rights organizations that, in the process, exposed to the world the atrocities of human rights violations by KANU dictatorship. The human rights activists invoked international covenants to which Kenya was a signatory. Invoking international law and shaming the Government for violating that law was a very useful diplomatic shield since the Government could not respectfully declare such activists to be political subversives and subject them to political harassment in accordance with established practice. Support to the human rights activists also came from diplomatic missions in Nairobi. This was possible because of re-alignment of geo-political forces following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc in Eastern Europe in the mid 1980s. Furthermore, dictatorships like those of the KANU regime were no longer an asset to the Western powers but a liability especially in the light of globalization inspired by supremacy of the market.

Given a supportive international atmosphere, the movement for political reforms led by political pressure groups and human rights organizations grew very fast into a force that KANU had to reckon with. The reform movement won its first major victory in December 1991 when the KANU regime was forced to remove Section 2A of the Constitution to open up democratic space for multi-party politics.[16] And that was the beginning of the reform movement that ensured the overthrow of the KANU regime through the General Elections of December 2002. But whether the rights approach to development is likely to bring about such changes in the arena of socio-economic development remains an open question.

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To answer this question one would need to know how different the rights approach is different from the conventional development approach. While the later is focussed on projects with special attention to functional efficiency following improved levels of technology and management practice, the former goes beyond the project to interrogate power relations institutionalized in policy frameworks, legal regimes and prevalent governance practices with a view to assess benefits that accrue to the majority and institutional arrangements for the sustainability of given interventions. The rights approach also employs international law especially in relation to monitoring performance of state and non-state actors to ensure compliance with standards set by domestic as well as international law. Lobbying and organizing pressure groups to influence practice and decision making by legislators, policy makers and rulers in general are part and parcel of doing business in the context of rights approach to development.

In a functional liberal democratic society, the rights approach to development may successfully operate within the dominant paradigm with significant benefits accruing to the majority. However, a rights approach within the dominant paradigm is likely to be content with improved welfare of people but unable to address issues of sustainability and root causes of institutionalized violation of rights manifested in de-humanizing conditions such as poverty "in the midst of plenty." A rights approach needs to take a position within the resistance paradigm in order to address root causes of poverty in its economic, political and cultural dimensions. This means rooting a rights approach in people's organizations struggling against injustice in specific situations and around specific issues.

With the promulgation of the 2010 National Constitution, aspects of human well-being are now rights that Kenyans should enjoy by law (Box 2.1). These include food, health, education, housing and social security. How this will be achieved and how citizens will hold government accountable for the same remains an experiment Kenyans are yet to do as the year 2014 peters away under a new Jubilee Coalition government.[17]

BOX 2.1 *Constitutional Economic and Social Rights*

> **43. (1)** Every person has the right—
> (a) to the highest attainable standard of health, which includes the right to health care services, including reproductive health care;

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(b) to accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation;
(c) to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality;
(d) to clean and safe water in adequate quantities;
(e) to social security; and
(f) to education.

(3) The State shall provide appropriate social security to persons who are unable to support themselves and their dependants.

Source: The Constitution of Kenya 2010.

The Constituency Development Fund

The Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was established in 2003 through the CDF Act in The Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 107 (Act No. 11) of January 9, 2004. This Act represents a classical case of a successful private member's bill that was later taken over and supported by the government. Initially the Act provided that 2.5% of all ordinary Government revenue collected in every financial year shall be paid into the Fund and shall be disbursed under the direction of the National Management Committee (NMC) constituted as per section 5 of this Act. This revenue is devoted to the constituencies for purposes of development and in particular in the fight against poverty at the constituency level.

From a total annual allocation of Kshs. 60,000,000 CDF allocations has increased over the years to Kshs. 629,240,304 in the 2009/2010 financial year (Table 2.1). Currently the range per year with respect to constituencies is Kshs. 45 million to Kshs. 74 million. With good management of the fund, at least Kshs. 225 million in five years can make a huge difference in the human development.

Some of the operational problems of CDF were due to lack of clear understanding of the provisions of the CDF Act and the whole implementation process. Key challenges outlined by the national CDF office are summarized in Box 2.2.

Unlike other development funds that filter from central government through larger administrative organs and bureaucracies, funds under this program go directly to the local levels.[18] This provides people at the grassroots the chance to make decisions that help them in their welfare.[19] In a way it embraces participatory approaches for development. The concept of CDF on overall has been successful in infrastructural development.

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This is clearly evident in the many schools, health facilities, boreholes, electricity lines that have been built in the various constituencies.

TABLE 2.1 *Annual total CDF allocations to the nearest million*

Financial Year	2003–2004	2004–2005	2005–2006	2006–2007	2007–2008	2008–2009	2009–2010
CDF Allocation	60.00	285.9	369.8	512.3	515.5	515.5	629.2

Note: Note that with the new political dispensation in Kenya, things have changed or are bound to change accordingly.

Source: CDF data 2010. CDF=Constituency Development Fund. http://www.cdf.go.ke.

BOX 2.2 *Some key challenges of CDF fund*

- Low capacity of Constituency Development Committee (CDC) in planning, selection, prioritization of projects.
- Lack of guidance on minimum qualification of the CDC members
- Low utilization of the existing technical capacity in the district because the Act did not spell out the role of technical officers in programme implementation.
- Consultation between CDCs and professionals is minimum or non existent,
- Not separating power between the legislative and executive by the CDF Act has led to conflict between the Act and the Constitution of Kenya,
- Failure to follow planning norms has led to projects being implemented close together;
- Under utilization of completed facilities especially Health institutions and cattle dips due to lack of collaboration with line ministries especially on staff requirements
- Poor community participation and contribution to projects affected by CDF thus creating apathy to other development initiatives where community contribution is required,
- Poor involvement of local communities in Project identification and selection, leading to resources being thinly distributed in the constituency and low community involvement in local needs assessment and project implementation,
- Re-allocation of funds and communication of the same to the intended beneficiaries. (Leading sometimes to court cases).

Source: http://www.cdf.go.ke; accessed in September 2010

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As a further rights approach to development, CDF will be augmented by structured allocation of funds to counties by the Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA). The CRA is an independent commission set up under Articles 215 and 216 of the Constitution of Kenya. Its core mandate is to recommend the basis for equitable sharing of revenues raised nationally between the National and the County Governments, and sharing of revenue among the County Governments (http://www.crakenya.org/). It is envisaged that political marginalization that saw some parts of the country left behind in development will now be a thing of the past.

Similar programs like CDF are well developed in Ghana under Slum Development Funds (GOG, 2007) and in India under the Members of Parliament Constituency Development Fund. It is also in Solomon Islands Rural Constituency Development Fund (Kimenyi, 2005). However its effectiveness is limited in part by the overbearing role of Members of Parliament in its management. Further for lacking a clear transition clause, the fund is subject to abuse by seating members of parliament.

Due to these and other challenges, the CDF Act was subsequently repealed in 2007 and a board as opposed to the National Committee initially proposed is now overseeing its operation. Various sections were also repealed including the sections allowing religious organizations to benefit from the CDF. A task force was also established in 2009 to interrogate the Act and propose any necessary amendments in line with the rampant corruption cases and incidences exposed in the various audit reports by the Auditor General and the outcry by the civil society organizations on the increasing role of MPs' involvement in the CDF. However, the CDF can be said to have sanitized the country's politics by replacing the abused *harambee* system with a more rational and developed system of funding infrastructural development at the community.

Preliminary review of Kenya's CDF by Lumiti (2007) indicates that there is a need to integrate strategic management and strategic planning[20] if more sustainable development is to be realized. Strategic planning is supposed to help community organizations to respond to their new situations effectively, particularly through strengthening relationships between strategy formulation and strategy implementation. For the way forward, particular attention should focus on the need to:

a. Limit or remove Members of Parliament from CDF management,
b. Professionalize the running of the Constituency Committees, with members having specific qualifications

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c. Establish institutional structures for CDF management such as an inclusive committee accountable to an independent audit system and able to sue and be sued
d. Limit or scrape the role of District Development Officers (DDOs) in the CDF
e. Ensure gender and special interest group parity in the representation
f. Encourage collective planning of resources that will go to counties[21] and increased CDF allocations, in order to avoid duplication of effort.

Devolved system of government

According to Human Development Index Report of 2012, Africa is globally marginalized since the HDIs for most African countries are generally below 0.5. Kenya has a HDI of 0.509, while Seychelles is at the top of the scale with an HDI of 0.773. Many other countries in Africa have higher HDI than Kenya although they all gained independence around the same time. It is widely believed that the Kenyan problem lies in poor political leadership, which has been responsible for political and economic marginalization of regions by successive governments since independence. Based on a national County Development Index (CDI) most underdeveloped regions are still in the arid and semi-arid areas since their ranking places them below the national average of 0.520 (Table 2.2).

Based on Kenya's agro-ecological zones (Jaetzold *et al.*, 2005), development policy and planning should derive lessons why, for instance, Kericho and Meru being in high potential areas seem to be at par with Isiolo and Elgeyo-Marakwet, which are in low potential areas. For Busia, which is in medium potential zone to be grouped with most ASAL counties also raises development lessons that require in-depth interrogation.

As a reaction to the negative effects of marginalization, Kenyans overwhelmingly voted for a devolved system of government to complement the central government in the management of national affairs. It was expected that with devolution, development funds that were locked up in Nairobi and controlled by few powerful political elites would now be channeled to the devolved units by law. This would perhaps help correct historical injustices around the theme of development. While much money is being devolved to the 47 counties, it also feared that mega corruption is equally being devolved and is likely to undermine sustainable development of these units. Counties whose leadership is willing to learn from history and is also to go against the Kenyan culture of "eating"[22] as much as possible when one has the oppor-

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TABLE 2.2 *Classification of Counties based on CDI*

Most marginalized 0.27–0.518		Moderately marginalized 0.519–0.584		Well off > 0.6
Baringo	Bomet	Elgeyo-Marakwet	Bungoma	Kiambu
Kwale	Busia	Isiolo	Embu	Kirinyaga
Mandera	Garissa	Kajiado	Kakamega	Kisii
Marsabit	Homa Bay	Kisumu	Kericho	Mombasa
Narok	Kilifi	Machakos	Laikipia	Nairobi
Samburu	Kitui	Makueni	Lamu	Nakuru
Tana River	Migori	Meru	Muranga	Nyamira
Turkana	Taita-Taveta	Nandi	Nyandarua	Nyeri
Wajir	TharakaNithi	Siaya	Vihiga	UasinGishu
West Pokot	Trans Nzoia			

Source: Commission for Revenue Allocation, Kenya (2014).

tunity, stand to benefit immensely from political and economic devolution that is currently underway.

2.5 Competing paradigms of social change

The process of rooting rights approaches in people's struggles requires that activists appreciate the reality of competing interests between and within paradigms as expressed in various forms of power relations both formal and informal. The phenomenon of power relations in this competition is complex and dynamic. Actors in both the dominant and resistance paradigms seek to understand this phenomenon with a view to manage and steer the process of social change in the direction that best protects their interests. To unpack the dynamics of power relations and social change in the context of competing paradigms, it is necessary to analyze a number of factors that characterize the competition between paradigms. Among the most significant of these factors are social classes, state organs, religion and ideology, media and access to information, ethnicity and race, citizenship, and gender relations. The next section discusses some of the paradigms that continue to influence Kenya's development.

Social classes and class struggles

The most fundamental factor that characterizes competition between paradigms is the class struggle - conflict of interests between social classes, especially between the elite classes and the laboring classes (workers, peasants and small traders). The professional (middle) classes play a crucial *support* role in maintaining or changing structured power relations in the status quo.

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The elite classes need the support of the professional classes to maintain the status quo. Similarly, the laboring classes need the support of the professional classes to change the power relations in the status quo. History has shown, however, that most members of the professional classes in normal situations always support the elite classes since members of the middle class generally aspire to join the elite classes. Only a minority of professional class members usually extend solidarity support to the laboring classes.

However, more and more members of the professional classes join others to give significant and crucial support to the laboring classes during historical moments of power crisis (critical transitions and revolutions). Most members of the professional classes change alliances primarily because their interests can no longer be protected or assured by the status quo controlled by the elite. Therefore, they support the laboring classes in the hope that their interests would be better protected in a new status quo that they also aspire to control in alliance with a new elite. The dynamics involved in the phenomenon of shifting class alliances in response to realignment of interests and corresponding power relations constitute a major factor in the reality of competing paradigms and struggle to maintain or change the status quo in favor of given interests. Social classes and class struggle are major factors in the reality of competing paradigms, activists seeking social change in favor of the majority cannot afford to ignore.

The state, centers of power and political parties

The state (Executive, Parliament and Judiciary) is the principal centre of power situated in the space of the dominant paradigm. Despite the fact that the state is supposed to function and execute its duties within a given constitutional order and in accordance to existing legislation and policies, the state in actual situations responds to pressure from other centers of power within the reality of competing paradigms. Within the dominant paradigm especially in a liberal democratic society, competing interests among the elite may find expression in several political parties competing for seizure of state power with a view to protect or promote their own specific interests through the use of state power.

Centers of power and respective political parties in the dominant paradigm seek support from organized civil society and general citizenry especially in respect to elective positions in parliament and local authorities. Trade unions, students' organizations, professional associations, women's organizations among others are all targeted for mobilization to support one or the other faction in the political game of the elite. Pro-people language

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is used to appeal for votes but the driving force behind the intense political activities is class and factional interests restricted to the domain of the elite. Enormous material resources are mobilized for use in the political campaigns. With time, elective positions become an exclusive domain of the different factions of the elite classes. The rest of the social classes in society are consequently excluded from any possibility of accessing state power because they do not have or cannot mobilize the amount of resources required to run for elective post especially at parliamentary level.

The domination of mainstream politics by the elite (and by extension, the dominant paradigm) is a reality observable in Kenya. Political patronage is the main expression of this domination. Further centers of power with a potential to operate in the space of the resistance paradigm are all serving centers of power in the space of the dominant paradigm. Trade unions/workers' organizations, small traders associations, youth and women's organizations in urban slums and impoverished rural areas, small scale farmers' cooperatives, and so forth are all potential centers of power that can operate in the space of the resistance paradigm. However their resistance to the dominant paradigm and its agents is weak, isolated and insignificant. They have not demonstrated the ability to form a political party to compete for seizure of state power the same way the elite classes and factions are doing. This scenario can be attributed to other intervening factors in the complex reality of competing paradigms, such as religion, ethnicity, race, gender relations, citizenship, political ideology, media and access to information. All these are powerful social forces open for manipulation and use by actors in both the dominant and resistance paradigms.

For example, while the dominant paradigm has used religious beliefs as "opium" to keep the exploited classes confused and subservient, the resistance paradigm, on the other hand, has used religious beliefs as a positive force in the liberation process. In Kenyan history, Christianity has been part and parcel of the colonizing forces. However, the independent church movement, using Christian teachings in the framework of resistance paradigm, became a significant force in the struggle for independence. In this respect, it is important to note that African traditional religions resisted colonization right from the start. Just as in the case of religion, competing paradigms have each used ethnicity, race, gender relations and citizenship as fighting forces to advance their objectives in specific situations.

Promotion of political ideology and propaganda through the mainstream media gives obvious advantage to the elite in the dominant paradigm. Organized centers of power within the resistance paradigm do not have the same advantage of accessing mainstream media with

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the same ease. In order to compete, therefore, these centers of power are forced to be creative in using alternative media or even the mainstream media. Access to correct and relevant information is critical in any struggle. While the elite can access whatever information they need relatively easily, the poor in the resistance paradigm do not have the same advantage. In most cases, they have to depend on their solidarity linkages with the progressive members and institutions from the professional classes who are better placed to access relevant information from the status quo.

2.6 A social movement as the way forward

The tight grip of economic, political and cultural control by forces and agencies of the dominant paradigm can be shaken only by the force of a social movement. This is the lesson from history. Colonialists believed and ensured that Kenya became a "white man's country" until the rise of the independence movement that shattered their dream and forced them to negotiate independence. Indeed the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 entitled "African Socialism and its implication to planning in Kenya" rejected both Western capitalism and Eastern communism. Its main features were, among others, political democracy, mutual social and political responsibility, and various forms of property ownership so that nobody would have too much power, and the control of wealth would be done in the interest of society (Republic of Kenya 1965: 1–10).

More than 40 years since then, it is commonly acknowledged that Kenya has pursued a form of capitalism than is worse than predation and parasitism against the poor masses. More recently, KANU boasted to rule forever but the pro-democracy movement of the 1990s demanding opening up of political space and fundamental review of the Constitution dethroned KANU in the General Elections of December 2002. Kenyans have continued to demonstrate that the masses can shape their own destiny through the 2005 constitutional referendum (Maina *et al*, 2005) and lately the 2007 botched presidential elections. The main obstacle to successful social movement is impunity by political leaders due to lack of proper institutions, which undermine accountability and responsibility in political decision-making. This unfortunate practice continues to be upheld by political elites against their own campaign promises, with the biggest culprit being the executive particularly in the period 2008 to date.

The power of social movement was demonstrated by civil society during the previous regime, and has lately been demonstrated by parliament in

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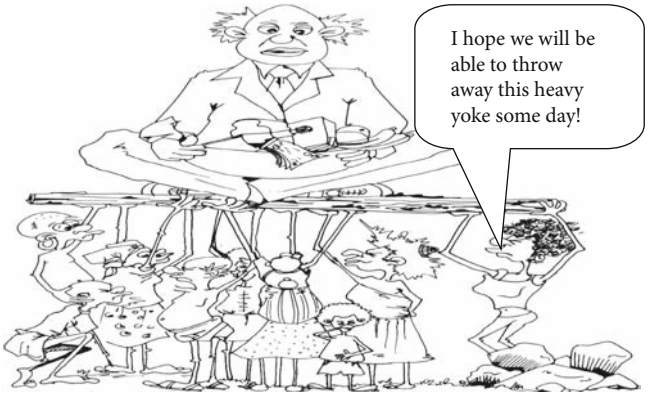


FIGURE 2.1 *The poor majority are often the bearers of the burden of opulence enjoyed by the dominant minority in government*

the fight against executive impunity. This would suggest that with proper and strategic mobilization, people power could still be re-invigorated and implemented for positive change. An entrenched socio-economic, political and cultural system cannot be shaken fundamentally except through a social movement inspired by forces of the resistance paradigm.

The newest and most progressive development approaches or models will not bring any meaningful change for the majority of the people unless such approaches or models ride in the waves of a social movement rooted in the politics and culture of positive resistance along with other forces within the resistance paradigm. Failure to democratically dethrone the dominant group that has been overseer of poverty since independence to date will most likely bring no significant positive change. On the contrary, the burden on the ordinary Kenyan people is likely to be heavier (Figure 2.1). The unfortunate outcome could be a disastrous revolution pitting the majority have-nots and few elites. History has enough of such events, with the most recent (2011) being the political turmoil in Tunisia and Egypt.

2.7 Reflection questions

- **i** Design a development framework that could dislodge the dominant paradigm and free Kenyans from poverty ratchets.
- **ii** Using historical precedence, discuss the scenario for the future should the social movement fail to overcome the resistance of the dominant elites.

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Notes

1 Ideas on paradigms discussed under this heading have been developed in unpublished paper, vision 2012—rooting rights in communities, by Mwambi Mwasaru, August 2003. The paper was written for the Kenya Human Rights Commission.
2 Guba, Egon G. (ed.), *The Paradigm Dialog*, SAGE Publications, Newbury Park, California, 1990, p.17.
3 Word adapted from the Luo language during the 2002 general elections meaning undefeatable. The KANU regime was finally defeated throw this rallying tune.
4 The works of Paulo Freire, especially *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, are outstanding in this respect.
5 Professor Walter Rodney did some of the major pioneer work in respect to this notion as evidenced in his classic publication, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.*
6 Epitomized by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in his book *Not Yet Uhuru*, published in the mid 1960s.
7 Party that formed first independence government in 1963.
8 First president of Kenya,1964–1978.
9 See Lord Swynerton Plan of 1953 for further details.
10 Some disasters classified as natural are in fact not an Act of God. They are a result of political factors and machinations. Corrupt regimes in the impoverished countries of the world and political machinations of super powers are in most cases responsible for what appears as natural disasters. For example, disasters caused by flooding and drought conditions are scientifically predictable and mitigating measures such as good planning and functional state of preparedness could be put in place to deal with such natural phenomena to a point that no significance interruption of normal life happens.
11 For further details on this subject matter see: Graham Hancock, *Lords of Poverty*; Mandarin Paperbacks, London, 1991.
12 As an example the USA government withdrew with its aid after being refused self administration by the Burma government following the May 2008 flood disaster.
13 Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere writings and speeches, especially, Azimio La Arusha.
14 DELTA, Development Education of Leadership Teams in Action, was a program started in 1973 by Anne Hope and Sally Timmel. These two were women activists and members of a lay Catholic movement, The Grail Movement. They were adult education professionals deeply influenced by the Latin American struggles (the works of Paul Freire, liberation theology

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and the entire experience of people's struggles in Latin America). As North American scholars, they subscribed to the liberal tradition in education (see Paul Illich's book, *De-schooling Society*). In Kenya they worked closely with the University of Nairobi, especially, the Institute of Adult Education then occupying the Kikuyu Campus and the Institute of Development Studies at the main Campus. They also worked closely with key people in the Catholic Secretariat and the NCCK. When the DELTA program started formally in 1974, it was given official cover by the Catholic Bishop of Ngong' Diocese since the official organs of both the Catholic Church and the NCCK refused to give it such cover.

15 Through the facilitation of UNICEF and a German funding organization (MISERIO), ANPCAN Kenya and COPE from the Philippines started a community organization (CO) skills training program in one of the sprawling slums of Nairobi (Korogocho) in 1994. The idea was to test the skills and principles behind the enormously successful CO movement in the Philippines that united the impoverished urban populations in the Filipino cities. The CO movement in the Philippines made a huge contribution in the final push that led to the overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos in 1989.

16 Section 2A of the Constitution was introduced into the Constitution after the attempted coup of August 1, 1982. Apart from the KANU, the ruling party, any other political parties were outlawed. Although Kenya had been a de facto one-party state since the banning of Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) in 1969, with the introduction of Section 2A that status quo was transformed into a de jure one-party state.

17 The President elect and his deputy are currently indicted for crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court based at the Hague in the Netherlands.

18 Several countries have adopted this system: Uganda has already a developed CDF; Tanzania is underway. Other good examples include Malaysia, India, Solomon Islands' Members.

19 Chwele Ludeki, Constituency Development Fund: A Critique, *The African Executive Magazine* October 24–31, 2007.

20 This specifically refers to Strategic Implementation Planning.

21 Kenya now has 47 counties as the devolved administrative units—Refer to Nation's new constitution, 2010.

22 Taking every opportunity to steal or divert public resources for personal and private gain.

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3

Entry Points for Sustainable Community Development

Abstract: *This chapter discusses critical thematic entry points for sustainable community development based on felt needs identified and prioritized by the target communities. These felt needs are not static. They tend to vary across target communities and keep evolving with time. In the Kenyan context critical entry points include the need to develop and institutionalize community leadership, importance of community asset and resource mobilization for self-development, critical role of community-based health care, role of gender-mainstreaming in development, dealing with water scarcity in dry land ecosystems, practical ways towards food security, and identifying alternative off-land income sources. Sustainable community development is guaranteed when local resources are mobilized to address felt needs that are used as intervention entry points.*

Keywords: entry points, high impact needs, local resources

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> "Community needs are multiple, interwoven and keep changing." Different strategies are needed to address them.
>
> —*Authors*

3.1 Characterization of a sustainable community

While conventional reading has a lot on sustainable agriculture, forests and environmental management, little has been said about sustainable communities. For a community to be sustainable it should have the ability to meet its current and future needs in relation to existing knowledge, skills, values, culture and resources. Currently, community development in developing countries is still constrained by gaps in basic competencies in this regard.

People who are over 65 years of age in rural areas of East Africa tend to have clear knowledge of their local environment, clear skills that have been applied over the years to meet livelihoods and clear values that are held dear in relation to the environment, resources, and inter-personal relationship. The origin of this clarity is based on a clear system that was in place to pass on knowledge, skills, and assist to develop certain values from one generation to the next. On the other hand this clarity is generally lacking in the age lower than 65 years.

The system of ensuring the passage of knowledge, skill and value that was rooted in local culture and traditions is no longer in place. There is a different system of formal education, which integrates knowledge that goes beyond the local environment to other ethnic groups, to national and also international level. At some point conflict is created between emphasis of knowledge and skill that is relevant and applicable locally versus knowledge and skill that is required to survive in the globalizing world and yet it may not be very relevant for day-to-day survival at the local level. Formal or non-formal education is not neutral.[1] The emphasis on what is necessary to know against what is extremely essential to know and gain skills for survival has led to thousands of young people in rural areas who are unable to apply what they have acquired in the form of knowledge and skill for their own survival. The only exceptions are the youth from the so-called indigenous communities who still embrace survival and livelihood skills transferred from one generation to the next.

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A sustainable community therefore is one that is able to perpetuate itself using its knowledge, skills and values, to utilize its resources and care for its environment for the benefit of the current generation and yet taking care that its future generations would be guaranteed of productive and satisfactory lives. As such some of the characteristics of a sustainable community include:

- Existing knowledge, skills and values that are shared
- Well articulated individual versus collective needs, and requirements in the context available opportunities and resources, both internal and external
- Clear and collective understanding and appreciation of the local physical environment
- Common understanding and agreement among members on what they can define as their local collective assets such as water sources, forests, infrastructure etc.
- Clear framework of use, care, improvement and protection of collective assets and natural resources that form a base for collective survival
- Norms (written or unwritten) that are accepted collectively and guide the use of collective assets and natural resources, with clear sanctions applied when norms are breached

Characteristics of a sustainable community as listed above are observed in a community that continues to go through a capacity strengthening process. This is a process that recognizes that communities and the activities they undertake for both livelihood and development are dynamic and as such depend on evolving knowledge and skills. This is necessary, as communities cannot exist in isolation. In the current world there are constant interactions between local culture and traditions with external forces representing other ethnic groups, national and international interests.

For local communities, it is imperative to understand these forces, opportunities and the risks they bring so as to retain a degree of control as they continue in their daily livelihood activities. The understanding of these forces needs to be accelerated; otherwise communities become marginalized, their lives being disrupted leading to negative impact. The understanding does not come automatically as very few of the local communities, especially women, youth and those with disability get opportunity for exposure beyond their own local environment. The

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process of acceleration of understanding of important forces, for example, in health, agriculture, education, business development, politics and policies come about not only through government but through the civil society organizations.

The capacity strengthening process is not just for technical skills around some listed sector; it goes beyond that and includes processes that enable reflection to understand who we are, what we can be, what we can do, how we can manage, how and who we can relate to, and with whom we can negotiate. A sustainable community is thus one which also keeps on learning about itself and others, while making appropriate attitudinal and behavioral changes to reflect the new knowledge and competences gained to make it better. Some approaches of starting a community capacity strengthening process include:

- Identifying a geographic area with need. Depending on the objective of the programme being envisaged the financial resources available and the timeline for the geographic unit can range from a village to a location. When done at the location level one starts off with identifying issues and challenges at this level that may be cross-cutting for all or some of the areas in the location. In this case it is imperative to build capacities of community representatives who then go and initiate the process in their own areas. The better option that may lead to local transformation is done at village or sub-location level.
- Identifying and discussing the local area needs with the local leadership, government, religious groups, community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations. Leaders at such local levels already have an idea on what the local situation is like and broad proposals on potential interventions. These leaders also have access to alternative ideas and approaches derived from interaction with "external" stakeholders. From these ideas they may gather knowledge on how a local situation can be changed. However, this knowledge is usually limited to themselves and sometimes with their limited skills it may take very long before they can really assist the community to see their vision. Therefore in many rural areas there has been apathy, fatalism, and general lack of both mental and physical energy to struggle on issues of common interest that may make a big difference in people's lives if attended to. This is why in a community capacity building process

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participation of more community members beyond the mainstream local leaders is critical. It accelerates the adaptation and adoption phase.

- Involving a broader group of stakeholders (i.e. women, men, and youth, including persons with disability). Through a participatory process, whichever version is chosen (participatory learning and action-PLA, mirror, reflection and learning, participatory rural appraisal-PRA) facilitate generation of data, analysis and learning collectively. The process adopted should be participatory, using highly visual tools. The facilitators have to give room to the people themselves to generate their own data, analyze it, and draw their own conclusions. The analysis of generated data is informed by intense debates on experiences of the participating members. This process is considered complete only after a consensus and development of a community list of priorities of what needs to be done would have been done. The process itself (when well facilitated) serves as development of skills for analysis and collective discovery of the local situation as well as debates on whether there is anything that can be done or not. Other rudimentary skills that start emerging at this point include collective decision-making and starting to understand the implications that follow. A common comment of communities who have gone through this process across East Africa is, "Our eyes are now open"—title to a PRA video documented by World Neighbours. This process also mobilizes the community.

When this is accomplished this same group explores their internal capacity to initiate action related to the priorities. They look outside their community, and analyze existing opportunities and threats that may influence the address of identified priorities. Once this is done a complete community action plan is developed showing both short- and long-term plans with the kind of resources that will be required and possible areas where these resources will come from, whether some from within the community and others from without.

Community action plans are followed by elections of committees or task forces to tackle each of these emerging priorities. In practice action on some priorities can take place concurrently while other priorities need to be tackled alone. The reason is because some priorities require technical skills that may not be available from within the community,

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and some may require large amounts of funds that may not be raised totally from within the community. The elected committees form the first step towards input democratization and identification, and initiation of leadership capacity development. It all starts with convening and facilitating further meetings and mobilizing the community together to rally around an issue or priority and address it. This is the beginning of a long, tough, sometimes frustrating, other times exciting and satisfying journey for the community as they tackle their own priorities.

External agents at this time provide training, on-the-job learning, mentoring through workshops, practical demonstrations and educational visits, among others, all leading to strengthening skills and abilities within the community to tackle these and any future challenges. The trainings vary from sector to sector, such as in health, agriculture, business selection to non sector-specific such as family relations, gender, counseling, policy analysis, civic education, accountability, and openness in community dealings and the leaders' accountability to those who elected them and ensuring that what they set to do is actually achieved. A framework for community capacity building for sustainable environmental management and hence livelihoods has also been discussed by Waswa *et al.* (2000).

3.2 Community institutional and leadership development

The importance of leaders cannot be under estimated. Any productive development results from an idea, a plan, a coordinated activity, reviewing of progress among others. These are roles that cannot be played by a crowd but individuals. That is why the famous assertion: "Strike the shepherd and scatter the flock" could not be more correct. In the context of community organization the community recognized the importance of leaders since time immemorial. This led to the establishment of some form of organization with clear leaders and lines of accountability. The indigenous council of elders (for example among the Wadawida) is such an organization.

This council of elders was involved in making sure that the welfare of all within a certain jurisdiction was catered for. The welfare in this case was mainly based on maintaining a positive relationship and behaviour: human to human, human to natural resources, human to

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wild animals. The relationships would be evaluated on the basis of established norms that had evolved over many generations and had been accepted as standard practice. The area would be determined by the geographical coverage of specific clans whose representatives sat at the council of elders. In Taita this institution was referred to as *WENIMWANA* and was led by *NJAMA YA WENIMWANA* appointed clan elders. This kind of organization was relevant for ensuring compliance with norms and in such a way ensure there was peaceful co-existence with each person having adequate "space" to live their lives.

Community development requires such organization from within to provide leadership and guidance towards the journey of transformation. Peoples' participation is made operational through institutions and structures. The indigenous institutions can be assisted to evolve and incorporate additional parameters for operation. They then become instrumental in tackling development issues within villages as well as those that cut across several villages. Where the indigenous institutions have collapsed, it is important to assist the local community to establish new organizations that would be accepted and respected by all. To ensure that the established organization is accepted and respected the mandate or authority of the organization has to come from the people themselves. In such a case the people must participate in a democratic manner in deciding who forms the leadership of the organization. In the earlier indigenous institution, this happened by each clan identifying its own representative.

However, since today clans are not as strong as they used to be in determining community issues, democratic elections are seen as the option to those other earlier processes. The processes lead to establishment of Village Development Committees (VDCs). The village development committees need to be composed of men, women, and youth and where applicable persons with disability. The village development committees are new institutions. They are not like the indigenous institutions whose mandate, roles and responsibilities have been passed on from one generation to the next. For the VDCs to be effective, they need knowledge and skills building. Overtime they lead to emergence of CBOs as organizational institutions at the community level and hence improve community participation in development decision-making. In addition the VDCs and CBOs become catalysts for change from within the community over time. The link between VDC, CCB, Government

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and sustainable community development is illustrated in Figure 3.1. Soon the following become observable:

- The CBOs and VDCs acquire learned skills such as monitoring progress of community based development programmes.
- There is progressive leadership identification and preparation of the youth to ensure continuity of community development.
- There is increased networking and collaboration with other agencies interested in community development, which continue to infuse more knowledge, skills and even funds, and therefore lessen the burden and frustration associated with multiple community needs in an environment of scarce resources.
- There is improved ability of the communities to mobilize development resources as a first initiative in tackling their development challenges.
- There is increased adoption of positive lessons through increased "multiplier effect," which also points to a positively evolving organizational structure. On average, one trained person trains another ten.
- There is increased participation of women in the VDCs not only in the form of numbers but in contribution of ideas and taking part in decision making.
- The formation of effective CBOs and VDCs contributes to more effective internal mobilization, organization and coordination. This enhances the communities' negotiations and bargaining with external agencies involved in their development.

Even as progress is made, there are challenges that are still evident and need to be noted in local community organization and leadership development. At the onset of multi-party politics in Kenya came the need to affiliate with political parties, even the non-governing ones. This has tended to work against social capital as exemplified by diminishing propensities among households to cooperate and work together. De-moralization of communities results from mismanagement of funds, stalling of programmes, and projects.

As the community makes gains in meeting its objectives and therefore becoming empowered, this was accompanied by growing misunderstanding with the establishment represented then by provincial administration (segment of the dominant group), especially where the persons in the positions are still backward and have no knowledge or skills on

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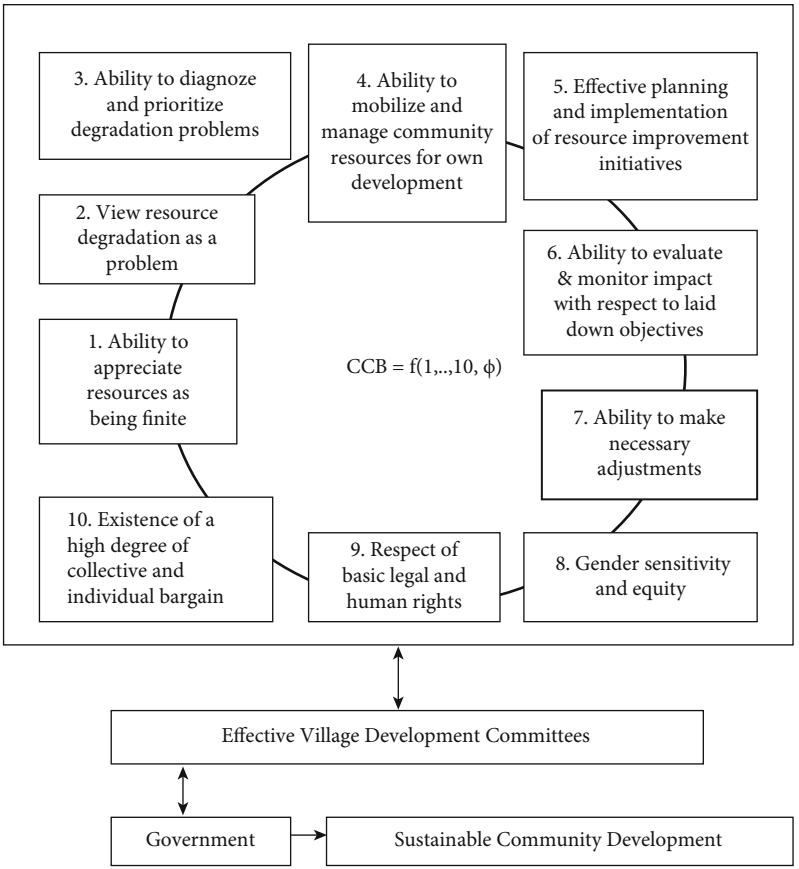


FIGURE 3.1 *Components of community capacity building*
Source: Waswa, et al., 2000.

how to relate to community members and organizations in a democratic manner.

There is need to keep the CBOs and VDCs strong so as to prevent them from being hijacked either by the provincial administration or other external development actors who have their own agenda and see local communities as objects rather than the very subject of community development. Continuous learning and building of particularly leadership, bargaining and emotional intelligence competences remain critical factors in creating sustaining communities.

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Deficiency in documentation, management and administrative skills are additional challenges to take note of. The challenges are further compounded by the fact that most CBOs and VDCs do not have offices; therefore even the little documentation that exists is stored by officials in their own homes. This complicates matters especially when there is a change of leadership. A disappointed past official of the CBO or VDC can retain documents. The difference in approaches of different development actors also brings difficulties to these organizations.

Gender sensitivity and changing practices to ensure both women and men are becoming empowered within leadership development is critical. As long as programmes and activities are planned taking into account gender balance, equal participation seems to spontaneously emerge. For example, knowledge and skill-building programmes conducted at the grassroots level will always be subscribed to by both women and men all the way to ward and location levels. As soon as these programmes are moved beyond this unit where participants can walk or spend minimum funds and time to get to the venue the participation of women falls drastically. The gender roles that require the proximity of activity to the home, as well as the fact that majority of women have no decision-making power in relation to allocation of funds or even spending a night out of the home contribute to enhanced women marginalization in the community development process.

3.3 Community assets and resource mobilization

Focus on community assets and resources stems from the truism that political independence without economic independence is no independence at all. While political independence could influence economic decisions, real power is normally exercised by the owners and controllers of economic power. The power of communities is in their resources. In micro-economic theory, these resources are acknowledged as primary factors of production meant to generate wealth (goods and services) to satisfy human needs and even want, thus:

$$\mathbf{Q_x = f(land, labour, capital)} \ldots \text{[Basic economic production function]}$$

Most rural communities tend to lack in specialized labour and capital for investment, hence the gap the "outsiders" could fill, through agreed upon

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modalities. The concept of resources becomes even clearer when viewed from an environmental or holistic prism. Taking the environment as a factor(s) of production, the same function above can be represented as a capital model concept thus:

$\mathbf{Q_x = f(HC, SC, FC, NC, PC) \gg SD}$ ..... [Capital Model Concept]

Where:

- **i** NC: (Natural capital) comprises nature's "free" goods and services such as land, water, mineral wealth and climate among others.
- **ii** FC: (Financial capital) comprises stocks of readily available money for investment.
- **iii** HC: (Human capital) includes all that goes into improving the status or quality of humans such as technical skills, medical care, and education.
- **iv** SC: (Social capital) includes all that goes into enhancing peoples' propensity to cooperate, work together and network such as governance, religion, traditions and culture.
- **v** PC: (Physical capital) comprises all forms of infrastructure and technology development by humans in the pursuit of development.
- **vi** SD: Sustainable Development (assuming appropriate management)

Conventionally, all the above forms of capital are inter-linked and inter-dependent in some way. Further, HC, SC, FC, NC are normally manipulated to yield physical capital, which ultimately drives economic growth and through wisdom, economic development (Figure 3.2).

Just like is the case at the international level, harmonizing these capital forms towards sustainable development is still a matter of serious concern at the community level. Most important at the initial stage in development decision making would be for communities to identify and appreciate their own endowment with these capital (resource) types. Only then could asset and resource mobilization be of strategic importance.

The concept of community asset mobilization emphasizes that outside resources will be more effectively utilized if the local community resource-base is itself fully utilized and invested, and if it can define the agendas for which additional resources must be obtained.[2] Rural Kenyan communities have assets and resources that are important although they are not sufficient to meet the huge development challenges. For this

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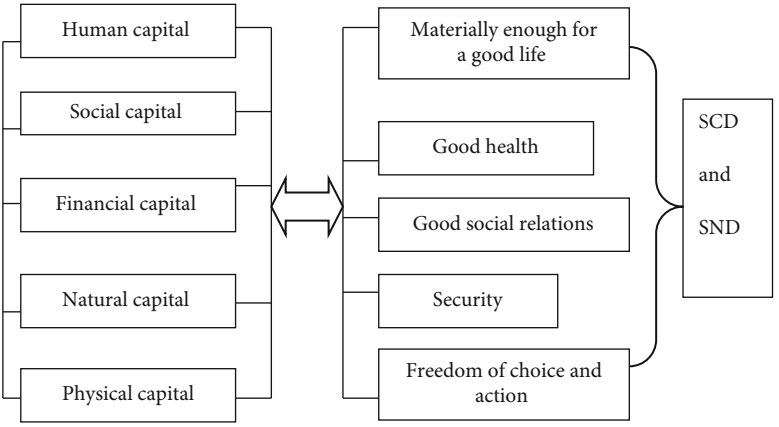


FIGURE 3.2 *Capital model concept and sustainable community development*
SCD: Sustainable Community Development; SND: Sustainable National Development

reason they still need additional outside resources. Secondly, the recognition of communities' assets and resources is intended to affirm that there is already work that is ongoing and using what is available from within. What is available from within includes the capacities of its residents, the women and self-help groups, established institutions such as primary and secondary schools, churches and mosques, natural capital among others.

External resources are necessary for developing physical assets that are unaffordable by majority poor within communities. Examples include water systems, irrigation systems, and assets to back up economic development such as food processing equipment, dairy cooling plants for storage of milk close to the farm gate before it is transported to the processing plants and main cities and towns for consumption. These are just a few of the assets that must be developed within rural communities in order to facilitate transformation toward a better life.

The outside resources that provide back-up for setting up physical assets need to include additional financial resources to build up the *software*, that is, the social capital required for implementing all the principles that go with asset building such as collective and individual ownership, management, and maintenance. The reason for this include the examples in rural Kenya where millions of shillings were invested in putting up assets in the 1970s and 1980s that were important for

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communities such as cattle dips and grain storage facilities. Many of these remain abandoned and are "white elephants" not because their services are not required but because they are assets that were merely "planted" in communities by enthusiastic government departments and donors without a common understanding that for these to continue functioning there is need for local initiative, control and responsibility.

While focusing on community asset and resource mobilization, one cannot assume that the community as a collective unit understands and appreciates the existence of internal assets and other resources from within. An investment is made to initiate participatory processes from within whose ultimate objective is for the community to discover themselves and set agendas of where they want to move forward. It is also an important time for other organizations that are interested in this community to also learn from the community and understand the rationale for the agenda set by the community. In seeking to work with communities on asset and resource development there are fundamental issues that need to be understood that will make a firm foundation, thus.

The concept

The concept of assets and resource development as a basis of individual and or community transformation is not alien. It is firmly rooted in the culture and traditions of African people. Assets and their management were recognized as a basis for creation of wealth that contributes to the well being of individuals and the community at large. The process of creating wealth within communities was clear and managed in such a manner that there were no unmanageable gaps between haves and have-nots. For example, among the WADAWIDA of Kenya, there were institutions that were in place to share wealth through facilitating acquisition of assets. Wealth was determined mainly by ownership of livestock.

A poor member of the clan without livestock would be assisted to acquire these through a very clearly defined institution called "wuturi." A parent who wished to make sure the offspring had a firm base for well being would make sure each started acquiring livestock. This again was a very clearly defined institution called "kiwagano." A neighbor who wished to start livestock keeping could also go for another clearly defined institution called "ng'ombe kifu." Assisting the community as a collective entity to trace the concept and its origins within their own community

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makes a firm foundation for community asset and resource mobilization as a key intervention in community development.

Acquisition of assets

An important element to explore in community asset development is acquisition. This is important because how this is done affects the management, and utility of such an asset. Assets can be acquired mainly in two ways: (a) inheritance and (b) investment. In inheritance the asset is passed on from one generation to the next. How successful this transfer is depends on how the previous generation involved the receiving generation. Where the receiving generation becomes joint managers with the generation handing over, there is a smooth transition and continuity. This could be attributed to the interaction, observation and general apprenticeship in the management process involving the younger generation. However in cases where the receiving generations were found not have known how they were acquired or how they were previously managed, mismanagement tended to occur thus interrupting their usefulness in making a contribution to wealth creation within the community. In investment the owner actually acquires through purchasing or even through receiving a donation.

Classification and management of assets

The classification of assets is important in putting in place systems of management. There are movable and immovable assets. Movable assets would include among others livestock, furniture, and vehicles and so on. Immovable assets include land, buildings, water systems, and cattle dips. In the management of movable assets the systems need to be more stringent to eliminate risks of theft. Community-based factors that would make management of these assets effective are:

- **i** Community participation in the process of acquisition and design of management systems. This would eventually enable them to have adequate knowledge and skills in managing the assets themselves.
- **ii** Sensitization and education of the community in order to appreciate the importance and essence of assets such as water systems and grain stores.
- **iii** Planning in the initial stage was essential in order to have a baseline survey and needs assessment for acquisition of any assets

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communally, for example a cattle dip. This would bring to the fore the cultural appropriateness of the asset being developed and hence its eventual acceptance.

iv Proper financial management was essential as it would enable the community to maintain the asset.

v Choosing of quality leaders who are respectable and are trusted by the community was important in order to enable implementation of agreed upon by-laws and constitution as well as maintaining accountability to the owners of the asset, the community.

Essentially, effective management of community assets has to focus on managerial skills, good governance and accountability, competences that were rich in indigenous knowledge systems, but remain largely marginalized in current formal training and schooling.

Decision-making and control of assets

The main factor to be considered here is related to gender. In most communities in Kenya there is a detrimental bias against women in ownership, decision-making and control of assets. Indeed, some ethnic communities view women as assets! Assets at individual, family, and community level have been viewed as the preserve of men. This is as it relates to acquisition, ownership, and hence management and control of the asset and by extension the women. The reason for the bias against women may be rooted in the patriarchal social structure. For example acquisition of zero grazed dairy cows change the lives of women in many communities. They are to provide all the labour and care of this animal but they cannot receive or decide on money received from the sale of milk. The husband receives the money, majority of families operate within the "customary framework" and the decisions for how to spend the money will be by the husband only. Community assets such as water systems and grain stores directly affect women. However, in many cases women are not key participants in the planning or management of such assets. When involved, women may come up with different priorities on sitting and management systems. These differences in approaches of how to plan and manage these community assets may be attributed to gender-related issues around such assets. These issues require exploration and resolutions during planning as they can contribute to poor management during the lifespan of the assets. It is therefore important that during planning and design and decision-making forums, a deliberate effort

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should be made to have women articulate their views as key participants in these sessions.

Sustainability of community assets

The sustainability of community assets is pegged on the following factors among others:

- **i** Ownership (i.e. ensuring that the sense of ownership is built and strengthened). This depends on applying a participatory process in their acquisition.
- **ii** Understanding gender issues and resolving them during planning and setting utility and management systems.
- **iii** Quality of leadership in place. This depends on systems and references that are in place as parameters for the leaders, the process that was used to prepare the constitution and by-laws of the community asset, the framework that exists for accountability by the leaders - to whom and how often and how well procedures and supervision are adhered to.
- **iv** Clear maintenance framework: i.e. whether there are skilled human resources to handle this component, including understanding the running costs in relation to funds that are available, and replacement fund to take care of wear and tear of the asset.
- **v** Culture. There is need to understand whether tradition and culture allow for openness and accountability. The culture of fear and silence often lead to unsustainable use of assets by suppressing divergent opinion that could be very useful.
- **vi** Communication. This is an important aspect. It has to be understood how information flows to and from, both internal and external sources.

Valuation of community assets

This is an important area to understand. An asset is of value as long as it facilitates the meeting of certain needs and wants. In many circumstances rural community assets that are out of the framework of formal valuation systems are ignored. There are no appropriate tools developed yet to value rural community assets such as trees and water in its natural form. In many circumstances this translates negatively on the community, which is seen as "too poor." Within community development circles there is need

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to develop tools for valuing rural community assets. Valued community assets would then provide the rural communities with bargaining power with donors, development agencies and even government.

3.4 Community-Based Health Care (CBHC)

Since independence there has been disproportionate allocation of resources towards curative care, neglecting Preventive and Promotive Health Care (PPHC). This of necessity has meant that the bulk of the resources go to support care given in hospitals and little going to health centers and dispensaries. However, good health is not dependent on technical health services only. Good health is equally dependent on social, economic and political conditions that form the basis for an enabling environment within which community-based health development can flourish.[3] In 1978 governments converged at Alma Ata for a conference whose final outcome was the Alma Ata agreement on Primary Health Care (PHC). In this agreement governments committed themselves to focusing on preventive and promotive health. This would certainly bring more value to financially marginalized communities as opposed to curative health care that is often expensive and unaffordable. Community-Based Health Care started in East Africa as a direct result of the PHC conference. It was an effort to make PHC operational in the region.

The major emphasis of Community-Based Health Care (CBHC) was the role of community participation in defining, deciding and implementing programmes on health at the local level. It was aptly defined by Roy Shaffer as health care beyond the dispensary. This innovation was taken up by the Ministry of Health (MOH). Support was also provided by religious and non-governmental organizations. To date, CBHC is still committed to advocating for simple, affordable health care technology in the hands of people themselves other than professionals only. It further advocates a shift of priority in health service delivery from centralized curative care to decentralized curative, preventive and promotive care whose foundation is the people themselves also collaborating with sectors that are non-health, but have a bearing on health such as water and agricultural sectors. This shift in priority may somehow tie up well with the indigenous Kenyan systems for cure where people use herbs available from forests and natural vegetation. In Kenya, these systems have for a long time been given a blind eye by the formal health care

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system but as years have gone by the state's approach is changing and appears to be slowly recognizing the role played by the indigenous systems using herbs. CBHC has been practiced for close to two decades now. The following section will share some of the approaches that have been used, achievements realized, issues that have emerged, lessons learnt and what can be done in the future to keep on track.

Approaches to CBHC

At the community level work involves facilitating organization. This is a prerequisite to identifying the social capital around health care. People are identified, such as traditional care-givers such as Traditional Healers (TH) and Traditional Midwives (TM); other categories such as community based distributors of contraceptives (CBD), Health Committees (HC), Community Health Promoters (CHP) have been introduced. All have been referred to as Community's Own Resource Persons (CORPS). This group of people is taken through a series of preparation trainings that assist in developing skills and attitudes relevant for health promotion. For the traditional categories sessions are held to share and upgrade skills with modern technology. The process used for training is learner centred people oriented, self-discovery, and action oriented (LePSA).[4] The trainings are carried out using a two-tiered structure. There is Training of Trainers (TOT) who are the ones directly training the CORPS, and Training of Facilitators (TOF) who train the trainers.

Part of the training of the TOF, TOT, CORPs includes working in collaboration with mission (church), and government health providers. This is because, even though the CORPS may be active and making a difference, there come times when people do fall ill and require expert care. In these circumstances, the ill need to attend established formal health care services. The role of CORPS is to be clear and understand how to apply the whole health care chain when appropriate. The CORPS learn about identifying and accepting their limitations and referring the ill whom they cannot handle at their own level. Other work to strengthen the CBHC is to support the static health services posts such as dispensaries and health centers. This is because these formal centers become the referral for CORPs based in the villages.

Part of this strengthening includes reviewing and improving types, and quality of services offered such as: growth monitoring clinics, nutrition, antenatal and post-natal clinics, distribution of contraceptives, immunizations and initiation of community pharmacies for dispensing drugs

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at the village level. The services that do not require a technical person as provided in law are all handled by the CORPs, who on the other hand are supported by health professionals in the nearest public health facilities. Awareness campaigns are an integral component of the approaches used. Some ailments require back-up of campaigns for information sharing in order to ensure that information is reaching a large number of people at the same time. Such ailments include HIV and AIDS, diseases such as measles, and poliomyelitis that can be prevented through vaccination. Some of the key achievements being observed include:

- Developed sense of community ownership and participation in health delivery systems especially in Mwingi and Kitui. The role of the CORPs in improving health has become key.
- Observed increase in adoption of contraceptive use for family planning, reduced fertility and improved family relations point to changing attitudes in the right direction.
- Distances covered to reach health facilities have been reduced through outreach services within the villages. The increased number of beneficiaries has in turn contributed to the reduction of maternal and children's deaths in remote areas.
- Professionalism in CBHC has been improved by deliberate efforts to collect baseline health data for planning purposes.
- Improved collaboration and links between the community and district ministry of health (MOH) has enhanced accessibility of support functions at local health facilities like Mukuyuni especially on logistical and technical support.
- Increased awareness and acceptance of the existence of HIV and AIDS and STIs through strategic awareness campaigns.
- Influencing integration of other activities such as agriculture and water development that have a direct bearing on health as part of CBHC programmes.

3.5 Emerging issues in CBHC[5]

Hospital versus health centre dilemma

In the early years of CBHC implementation many programmes were initiated from hospitals. However as time has passed and reviews carried out, it has clearly emerged that hospitals may not be able to facilitate

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comprehensive CBHC that demands dealing with challenges beyond technical health services, such as tackling water, food security, and social organization issues. Health Centres are more appropriate for CBHC implementation.

Collaboration with the formal health system

In dealing with collaboration of CORPS and the formal health system, it is imperative to avoid making assumptions that CORPS can organize, articulate needs and proposals clearly, negotiate for villager interests. Deliberate effort should be made to strengthen their capacities around skills in articulating needs and proposals (advocacy), negotiating with the formal health system.

Interaction with extension agents and its setbacks

As the CORPS implement health activities at village level they come across issues that they require the assistance of the formal health providers. The first line of interaction with the formal health system is with the implementers not the policy makers. Some of the issues that CORPS need assistance with are policy oriented and in many instances clash directly with existing government, mission or NGO policy. As an example, in improving food security, CORPS may propose that the extension officers focus on supporting farmers to produce food crops, they may even have an idea which food crops should be promoted. Extension officers on the other hand tend to focus on cash crops such as cotton, coffee with minimal attention given to other crops, as they have to meet certain targets.

Further, decision-making in support of the CORPS takes ages due to the bureaucracy involved in making and reviewing policies. Policy is ordinarily disseminated from top to down. And in practice there is no rigor applied in learning how the policy really affects people during its implementation.

Sectored alliances and upward accountability

At the ground level, implementing extension staff cannot support community initiatives that are contrary to what has already been decided at higher level in their organizations (policy interpretation level). The extension agents are accountable to their ministry and not to

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the community. In addition, accountability and reporting by extension staff is not only to the centre. It is also linear in practice so that the right hand often does not know what the left hand is doing. As such information relevant for the ministry of agriculture gathered by staff of the ministry of health may not get to the staff involved in this district but it has to go to the headquarters of the MOH and may never get to the hands of the MOA. This is the practice rhetoric aside! All this happens with full understanding that Kenya is diverse and national policy guidelines really should be left for interpretation and implementation according to the local context. Sectored alliances and accountability is not supportive of the concept of community participation, local initiative and responsibility.

Assumptions by external professional facilitators

CORPS is a combination of both traditional and "new" health care promoters at the village level. However, most CBHC programmes have focused on the "new" cadre with many difficulties. The key reason for this is the assumption made by many professionals that village communities are *a clean slate* upon which anything can be written and in addition *these people know nothing*. This is an attitudinal problem rooted in the kind of formal education. Village communities are existing entities with or without professionals. They organize and conduct their own lives according to set norms within their own context. Disregarding what exists is like putting up a house upon a sandy foundation, thus putting its sustainability in jeopardy.

Technical knowledge and skills within villages

There is technical knowledge even within village communities. To ignore this knowledge and skills without dialogue is disrespectful, even dangerous because some of the technical skills promoted within CBHC may be dependent on materials from external sources. Application of skills within the community is usually dependent on what the community has or is easily accessible to them and is long tested. The experience of the past two decades shows that although CBHC programmes have had the priority of facilitating learning technical knowledge and skills, village community knowledge and skills have not mattered except in the case of Traditional Midwives in some cases. This is a risky and dangerous trend because loss of traditional technical knowledge and skills exposes the

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village community to further vulnerability. For example herbalists and healers may have knowledge and skills that may treat various ailments, however, CBHC programmes have not considered this an opportunity to facilitate research on these herbs. The problem however may be placed more on the MOH doorstep for lack of a coherent policy and legislation on the place of traditional medicine and skills. Other countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, and others are ahead of Kenya as they have integrated traditional medicine in the formal health system. Kenya is still largely at the debating stage, for being held hostage to the modernity fad, which is rooted and driven by the capitalism paradigm.

3.6 Gender and CBHC

There are gender dimensions that emerge within CBHC. The gender dimensions are related to perception, participation and benefits of women and men in relation to CBHC.

Perception

In general, health services are supposed to facilitate or provide care. In society, "caring" is stereotyped as a female role; as such health care promotion may be seen also as a responsibility of women. The formation of the perception may be perpetuated on the basis that women are the ones who carry pregnancies, deliver and nurture babies. Many CBHC programmes have promoted Maternal and Child Health services through the training of mainly women as CORPS. This is very good, as it puts more knowledge and skills in the hands of women who are directly affected. However, when it comes to health committees, where local CBHC decisions are made there are few women than men.

In this way women are blocked from contributing and shaping decisions on strategic issues that affect their lives such as biological reproduction, resource management and power. CBHC services end up providing only immunizations, antenatal and post natal care, nutrition education, contraceptive supplies and treatment of disease. These services deal with practical issues of "caring." Some strategic issues inherent in these services include: a) decision-making power concerning pregnancy, its timing, and use of contraception, b) analysis of why malnutrition exists and how resource management at family, community and national levels

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contributes to it. There are not enough and articulate women at the decision-making table. Without enabling both women and men analyze some of these strategic issues, women will continue being sacrificed on the altar of cultural perpetuation.

Participation

Participation here refers to dialogue, discussion of needs and opportunities, involvement in decision-making, planning, and implementation. Participation of women and men in CBHC activities may be affected by the perception that both have. Experience shows that women have been key actors in implementation of CBHC activities. However, women have not been adequately involved in the whole process of dialogue, discussion of needs and opportunities, decision-making and planning. This may have been due to: a) CBHC being facilitated by external agencies, which have their own mandate and time frames. Decision making and planning have been vested in the hands of the external agencies; b) those that argue that participation in decision making and planning are not necessary as it does not alter the final outcome. However, the idea of participation in decision-making is not only for efficiency and effectiveness. It also considers women developing their capacities to understand strategic issues that affect their health and lives. It is important for this to be experiential, and this experience can be gained only through participation.

CBHC has activities that have perpetuated the stereotype that only women are "carers." The very label Maternal and Child Health care/Family Planning (MCH/FP) clinic is gendered. While it is agreed that it is focusing on the biological role of the mother, it also perpetuates the perception that there is no role for men to play in maternal and childcare and family planning. As a result, one finds a long queue of women and children with few or no men. It is acknowledged that effort has been made to address men especially by establishing family planning services for them. These clinics, though, do not address the issue that men as fathers can also participate practically in childcare, by taking their offspring to well-baby clinics as well or that as spouses they need to understand the whole process of pregnancy and labour so that they can support and encourage their spouse. The support of a spouse during pregnancy and labour is very important psychologically as well as materially.

Cases have been witnessed in rural areas where women have lost their lives during pregnancy just because they have no access to or cannot

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decide on conversion of assets to finance an emergency during pregnancy or the spouse does not appreciate the seriousness of an emergency in pregnancy due to ignorance perpetuated by gender biases. CBHC clinics need to assist women and men understand that carrying a child to hospital, clinic or even feeding (off breast time), and ensuring the baby is clean has nothing to do with the biological function of the mother. In addition men need to be encouraged to know about pregnancy and labour as well as the risks associated so that both women and men can share this experience.

In terms of benefits, rural women and men have benefited in meeting practical health needs where there are CBHC programmes. They are closer to water points for household use. Some areas where women travelled 20 kilometers of return journey for 40 liters of water, now travel 5 kilometers. Women have gained more knowledge and skills in diagnosing and treating minor ailments, and identifying referral cases. Men have not benefited equally as women in terms of increasing their knowledge and skills concerning health. Being the decision-makers in the household, one still comes across ill-health and even mortality whose root cause is because a man did not consider a condition serious enough to warrant action, while the woman on the other hand is fully aware of the seriousness yet handicapped for not having the power make decisions, in addition to lacking resources.

3.7 Community food security and sustainable agriculture

In the context of this book, food security refers to the availability of adequate varieties of quality and well preserved food stocks, which are affordable, accessible to all members of the family throughout the year and from year to year. Although equally an important component, ability to make preferences in food types may be difficult to guarantee in the Kenyan context due to high financial poverty within rural and slum dwelling communities. Further in the context of sustainability and self-sufficiency thinking, food aid is excluded from this conceptualization of food security, thus:

$$\text{Food Security} = f(\text{Production, Purchasing, Distribution, } \Omega)$$

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The inter-relationships between food security components are summarized in Figure 3.3. To produce their own food, communities would need clear and secure land ownership and use rights, including adequate access to requisite inputs. Besides being a key factor of production in Kenya, land is also an indicator of power, identity and belonging. However since colonial era, land remains a very sensitive issue, with potential for serious insecurity implications if not handled with utmost care (Waswa, 2002). Adjudication of land in ASAL areas has been a slow process, but is likely to be accelerated if there will be political will to implement the recently promulgated Kenya constitution and the concluded National Land Policy (Republic of Kenya, 2009).

To date subsequent post-colonial governments have lacked the courage to correct gross land ownership inequalities created by the colonial government. Much idle land acquired through historical advantage remains the property of political elites as artificial landlessness holds ordinary Kenyans in poverty. A people-centred government would have given priority to this historical injustice that is often associated with costly conflicts during electioneering periods. Negotiations with such land owners to surrender some percentage (70%) of such idle land to government for re-settlement of disposed communities would be a mark of empathetic and visionary leadership.

To purchase food community members would need a ready supply of income, which may be derived from the farm or off-farm sources. Such income can be re-invested into more and better production like

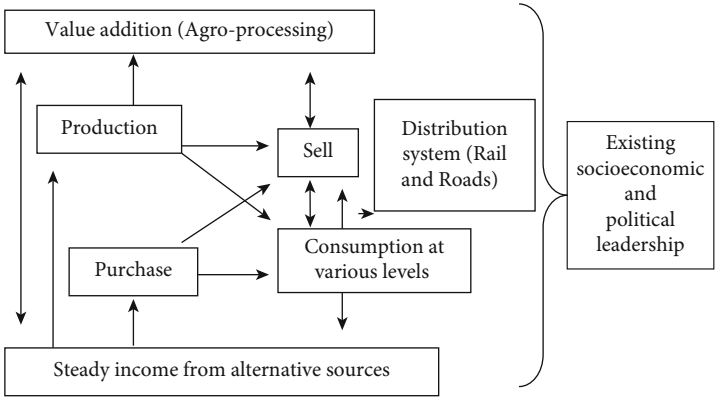


FIGURE 3.3 *Food security conceptual framework*

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improved land conditions, irrigation, fertility and management options. Likewise, agro-processing would also benefit from availability of extra income. The added value to farm products would raise the income of farmers and thus contribute to their well-being.

For ASAL areas, there is high potential for alternative income in bee farming. This has been demonstrated by World Neighbours in Voi, Mwingi and Kitui operational areas, through tripartite partnerships involving farmers as producers, World Neighbors as inception financier and private honey companies as buyers. Kenya's potential for apiculture development was estimated at over 100,000 tonnes of honey and 10,000 tonnes of beeswax per year in 2000, with only 20% being exploited. Using the local market price of Kenya shillings 250 per kilogram of honey at the potential would be KES 25 billion per year.[6] The income accrued from value-addition would equally boost house income security. Consumption of adequate and nutritious food would enhance human well-being from the dimension of improved health and physical conditions, which would boost labour and creativity in alternative investments for income generation and even production itself.

Distribution of food from points of surplus to points of scarcity needs reliable infrastructure particularly "motorable" roads. Building reliable network of roads can be maximized through the Constituency Development Fund (CDF). Maintenance of these roads can be vested in community youth through the work for youth initiative. Road and communication infrastructure have the predicted effect of opening up remote areas for micro-enterprises and hence income generation. The poverty levels in most ASAL areas in Kenya can in part be attributed to their isolation due to lack or very poor transport and communication infrastructure. In essence all dimensions of food security would prosper if backed by good political and socio-economic leadership, reflected in good agricultural policies and laws.

Food security in most communities remains elusive despite the emphasis this theme has received over the years. There has also been a tendency to confuse food security with food production. Majority of people in the world today *eat but they do not produce the food they eat.* Understanding this leads to a rational and sober analysis of key factors in food security, that communities could tap into. Factors that drive food insecurity are locality specific. Communities that are likely to be food insecure are likely to fall into one or several of these categories.

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- Those who by their geographical location have fallen off the mainstream economy. Majority of the rural population in East Africa, as well as those who live in the informal settlements in cities and towns, fall in this group.
- Those affected negatively by on-going socio-economic events and changes such as HIV and AIDS, retrenchment, resource use conflicts.
- Those who are culturally marginalized from productive resources both at macro- and micro-levels. In the African context these include women, youth, children, persons with disability, and those displaced from land resources.
- Their infrastructure and access to markets is limited or non-existent.
- Those who are off mainstream decision-making and national resource allocation.

To plan for food security for community development, a clear understanding of its components is paramount. A few of these aspects are discussed below.

Availability

Availability refers to the duration of time there is food. For instance, within three months of rainfall there is normally plenty of food in the form of vegetables, and also within specific maturity times for each species. However, the food is available just briefly and not from January to December. Availability can be affected by local production of staple food crops or the distribution system applied to ensure food does reach all the areas of a country. Food distribution within the country is affected by the macro-level framework, whether it is facilitative and regulatory or it is regulatory and stifling on initiative. In the past in food security in some parts of Kenya has been challenged as a direct result of failed distribution processes whereby some few areas have surpluses, which often go to waste, while other areas record food deficits.

During the 1980s people in arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya went without food, though they had the money but could buy nothing. At this time the government perpetuated a policy of strict regulation and control of movement of food crops. Traders and business people had to go through many bureaucratic steps to be allowed to move food and also the prices at this time were controlled. This was a disincentive to traders.

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The bulk of food distribution depended on the government, and it could not cope. With the government changing the policy in the late 1990s, and the emergence of liberalization, traders and business people saw an opportunity and entered the food transportation business. Today in Kenya, food (grains, pulses, vegetables, oils, etc) is available in all towns, but prices determine who readily access it.

Although food crops and animal rearing are a component of food security, there are many related challenges. There have always been gaps in production whether of animals or crops that forms the local staple.[7] The communities since time immemorial devised complex systems that ensured food availability. For example the Wadawida, during prolonged drought would go to their extended family members living in areas of surplus, where they would work with the extended family until the drought and hunger period was over, and then return to their own areas. These were reciprocal arrangements. Among the Nyaturu of Tanzania and the Wakamba of Kenya the coping mechanisms that were applied were barter trade as well as cattle rustling, migration, child marriages, child labour. As would be expected, these systems are not applicable now courtesy of legal reforms and other factors. With modernization and disruption of community structures and institutions modern ways that government has applied to ensure food is available include relief and food for work. These options are equally faced with major challenges, particularly when viewed from a sustainability dimension.

Variety

Variety of food on the other hand means availability of enough choices to break the monotony of using one or two types of foodstuff. Food types are influenced by local taste, which is also influenced by means of livelihood and what can be produced locally as well as culture. Among the sedentary agriculturists, depending on the rainfall pattern, variety tends to encompass grains such as maize, millet, sorghum; pulses such as peas, beans, grams, and vegetables and fruits, mainly indigenous types. Among the nomadic pastoral groups variety is achieved through having camels, cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. People resettling in urban centers are exposed to wider varieties of food available at the market places. Communities can adopt new tastes of food in the market just because other human beings do consume it. The challenges of adoption are

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whether the type of crop can be produced locally, at what cost, and if not whether community members can afford to buy what is on the market.

Quality

Quality of food addresses issues related to nutrients that the body requires (proteins, carbohydrates, vitamins, fats and minerals). Varieties of food and nutrients can thus be assumed to be positively correlated. However, nutrition science has also shown that nutrient content can be influenced by food preparation and processing methods.

Preservation

The idea of preservation is not new. For centuries the human race has practiced food preservation techniques. Preservation methods have moved from simple sun drying and smoking of meat, vegetables, and grains, in the traditional setting[8] to industrial food processing, refrigeration, and grain silos in modern times. This practice shows that it has been known that there are times of plenty and times of scarcity. During times of plenty there is need to preserve and store food. Preservation addresses keeping food safe, in terms of form as well as its nutrients. Few communities still retain their traditional methods of food preservation and yet have not adopted modern methods of food preservation, for lack of requisite financial power.

To be expected are huge storage losses immediately after harvest, as has been demonstrated by the greater grain borer pest[9] and weevils on the form and quality of harvested grains and pulses respectively. These pests account for more than one-third destruction of harvested grains and pulses. Similarly, communities have forgotten about sun drying of meat for hard times. Instead, animals are left as insurance and they stay until they are too old to be of viable economic value to the owner at disposal. Lack of preservation and storage culture is also exemplified by feasting on slaughtered animals until nothing is left for tomorrow, a situation blamed on people having forgotten or abandoned traditional systems of preservation in favor of modern methods which they cannot afford.

Scenes of rotting foodstuff along roads or even at major market points are common in many parts of the country immediately after harvest. While many reasons may be advanced for this, food security could be enhanced through more investment in value-addition, marketing

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and support infrastructure. This investment would require huge initial government support. The unfortunate observation is government reaching with a begging bowl, attitudes and mind sets that need to be de-colonized.[10] Communities need not abandon useful simple and tested traditional practices when they cannot afford alternative option. The government system on the other hand needs to take food preservation as a serious matter.

Adequacy

Food adequacy addresses what the FAO would define as minimum calorie intake that is needed by the body to sustain life. Among the communities targeted by this write up is the desire to have three meals a day that have the basic food classes, such as protein, carbohydrates, fats, vitamins and minerals. From experience, several things have emerged that is critical for communities to reach this desire. There is need for general planning on how the household will make use of the resources available for the whole year. This includes labour, land, time and even money.[11] Such planning needs to involve not only the household head but also other members such as women and the youth. There is also need to carry out food budgeting for household requirement.

Adequacy remains a dream among most marginalized communities for various reasons but notably adverse weather (drought), poor land husbandry, storage loses and wastefulness. It is also dependent on the other elements necessary for food security particularly purchasing power. Inadequacy has traditionally been managed through such coping mechanisms like women weaving basket for sale in Mwingi, while some men focused on caring for their beehives and marketing of honey, trading in livestock with urban centers like Nairobi and Thika. Majority, though, migrate to other districts to sell their labour. Out-migration of men results into net losses in farm labour thus worsening future land productivity. On the other hand government intervention through relief food and food for work only entrenches the dependency syndrome. However, these interventions are more for political expediency than anything else! Relief can be as little as just a kilogram of maize per household[12] per week, when the average household in rural Kenya has minimum of seven people.

Food accessibility similarly refers to three main points: infrastructure, intra household dynamics, culture and traditions. Passable roads are a

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prerequisite to accessibility to food. The time of harvest in the west is not for the east, neither north for south. For this reason for communities to access food wherever they are, proper railway and rural access roads network are paramount. Ironically more than 40 years since independence majority of rural access roads are not passable, their density also notwithstanding. Food distribution thus becomes biased to urban areas where the main roads pass or end. To access this food, rural and poor communities must walk long distances to such centers.

Intra household dynamics are related to gender and access to food. Food in the form of grains, pulses, vegetables, animals such as goats, cattle, chicken all have gender dynamics associated to their use. Grains and pulses are usually preserved simultaneously during storage in granaries. But access to this food depends on who is culturally empowered to control the granary. Among the Luo, "*Ndero*" the main granary, was under the care of a man, since he was perceived as the one responsible for providing for the household. Among the Wadawida, "*Kai*" the place for storing the grains was in the care of the woman, because she is the one who cooks and brings food to the table. Similar cultural stereotypes occur in other communities such as in the sugar belts of western Kenya women provide the bulk of farm labour, while their husbands control the accrued income.

Today the gender dynamics around accessibility to food is more detrimental because Kenya runs a cash economy, which impacts immensely on accessibility of food. In the rural setting, and for marginalized communities in particular, there are no means to get cash except depending on marketing of livestock and its products, harvested crops, sell of labour, vegetables and fruits among others. Some members can fail to access types of food available in the household, not because the food is not there but because it is for sell for cash. The sad thing is that what is sold is not surplus, but the household ration (distress sale). For instance, from Waita in Mwingi district and Nzuuni in Makueni district, both women and men hoard grains and pulses from the household granaries to sell for cash without consultation and agreement.[13] Milk may be produced in the household but all is to be taken to the dairy cooperative without retaining any for the household use, because the man has said so.[14] Household members experiencing such injustices often receive no attention because these gender issues are normally viewed as private affairs, thus attracting no public attention.

However, there are some factors in culture and tradition around accessibility to food that are worth retaining. For example, having one person,

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either the man or woman, in charge of the granary, then consulting and informing others on the food situation in the household. Some cultural and traditional aspects that need to be discarded in some of the rural communities include cases where children still eat last, father first, followed by any guests, and then the mother. In this way mothers and children are chronically denied access to quality food.

Affordability

Affordability of food (ability of people to buy) depends on pricing, which varies across seasons and geographic locations. In many instances urban areas are more suited to discuss about food affordability. During the season for specific produce, the prices will be low and many more people would be able to afford food they want such as fruits, vegetables and grains. This though requires that there is money in the pocket. The marginalized communities have no regular income source, which impedes their ready access to food during scarcity periods. Coping mechanisms like barter trade is equally not sustainable because through distress sales, households lose valuable assets. Other options for generating extra income such as craft making in Mwingi, Kitui Makueni, are highly seasonal. The same applies to dairy farming, and extraction of sunflower oil in areas such as Teso, and Taita-Taveta district.

Food stock refers to storage of food according to the requirements. Food stocking depends on facilities for storage that tackle vermin such as rats and mice, pests such as greater grain borer and weevils, finally the worst of all theft and fire. Attempts have been made to introduce facilities at the household level, as well as communally in a village. Traditionally, a granary for example among the Wadawida was part of the kitchen. This addressed security from theft; the use of specific types of fuel wood after harvests was for keeping at bay weevils and other pests. Vermin were kept at bay using biological means such as keeping a cat. Each community had a system of ensuring safety of the food stock. In their zeal to modernize, government and non-governmental agencies have upset these balances. Numerous proposals have been forwarded for designing food stores at the household level. These stores are often beyond the financial reach of a marginalized person. Being also situated exterior to the main house, food security becomes an issue. This explains partly why adoption of the granary advocated for by the government and NGOs in Tausa, Taita and Mukuhas been rather dismal though of high quality.

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Communal food storage is an option. This works in a way that after harvest, households which are members store a fraction of their harvested grains and pulses in the village granary or store. There are usually by-laws that are enforced without fear or favor by an elected team of villagers who are trusted.[15] This fraction of food was stored mainly for the hard times. The challenge for this type of initiative in food stocking has been the pest, greater grain borer; otherwise it seems to have been a viable option as it is in the control of the village people themselves. Essentially, food security is depended on a wide range of options within communities. Failure to integrate even one in a food security strategy is like knocking some spider lines from the spider web. To be expected would be collapse or lopsided performance in food security within a community.

From an environmental perspective very few farmers appreciate the soil/land as a system that requires continuous care and improvement if productivity is to be maintained. For instance gully erosion is often ignored being an act of "God." Further being an insidious process, most farmers attempt control interventions rather late when all top and rich soil has been washed away (Waswa *et al.*, 2002). Degradation risks are now reaching unprecedented levels as more and more people migrate from congested high potential areas to fragile ASAL areas.

Other practices that enhance loss in soil/land quality include slash and burn during land clearing, charcoal burning and overstocking. Through community capacity building, a minority of farmers appreciate that for the soil to be productive, it has to be cared for and nurtured. Over the years these few farmers have learnt that the practice of planting leguminous cover crops maintains the fertility of the soil. Experience from working with rural farmers also shows that to multiply positive effects, tangible benefits must be demonstrated from each proposed innovation. Some methods that have been used to increase multiplier effect in the context of environment friendly farming include:

- Identification of farmers through visiting groups and public meetings.
- Training farmers and demonstration in schools. The trained farmers were to act as catalysts by demonstrating to other farmers and training them. Through a multiplier effect, skills in sustainable agriculture spread successfully to many other farmers.
- Defining a time frame, plan for the task involved.

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- Continuous follow-ups and monitoring of progress by staff and trained group leaders
- Women and group leaders were introduced to organic farming, seed selection, cutting and planting cassava, nursery management and row planting.

Most important in efforts for enhancing food security at the community level is to popularize integrated assessments of the agri-ecological system along the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) approach (Alcamo *et al.*, 2003). This would allow for active participation in problem and needs assessment including policy formulation and implementation by all key stakeholders. Critical factors that influence food security and consequent impact on human well-being using the MA approach for ASAL areas are summarized in Figure 3.4.

While indirect drivers like population pressure may be unavoidable, direct drivers like use of agro-chemicals, irrigation and post-harvest technologies and land use diversifications can and should be based on

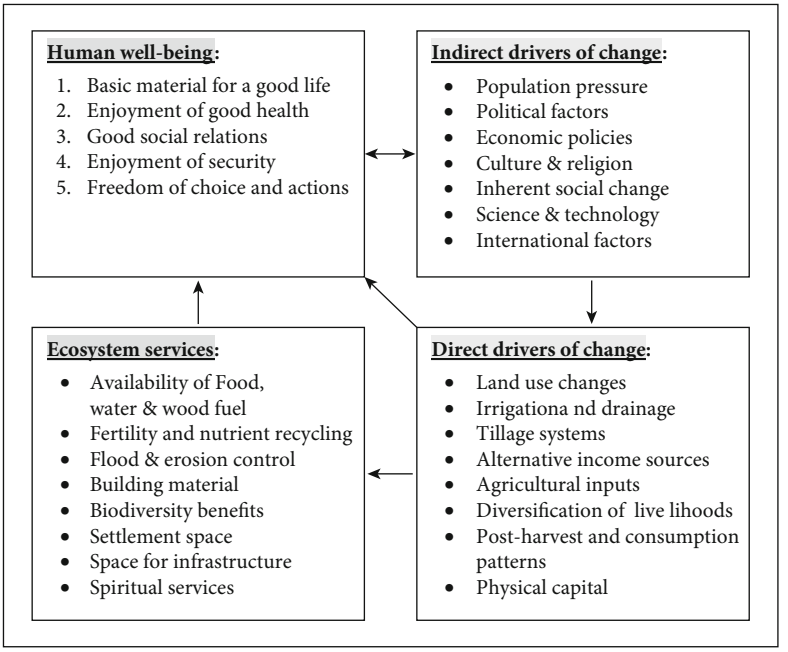


FIGURE 3.4 *MA Application framework for food security in ASAL areas*

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research findings. Further, given the dynamic nature of people-ecosystem interactions, strategic interventions at various levels will remain critical in order to ensure that land use options add value to environmental quality and community well-being within and across generations (Watson *et al.*, 1998).

Maximized yield increases in the ASAL areas means putting more land into agricultural use, hence deliberate efforts to investment in irrigation technology and other water saving technologies. Crop choices and tillage practices should add value to soil moisture conditions. To address the fragility of ASAL ecosystems, land use options towards food security may shift from conventional production to other income options like bee farming, whose net pressure on land is much lower. Agricultural processing may be adopted for selected crops for value addition to improve household incomes. Careful considerations on use of organic and chemical inputs remain critical in the context of potential environmental impacts and general community financial poverty. Strategic investment in market and kitchen gardening, focusing on high income crops through irrigation technology has potential to contribute significantly to enhanced household incomes.

More lessons on dealing with drought-driven food insecurity can be interrogated from historical record of ancient Egypt during the reign of the pharaohs (Bible—Genesis 41:1–57). Through foresight and good planning, Egypt and the entire Middle East were saved from a seven-year devastating drought following a strategy herein referred to as "*Josephonomics*" in honor of the legendry Joseph. Some measures, which still remain relevant today included:

- Deliberate effort to maximize yields when conditions are favorable (rainfall, land quality, inputs including labour)
- Measures to avoid wasteful consumption of resources, including food
- Having the right people serving in the right places for maximized performance in food security planning
- Decentralized management systems to cut down on red tape and serve the populace better
- Deliberate measures to store and preserve defined surplus yield during months of plenty by households and in regional silos.
- Appropriate marketing systems including infrastructure to ease food distribution

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- Implementation of food at a fee or food for work and not free food at all times

It is ironical to note that while it is widely acknowledged that drought should be expected every four to five years in Kenya, government has never put in place long-term mitigation plans. Instead of embracing preventive management, the government seems to have perfected the art of *ad hoc* crisis management. This state of affairs provides the best environment for corruption cartels to operate and keep Kenyans in poverty. One would be excused to suggest that government has full knowledge of this scenario but lacks the requisite political will to fight it.

Politicizing national tragedies creates the fertile ground for corruption cartels to maximize their economic gains at the expense of the starving. In this way realizing sustainable food security will remain a mirage. Further, this adds credence to the need for a social movement for self-reclamation in all spheres of human dignity.

3.8 Dealing with water scarcity in dryland ecosystems

Kenya is classified as a water scarcity country.[16] Water crisis due to competing uses is also a worldwide problem (State of Israel, 2001; UNEP, 2006). Assessments highlights from UNEP (2002) over the past two decades reveal that:

- Freshwater resources are unevenly distributed, with much of the water located far from human populations. Many of the world's largest river basins run through thinly populated regions. The dry lands of eastern and coastal provinces in Kenya, which are traversed by perennial Athi and Tana rivers, are clarion local examples of this scenario.
- Groundwater represents about 90% of the world's readily available freshwater resources, and some 1.5 billion people depend upon groundwater for their drinking water.
- Agricultural water use accounts for about 75% of total global consumption, mainly through crop irrigation, while industrial use accounts for about 20%, and the remaining 5% is used for domestic purposes.

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- It is estimated that two out of every three people will live in water-stressed areas by the year 2025. In Africa alone, it is estimated that 25 countries will be experiencing water stress (below 1,700 m^3 per capita per year) by 2025. With about two-thirds of the country being arid and semi-arid, Kenya is already a water-stressed country.
- Clean water supplies and sanitation remain major problems in many parts of the world, with 20% of the global population lacking access to safe drinking water. Water-borne diseases from fecal pollution of surface waters continue to be a major cause of illness in developing countries. Polluted water is estimated to contribute to the death of 15 million children annually. In Kenya this is more prevalent in urban areas due to slum proliferation. ASAL areas are still relatively safe due to water scarcity and low population pressure.

Water scarcity and poor quality of the little that is often available in the form of sand dams remain key hindrances to livelihood guarantees in most ASAL communities. Although fragile in nature, ASAL environments have potential to improve the livelihoods of their inhabitants on a sustainable basis if sustainable water supply can be guaranteed. Tapping ground water resources, harnessing sand and earth dam, for storing surplus water received in the rainy season and rainwater harvesting are potentially viable options in this endeavour. In the short run, the cost implications that accompany underground water resource development could be minimized by promoting rainwater-harvesting technologies. Kenya Rainwater Association (KRA) can be of help in this regard. In the long run integrated approaches that utilizes all possible water resources would be a positive step towards sustainability. This section highlights livelihood progress made in the *Ukambani* ASALs through people-driven initiatives to tap into various technologies, and particularly roof catchments and sand dams.

Approaches

Initial focus on water resources was on rainwater harvesting from roof catchments for household use. The 1980s saw the construction of sub-surface (sand) dams at Waita, while shallow wells of up to 60 feet and operated by simple lift pumps started to appear in the 1990s. Water abstraction using gravity flow was initiated at Kamberia-Tigania, Ndome and Kathekani. In addition water resources development involved protection of springs and

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their immediate environment. Design specifications for sand dams have been discussed by, among others, Nissen-Petersen (2000).

A joint initiative between the Kenya government and government of Egypt introduced borehole development in Yatta Kitui. With depths of up to 200 feet, pumping could be possible only by use of generators, which were beyond the reach of communities. World Neighbours thus stepped in to help in mobilizing communities and linking them to potential financiers. To be sustainable community capacity building in requisite competences is critical.

Achievements

Through participatory community development, there has been complete construction of some 1321 storage tanks in the community, serving up to 48 public institutions with water in Tigania. Kitui and Makueni have on the other hand seen an increase in the number of sub-surface dams and shallow wells. The Nenja sub-surface dam (sand dam) built with WN assistance in 1985 was for instance benefiting more than 50 households. Up to 280 sand dams have been constructed through WN-Sasol collaboration in Kitui.

A total of 86 roof-catchment water tanks were also constructed with WN assistance between 1986 and 1993 in Wikililye sub-location alone. In addition, water became available for up to six months in a year for those with roof catchments. The full potential of rainwater harvesting was however not attained due to use of small tanks, a situation that was dictated by household financial constraints. Use of improved abstraction methods like taps and boiling of harvested water has resulted in significant reduction in water-borne diseases.

Other initiatives in water development included construction of water wells such as at Kisole and Kakoma Nzaini, then Danida projects, and completion of borehole projects in Kawango/Kathome area through Kenya government-Egypt cooperation. In addition, communities have acquired skills in water tank construction and also in water systems management, which would help in bringing down project costs in the long term. There have been enhanced skills within communities for fund raising to run boreholes and also in community water management demonstrated by an increased sense of water conservation. Maintenance costs are further taken care of by water metering, a fruit of WN capacity building programme. Water metering has the added advantage of minimizing wastage.

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Distances to water points have been reduced from 20 to 30 km to a mean of 5 km in Ukambani areas and Ngolia. This has further reduced the workload and drudgery on women and reduced children malnutrition incidences by affording mothers enough time at home to attend to them. Sand dams have contributed to increased household incomes from the sale of horticultural produce grown around sand dams. For instance, in Kitui, Sasol/WN collaboration has seen up to 280 such dams constructed. In 2002, a single farmer from Kathome area earned approximately Kshs 200,000 from the sale of cabbages and onions, using bucket irrigation from sand dams. Today, farmer groups in Kitui deliver up to 500 crates of tomatoes to the market. With a crate price of approximately Kshs 700, farmers could make up to Kshs 350,000 (more than US$5000) per year.[17]

Main obstacles and challenges

Water projects, especially sustainable sources like underground water, have high financial implications in the short term. The rather high poverty levels in such marginalized communities reduce the people's ability to participate in project requirements. The challenge here is for government and other external players who really empathize with such communities to step in and help them get started. When government shows limited participation in water projects, this communicates the idea of vulnerability on the part of the community and could as well undermine the whole project.

The tendency of donors to bring in their own technical staff often leaves communities without the ability to take over such services following phase-out. Lack of adequate technical resources can be addressed through concerted capacity building programmes. There is need to complete and expand the distribution system for functioning projects like Ndome water project. Here is where the competence of communities themselves to fundraise becomes inevitable. Water quality in some areas is still low due to sedimentation at the intakes. This has been especially true when it comes to sub-surface dams so that use of such water has been limited to livestock consumption, micro-irrigation and brick making. In addition, maximum water abstraction from sub surface dams is often reduced due to high mud siltation rates at the intake. This is attributed to erosion problems in the surrounding catchments. There is also a general lack of conservation attitude for the available water,

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exemplified by water misuse tendencies, where some cardinal principles are ignored in favor of public expediency.

Key lessons for policy formulation

The impact of household level water harvesting from roof catchments is limited to the household in question. There is little or no impact on the wider community because roofs and tanks, being private properties are perceived as benefiting only individual owners. Wider community participation on such projects is automatically undermined. Sub-surface dams (sand dams) on the other hand are viewed as common property, which boosts the much needed collective responsibility—where good leadership exists.

Gravity schemes and boreholes are expensive to construct and maintain, and generally beyond the reach of most communities. This calls for substantial initial financial assistance, which water users could pay back as they use the water. Although sand scooping to access water from sand dams compromised the water quality, communities preferred it to tapping technology as a deterrent against theft and possibilities of wasting water by leaving taps open. This calls for the need to instill the conservation culture and appreciation of the common good concept in resource management (use, care and improvement). Sustenance of community water projects requires continuous capacity building especially geared to address the pressing problems of exploration, development and maintenance costs, building the critical mass of technical know- and do-how, and project management and leadership skills.

In principle, it can be argued that priority for communities in ASAL areas is water availability both in qualitative and quantitative terms. Access to adequate water has potential to bring about multiple benefits. Although World Neighbours policy not to support "things" had long-term benefits, sometimes investing in things at inception stages of certain projects under clear memoranda of understanding was critical if certain initiatives were to have a steady and smooth takeoff. Investing in people so that empowered people could get the things they want like water is however important for sustainable development and must be encouraged. With increasing population at the community level, more pressure will be exerted on available water, which will be accompanied by increased water demand per capital. This translates into the need for more funding to expand the available projects and or develop new ones.

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In ASAL environments there is need to invest more in sustainable supply systems like under-ground water and expand the use of sand dams. Replicating this technology widely would certainly help alleviate food insecurity problems by allowing farmers to buy food when production is constrained by natural limitations. The same practice should be encouraged around earth dams in addition to using the water for brick making. Another area of policy concern would be "privatization" of water supply systems, that is, a way must be found that guarantees projects survival through a beneficiary-pay policy. This calls for the establishment of a community water metering system.

3.9 Alternative income generation

Alternative income generation is becoming more and more relevant as people change their livelihood base from agriculture. In the marginalized communities this is even more critical because these people depend mainly on crop or livestock production as the basis for their livelihood, which often fail to guarantee food security. The most realistic strategy of alternative income generating activities for rural communities has been the use of primary resources. Some of the selected activities have included tree planting, crafts making, brick making, dairy farming, sunflower oil pressing, bee keeping, livestock marketing and establishment of other micro-enterprises.

To support these income generation activities some of the communities have started micro-finance organizations to enhance the members' access to credit. The micro-finance organizations are fully owned and controlled by the members after they received a series of knowledge and skills in financial management. Those who have not started full-fledged organizations have started group savings and credit activities. These are strong and popular among the members who have little amounts of money such as the *merry-go-round*.

From such activities, notable improvement has been observed at household levels such as consistency in school attendance by children from very low-income families and access to food when there is inadequate production from the farm. The established micro-finance organizations show real focus as they seek to break from the perpetual vicious cycle of poverty by starting investments that will make a difference in the long run. For example WEMAWEKO and WEKO savings and credit

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schemes in Tanzania have each acquired property. One has put up a girls' hostel for rental, and the other has put up offices and training centre for hire in Singida region.

Although potentially very beneficial alternative income generation activities are faced with some challenges such as:

- Limited initial capital for investment
- Lack of a broader framework for operation that ensures growth rather than stagnation
- Lack of ready markets and strategic marketing systems for products or sensitivity to market demands
- Crafts making is not yet fully institutionalized as a full time business.
- Poor infrastructure, which perpetuates continued community isolation from potential markets.
- Retrogressive use of culture and religion

A further challenge is related to knowledge and skills related to establishing and growing an enterprise. Marginalized communities mainly interact with non-profit organizations whose very philosophy (mainly charity) is an obstacle to growing and thriving enterprise. In addition their programmes are not geared towards profit making which is the very essence of enterprise development. Many income generation activities initiated and facilitated by non-profits have failed for this reason. Enterprise development among the marginalized communities thus needs to take advantage of synergistic relationship from such partners like private sector (profit oriented) and non-profit organizations like the NGOs. This tripartite approach has been applied with good success in bee keeping small businesses within marginalized communities in Taita, Kitui and Mwingi areas of Kenya (Waswa *et al.*, 2004).

3.10 Environmental dimension to community development

The foundation of sustainable community development lies in appreciating the role of the environment as the single most important life-support system. This understanding has been largely responsible for directing international environmental dialogue—from the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil to the

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2002 World Summit of Sustainable Development in Johannesburg and recently the 2012 Rio 20+ in Brazil. From the era of industrial and green revolutions the world has learnt profound lessons about models that could enhance attainment of sustainability and those that would lead to a doom scenario. To date human-environment inter-relationship continues to be shaped and governed by various factors whether at national or global levels, such as:

- Political ideology and Strategic interests
- Socio-economic needs including culture, religion and traditions
- Environmentalism

The negative impacts of people-environment relationship manifest in various forms of environmental changes like land degradation, desertification, environmental pollution, deforestation, global warming and climate change and environmental insecurity. The role of population dynamics in shaping these forces, particularly in relation to increasing scarcity of resources, cannot be overemphasized. Although the fragility of ASAL areas makes them particularly vulnerable, Tiffen *et al.* (1994) have shown that more people per unit area do not always result into a disastrous scenario. Access to alternative livelihood options and competences in sustainable dryland entrepreneurship has proved valuable investment options.

Suffice is to state that all human activity; economic, socio-cultural, and political among others occur in the context of certain types of relationships between society and the biophysical environment. These relationships are described by five basic paradigms (Figure 3.5), which overlap at some points and could have evolved from each other thus:

Frontier economism

The underlying principle is that nature is an infinite supply of development resources (natural capital) to be used for human benefits, and also an infinite sink for the by-products (wastes generated) of the development and consumption of these benefits. There is no explicit biophysical environment to manage as it is seen as irrelevant to the economy. Worries about exhaustion or depletion of resources are hard to rationalize. Nature's capacity and humans' ingenuity are boundless, so that there is little possibility of the combination of accumulated damage and depletion of resources to eventually limit production and human opportunity.

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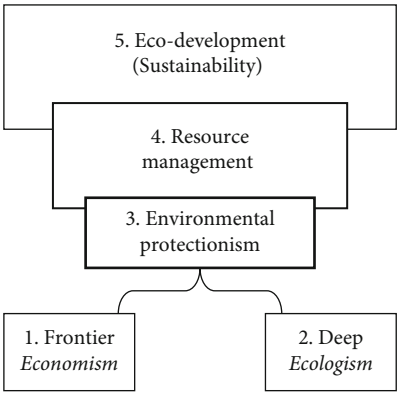


FIGURE 3.5 *The evolutionary paradigms diagram*

The vertical scale represents the direction of evolution, while the horizontal length of the boxes signifies roughly the degree of inclusiveness and integration of social, ecological, and economic systems in the definition of development and organization of human societies.

As such people can always make possibilities out of nature's limitations to meet their needs and wants (power of technology). Nature is there for the benefit of people: to be explored, manipulated, exploited, modified and even "cheated" in any way possible that could improve the material quality of human life. Any damage to nature can easily be repaired where necessary, after development has been attained and not the other way round. Humans are as such sovereign to nature. This anthropocentric relationship appears good for ASAL areas but is known to cause more harm than good. It fails to acknowledge the role of the environment (nature) as humans' life-support system, which would put fragile ecosystems under high risk of degradation, pollution and eventually deep poverty.

Deep ecologism

Deep ecology is the extreme opposite of frontier economics. Focus is to integrate ethical, social and spiritual aspects in human-environment relationship. Nature (environment) is viewed as being sovereign to humans. As such humans must learn to relate with nature harmoniously. Some basic tenets of this paradigm include:

a intrinsic biospheric quality and inter-species equity
b major reduction in human population to reduce pressure on nature

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c non-economic growth orientated economies
d non-dominant technology
e increased use of indigenous management and technological systems
f promotion of all round environmental diversity

As a fundamentally different ethical or value system, deep ecology evolved as a reaction to the "evils" of frontier economics and seeks to attain broader well being of the universe. The main flaw of this paradigm is to expect the whole world to return to pre-industrial, rural, simple life styles, amidst population pressure and globalization forces. In addition, *deep ecologism* could undermine provision of basic needs for humans, if the Green Politics approach is strictly followed. With naturally low inherent bio-productivity in ASAL areas, livelihoods may not be sustained.

Environmental protectionism

This was in response to environmental costs of development like pollution. The idea was to fix such problems as they emerged but continue the economic dominance pathway. As such the ecosystem is still in general external to the economy. This end-of-the-pipe attempt to ameliorate the effects of human activities was a kind of trade off between frontier economics and deep ecology, still falls short of sustainability as the root cause of the problem is ignored. Some common approaches have been setting up of national parks to protect wildlife and routine clean-ups of ecosystems such as the Nairobi river.

Resource depletion and ecosystem services are still not perceived in policy-making circles as serious limiting factors, due to an unbridled faith in "fixation" technologies and substitutes. Ultimately, the humans still tend to benefit at the expense of nature. The only marginal areas that could benefit from this paradigm are rangelands devoted to wildlife and tourism development.

Resource management

This could be seen as an improvement on environmental protectionism. Though the economic paradigm still prevails, it is enlarged to encompass some basic ecological principles in an attempt to maintain ecosystem/life support system stability for the support of sustainable development. For instance shifting from clean up technologies to polluter pay prin-

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ciple; restoration ecology; resources conservation, ecosystem and social health monitoring. Nature is thus viewed as a resource for humans not to exploit and damage but to manage (economize ecology). Sustainable community development is likely to benefit in a big way if such a culture was adopted and scaled up and out.

Eco-development

This involves a larger shift in thinking and practice and sets out to restructure the human-nature relationship into a positive sum game by re-organizing human activities so as to be synergistic with ecosystem processes and services. For instance the shift would be from polluter pays to pollution prevention. Note that the root cause of environmental costs of development is addressed. Humans and environment are seen as equal partners with none being above the other and hence the need to partner in various synergistic relationships. As such humans must manage themselves self first, then nature (i.e. *ecologizing* the economy and whole social systems).

Eco-development in essence describes the expectations inherent in sustainable development (SD) (i.e. development that meets present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987)). SD thus must embrace a multi-generation view in seeking to harmonize socio-economic, political and environmental goals. The conventional wisdom in working with sustainable development is to conceive of three inter-locking and inter-dependent spheres: the environmental (ecological), the social (welfare, people), and the economic. Socio-economic development and environmental management are thus interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development, where:

- The economic dimension is to do with financial prosperity and creation of material wealth.
- The social dimension encompasses the quality of people's lives and in particular about equity between people, communities and nations.
- The environmental dimension is about stewardship of natural resources (natural capital). Sustainable land management (use, care and improvement) is particularly critical when it comes to community development.

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Four sustainability paradigms can be distinguished (Figure 3.6), thus: (i) Metaphoric visualization, (ii) Literal visualization, (iii) Cognitive visualization, and (iv) Economic visualization.

Metaphoric (conventional) visualization

Sustainability is assumed to be the hypothetical area where all the three spheres (economic, social and environmental) intersect. However as paradigm defects:

- It is difficult in practice to conceive of social phenomena that lie outside of the environmental sphere. Both human societies and social elements lie wholly within the natural environment.
- Economic sphere comprises essentially social processes. Decision-making about economic issues is purely socially driven.
- This visualization also excludes various aspects of the ecological, social and economic spheres that could be significant in sustainable development processes.

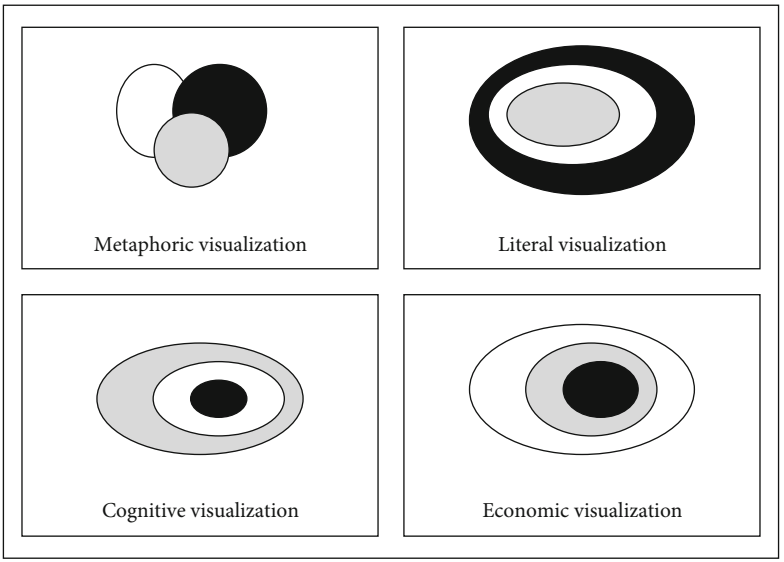


FIGURE 3.6 *Visualizing sustainability*

Note: Dark color represents the environmental sphere; white, economic sphere, and gray, social sphere.

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Literal visualization

In this paradigm the economic sphere lies entirely within the social sphere that in turn lies entirely within the environmental sphere. The environment is sovereign.

Cognitive visualization

Sustainable Development is about people (social dimension) and not about protecting or conserving the environment *per se*. As such the social sphere is placed as the outermost ring with both the economic and environmental spheres incorporated entirely within it. The back stops at resource users (i.e. people are sovereign). They can decide to use resources wisely or otherwise.

Economic visualization

In this paradigm, the economic sphere occupies the outermost position, with both social and ecological embedded therein. The focus is profiteering and not social welfare or environmental conservation. The main weakness with this visualization is the danger of over-exploiting and exhausting environmental resources and consequent environmental degradation and pollution.

The sustainability pyramid

This fifth visualization (Figure 3.7) emphasizes the need to negotiate towards mutual gains for all stakeholders. Like in other paradigms, the three spheres are: social represented by the individuals and society, the environmental and the economic sphere. This model is a strong pointer to negotiations that advance the collective (common) good, instead of allowing individual interests to override the common good and finally bring about the "Tragedy of the Commons" in the long run (i.e. collective ruin that follows open access to common resources).

Understanding the nature of interdependence between these spheres and how they shape one another particularly in ASAL areas is critical for development decision-making. Immediate post-independence planning ignored ASAL areas in favor of high potential areas on the wrong premise of them being of low productivity and thus not deserving of steady government investment. This lapse in policy remains a contributing factor to the poverty levels common in this regions. Negotiations on equitable access and use of land, being a critical factor of production

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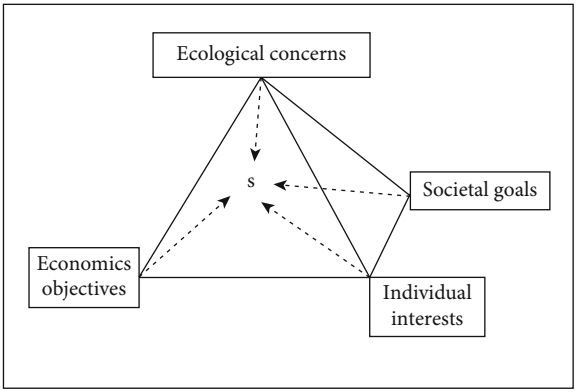


FIGURE 3.7 *The sustainability paradigm conceptual framework*

for the majority of resource-poor communities remains a key gap in the fight against poverty alleviation and wealth creation.

In the Kenyan context, economic development seems to be driven more by the economic visualization of sustainability. Government, private sector and individual investors tend to focus first on economic gains (making profits and getting rich first and the fastest) at the expense of social welfare and environmental sustainability. As a culture, a typical Kenyan is said to have made it in life when he or she has the following things:

i A big fuel guzzler car
ii A big house in a posh area
iii A beautiful wife

What is often not considered in pursuit of happiness (falsely equated to development) is the material and energy flow associated with the above three indicators of achievement through their life cycle (i.e. from cradle to grave). Although still a struggling economy, individual and government at best operate from an unsustainable consumption and production patterns. Unless there is a change in attitude from utilitarianism to sustainability thinking, the pressure on virgin raw materials and consequent negative environmental and socio-economic impacts will continue to undermine the country's efforts to join the league of developed nations. A reasonable balance between accumulation of material capital and happiness is needed because ultimately, happiness is not based on increasing material possession (Figure 3.8). Decisions in this

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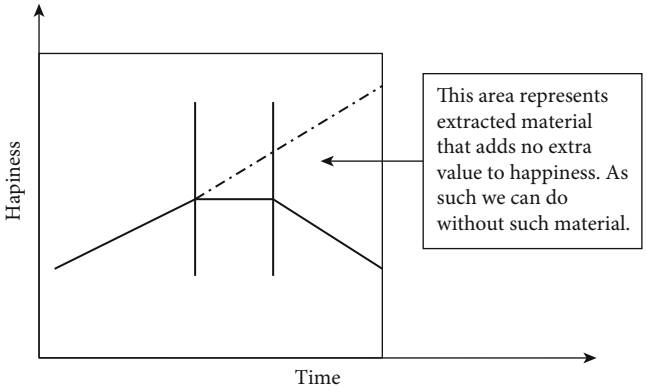


FIGURE 3.8 *Relationship between happiness and extraction of raw materials*

direction will be guided more by the cognitive sustainability paradigm and the sustainability pyramid. This calls for progressive investing in the capacity and competence of resource users. Since land and water remain critical environmental resources in Kenya, more needs to be done to inculcate within the populace a culture of environmental stewardship.

3.11 Reflection questions

- **i** Using your constituency as the planning unit, design a sustainable livelihood framework complete with targets and required resources for the next 20 years.
- **ii** Sustainable community development is hinged upon strategic ecosystem stewardship. Discuss this assertion emphasizing challenges and opportunities to be expected.
- **iii** Discuss the inherent features of the sustainability pyramid in the context of improved human well-being.
- **iv** Using practical examples discuss the assertion that sustainability is an opportunity for innovation.

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14 Community Discussions, Wumingu, Taita, 2003.
15 This has been tried in Villi and Yatta in Kitui; Nzuuni and Mukuyuni in Makueni; and Waita and Ndithi in Mwingi.
16 Countries suffering from water scarcity are those with annual supplies of less than 1,000 cubic meters per person. For water stressed, the per capita annual supply is 1000–1700 m^3.
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4
Roles of Strategic Stakeholders

Abstract: *Since ecosystems and their components are inter-dependent, this chapter emphasizes the truism that sustainable community development is hinged upon effective and honest multi-stakeholder participation, of government, private sector, civil society organizations, academia, and target communities among others as equal and inter-dependent partners. This necessitates establishment and implementation of negotiated and results-oriented partnerships for different target communities. Such partnerships should have clear procedures of phasing-in and phasing-out by external stakeholders in order to prevent development of dependency syndromes on the part of target communities.*

Keywords: entry-exit strategies; multiple stakeholders; negotiated partnerships

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> No one half of the world can survive without the other half.
>
> —*Ministry of International Cooperation, Germany*

4.1 Introduction

Different people hold different views on whether the lives of Kenyans were better during colonial rule or after independence. The agricultural status of the former "white highlands" and immediate post-independence GNP can give vital insight in such a debate. To date it remains ironical that government and its stalwarts quickly jump to self-defense using the sovereignty myth when confronted with issues of negative development by its strategic partners in development, often derogatively labeled "outsiders," while the left hand continues begging for support.

This approach falls flat on the basis of global ecosystems being interconnected and inter-dependent. The consequent integrated nature of livelihoods and inter-dependence of humans and their environment is a clarion indication that community development is not the domain of few "more knowing than thou" "insider" people or institutions. All stakeholders are important and should play their rightful roles in a synergistic partnership approach. This chapter discusses the specific roles of key stakeholders to be found in a typical community struggling with the challenges of poverty, and how partnerships have been seen to work.

Academia

The academic community represents first and foremost experts in various fields of specialization. They generate knowledge and impart it across the board and supply all government sectors and even the private sector with the needed expertise. In addition, they are international researchers and policy analysts, as well as their communities' intellectual giants and hence opinion leaders, role models and mentors. These credentials give universities a high calling in community development initiatives. All vision statements of public universities in Kenya have community service and/or outreach as a core function. Aseka (2004) noted that the role of institutions of higher learning can be effectively pursued through the adoption of the concept of "Intellectual Social Responsibility (ISR)."

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Critical areas where universities as institutions can contribute in the development process include:

- Advancement of problem solving research for community development. This calls for innovations and creativity in addressing societal concerns.
- As national and community think tanks, intellectuals are expected to drive the processes of participatory policy analysis and formulation.
- Promotion of the concept of volunteer services at home (VSAH) as opposed to home-coming parties by the political elites.
- Role modeling, mentoring and leadership development among the citizenry.
- Catalysis of political changes and good governance at community and national levels. The potential role of intellectuals as change agents is enormous but has not been fully exploited.
- Enhancement of responsible funding/donor support from willing development partners. Intellectuals can play a key role as partnership initiators between communities and development partners.
- Civic education and awareness creation for empowering rural communities and help counter their exploitation by the elites, who often take advantage of their ignorance of basic human and legal rights.
- Scouting for, consolidating, documenting and protecting indigenous knowledge inherent within communities.

The critical role of intellectuals was aptly captured by Stephan Laske[1] who stated thus: "In a social system which is strongly characterized by individual freedom, change will happen only when enough members of the system can agree on a guiding melody. They start humming the melody gently. When the melody has become catching or thrilling, even Professors may start to dance" (Figure 4.1). Dancing Professors would be indicative of a fulfilled people who work because they want to and not because they need to. Having placed the net worth of University Professors at about KES 174,000 (Table 4.1), while their juniors in government earn at least three to five times more, professors are unlikely to dance to the tune of intellectual social and national responsibility.

The resultant low morale within the intellectual community is largely responsible for the high cases of brain drain and brains in the drain, whose negative impact on community and national development cannot

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TABLE 4.1 *Salary schedule of university academic staff in Kenya based on March 2014 return to work formula in line with the 2012–2013* CBA

	Ass. Lecturer	Lecturer	Senior Lecturer	Associate Professor	Professor
Expected Highest Qualification	Masters	PhD	PhD	PhD	PhD
Schooling years after 1st degree	2–3	5	8	12	17
Basic Salary	69,794	83,361	94,215	122,956	144,672
(Min-Max)	99,642	118,861	135,243	172,960	211,753
House Allowance	49,623	53,167	56,711	63,800	70,889
Gross Total	119,417	136,528	150,926	186,756	215,561
(Min-Max)	149,265	172,028	191954	236,760	282,642
Mean Gross Total	134,341	154,278	171440	211,758	249,102
Mean Net Total*	94,039	107,995	120,008	148,231	174,371

** i.e. after subtracting 30% tax.*

NB: Commuting allowance is not factored in this calculation because it varies across public universities.

be overemphasized (Waswa *et al.*, 2004). Further, increasing cases of half-backed graduates should be expected. The risk of future underdevelopment in such circumstances is high.

Real dancing, not only for professors but all professionals, will begin when offending disparities in remunerations and welfare will have been sorted out. This is an aspect of change that Kenya urgently needs, being one of the most unequal nations in the world (SID 2004). A rationalized proposal in this regard was provided by among others Waswa and Katana (2008). In 2011, the Salaries and Remuneration Commission Act No. 10 was enacted (http://www.kenyalaw.org/). With the Salaries and Remuneration Commission now in place, equity in remuneration, which translates into equitable development is likely to begin to take root.

At the individual level, PhD holders (professors) are perceived by their communities as "experts" in all areas, role models, opinion leaders and voices of reason. Society thus expects them to lead in shaping the destiny of their communities and hence the nation. Unfortunately academia-industry-government partnership in Kenya is not well developed. Further academia itself often avoids direct involvement in issues that affect the destiny of the nation, contrary to its core function of community outreach, which should include social and political engagement.

Ultimately the country's future has been shaped by few politicians and ruling elites largely driven by selfish reasons. Academia can however

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reclaim its rightful standing in the Kenyan society by focusing on three key aspects in the change and development process:

Positive "Activism": Willingness to stand out and speak for the voiceless and also speak against all activities and or decisions that undermine sustainable community development.

Articulation: Willingness to engage the forces of resistance and articulate the basis for various development decisions, based on rational thinking and not political posturing.

Action: Willingness to step down from their ivory towers and apply knowledge to problem solving initiatives at various levels. This in essence is also the goal of the Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) programme of UNESCO/UNEP. All universities also have community service as a core function. This function has provided intellectuals with an entry point to engage communities and help translate knowledge into goods and services for improved livelihoods.

To maximize impact countrywide, academia must work with civil society organizations (CSO) through strategic partnerships along the same principles of positive activism, articulation (interpretation of facts (knowledge) and action (wise application of knowledge for enhanced human well-being). The presence of the national NGO council provides a good starting point for engagement and signing of memoranda of understanding (MOUs).

Civil society organizations

Civil society organizations and international NGOs have flourished in Kenya following the failure on the part of the state to meet post-independence development expectations of eradicating diseases, hunger and ignorance. Further, CSOs have been traditionally known to be more people-centred than the public sector. They have capacity to penetrate deep into villages, where government officials will look for every reason to avoid going. As such they have traditionally had more community acceptance and support in marginal areas than public institutions like the agriculture extension service. On this basis civil society and international NGOs can contribute to community development through such ways as:

- Awareness creation on community development gaps
- Awareness creation on community's right to good governance
- Catalysis of policy reforms

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- Development brokering
- Education and training in various community and environment-friendly development initiatives
- Limited employment creation
- Partnership development with private and public sectors for community development
- Positive activism, articulation of concerns and action processes
- Responsible funding and donor intelligence

Despite their rather unique role in community and national development, CSOs have been perceived by paranoid "states" as engaging in attempts to de-legitimize the state and being used by foreign funding organizations to experiment on Africa and Africans under the guise of development. Work by Kithumbu (2007) however showed that under clearly and honestly defined partnerships between CSOs, private sector and government, much value can be added to efforts towards sustainable community development.

The international community

For the role of large financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) their disbursement through government must be strictly monitored to ensure that funds do the work they were supposed to do. These two bodies must particularly try to block attempts of misappropriation of funds, which must later be paid by the Kenyan people. The policy of debt forgiveness must be revisited and instead "debt write-off" policy be adopted and any funds supposedly disbursed but not accounted for be demanded from government technocrats that were initially entrusted with such funds. The Kenyan people who may not have benefited from such funds should be spared the burden of debt payments. IMF and WB should also learn from the failed SAP and always endeavour to plan and work with respective communities for their own development, and not impose development priorities.

What communities do not seem to understand is the continued support of corrupt regimes by our development partners. Often foreign missions raise the red flags and make threats against financial and political corruption, but often fall short of actual implementation of the same. As it were government seems to know that those threats are mere public relation exercises. It is thus generally accepted in the wider local

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community, who are supposed to be the target beneficiaries of development assistance, that the international community is working in cohort with government to deprive them of development benefits.

The private sector

The private sector is famous for its profit-driven orientations (business) in the development process. However two unique and hitherto ignored requirements for sustainability are corporate social responsibility (CSR) and philanthropy. The underlying principle of CSR is that because multi-national corporations (MNCs), which are dominated by the private sector, use community resources to generate profits, they have an obligation to impact positively to the environment and welfare of people living within their operation areas. They are obliged to undertake ethical businesses. Basic principles in this regard have been discussed by, among others, *Ufadhili Trust* (www.Ufadhilitrust.org/ufadhili_publications). In particular care must be taken to accord stakeholders[2] the recognition and value they deserve, unlike conventional approaches that tend to focus on shareholders (owners of businesses) at the expense of stakeholders who in most cases are dominated by surrounding community members.

Assuming that all business entities and also service institutions embraced this concept and set target of positive influence within certain radii from their epicenters, a ripple-model of development would emerge (Figure 4.1).

The rather high incidences of environmental pollution and related problems, labour strikes in production and processing firms, and widespread rural poverty around thriving businesses are a pointer for drastic changes in the way environmental resources and human capital are exploited for production and wealth creation. Whether driven by moral or legal forces, ethical businesses can contribute to rapid rural and community development if the concept of corporate social responsibility or corporate citizenship is properly understood. Waswa *et al.* (2009b) have discussed some suggestions on how CSR in the sugarcane industry could work in Kenya.

The media

In Kenya, the media has eked for itself a niche as the voice of the people and avenue of information that government would prefer to keep confi-

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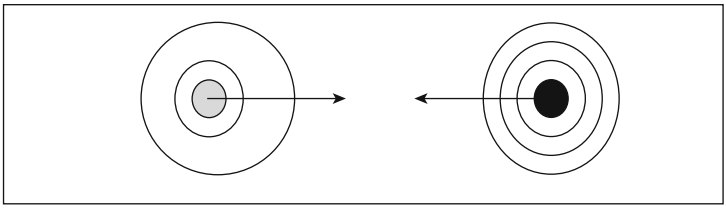


FIGURE 4.1 *Ripple development model*

Note: The shaded circles represent two firms implementing CSR with incremental radii into the surrounding communities. Finally the outer rings merge signifying attainment of all-round development.

dential. It is taken as the fourth estate after the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. In so doing government, private sector, and civil society organization actors have been compelled to act more responsibly for fear of being exposed to the nation and international community. This development has been made possible since the repeal of section 2A and introduction of multi-party politics. Kenyans would never have known about multi-billion scandals that have undermined community and national development, were it not for the media. In some few cases, media houses have paid a heavy price for intruding into and exposing government operations. The raid on the standard media house in 2008 is a case in point. By virtue of being the public intelligence "gatherer" the Media and government are yet to strike good working relationships in Kenya. While the media wants to enjoy freedom without responsibility, government feels otherwise and prefers to inject some good amount of control in the interest of "order national security." This debate will continue swinging from one end of the pendulum to the other depending on the political leaning of the government of the day.

Essentially, civil society organizations, intellectuals, private sector and government itself require the media to effectively reach the populace and discharge their civil and constitutional responsibilities. For sustainable community development, the media should educate, inform, expose scenarios and entertain all stakeholders and shareholders without fear and favor. Positive reporting remains the key to peace and sustainable development as can be deduced from the reporting that followed the bungled 2007 presidential elections. The citizenry can aid in this noble role by persistently demanding for freedom of information, thought, pursuit of knowledge and environmental awareness.

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The target community

In the context of this volume, the target community comprises the masses, the ruled, and the majority poor citizens struggling to lead a decent life. This is a powerful segment of society since it determines who their leaders, rulers and or oppressors will be every five years through the power of the vote. Although all government development plans, domestic political activities and international interventions are designed around this segment, the Kenyan citizenry remains largely poor. Since independence, the dominant group has successfully exploited negative ethnicity to divide and rule this group, while keeping it poor. The single most important role of this group is to free itself from negative ethnicity and use its vote to install visionary and development-oriented leaders who will help it harness its potential and resources for predictable and sustained development. Since a democratic government is supposed to serve this group,[3] citizens should constantly demand for their rights as enshrined in the Bill of Rights in the national constitution, 2010.

Government of the day

A part from providing a favorable fiscal, monetary and political environment for investment, government should make deliberate efforts to invest in essential infrastructure that serve the common good, but whose multi-million cost implications are beyond the reach of ordinary communities. At the minimum these include:

- Roads and railway networks to connect cities, towns and markets centers. Their routine maintenance should however remain priority to avoid wastage of resources occasioned by late rehabilitation measures. Feeder roads in particular are likely to spur development in rural areas through promotion of the movement of goods and people. Maintenance of such roads should be entrusted to the increasing population of local youths under the "work for youth" program, but financed through County and CDF budgets. This calls for strategic partnership and leadership among stakeholders in county governments.
- Extension of electric energy to rural areas under deliberate pro-poor initiatives will have the added advantage of saving trees and nature through reduced demand for wood fuel. Availability of reliable electric energy always leads to the proliferation of small

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and medium enterprises, which directly enhance community livelihoods. In this regard, countries with low coverage—now mostly in Africa should scale-up investments in generation, transmission and distribution of electric power (The World Bank, Independent Evaluation Group, 2008).

- Clean water for domestic uses and basic health care has tremendous effect on human well-being. Time saved from looking for water and reduction of costs and stress from preventable diseases will allow communities to invest their energy in more economically viable activities.
- Deliberate efforts towards equitable access to land would allow most farmers to settle down in farming and construction of better shelter for themselves. Loss of livelihood possibilities through land related conflicts can be thus prevented. Land remains a critical factor of production in Kenya and has been a perennial source of conflicts, dating to pre-independence time.
- Mobilizing local resources, particularly natural and human capital for regional and national development.
- Sachs (2005) correctly uses a ladder imagery to affirm that economic development works and tends to build on itself. And that many countries that have similar history like Kenya have been able to grasp the first rung and moved onto several subsequent rungs (economic development building on each other). He however fails to emphasize that for most African nations and Kenya in particular, poor governance at the national level has not facilitated even the grasping of the first rung (Figure 4.2). This will not allow the nation to benefit from the natural momentum for development, at least for now.

Since all the above institutions play different yet vital roles in the development process, building effective networks and partnerships remains the single most important way to pool scarce resources and involve potential beneficiaries for real development. The systems concept underscores the critical importance of this approach, but its implementation is often undermined by, among others, the following factors:

- Negative competition among development players in the quest for recognition
- Political interference driven by fear of an enlightened citizenry
- Hidden agenda from partners within the partnership

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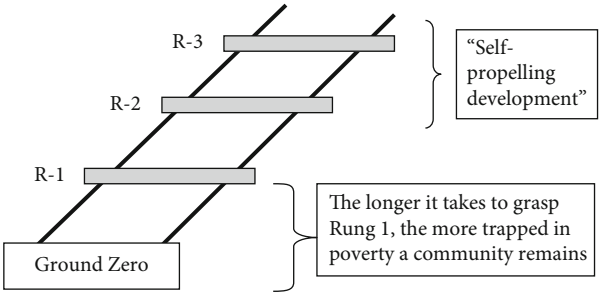


FIGURE 4.2 *Rung 1 as the critical minimum for economic take-off*

The following section explores the challenges and opportunities of designing and implementing partnerships for development.

4.2 Initiating and working through partnerships

The focus of MDG number 8 is partnerships for sustainable development. Being the "in thing" today, the term "partnership" continues to be popular but often misused among development practitioners, donors, and governments in pursuit of divergent objectives. It is however most probable that there may be little reflection on the actual meaning of specific terms being used to describe relationships as well as programs. Worse still, there may not be equivalent change of practice to reflect change of concepts being applied.

In the context of this volume, the term "partnership" means a dynamic relationship that is first and foremost institutional, and characterized by agreements on programs to be implemented together based on utilizing each partners' strengths, particular roles and responsibilities being decided upon collectively and delegated to each member of the partnership, and recognition that each partner is dependent on and accountable to the other members. This definition is a challenge to development agencies as it comes with obligations and risks that must be shared. However, relationships between development agencies have remained of *a master-servant nature.* The "master" has been the agency that has control over funds while the "servant" has been the agency that has little or no funds. The quotation below captures this inequality:

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> No matter how understanding the donor may be, the fact that the Northern NGO is the one with the money means that the Southern NGO must be the one with the begging bowl. No matter how good the personal relationship between the Northern and Southern NGO may be, the latter must accept the humiliation of being the receiver of charity. Perforce, there is a relationship of unequal. And inequality never built capacity. (Manji, 1997, quoted in Eade, 1997, p. 9)

This type of relationship has contributed to some degree the waste of development aid. This is because an agency that is totally dependent on another one ceases to think and act independently as it must please the master, it cannot negotiate its interests and it cannot value its own contribution even if it is in-kind to the development process. The agency staff may be doing this consciously or sub-consciously. After providing resources, the master agency on the other hand seems not to be able to go beyond superficial requests that are made mainly to please the recipients and address their immediate financial requirements rather than tackle problems based on in-depth analysis of need and opportunity based on an articulate vision. As a result of the above the actual practice of implementing partnerships remains weak as nothing changes between relationships of the two or more agencies that refer to themselves as "partners." Indeed, the trend of seeing one of the parties as a sub-contractor of another continues and is big obstacle.

Although collaboration and partnership are synonymous words meaning "working together," collaboration involves working together informally and its success is based on progressive relationship development, goodwill and trust between parties involved in pursuit of common objectives. Partnership, on the other hand, is working together under a formal arrangement often a binding memorandum of understanding. Collaborations however have potential to evolve into partnerships with time. Both approaches have been undertaken at various levels such as with private sectors, with other NGOs and with government, in appreciation that community needs are multiple and no single agency can effectively address all of them. Further, different development agencies have different strengths and weaknesses, which calls for complementing each other instead of duplicating efforts and engaging in futile competition. Synergism thus becomes a trademark of sustainable partnerships.

While divergent opinions exist around building partnerships or collaborative initiatives in tackling some of the challenges of community development, in theory they could be associated with more efficiency

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and effectiveness in implementing community development programs, leading to greater positive impact.

Approaches

Approaches used in collaboration with the government generally involved: recognizing the role of government as essential, identifying agenda with which government collaboration is needed, familiarizing with government policy to avoid frustrations in future decisions and identifying people within government bureaucracy who will be responsive and initiate dialogue accordingly. Approaches to partnership with private sector entailed: definition of the need for engaging private sector for profit, explanation of the synergism to be expected, and bringing communities on board during early stages as opposed to the private sector's tendency to promote a contract-like engagement. Essentially, initial analysis focused on responding to requests from either specific interest groups or the wider community, followed by a series of dialogue that culminated in the signing of memoranda of understanding (MOU). Inception engagement was then implemented through either operational or non-operational programmes.

Operational programmes

Operational programmes represent situations where an NGO is directly and fully involved in community development as the major decision maker (Figure 4.3). For instance operational programmes were the first approaches adopted by World Neighbours-East Africa (WN-EA) on her first entry in Ukambani. In this approach, WN-EA hired its own staff and placed them in geographic regions that have been analyzed against WN's criteria.

Phase I represents World Neighbours (outer circle) having total control of operations and administrative decisions, unlike the community agency (inner-shaded circle). In this approach, WN hired its own staff and placed them in geographic regions that had been analyzed against its criteria. The local staff of WN worked with community based organizations through committees that would implement action plans, usually derived from participatory sessions. Program implementation was then clearly WN driven, in order to demonstrate its approach to development guided by its own values, culture, and strategy. Phases II and III represent gradual reduction in WN control as the community's capacities increase, while phase IV represents a phase-out of WN and

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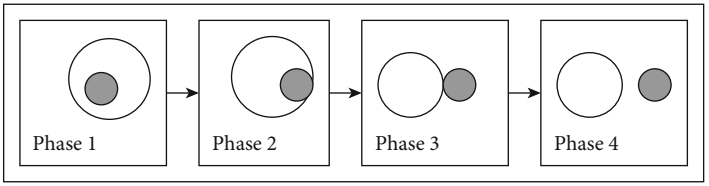


FIGURE 4.3 *Evolution of an independent local agency through an operational approach*

subsequent transformation of the community based organization into an independent development agency. Kitui Development Centre (KDC) and Ngua Mlambo Development Trust (NMDT) developed along such pattern (Waswa, 2002).

The local staff of WN worked with communities and community based organizations through committees that would implement action plans, usually derived from participatory sessions. Program implementation was then clearly WN driven, in order to demonstrate its approach to development guided by its own values, culture, and strategy. Some apparently contradictory responses have usually resulted: an initial "donor" dependence on NGO support followed by a resultant spirit of self-reliance once the local community is socialized on the ideals of the organization.

Further, given the meager capacity building resources, the "donor pretending" program soon regresses into bitterness and apathy. In addition, the capacity to mobilize resources to complement capacity building has been largely absent among program staff. And being an International NGO the operational mode of WN-EA raises key challenges of institutional sustainability at the local level.

The main achievements in this model have been in the instances where staff has internalized the "movement" passion of catalytic capacity building and the resultant multiplier effects. This has resulted in viable local efforts like the evolution of local programmes and institution that are viable and sustainable. Other achievements have included ease of responding to felt needs, it is easier to monitor and evaluate progress, easier to control and manage assets, staff and resources. The communities and external facilitator operate under shared vision, values, processes, methods and focus. It is also easy to identify and use existing local structures to negotiate and analyze issues.

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Under operational programmes, it is easy to account, report and follow-up on desired issues. It is also easy to initiate, sell new ideas and mobilize communities around ideas. It has been possible to develop staff at grassroots levels that live with and understand the culture and language. This mode of operation does not create dependency on external groups since there are no handouts given at any particular time in the project life cycles. Where the staff members have become disillusioned, the programs have been phased out leaving the local community organizations initiatives at the danger of collapse.

Challenges

The area to be covered is normally very expansive and thus beyond the capability of available small staff force. Failure to give out handouts makes it hard for the NGO to work with other partners who are accustomed to handouts. For instance due to WN-EA policy of operating without handouts and not investing in things, other actors do not appreciate its efficient use of resources, to the point of being labeled a "small NGO" in order to water down its growing popularity in communities. Such competition from other actors, though retrogressive, should be expected in community development practice. In addition the *donor tag* is difficult to drop. Communities still view NGOs in the areas as donor agencies instead of development partners. This works to entrench the dependency syndrome.

As a key lesson, operational program can lead in demonstrating marked achievement in local community ability to meet their basic needs through focused support in situation/need analysis, and coordination of intervention strategies. Further, due to the temporary nature of the INGO engagement at the local level, it is important to have a clear strategy of how the operational program mode will be applied with a clear timeline and indicators for institutional evolution and skills transfer by the INGO.

In the event of unclear phase out arrangements, there is always a sense of loss on the part of the community and staff members. Locally there would be disillusionment and negative perception, with WN being seen as nomadic and hence unreliable. Sudden phase out is painful for the staff and the community. Thus it should be clear from the beginning when a program or project will be phased out. Weaning process in preparation for phase out creates anxiety, senses of bitterness, panic but those affected later come to terms, understand and move on. It is

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important to define clearly the length of the contract with communities during phase in to enable them prepare for the phase out.

Non-operational programs

In this arrangement WN was not directly involved in the implementation of events on the ground in target areas. The support availed was mainly in technical terms focusing on training around WN thematic areas, on-job training and mentoring, support for core costs and procurement of goods and services that were not locally available. Like with the operational programme, the local agency was expected to graduate into an autonomous trust or agency (Figure 4.4). Successful community agencies that evolved through this arrangement include Nyakach Community Development Association (NYACODA) in Nyanza and ADT in Teso (Waswa, 2002).

The initial consequence of this arrangement is that NGO tends to exert its presence as a "senior partner" and hence the tag of a donor in the perception of the local community. However, the lack of a clear long-term strategy on how the relationship would evolve, what milestones would be achieved, what time frame, what indicators would be used to show progress was a major weakness. In particular, there was no exit strategy formulated, a clear institutional capacity building process was absent and also missing was a consistent program of skill transfer to the local organizations to be enabled to provide effective and quality programming.

As a result of the above handicaps, this approach went into "limbo"—uncertain of the way forward. However, experiential learning saw the evolution of two distinct trends. In one case, the local organization chose to be open on the need for particular institutional capacities to be developed, so as to enable it to carry out its own programs rather than

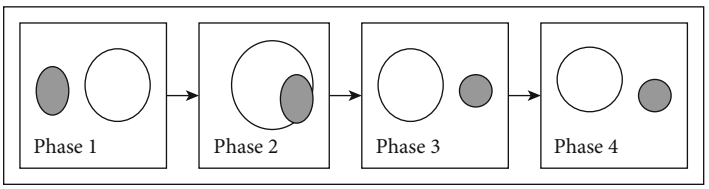


FIGURE 4.4 *Evolution of an independent local agency through a non-operational approach*

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having the WN-EA spearhead these activities with the local organization tagging along. In the other cases the local organizations chose not to declare their institutional needs and let the relationship fizzle out. The consequence of the organization that chose to be open was a re-negotiation with WN-EA for support towards institutional capacity building that has resulted to a far more advanced local institution that can sustain its activities. The other organization has remained trapped in organizational inertia.

Key lessons emerging from this experience include the need to: build relationship between the partners, be transparent about the agenda of both the INGO and local organization, analyze requests to WN by local organizations beyond the face value of the request as well as beyond the WN own agenda, and go beyond responding to support for programs that match the WN agenda to actually negotiating on how the two organizations would work together for sustainable community development.

Achievements

- The program has an internal capacity for skilled staff to provide services to the community and also institutional capacity to identify challenges and opportunities and seek possible solutions.
- There is also capacity to negotiate and engage with other partners. Ability to respond to community-wide needs such as savings and credit and beekeeping.
- There is effective utilization of acquired assets to meet internal costs and invest further.

4.3 Phasing-in and phasing-out

Phasing-in to initiate a development programme in a community has been done mainly in two ways: firstly as a follow-up to requests by people or local organizations with projects or programmes on the ground; or those with prior relationship with an organization. Decision for or against such a request is pegged on the organization's policy and objectives. The second approach has been reviewing secondary data from government offices then reviewing the data against the organization's own policies and objectives. On the basis of such a review, an organiza-

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tion decides where to work and why. The work may be done directly by the organization itself or it may also decide to source community based organizations to do this work on the ground.

Work moves off fairly well in the case where there have been requests made. The reason for this is existence of an agreed upon agenda for a need that is defined from within. In cases where the organization itself goes out to start a programme, it faces many challenges. This is because no one would have asked the organization to come in the first place. It is interpreted that whatever the organization has come to do is for their interest, and it is seeking support of the community. Some lessons that emerged from phasing in include:

- For a successful phase-in and smooth operations of programmes there is need for mutual and proper dialogue between the community as an independent institution and the in-coming organization. This dialogue is to enhance understanding of interests and mandate of both organizations and facilitate take-off of agreed programmes.
- There is need for development engagement to be preceded by building relationships and enhancing mutual trust.
- Timelines, clear objectives, roles and responsibilities in engagement, and the anticipated results should be defined. Communities stay committed only when they observe progress.
- There is need for a local community to have a degree of its own resources and funds where possible to boost its bargaining power with outside organizations and donors.

A time comes when the community should independently direct its own development process. This makes phase out by NGOs inevitable. The phase out process must however be ethical. Experience has shown that outside organizations and donors view communities as objects, they just dump communities, sometimes leaving incomplete projects or changing their strategy and abandoning ongoing activity to initiated new ones within those same communities without dialogue. The tendency of donors to compartmentalize issues instead of seeing them as a whole is retrogressive in rural communities, where livelihood is naturally integrated. The funding rigidity displayed by donors attests to this, with the consequence of falling short of addressing community priorities. Whether this approach by donors is a knowledge gap, attitude, or some sinister motive remains to be answered, as they would

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never do the kind of things they do in their own home countries. Essentially key elements of an effective phase-in and phase-out process include:

- Building of relationships between institutions, organizations and communities as an initial prerequisite
- Define areas of complementary interests
- Develop the programme concept using participatory methods
- Identify target geographic areas
- Carry out PRA and baseline study of target areas for the purposes of needs assessment
- Design a development programme and negotiate and agree on timeline
- Identify funding sources
- Organize and set up administration of the programme
- Clearly define roles and responsibilities of different parties
- Define and agree on sanctions, and
- Sign a binding memorandum of understanding to serve as a guiding as well as a monitoring tool during the relationship.

After phase out, the concerned communities are expected to have built all necessary capacities to take charge of their own development. Collapse of development projects, programmes and plans after any phase-out process would indicate that both the community and the intervening organization failed in their roles. This is unfortunately very common because to date many NGOs invest more in things and not in the people (communities) to enable them to get those things on their own.

4.4 Reflection questions

i Discuss the assertion that outsiders are a necessary "evil" in Kenya's development process.
ii Explain the significance of mainstreaming an entrepreneurial culture in breaking the dependency syndrome in development.
iii Using practical examples show that strategic partnerships and sustainable community development are positively correlated.

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Notes

1 Quoted from Michael Fremerey's notes of Unistaff 2008.
2 Stakeholders are defined as those who affect (impact) or are affected (impacted on) by business. They include suppliers, employees, customers, wider society, government and the physical environment.
3 If indeed democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people and (with the people).

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5
Creating an Enabling Environment

Abstract: *This chapter discusses the critical role of government and other external players in sustainable community development. It is the thesis of this volume that ultimately economic prosperity, social justice and welfare, and environmental stewardship are depended on the quality of political governance of the day. Target communities (the electorate) should be able to hold their government accountable at all times on all things that affect their development. A formula for guaranteed social change is discussed and domesticated for communities to use in their endeavour for self-liberation from the dominant paradigm. By way of conclusion, change is inevitable when the target community mobilizes itself along a shared vision and a clear transition plan, which calls for the practice of people-centred leadership.*

Keywords: shared vision, transition plan, visionary leadership

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> Results-based collective responsibility is hinged upon a shared vision and not a vision shared.
>
> —*Authors*

5.1 Governance

In a world that is complex and rapidly changing, inspired leadership and competent administration is inevitable for sustainable development. This challenge is reinforced with the potential socio-economic and environmental problems of a rapidly increasing population. Globalization pressure will also add to this challenge, with nations having no option but to think globally even as they act locally. Good governance is the single most important ingredient for creating an enabling environment for sustainable development. Governance in this context occurs at political, corporate, community and family levels. By definition it is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of environmental, economic and social resources for human development. As an institution it refers to the basic allocation of power and authority, and the boundaries and limits on authority.

Governance has assumed an important role in global development policy because it is widely acknowledged that development is not only about projects, programmes and policies but also about politics. Politics is on the other hand the science or art of government, while the primary role of government is governance. The idea of getting politics right is now widely viewed as a pre-condition for development. But what "right politics" is remains an open question. However some features of right politics include:

- The establishment of reliable institutions that allow individuals and groups at all levels to positively participate and benefit from the development process, within the context of sustainability.
- The conscious stewardship of regime structures (or rules) with a view of enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm.
- Complete abhorrence of corruption, impunity and opulence in pursuit of the common good.
- The arena in which state and society actors operate and interact to make authoritative decisions towards sustainable livelihoods.

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As would be expected, the kind of governance that prevails at any given time is a reflection of the regime in place and indeed the norms and values that prevail in a society. The same often determines the existing harmony between human needs and the quality of available resources. For instance at the time when America was founded, agriculture was seen as the key to development and the tendency of the "pioneers" was to exploit every part of the earth. Every wild country was viewed through the utilitarian spectacles: trees became lumber, prairie farms, and canyons the sites of hydroelectric dams. This Jefferson's utilitarianism philosophy had no respect for environmental principles.

As early as 1949 Aldo Leopold argued against such exploitation of land and stressed the need for concurrent efforts to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the ecosystem, with people playing the leading role as plain members and citizens of the land community (Sullivan *et al.*, 1996). To date, debate for or against Jefferson's utilitarianism philosophy has not ended. It has only assumed new titles and dimensions such as Conservation of Bio-diversity, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Environmental Auditing, Total Resource Management and lately Sustainable Development. Agenda 21 is perhaps the latest and greatest global initiative against profit-driven resource exploitation. Three challenges however remain as critical as ever:

- For how long will the country's finite resources be exploited strictly for economic and political gains?
- To what extent should sustainability and life cycle thinking principles be adhered to, and by whom?
- Who will ensure that the right thing is always effectively and timely implemented?

The solutions to these problems in Kenya and elsewhere are clearly to do with honesty and morality on the part of government in particular and those who should hold it under check. Further, effective management of the resource users, which would inevitably entail use of education, incentives and coercion at different levels and intensities, would be inevitable if a livable environment and protection of the public from unreasonable environmental risks is to be guaranteed (Smith, 1995).

Several years after independence, it is now widely acknowledged that poor leadership (bad governance) is perhaps the single most important obstacle to Africa's development. That notwithstanding, Guest (2004)

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and Sachs (2005) have observed that the problem of persistent poverty in Africa may not be blamed on colonialism *per se* because countries that were similarly colonized such as the Asian tigers have taken-off economically after attaining their independence. The question that keeps arising is:

> "What became of African nations like Kenya, which were at par with Asian Tigers like South Korea in the early 1960s?"

While agreeing with Guest and Sachs to some extent, we affirm that poor governance manifested in bad politics is the single most important obstacle to Kenya's development. The greatest manifestation of bad governance in Kenya is corruption and impunity. Though different definitions have been advanced (Box 5.1), the basic tenets are the same. Wrong (2009) has attempted to expose this vice in Kenya particularly from 2002 to date in his famous book "*It's Our Turn to Eat*."

The elements of corruption that have far reaching effects on societal development in Kenya are distribution, allocation and use of public resources, natural capital like land, and national financial resources. The effects of corruption impact the whole physical, human and social environment. Bad governance and corruption are responsible for such vices as:

- Capital flight and economic mismanagement
- Crime and internal insecurity due to institutionalized poverty
- Differential administration of justice that marginalizes the poor
- Environmental degradation in pursuit of selfish interests
- Impunity and failure to enforce the rule of law when it comes to dealing with political elites
- Land grabbing and misuse of public resources
- Misuse of human resources as evidenced by skewed and unethical remunerations
- Persistent deaths from preventable or curable diseases
- Persistent hunger and famine in a country that is adequately endowed with factors of production
- Proliferation of slum settlements
- Skewed inter-regional resources allocation and development
- Socio-political instability and decline in investors' confidence
- Unchecked opulence by the ruling elites, when majority of citizens live on an income of below 1 $ per day
- Widening gap between the rich and the poor

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The greatest casualty of these actions is the common citizen, who must work extra hard to pay for the cost of corruption through increased taxes, high inflation and joblessness for meeting basic needs. Saving communities from such actions is a prerequisite for their sustainable development, hence the need for good governance. Good governance takes place when leaders confront the challenges outlined above head-on. This approach would need a moral and ethical vision of the world as it should actually be (Arias, 1999).

It has also been argued that the most important prerequisite for good governance is democracy because only democratic institutions can provide for the accountability and responsiveness that are fundamental to good governance. Where good governance has been rather limited in certain world's big democracies, more democracy is what is needed, so argues Arias (1999). Perhaps good governance under democracy is constrained by the scope of actual engagement of stakeholders, particularly when the ruled have no guts to confront violations and excesses of the rulers. Conventional conceptualizing democracy as government of the people, for the people and by the people should also include "government with the people." This is critical because at its core democracy is a radical philosophy of civic participation in all matters that affect and could affect them in order to keep building better systems to improve their lives.

BOX 5.1 *Understanding corruption*

- Corruption is the abuse of office for private gains, abuse of the rule of law, and acting contrary to the legitimate and moral expectations of society. It goes beyond the public office and public interests to cover the private aspects of life (Ecumenical Trust, 2004).
- The Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission defines corruption as the abuse of authority for personal advantage or for the advantage of another person or group.
- As such corruption can be practiced by both institutions and individuals. It tends to thrive where impunity in political governance is rife and has far reaching implications on all spheres of sustainability: social, economic, and ecological.

Experience from Africa and Kenya in particular also shows that when the masses are poor and illiterate, they do not participate fully in the

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political life of the country. They become so busy trying to survive without caring about their own oppressive regimes, at least in the short and medium term. It is generally accepted that the KANU regime held on power for too long by using this approach, thus impoverish people and keep them pre-occupied with struggling to get basic needs, which in itself is violation of basic human rights.

Increased militarization at the expense of basic service delivery often follows in anticipation of conflicts that are sure to emerge under such depressing socio-political conditions. Unfortunately, this only further entrenches poverty and bad governance. The implication of such actions is well captured when viewed from actual human impact: every dollar spent on unnecessary weapons represents a missed chance to improve the life of a starving, sick, unsheltered, unschooled person. Going against such grain only takes morality and ethics-driven governance. Conflicts in Africa have demonstrated this scenario very vividly and for many years, thus demonstrating a moral crisis in governance. This moral crisis is further extended to the donor community when it closes its eyes on the plight of Africa's money looted and stored in their banks. Indeed one may be excused to allude that through deliberate bad governance, the west and African leaders have conspired to keep Africa poor and insignificant in a globalizing world.

Kenya's and Africa's renaissance thus require visionary leadership that is willing against all odds to stand against elitist capitalists that manifests as *rulership* as opposed to leadership. This will require a new generation of leaders who have outgrown the servitude attitudes introduced through colonial indoctrination of unworthiness and more than 40 years of institutionalized poverty and marginalization of some communities. The challenge is now for local leaders to seize the opportunity presented by 2010 constitution to right the past wrongs and lay the ground for sustainable community development.

The NARC administration encouraged Kenyans to be a working nation as though laziness was synonymous with the citizens. On the contrary, the political elites should be called upon to servant hood and living within honest returns to their labour. The challenge of good governance is to ensure that the benefits from hard work are enjoyed by those who work hard, and not the other way round where the elites and politically correct have enriched themselves riding on the backs of the poor. The powerlessness of the masses still allows the political elites to intercept benefits meant for them with a degree of impunity that is

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perhaps unparalleled in the world. Media reports have been dominated by corruption and impunity themes and persistent calls for the masses to rise up and reclaim their country, dignity and well-being.

Some scandals whose negative impact on Kenya's development will be felt for a long time include the Goldenberg and Anglo-leasing. The worrying trend is the popular perception of government complicity in such criminal acts as evidenced by its inability to take quick and decisive action against corruption. A cartoonist captured this perception well based on the Free Primary Education scandal (Figure 5.1). New mega financial scandals have continued to embarrass successive governments to date (2014) implying that corruption remains a serious obstacle to Kenya's development. The perceived inaction on the part of government flies in the face of the various anti-corruption acts and bodies and the "zero tolerance for corruption" slogan that supposedly guide government practices.

Ultimately communities are denied the much needed resources that would have added value to service delivery at those levels, thus entrenching poverty. Particularly affected would be communities in the ASAL areas, which are still trapped in poverty in ways similar to Chamber's (1983) conceptualization of integrated rural poverty. Isolation as a cluster of disadvantage has profound effects on ASAL development. Billions lost through corruption are enough to open-up these areas through a network of roads and communication lines, which would ultimately attract businesses.

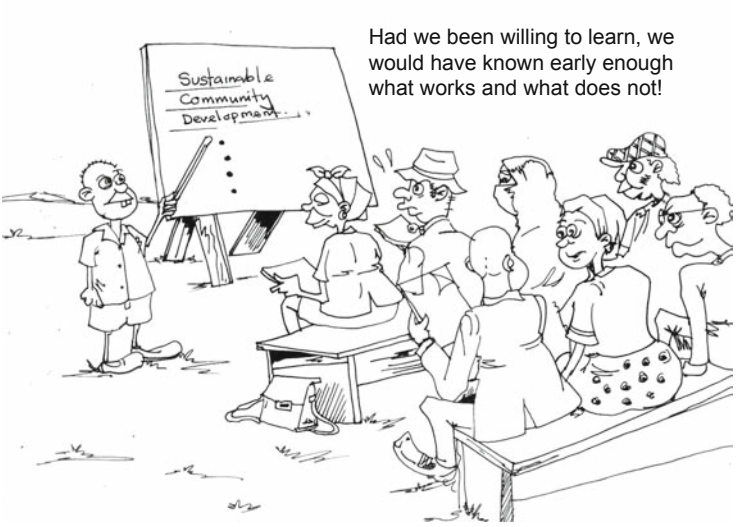


FIGURE 5.1 *Learning to learn from the "Poor"*

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5.2 Characteristics of good governance

If politics is about who gets what, when and how, then good governance should ensure that in implementing the above, the following factors are strictly adhered to:

- Adherence to professional ethics in work and business environments
- Respect and appropriate application of the rule of law
- Timely and amicable prevention, resolution and management of conflicts
- Deliberate efforts towards progressive economic empowerment of all citizens
- Deliberate democratization and devolution[1] of decision-making
- Efficient production and delivery of goods and services, including maintenance of a good and railway network in ASAL areas
- Enhancement of social capital particularly through tolerance in diversity
- Greater public accountability and participation by stakeholders
- Investment in people-centred fiscal and monetary policies
- Mutually beneficial intra and international relationships
- Pursuing liberalized market systems with adequate social buffers to protect the poor and vulnerable
- Respect and enforcement of human rights
- Respect and pursuit of equity and the common good in all dimensions of human development
- Transparency within public transactions, particularly procurements and financial disbursement
- Willingness to decisively deal with impunity at all levels
- Decisively dealing with negative ethnicity and investing into building a nation of a cultured people glued together by key core values like patriotism, accountability and transparency.

Good political governance requires that the state puts in place and maintains an enabling environment for development as concerns such issues as: national security and international relations, infrastructure, fiscal and monetary policies for economic investments, the rule of law to regulate behaviour, protection of human rights and freedoms, and maintenance of an organized corporate framework. The kind of governance in place

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will also determine how effective the roles different stakeholders and institutions will play in development.

Good governance builds confidence in people to accomplish the good that they want to, enhances socio-political stability and gives every citizen the opportunity to develop self and the country without fear of investing in vain. Good governance endeavors to develop a country's resources and build the financial capability for the good of its people. Good governance is seen to be in place when police effectively ensure the safety of the people, when public servants use their positions to serve citizens rather than enrich themselves, when political leaders are willing to grapple with the hard problems of our day, for example, crackdown on the "*Matatu*" (public transport system) madness in Kenya, when free and fair elections are held and when the civilians control the security forces, responsible use of natural resources, and judicious implementation of economic and social policies that will benefit society as a whole rather than a particular social group. Obviously good governance is guided more by a moral and ethical vision than the number of votes, level of literacy or even democracy. Really good governance seeks to ensure that these objectives are achieved and enjoyed by the masses (communities) as first priority. The international community can contribute to this in several ways such as:

- Expand the debt cancellation and expunge the "debt forgiveness" myth. Note that debt payment in sub-Sahara Africa exceeds public spending on essential services like health care, education by a factor of up to 41.
- Fight against corruption and impunity in African governments
- Increase responsible foreign aid
- Repatriate Africa's money stashed in foreign accounts.

An often forgotten aspect of good governance is balancing divergent needs and priorities with regard to accessing and benefiting from common resources. Mutual gains approach to negotiations would be a practical way forward.

As history would attest, political power (freedom) without commensurate economic power is of no consequence. It is near to "legal slavery." This condition has been the problem of most "independent" African nations. The same condition has been exploited by African leaders in collaboration with external forces mostly former colonial masters to loot and trap Africa into the poverty syndrome. That is perhaps why

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the "donor community" has conveniently ignored calls to repatriate all Africa's money stacked in foreign banks. Githongo (2003) identified some critical pillars in the fight against corruption, thus:

- Building civil society into an engine of positive activism and the key vigilance in the fight against corruption
- Dealing with the past through transitional justice. Focus here is dealing with past economic crimes that have led to the impoverishment of the Kenyan people such as artificial landlessness, squatter problem and capital flight.
- Establishment of relevant institutions to implement good governance agenda.
- Integrating the private sector into the implementation of government agenda
- Leadership with emphasis on mastering political will by the nation's top leaders to lead from the front and create an environment to fight corruption.
- Measures to implement just laws and regulations. Of importance would be sealing all technicality promoting loopholes that have been used in the past to defeat justice. Justice also needs to be made affordable to all people, and available to very vulnerable.
- Positive engagement with the international community in the current globalizing economy
- Strengthening the media as the primary mobilizer of public opinion, press freedom that is guided by nationalism and patriotism.

What is largely missing in this framework is the role of the ordinary citizen. Often this category has been ignored in most levels of decision-making yet can play important roles as corruption watchdogs, whistle-blowers and private monitors. In the emerging global economic order, good governance would have to ensure that people at all levels and particularly at the grassroots are not disadvantaged and marginalized economically. Investing in sustainable livelihoods would thus be critical for the survival of regimes because it directly influences the well-being of the masses (voters). The challenges for good governance would be to use the household as the primary unit of analysis and action in development planning. In addition the following foci would be critical to:

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- Adopt holistic approaches in addressing household development needs
- Emphasize resource identification, mobilization and opportunities rather than on problems and needs, yet doing nothing.
- Engage others in a win-win approach by stressing that it is possible for people to make a living and improve their quality of life without jeopardizing the livelihood options of others at all times.
- Enhance participatory decision-making (bottom-up and top-bottom) on the basis of equal partnership
- Ground intervention options in real life situations where individual actors are ready to act in their own interests.

In this regard, governance would have to deliberately focus on:

- Enhancement of community self-organization: i.e. realigning responsibilities towards greater local participation in development decision-making.
- Promotion of increased social space for all: i.e. reinforcing rights in pursuit of social justice. As a golden rule: "Do unto others what you would want them do unto you."
- Building and sustaining social capital: i.e. Re-kindly relationships. In order for households to flourish and communities to develop, there must be a basic trust among members and a readiness to reciprocate in ways that strengthen the relations among people. The work of good governance is to structure and enhance socio-economic and political relations in such a way that they are conceived as legitimate by all actors involved.
- Empowering households by re-structuring returns and revenues besides facilitating the tools of power to reach the household, particularly money.

5.3 The change formula

"*Change We Can Believe In*" was a slogan that contributed to Obama's victory to become the first African American president of the United States of America. Change is often resisted by people for various reasons however well intentioned. In Kenya, there is a growing desire to change from the dominant paradigm, which is perceived to be oppressive, to

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a people- and institution-centred paradigm. The masses will have to be willing to pay the price of such changes, as the dominant group will not hand over political and economic leadership easily. Although not an easy thing to organize and implement, success in sustainable community development could be realized by using the change formula represented thus:

$$\textit{Change occurs if: } \frac{\textit{Pressure x Vision x Transition Plan}}{\textit{Resistance}} > 1$$

Source: Unistaff, 2008.

i **Pressure** in this context originates from those in the social justice paradigm. That is all people who are tired and angry of being kept poor despite their hard work, largely due to poor political governance, which is the signature of the dominant paradigm.

ii Building a critical mass of this category depends on members having **a Shared Vision** of development, and a collective desire for self-liberation from "bondage." On the contrast a vision shared is often the deception advanced by the ruling elites, where decisions are made by a clique and packaged deceitfully to appear as if the masses participated in them. A vision development by "outsiders" and imposed on the masses is bound to fail as has been demonstrated by many top-down development initiatives.

iii Focus and momentum for change on the other hand depends on a clear **Transition Plan** from negative status quo to desired positive change. Poor people know why they are poor and how to get out of poverty. They can specify action plans in this regard. Political victory like was the case for President Obama in the United States of America is a clarion example of what masses with a shared vision and a common transition plan can achieve, thus change they all can believe in (i.e. sustainable community development).

iv **Resistance** in this context is provided by forces in the dominant paradigm (the economic and political elites, and the executive in particular; those who prefer the status-quo, its historical and current injustices notwithstanding). Such resistance should not be denied or crashed. Conventionally, it should be viewed positively and strategically overcome within acceptable legal and ethical mechanisms such as the power of persistent positive activism and the vote.

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v However where impunity and institutional dysfunction are the order of the day, a people revolution has always yielded the desired change. The French and Russian revolutions, as well as the protestant movement against religious intolerance and Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resistance serve as good historical examples.
vi Resistance is however also a stabilizing factor to change. Without it an organization can get chaotic and change would be uncontrolled and counter-productive, hence the need for good leadership within any social movement.
vii To guarantee change, the **quotient** of pressure, vision and transition plan against resistance must be greater than one. The greater this quotient the more rapid the desired change would be.

The challenge in the Kenyan context is how to mobilize communities that are very conscious of their ethnicity along this change formula. Kenyans are yet to shade off the culture of fear that has been institutionalized through years of political suppression. But as the Swahili proverb says, "Peace never comes without the way of the sword." The sword in this context means anything from legitimate struggle to violent conflict. Balancing between doing the right thing and doing things the right way (Waswa and Swaleh 2012) presents an opportunity to turn around governance for predictable development in Kenya.

5.4 Reflection questions

i In which ways have you been able to abhor corruption and impunity as a responsible citizen?
ii Using the change formula discussed in this chapter, show how your community could effectively free itself from poverty and human indignity.
iii On the basis of hindsight and expert knowledge, critically examine principles of what works and what does not work in the context of community and national development.

Note

1 Key sectors that need to be devolved further include referral health care, extension services, teachers' service commission and internal security and immigration.

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6
Back to the Basics

Abstract: *Back to the basics is a reminder that history has valuable lessons to use for future development. This chapter summarizes the key lessons in sustainable community development by outlining approach or strategy is likely to work and which may not work. As a fundamental principle "poor" people know why they are poor and are therefore better placed to free themselves from poverty ratchets. Government and other external development partners should unlearn their long-held assumptions on development and instead learn from the poor on simple and practical ways of eradicating poverty. Target communities should take responsibility for their own development, while government and other external actors play facilitation roles only.*

Keywords: community tacit knowledge; sustainability; unlearning assumptions

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> From desktop to community-owned and demand-driven development.
>
> —*Authors.*

6.1 Dilemma of options for community development

The menu of strategies and approaches for community development is long. Due to the diversity of communities in terms of natural endowment with resources, socio-cultural and political outlook and quality of human capital, not one strategy can be panacea for the development of all regions. Different strategies will work for different communities. The proceeding section summarizes lessons from which customized strategies for sustainable community development could be derived.

6.2 Learning from the "poor"

Poverty in Kenya is to a large extent caused by some kind of marginalization of the community in question. According to Kenya's Commission for Revenue Allocation, marginalization is a multi-faceted condition in which a group, a community or an area is considered as being excluded from the dominant majority in a given social, economic or political setting. As a result, the marginalized individuals have only limited access to a wide range of basic services such as food, water, health care, energy, education, security and political participation. Similarly, a marginalized area is a region where access to communication and transport infrastructure is substantially below the national standard. Isolation is thus a key cluster of disadvantage, which drives poverty in such areas. Arid and semi-arid lands have for a long time been marginalized and represent the signature of poverty in rural Kenya. In urban areas, slum settlements are considered marginalized and represent the signature of urban poverty.

As such willingness to learn from the poor themselves and other external actors with past experience in intervention is the key to successful decision-making towards poverty eradication and hence sustainable community development. Regrettably, elites who seek to drive the development process have tended to play the "holier than thou" attitude against the poor. The result has been dismal positive change, massive

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donor funding notwithstanding. Is it possible that the "poor" have been "shouting" practical solutions out of their poverty but development actors have chosen not to listen and act accordingly?

* * *

> We know why we are poor, and how we became and remain poor.
> We know how to get out of poverty.
> Allow us to be the critical drivers of the solution to our freedom.
> Accept to humbly be facilitators and partner with us in this struggle for a life of dignity.
> Our happiness and joy is also your happiness and joy, except if you do not believe in the spirit of empathy, humanity and the common good.

* * *

This paradigm shift from hotel/board room-based decision-making (desk-top) to community-owned and driven development processes is the key to successful sustainable community development. Whether the "elites" will be willing to learn how to learn and play their role in-line with the increasing importance of participatory decision making remains an open question.

Our experiences from World Neighbours operational areas and in the course of our individual professional responsibilities show that while no universal formula exists for sustainable community development, the following key factors are important in any development process:

- Results-oriented development requires good political, corporate community and family governance. Such governance is hinged upon empathy, ethics and morality on the part of those who wield power over others.
- Maintaining the integrity of ecosystems as the life-support systems is an inevitable obligation of all stakeholders in the development process.
- Honest and effective partnership among local, regional and international stakeholders is essential.
- Participatory needs assessment is required in order to provide acceptable entry points for community development.
- It is important to invest in community capacity[1] and competence[2] building. However both capacity and competence building take

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time and resources. There is need for patience on the part of all parties in the partnership.
- National government cannot be ignored in any development process at the community level. Establishing trust and good working relationship among existing levels of governance (national, county and local) is important.
- Continuous and accurate communication between partnering stakeholders is essential.
- Over visibility[3] of external assistance perpetuates dependency syndrome.
- External actors should focus on facilitating the process based on a clear phase-in and phase-out strategy captured in any memorandum of understanding with target communities. Respecting a negotiated and signed Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) offers hope for success and mutual respect among development stakeholders.
- Maximized success is based on the respect of the common good particularly on part of government because of its role in power dynamics over development resources.

A key thesis in this volume is that "while sustainable communities are a reflection of sustainable nations, the opposite is often not true." This assertion gives credence to the potential in devolved governments and resources as envisioned in Kenya's 2010 constitution. Establishment of sustainable communities equally requires a deliberate shift from office-based and outsider-driven top-down approaches to people-owned and driven development initiatives. The success of sustainable community development depends on good governance at all levels of human organization: political, corporate and family. Good governance is on the other hand dependent on good politics, which further depends on the ethical and moral standing of the political leaders. It is the responsibility of the electorate to ensure that persons of such virtues are elected to political office.

Noting the critical role of higher education and technical knowledge, sustainable community development could rapidly be achieved were intellectuals to actively play their expected intellectual social responsibilities roles.

As discussed by Waswa *et al.* (2009b), much progress would be achieved were multi-national corporations and service industries to

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mainstream and implement their corporate social responsibility policies within their communities.

Outsiders who include "urban-based intellectuals" can play a leading role by taking up their high calling within the context of intellectual social responsibility, role modeling and opinion shaping, which are the bare minimum expected of them by their communities.
Other lessons worth noting are:

- Community needs are multiple, interwoven, inter-linked and keep evolving. No single intervention is a panacea for sustainable livelihoods.
- Introduction and demonstration of resource management techniques and approaches must be accompanied with continuous follow-ups and monitoring and evaluation of progress by staff and trained group leaders.
- The food security equation must be expanded to include diversification of livelihoods to off-farm income generation activities where reliance on farming is limited by natural events like drought. The underlying principle should be: "If you cannot grow food, buy it." Beekeeping and craft industries provide excellent success stories in the ASAL environments in Kenya (Waswa, 2002).
- Agro-industrialization and post-harvest technology could help raise household incomes by increasing the value of farm products and reduce post-harvest losses.
- Establishment of operational community cereal stores where farmers could obtain grain at affordable prices during periods of scarcity is essential.
- Communities should be discouraged from distress sale of crops, use of crop yields like finger millet for brewing, and wastage of food through numerous and prolonged ceremonies.
- Whereas income poverty can be addressed through investment in large-scale commercial cash crops, care should be taken to preserve enough land for food crop production.
- To enhance the health of the land resource would require deliberate investment in alternative but clean and affordable energy sources.
- Failure by some farmers to apply resource management techniques taught to them, coupled with low inter-household cooperation

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hinders the realization of maximum benefits associated with approaches like catchment management.

- As a follow-up to the spirit of equity in the new constitution, sacrificial strategies to free and release more money for community development are critical. A rationalized and re-structured remuneration policy framework has the potential to free money for more development initiatives like employment creation, building basic infrastructure, and delivery of basic services for community well-being.

While this volume has documented critical approaches and strategies for sustainable community development, readers will also find valuable lessons in the broad theme of community development from the experiences of several organizations such as the millennium village projects[4] (*www.millenniumvillages.org*), the Arid Lands Resource Management Project (*www.aridland.go.ke*), the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (*www.agra-alliance.org*), the *welthungerhilfe* (German Agro Action—*www.welthungerhilfe.de/kenya*, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP[5]) and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD[6]), among others. Suffice to note that all these organizations have poverty and hunger as key focal areas given their importance in human well-being. Readers will also find a wide range of civil society organizations engaged in various aspects of community development from the national council of NGOs.[7]

Further focusing on the cognitive visualization of sustainability, which puts people as the focus and not the natural resource and or economic profitability *per se* is critical. However, appropriate trade-offs through some form of mutual gains approaches to negotiations are a routine requirement. A community should have capacity and competence to understand that ecosystems though life-support systems have limits beyond which their integrity and hence productivity gets compromised. Competing interests from various stakeholders such as the government, civil society and private sector need to be harmonized through honest dialogue.

Although Vision 2030 will drive Kenya's development for the next 16 years, its success will put into account the following factors among others:

- Addressing root causes of problems as opposed to symptoms only
- Deliberate efforts for accountable and transparent Monitoring, Evaluation and Auditing of development initiatives

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- Strengthening bottom-up and participatory decision-making approaches in the development process
- Entrenching gender equity and the youth in decision-making
- Pursuing good governance in terms of just laws and policies; creating institutions and harnessing political will for action
- Investing in innovative, demand-driven action research
- Investing in honest Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)
- Embracing mutual gains approaches to negotiations (MGAN)
- Focusing on needs as being more important than wants
- Networking through partnerships, collaboration, co-operation
- Prioritizing simple yet practical solutions to problems
- Pursuance of equity and social welfare in wealth creation and enjoyment of the same
- Stewardship of environmental resources as opposed to utilitarianism
- Inculcating sustainability thinking and long-term planning

6.3 Reflection questions

1. Having interacted with the contents of this volume, what do you think could work and could not work in the context of sustainable community development of your county?
2. Critically examine the critical roles and responsibilities of key stakeholders in the community development process.
3. Design an appropriate framework for monitoring and evaluating community development initiatives in your County.

Notes

1. Know-how (theoretical knowledge).
2. Do-how (having practical skills).
3. Donors striving to be applauded for short-term results often not based on community inputs.
4. In Kenya the millennium project in Sauri, Yala Division, is a success story for showcasing.
5. www.ke.undp.org.
6. www.ifadkenya.org, www.ifad.org.
7. http://ngocouncilkenya.org.

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Glossary

Africa's Resource Curse: A concept used to describe the irony of Africa's endowment with natural wealth, yet bedevilled with rampant poverty and conflicts

ASAL: Arid and Semi-arid land, where rain is key limiting factor of production

Capacity Building: Mainly focuses on the know-how with little investment in do-how

CDF: Constituency Development Fund (i.e. financial resources devolved to the political unit called constituency for self-development decision-making)

Competence Building: Inculcating practical skills (hands-on or do-how) in problem solving

Corporate Philanthropy: Ad hoc charity initiatives by multinational organizations into communities, normally for enhancing their public relations image in society

Corporate Social Responsibility: A call on corporations and institutions to make profits and provide services ethically, i.e. not at the expense of people and their environment

Credit Budgeting is Budgeting with own available resources

Debit Budgeting is Budgeting using unavailable money

Desk-top: Elite driven, office-based decision-making process for development

Dryland Ecosystems: Synonymous to arid and semi-arid lands

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Eating: A popular colloquial term used to mean benefiting from a nation's wealth

Harambee: A rallying term for collective effort in pursuit of collective gains

Impunity: Disregarding, not respecting and adhering to the rule of law in routine decision-making processes and actions

Intellectual Social Responsibility: Schooled elites playing their rightful roles as community opinion leaders, innovators and voices of reason.

Jeshi la Mzee: An illegal militia that was formed to purportedly serve the interests of the retired president Moi

Josephonomics: Applying ancient economic principles as used by Joseph in the Biblical story of famine in Egypt

Jubilee Government: Coalition elect in the 2013 that happens to be Kenya's year of Jubilee (50th year since independence)

Kazi kwa Vijana: A new approach to employment creation by involving the youth (vijana) in national development activities

Majimbo: Devolution of government and governance. Term is synonymous to federalism

Matatu: Most popular public transport vehicle in Kenya

Merry-go round: A socially designed way of accumulating and distributing financial capital among close friends, mainly women in the Kenyan fabric

Opulence: Luxurious life styles by the political elites often way above what the national economy can support and in total disregard of the welfare of the common citizenry

Philanthropy: Ad hoc charitable assistance given to communities or individuals by organizations or even individuals

Shared Vision: A vision that is arrived at through effective participation by all stakeholders

Ukambani: Geographical area inhabited by the Wakamba people group

Unbwogable: Coined from the Luo language to mean not to be defeated

Unistaff: University staff development programme based in the University of Kassel, Witzenhausen Campus in Germany

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Vision Shared: A vision arrived at by few people yet forced on other stakeholders that were not party to it

Wananchi: Kenyan Swahili term for Citizens

Water Harvesting: Deliberate efforts to tap, store and use Nature's free water human well-being

"**Wenye-inchi**"**:** Kenyan Swahili colloquial term for the owners of the country, often taken as the wealthy political class

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