Chronic Poverty Research Centre (K)

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Institute for Development Studies
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

GIVING VOICE TO THE CHRONICALLY POOR

A STUDY OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN PROJECTS FUNDED UNDER THE CONSTITUENCY DEVELOPMENT FUND IN IBENO LOCATION, KISII DISTRICT

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Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CDC	Constituency |Development Committee
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CDFC	Constituency Development Fund Committee
CDFNMS	Constituency Development Fund National Management Secretariat
CFC	Constituencies Fund Committee
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
DC	District Commissioner
DDO	District Development Officer
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development
DPC	District Projects Committee
IPAR	Institute of Policy Analysis and Research
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
LDC	Locational Development Committee
MOH	Ministry of Health
MP	Member of Parliament
MPND	Ministry of Planning and National Development
NMC	National Management Committee
SDDC	Sub Divisional Development Committee
SID	Society for International Development
SLDC	Sub Locational Development Committee
SRDP	Special Rural Development Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Abstract

Poverty remains a key challenge in Kenya despite the implementation of numerous interventions. Past poverty alleviation strategies failed partly because projects were not based on priorities of poor and the chronically poor, especially. Consequently, the government established the Constituency Development Fund in 2003 to alleviate poverty by involving people at the constituency in project planning and implementation. This paper examines how people, including chronically poor people, are mobilised and how they participate in development projects. This paper shows that although many people have heard about the Fund, very few know how it operates, and the role they are expected to play, due to inappropriate mobilisation methods used by the Constituency Development Fund committees. Thus, planning and implementation of projects are done with little regard to the voices of poor people. In particular, the chronically poor are excluded from local institutions and networks through which people are mobilised and participate in development projects. The paper argues that the recognition of the political nature of participation and an understanding of the social power relations is important in establishing institutions that would facilitate participatory development.

The paper recommends that a review of the CDF law and implementation of emancipatory educational and awareness activities are necessary to establish local institutions that facilitate effective mobilisation and participation of people in development projects.

CHAPTER ONE

POVERTY ALLEVIATION THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN KENYA

Introduction

Since 1963, when poverty was recognised as a challenge to attaining development objectives in Kenya, numerous interventions have been initiated. Despite these interventions, the number of poor people has been on the increase. In 1972-3, the number of Kenyans defined as poor was 3.7 million (31% of the population). This number increased to 11.5 million (40% of the population) in 1994, to 13.3 million (52% of the population) in 1997 (Kenya, 2000), and to 16.6 million (46% of the population) in 2005/06 (KNBS and MPND, 2007). Similarly, living standards have declined as evident in almost all indicators of health, rising unemployment, and increasing rates of illiteracy (CBS, MOH and ORC Macro, 2004). Moreover, per capita income in constant 1982 prices declined from K.Shs 3,813 in 1990 to K.Shs 3,360 in 2002 (CBS and MPND, 2003). Income inequalities have equally been on the increase so that 10 percent of the country's top households control 42 percent of total income, while the bottom 10 percent control less than 1 percent of incomes (SID, 2004).

The incidence of poverty and number of poor people in Kenya varies across provinces, urban and rural areas, electoral constituencies, occupations and gender. In 1997, between 75 and 80 percent of the poor lived in rural areas, while within urban areas, slums and informal settlements are more vulnerable to poverty (Kenya, 2000). In 2005/06, overall poverty was 49 percent in rural areas and 34 percent in urban areas, while food poverty incidence was estimated at 47 percent in rural areas and 41 percent in urban areas (KNBS and MPND, 2007). Across the provinces, the proportion of the rural population below the absolute poverty line was lowest in central province (30%), followed by Nyanza (48%), Rift Valley (49%), Eastern (51%), Western (52%), Coast (70%)

and North Eastern (74%) (KNBS and MPND, 2007). Poverty incidences also vary across the 210 constituencies. Kabete Constituency in central province is the least poor, while Ganze Constituency in Kilifi district is listed as the poorest constituency in the republic (CBS and MPND, 2005). In terms of occupations, most of the poor people are employed in agriculture, although proportions vary between women (72%) and men (69%) (CBS, MOH and ORC Macro, 2004). In addition, women are worse off than men are in terms of vulnerability to the effects of poverty (Kenya, 2001b). For example, in 2005/06, in urban areas, male-headed households had more favourable poverty indices than female-headed ones (KNBS and MPND, 2007).

To alleviate poverty, the government has, over the years, sought to enhance people's participation in development projects through decentralized strategies. In this way, the government attempted to alleviate poverty by encouraging people to participate in planning and implementation of development projects. Notable are efforts to introduce *majimbo* (regional resource allocation) at independence in 1963. Other decentralised funds that followed include the District Development Grant Programme (1966), the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP-1969/70), the Rural Development Fund (1971), the District Development Planning and District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD-1983/84), the Local Authority Transfer Fund (1998/99), and the Community Development Trust Fund (1996), the Roads Maintenance Levy Fund (1993). Recent funds include the HIV/AIDS Fund (2001/2), the Free Primary Education Fund (2002), the Constituency Education Bursary Fund (2003), the Constituency Development Fund (CDF-2003), the Youth Enterprise Development Fund (2006), and the Women Development Enterprise Fund (2007). Other than decentralised recourse allocation, the planning and management of these funds vary with some managed at the district and others at the constituency level. This paper focuses on CDF, a decentralised poverty alleviation fund established in 2003. The CDF emphasises people's participation in planning development projects funded in constituencies. The rationale is that through participation, people identify and select projects relevant to their

needs, which when funded and implemented, will alleviate poverty. From this perspective, poverty alleviation strategies may fail to attain their objectives if they are not based on poor people's priorities (Omosa, 2002). In terms of CDF, the questions are how people mobilised and how they participate in funded projects. Before embarking on examining the CDF, the section below analyses selected past participatory poverty alleviation strategies in Kenya and the extent to which they have involved the poor and the chronically poor.

People's Participation in Poverty Alleviation interventions

The Special Rural Development Programme
The SRDP, an outcome of the Kericho conference of 1966, aimed at addressing poverty alleviation through increased rural incomes and employment opportunities. It sought maximum local participation and was to equip people for meaningful participation (Makokha, 1985). The objectives of the SRDP were to be achieved by improving the capacity of civil servants operating at the rural level and in the development of regional planning techniques appropriate to the Kenyan context (Alila, 2000). The focus on rural areas was considered appropriate due to low average incomes and because a majority of the poor people live in rural areas (Alila and Omosa, 1999). The SRDP equated poverty alleviation with rural development, i.e. it assumed that the development of rural areas would alleviate poverty and lead to greater national prosperity (Omiti et al, 2002).

Although the SRDP strategy is an important milestone in decentralized planning, it did not achieve its objectives, because it was centrally designed and implemented in a top-down manner (UNDP, 2001). Further, many project administrators viewed local communities as undifferentiated and projects under the strategy were found to exhibit little understanding of the local environment (Alila and Omosa, 1999). In addition, SRDP did not recognize the heterogeneity of poor people, or the forces that trap them in multidimensional deprivation.

The District Focus for Rural Development

The DFRD, launched in 1983, was a culmination of policies and measures of decentralizing development planning and implementation (Chitere and Ireri, 2004). It aimed at broadening the base of rural development by moving most planning and management decisions of district-specific projects to local levels where they were implemented (Kenya, 1984). People were to be directly involved in the identification, design, implementation, and management of development projects (Alila and Omosa, 1999). In this context, poverty alleviation encompassed the people's ability to participate in decision-making processes regarding the projects implemented. This participation aimed at increasing the quality and relevance of development projects in order to enhance their sustainability (Chitere and Ireri, 2004). It was therefore hoped that poverty would be alleviated by implementing projects consistent with people's development needs.

However, by the mid 1980s, political interests were seen to have overshadowed development agendas and people's participation in development projects (Alila, 2000). Therefore, the strategy failed to establish effective decentralised participatory planning as a basis for alleviating poverty (Chitere and Ireri, 2004; Kenya, 1999; Makokha, 1985; Omiya, 2000). Accordingly, the poor and the vulnerable were reduced to passive participants in their own development (Cornwall et al, 2001; UNDP, 2001). Hence, the DFRD strategy failed to establish an institutional framework to facilitated active involvement of people, including the poor, in planning and implementing development projects.

The *Harambee* Movement

The *harambee* movement, also known as 'pulling together of resources', arose out of people's common needs and aspirations to solve problems in their communities (Omiya, 2000). Through harambee projects, people participate by getting together to identify and implement projects they consider relevant to their needs. People also participate by contributing funds for project implementation, although additional resources can be raised from outside a community (Cornwall et al, 2001). Projects

implemented through harambee include hospitals, cattle dips, boreholes, water schemes, and schools (Omiya, 2000). Harambee was thus conceived as an approach in which individuals or groups concerned would play a central role at the various stages of the project cycle in order to enhance the effectiveness of poverty alleviation projects.

However, people's participation in harambee-funded projects was not entirely attained. Over time, people's participation in harambee projects declined when the projects became intertwined with local and national politics (UNDP, 2004). This was because politicians and elites at the national and local levels begun to use the harambee movement as a means to enlist support from people during electoral and non-electoral activities (CFC, 2005). Evidently, elected leaders skewed resources in favour of areas where they received support, while areas perceived to oppose them were starved of harambee resources. As a result, social and political networks based on state patronage influenced who participated in projects funded by harambee and in what way. This led to the implementation of projects that were unsustainable, and to resistance and mistrust among community members, which limited people's participation in the projects (Cornwall et al, 2001; Omiya, 2000). This is consistent with the findings of a study of harambee projects by Gachuki (1982) in Embu and Githunguri. Gachuki found that community members complained about harambee projects because the leaders failed to call meetings to discuss the planning and implementation of the projects. The leaders also failed to account for funds contributed, and only one person kept all the project books and records and refused to surrender them when asked to. In conclusion, Gachuki attributes all this to lack of a basic framework of rules and procedures to enhance efficiency and promote people's participation. This has affected the enthusiasm of the poor and chronically poor to participate when called upon.

This discussion shows that although decentralised poverty alleviation strategies in Kenya have had people's participation as a central objective, poor people have not been actively involved in planning and

implementing projects under these strategies. In recognition of this failure, the government established the CDF to alleviate poverty at constituency levels through projects identified and selected by the people concerned. In this sense, the CDF offers poor people and marginalized groups a genuine opportunity to influence decisions about projects that are implemented to alleviate their poverty. Due to questions that have been raised regarding people's mobilisation and participation in CDF projects, this paper will examine how people are mobilised and how they participate in CDF-funded projects.

Participation and Development

In development projects, participation is considered as a means and as an end in itself. As a means, participation involves consulting people at different phases of a project cycle to take account of people's unique local context, during planning as well as implementing projects (Hayward et al, 2004). In this case, participation aims at strengthening the relevance, quality and sustainability of projects (Cornwall, 2000). On the other hand, as an end, participation is a process of enhancing people's capabilities by strengthening their knowledge and skills to control their own development (Nelson and Wright, 1995). From this second perspective, participation is the goal of development, with the potential to develop the strengths and capabilities of individuals or groups to address their development challenges. Notably, the extent of involvement is more limited when participation is conceived as a means. Development literature has also paid attention to political participation. Political participation involves interaction of individuals or organised groups with the state (VeneKlasen et al, 2004). The school of political participation conceives of participation as a means to facilitate political change in favour of the dispossessed (Blackburn and Holland, 1998). In project planning, political participation entails taking part in the selection of members that comprise project-planning committees, contributing ideas in public meetings and gatherings, and influencing decisions on project implementation. In development projects and programs, it has been observed that agencies, individuals, or groups interpret participation

to mean different activities or processes. These activities and processes are usually referred to as typologies of participation.

Typologies of Participation

Typologies of participation refer to different ways in which participation is conceived and is seen to take place in a particular context. The typologies are seen in terms of levels, types or forms of participation. These levels and forms are distinguished based on the distribution of decision-making authority between interventionists and beneficiaries in the key functions of development planning (Leeuwis, 2000). People apply forms of participation differently, which in turn shapes the scope and effectiveness of development projects (Cornwall, 2000). Levels of participation discussed in this section are information transfer, consultative participation, material motivation, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilisation. These levels are significant in terms of how they enable people to participate in development projects, and whether they are able to reach the poor and chronically poor.

Information Transfer involves a process in which a development agency simply informs intended beneficiaries about development projects to be implemented. Decisions about projects and their implementation are usually made by a development agency without involving the people concerned. Thus, in this form of participation, people are involved by merely listening to a development agency regarding what has already been decided on, or what has happened (Pretty, 1995). Since information flow and control are both in a downward direction, the information being shared belongs to external agencies (Lane, 1995). Evidently, since decision-making and control are located elsewhere, this form of participation does not offer the people concerned a voice in project matters affecting them.

Consultative Participation occurs where efforts are made to understand a community's opinions, feelings, beliefs, and perspectives. People participate by answering questions, while experts define problems

through information gathering (Pretty, 1995). Although information flows are more equal with the agency often making use of local knowledge, control is still from the top down (Lane, 1995). Moreover, an external development agency is not obliged to modify projects or programs in the light of people's concerns. Thus, the positioning of control at the top may constrain the voices of the poor from influencing decisions.

Material Motivation occurs where people are involved in a project in exchange for money or payment of some sort. Under this approach, people (sometimes) also participate by contributing resources, but they are not involved in any other way (Pretty, 1995). Seeking participation through material motivation can negatively affect long-term sustainability of a project. This is because it tends to create dependency on outside resources, and people may not support projects when incentives end. Furthermore, this approach does not address the multidimensional nature of poverty. This form of participation is often evident in some development programs where the governments provide subsidies in an attempt to cushion the poor. However, the target groups are largely limited to those who can afford to contribute, leaving out the various segments of the poor.

Functional Participation occurs where beneficiaries play an active role in a particular activity only. Participation is seen as a means to achieve project goals and people may actively share in some of the decision-making, but only after the major decisions have already been made (Pretty, 1995). Beneficiaries are not, however, given any real power to make actual changes to plans already prepared by development agencies. Instead, they simply work in the implementation process with only minor changes to details, if any. This approach resembles some harambee projects where local community members were required to participate by contributing money, labour, and time to implement community projects. Such projects based on cost-sharing arrangements may actually increase inequality among community members, because the contributions required do not take into account varied capabilities of community

members to contribute. In particular, this form of participation does not recognise different categories of poor people.

Interactive Participation is where the beneficiaries play an active and direct role in project planning. It occurs where a group is involved in decision-making, from the assessment phase through monitoring to evaluation. People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions (Pretty, 1995). Under this approach, the people affected by a development project also determine how available resources are used. It enjoys two-way goodwill and cooperation processes, which allow people to take control and develop a stake in maintaining projects. People's needs are considered first and participation is not seen as a way to improve projects, but as an empowering process. This type of participation has the potential opportunities to voiceless and powerless people to make decisions that improve their livelihoods.

Under *Self Mobilisation*, people initiate their own projects. Usually, a community controls decision-making and relies on its own resources and members for support. In some cases, external development agencies facilitate and support people's efforts to carry out their projects. People may contact external institutions for guidance and resources, but they decide how these resources are utilised (Pretty, 1995). Both information and control flows are primarily upward from a community to an agency (Lane, 1995). This form of participation has the potential to empower the chronically poor to have a voice in development projects.

From the foregoing analysis, it becomes clear that not all types of participation give poor people a voice in development projects. Pretty (1995) argues that low levels of participation like awareness raising, information sharing, and consultation are superficial and have no lasting impact on people's lives, while higher levels of participation like functional, interactive and self mobilisation approaches have the potential to make a difference in people's lives through the empowerment of its participants. It is therefore important to specify the

type of participation used in relation to project planning in order to clarify intentions and avoid confusion about the form of participation used in a given development context. For this paper, the crucial question is how participation in CDF projects takes place, and whether it gives voice to the poor and chronically poor people.

Theoretical Framework

The literature reviewed demonstrates that the poor and chronically poor have hardly been mobilised or actively involved in planning and implementation of development projects under previous decentralised poverty alleviation strategies in Kenya. It further reveals that participation takes different forms and that not all these forms give voice to poor and chronically poor people in development projects. However, questions about people's mobilisation and their participation under the CDF have not been adequately answered. These are how do people obtain information about development projects, and how are they mobilised? How do people participate in development projects? What factors constrain the mobilisation and participation of chronically poor people in development projects? This paper proposes to employ participatory development and social power analytical frameworks to answer these questions more adequately.

Participatory Development Approach

Participatory development refers to a process through which an individual or groups identify their development priorities and select projects that address these needs through inclusive dialogue and consensus (Jones and SPEECH, 2001). Built on a belief that citizens can be trusted to shape their own future, participatory development uses local decision-making and capacities of concerned individuals or groups to define and steer the nature of development interventions. The key argument of this approach is that unless development projects are informed by the realities of those who benefit from them, they will rarely succeed. This approach is based on the notion of a "people-first" or "people-centred" orientation to social change and development. Hence, it aims at enhancing understanding between the government or

development agencies and beneficiaries regarding projects to be implemented.

Participatory development is based on number of principles. First, local knowledge plays a critical role in the effectiveness of development projects (Chambers, 2005). It therefore aims at preventing imposition of priorities by an external agency that does not consider the local realities. Second, it is essential to use local capacities to define the nature of a development intervention and how to steer it. This is important because citizens at a local level should be entrusted with the responsibility of shaping their own future (Cornwall, 2000). Third, development agencies or groups should play the role of facilitating development planning rather than controlling the process (Chambers, 1997). This means that the role of development agencies is providing an arena, methods and techniques, which people can utilise to improve their well-being (Blackburn and Holland, 1998). Fourth, appropriate institutions are essential in enabling people to participate in development project planning (Mosse, 1995). Appropriate institutions provide a suitable framework within which people interact with development agencies in their effort to plan development projects.

As these principles demonstrate, participation of people in development projects can be constrained by the way in which project planning activities and processes are initiated and facilitated or controlled. For example, when those in position of authority unfairly influence project planning, participation of others is hindered. This is experienced mostly when leaders in charge of project planning influence who participates in a project and how this participation occurs. Participatory development also implies that participation of people in development projects can be constrained by the nature of local institutions. Inappropriate institutions could privilege participation of some people at the expense of others in the community. It is also possible that in the absence of appropriate formal local institutions to facilitate participation, informal networks used could be restrictive to those outside the network of CDF committees.

However, the participatory development approach does not explain how different categories of people, including the chronically poor, participate in development projects, and how the process of participation actually occurs. In addition, although participatory development argues that people affected by development projects should participate in planning them, it does not explain how people are mobilised for the process. Further, the appropriateness of these methods to mobilise chronically poor people is not clear from this perspective. Thus, there is a need to examine mobilisation and participation from the perspective of a social power approach.

Social Power Approach

Although the concept of power is contentious, it has been used extensively to analyse participation of people in development projects (Blackburn and Holland, 1998; Few, 2002; Nelson and Wright, 1995). These authors view power as multidimensional, dynamic, the capacity to enable social change or maintain status quo, an outcome of relations between individuals or groups in society, and as something which can be expressed in visible and hidden forms. This paper is based on the notion of social power, i.e. an expression of how power is exercised in human relations. Social power refers to the potential ability of an agent or actor to influence a target to bring about outcomes (Bruins, 1999). The analytical framework of the social power approach employed in this paper incorporates five elements. According to VeneKlasen and Miller (2007), power is, firstly, dynamic and relational rather than absolute and is exercised in social, economic, and political relations between individuals and groups. Secondly, it is unequally distributed in society with some individuals or groups having greater control over the sources of power, while others have little or no control. Thirdly, the extent of power of an individual or group is related to the number of different kinds of resources they can access and control. Fourthly, power is articulated through complex mechanisms involving actions that draw on resources including alliance formation, enrolment, manipulation, negotiation, and exclusion (Few, 2002). Lastly, social groups can employ

multiple sources of power and a combination of tactics to influence outcomes of social processes.

Based on these five elements, social power comes to play in human relations due to contacts and communication within and between actors in society (Bruins, 1999). It is through such social interactions that it becomes possible to influence or to be influenced by others. Due to interaction between people, institutions and social structures, some material spaces become particular sites of contestation. In addition, social power as capacity power may become concentrated in some institutions and agents (Few, 2002). Project planning at the constituency level provides an arena for contestation between different stakeholders. Project planning brings together actors who seek to advance diverse interests through planning activities and processes. Since spaces for participation are not neutral but a social construction, some actors will influence others by controlling the institutional framework within which project planning takes place. Control of institutions in turn relates to the number and kinds of economic and social resources an individual or a group can access, control, and employ. These resources, which act as sources of power, include money and wealth, position of authority, access to state apparatus, possession of knowledge and information, rhetorical skills, and social networks and connections (Few, 2002). Thus, resources provide a source of social power. Actors who have greater control of resources are more likely to participate in development projects compared to those with fewer or no resources. Hence, people who are able to employ various resources may influence who is mobilised and who participates in development projects, and who is excluded from the process. Consequently, failure by some people to be actively involved in development projects results from interplay of factors linked to the influence exercised by others. Actors may also employ various tactics including alliance formation, enrolment, persuasion, manipulation, setting the agenda, or outright exclusion.

Though the social power approach points out that social power relations influence people's mobilisation and participation in development

projects, it does however, not explain how mobilisation and participation actually occur. Furthermore, it does not explain mobilisation methods used in project planning and their appropriateness for chronically poor people. Moreover, diverse multidimensional factors that constrain chronically poor people's participation are not clear. Because of these gaps, this paper proposes to examine how people obtain information about development projects and how they are mobilised and other questions like who participates and how do people participate in development projects? What factors constrain the mobilisation and participation of the chronically poor people in development projects? Analysis in this paper will be based on three presuppositions. First, when people have access to information about development projects, they are more likely to be mobilised. Second, people who have few resources are less likely to participate. Lastly, socially excluded people are less likely to access information and be mobilised to participate in development projects.

Description of the Study Location

This study is based on data gathered in Ibeno Location, Keumbu Division, Nyaribari Chache Constituency, Kisii District, in the period of August and September 2006. Ibeno Location comprises five Sub-Locations namely, Kirwa, Kabosi, Nyamagwa, Kerera and Chirichiro. The choice of Kisii district was because of the researcher's knowledge of the area and the language.

Agriculture, which employs 85 percent of the labour force, is the main economic activity in Kisii district, due to fertile soils, reliable rainfall and moderate temperatures (Kenya, 2002). Cash crops grown include coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sugarcane, and horticultural crops, while food crops include maize (the main staple), beans, millet, sorghum, cassava, Irish and sweet potatoes. Dairy farming is also practiced. Because of high population density, farming is mainly subsistence farming, with the low average size of only 1.2 acres per farm.

In 1999, Nyaribari Chache, had a population of 106, 920 out of which 60, 996 (i.e. 57%) are absolutely poor (Kenya, 2001). The constituency ranked 114 out of the 210 constituencies in the country poverty index (CBS and MPND, 2003). Of the 8,553 people consisting of 3,512 households in Ibeno location, 56 percent (9,736 individuals) were recorded as absolutely poor (CBS and MPND, 2003).

Leadership and politics in Nyaribari Chache constituency are interwoven in patterns of patronage and clanship. Ombongi (2001) has pointed out that political processes in the constituency are closely related to clans and sub clans. Because CDF committees in constituencies includes political and other leaders, clanship and patronage might be a means of mobilising people for political and development processes.

Methodology of the Study

Sample Selection

This study employed probability and non-probability techniques. Probability sampling involved a survey that covered 150 household heads from Ibeno location. The study population consisted of all household heads from Ibeno location. Sample selection involved a multi-stage sampling procedure with enumeration areas in the location as primary sampling units. The secondary sampling unit was households within enumeration areas. Multi-stage sampling procedure made it easier to develop a sampling frame because only secondary units i.e. households, were involved. Ibeno location is divided into 41 enumeration areas according to the records that the researcher obtained from the Kisii District Statistical Office. The first stage was selection of 14 enumerations areas out of the 41 enumeration areas in Ibeno through simple random sampling. The number of sampled enumeration areas was arrived at purposively based on resource and time constraints. The 14 enumeration areas selected, sub locations where they are located and the number of households is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Enumeration areas sampled for this study

No.	Name of Enumeration Area	Sub-location	Number of households
1	Nyamagwa I	Nyamagwa	52
2	Inani and Gesere	Kerera	66
3	Esamba	Chirichiro	69
4	Mokomoni	Kabosi	73
5	Omosocho I and II	Kirwa	80
6	Ibeno I	Kirwa	81
7	Kenyenya, Engoto and Ebate	Kirwa	95
8	Nyankororo	Kerera	98
9	Egetare	Kabosi	102
10	Nyamecheo and Ebate	Chirichiro	114
11	Omwobo and Omoyo	Kabosi	115
12	Nyanturago	Kabosi	125
13	Riangari and Gucha	Nyamagwa	127
14	Kerera I and II	Kerera	155
Total number of households			1362

Source: Village elders from each enumeration area

Thereafter, a sampling frame was generated by listing all heads of households in each of the 14 selected enumeration areas. To generate the sampling frame, the researcher travelled to each of the sampled enumeration areas and listed the names of household heads with the assistance of village elders. Developing a sampling frame was easy because in all the cases, enumeration areas were equivalent to villages and each village had an elder who knew all households and heads of households in their village.

In addition, to ensure that each enumeration area was fairly represented, the study sample of 150 households was allocated to the 14 enumeration areas proportional to the total number of households in each enumeration area (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 : Enumeration areas and sample allocation

No.	Enumeration Area	Sample Allocation (households)
1	Mokomoni	8
2	Nyankororo	11
3	Egetare	11
4	Esamba	8
5	Inani and Gesere	7
6	Kerera I and II	17
7	Nyamagwa I	6
8	Nyanturago	14
9	Omosocho I and II	9
10	Kenyenya, Engoto and Ebate	10
11	Omwobo and Omoyo	6
12	Riangari and Gucha	14
13	Ibeno I	9
14	Nyamecheo and Ebate	13
Total (sample size)		150

The second stage involved sampling of households. The households were selected using simple random sampling, based on a table of random numbers, to ensure that each household had an equal chance of being selected. This was achieved by listing and assigning all household heads in an enumeration area a two or three digit sequential number. This was followed by identifying a starting point in a random table by randomly opening a page and dropping a pencil on the page with eyes closed. The number where the pencil pointed was taken as a starting random point. The direction of selection was determined as moving from top to bottom and left to right. Lastly, by use of the first two or three digits of the first random number as appropriate, the numbers matching those assigned to household heads were selected. This was repeated until the required number of households in each enumeration area was selected and a sample size of 150 was attained. On the ground, village elders identified sampled household heads. Respondents were either household heads or senior members of a household who could provide relevant information in those cases were heads of households were not available.

In addition, non-probability sampling was used to select respondents for focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and case histories through a purposive process. In selecting focus groups, a discussion was held with the area chief who helped to identify all the registered community development groups in the location, from which some were selected. The focus groups selected were the Constituency Development Fund Committee (CDFC), Locational Development Committee (LDC), Ibeno Women Group, Ibeno Location village elders, and the Kirwa Youth Group. These groups were selected because they were involved in development activities in the location and represented diverse demographic profile in the Location. The chief helped in identifying key informants, i.e. persons with experience and knowledge of CDF project planning. The key informants selected were the area councillor, two assistant chiefs, and nine opinion leaders from the location.

Case histories involved in-depth discussion with ten chronically poor households purposively selected. For this study, chronically poor households were identified in two steps. The first step involved establishing characteristics of chronically households through discussion with diverse groups in the location. These groups were students at Ibeno secondary school, a group of village elders from Ibeno location, a group of women from Nyanturago market, a group of men at Nyabisabo market, a group of young men at Rigena shopping centre, and a self-help women's group from Kerera village. The second step involved identifying ten households that exhibited these characteristics with the help of village elders from the location.

Data Collection
Data was collected from primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was obtained from published books and journals, online databases and resources, and from CDF project records at the Nyaribari Chache CDF office. Information about CDF allocation and disbursement, proposed projects, funded and implemented projects were obtained from CDF project records at the Nyaribari Chache Constituency. The desk review

involved an extensive analysis of issues relating to participatory poverty alleviation through decentralised strategies in Kenya, and the extent to which they have involved the poor, participation and local development, CDF allocation and management, and social power relations and participatory development analytical perspectives.

Primary data collection involved quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data was gathered by means of a survey questionnaire administered to selected household heads on a face-to-face basis. The data that was collected included the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents; the methods used to mobilise people and their appropriateness to the poor; and how people participate in projects funded by the CDF.

Qualitative data collection involved in-depth interviews with purposively selected key informants, focus groups, and case histories of chronically poor people. Focus group discussions were used to gather detailed information from five selected groups namely, the CDFC, the Ibeno Women Group, village elders at the location, the LDC and the Kirwa Youth Group. This helped to generate information about the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the chronically poor, methods used to mobile people for development project, how people participate in development projects, and factors that constrain participation of chronically poor in development projects.

Furthermore, discussions were held with nine key informants. These were the area councilor, the chief, the assistant chief of the Kirwa sub-location, the assistant chief of the Nyamagwa sub location, and five opinion leaders (three women and two men). These interviews with key informants served to gather data on actors in CDF projects, socio-economic characteristics of people who participate in CDF projects and methods used to mobilise people during CDF project planning. This generated in-depth knowledge of CDF project planning in the location.

Finally, case histories, involving in-depth interviews with ten purposively selected chronically poor people were used to collect data. The information collected included socio-economic and demographic background of the households, knowledge of the CDF, and experiences in CDF mobilisation and participation.

Data Analysis
Data gathered through the survey was cleaned, open-ended questions were coded, processed, and entered into a Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) data editor to create a database. The analysis involved generating frequency distributions, graphics, and cross tabulations to explore how people are mobilised and participate in development projects. Themes were generated from the data obtained through focus group discussions and key informants and used in analysing how people are mobilised and how they participate in development projects funded under the CDF.

Individual case histories were documented focusing on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of chronically poor households. Factors that constrain mobilisation and participation of the chronically poor in development projects were also generated.

Organisation of the Paper
This study consists of seven chapters. After the current introduction, chapter two discusses CDF management, regulations, and challenges that relate on how people are mobilised and how they participate. Chapter 3 analyses the relationship between socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents interviewed and their poverty. Chapter 4 examines how people are mobilised in development projects. It discusses people's knowledge and awareness of the CDF, methods through which they access information about development projects, and appropriateness of the methods to different categories of people in the community, based on income. Chapter 5 analyses how people participate in development projects. It looks at the role, constitution and functioning of CDF institutions at the local level and how they influence

participation of people in development projects. It also analyses use of public meetings/gatherings to achieve people's participation. In doing so, it presents insight on who participates in development projects and how participation occurs. Chapter 6 analyses factors that constrain mobilisation and participation of the chronically poor based on a case-history approach. It examines the intricate relationship between some chronic poverty transmission mechanisms and people's mobilisation and participation in development projects. The mechanisms discussed in this section are clusters of deprivation, absence of initial assets, gender relations, persistent health shocks, and mental disability. Chapter 7 summarises the study and presents conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONSTITUENCY DEVELOPMENT FUND

Introduction

The CDF was established through the CDF Act, 2003 amended in 2007 and legislation of CDF regulations in 2004 (Kenya, 2003, 2004, 2007). The CDF is a decentralised fund conceived in response to the general failure of previous approaches to development planning in Kenya (Mwalulu and Irungu, 2004). It arose out of the concern that previous development funds lacked an appropriate institutional framework and were allocated irregularly, inequitably, were misused and did not achieve their intended objectives (Mapesa and Kibua, 2006). The CDF was also established to relieve members of parliament and other leaders from undue harambee obligations (Kenya, 2005). This was because Members of Parliament (MPs) had abused harambee as a means of mobilising resources to attain development objectives. The operationalisation of CDF made constituencies units of development project planning and implementation.

The Fund aims at alleviating poverty in constituencies (CBS and MPND, 2005; Kenya, 2005). The Fund is allocated to community projects to ensure that many people benefit from project activities. Projects to be funded are identified at a location through community meetings according to section 23(3) of the CDF Act. Identification of projects at the grassroots is aimed at promoting project ownership and enhancing sustainability of projects by using local information (Kenya, 2005). The CDF therefore looks at the participation of people as a means of attaining effectiveness of development projects. Thus, under CDF planning, the voice of poor people is assumed to be heard during consultations in public meetings and community gatherings.

Management and Administration of the CDF

The CDF Board administers the CDF at the national level while the District Project Committees (DPC) and the Constituencies Development Fund Committees (CDFC) manage the fund in constituencies (Kenya, 2007). The CDF Board consists of a chief executive officer approved by parliament, permanent secretaries of finance and planning, the attorney general, the clerk of the national assembly and other professionals appointed by the minister of planning. The Board examines and approves project proposals, disburses funds to constituencies, examines annual reports and returns from constituencies, evaluates and takes action on complaints and disputes emanating from the operations of the CDF (Kenya, 2007).

The CDFC is made up of the elected MP, two councillors, one district officer, two religious organisations representatives, two men and two women representatives, a youth representative, an NGO representative, and a Constituency Fund Account Manager. The CDFC receives priority projects from locations and decides those to be funded, allocates Funds to these projects, communicates information about CDF projects in constituencies, and monitors and evaluates projects that are funded (CDFMS, 2007; Kenya, 2003, 2007)). The CDF account managers are the custodians of all assets and liabilities in the constituencies. The managers countersign all payment vouchers, prepare and maintain accounting documents and keep all records relating to the Fund at the constituency. In addition, the account managers co-ordinate the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of CDF projects; prepare community action plans, budgets, and strategic plans, and collaborate with the development partners and departments in the districts to avoid duplication and overlaps in project planning and implementation (Kenya, 2007).

The CDFC works with the DPC. The DPC is composed of MPs, mayors/chairs of local authorities, the District Commissioner (DC), the District Development Officer (DDO), a community representative, District Accountant and District Heads of relevant departments. The role

of the DPC is to countercheck project proposals put forward by the CDFC in the district in order to avoid duplication and coordinate the implementation of funded projects together with the CDF account managers.

An elected MP constitutes and convenes the CDFC. MPs also renew or replace members of the CDFC after three years, the stipulated time or whenever a vacancy arises. According to the CDF Act, MPs should convene consultative meetings at each location of the constituency at least once every two years to generate development projects priority list for funding, chair the CDFC, and represent the constituency in the DPC (Kenya, 2007). The MPs also submit approved projects in their constituencies to the CDF Board.

CDF Allocation and Disbursement

The CDF Board allocates funds to constituencies based on established criteria. The Fund consists of an annual budgetary allocation equivalent to 2.5% of all the government ordinary revenue (Kenya, 2003, 2007). Three quarters of the total allocation to the Fund is divided equally among all constituencies, while the remaining quarter is allocated to various constituencies, based on their weighted contribution to national poverty (Kenya, 2005). A maximum 15% of each constituency's annual allocation may be used for an education bursary scheme. Up to the 2008/09 fiscal year, over Kshs. 33 billion has been allocated to the Fund, out of which Kshs. 1.26 billion was allocated in 2003/2004, Kshs 5.43 billion in 2004/05, Kshs. 7.03 billion in 2005/06, Kshs. 9.74 in 2006/07, Kshs. 9.8 billion in 2007/08 and Kshs 9.8 billion in 2008/09 (Figure 2.1). This figure illustrates how the amounts allocated to the Fund increased sharply between the 2003/04 fiscal year and 2006/07 fiscal year, but stabilised thereafter. During the 2003/04 fiscal year, each constituency received an equal allocation of Kshs 6 million because the criteria for allocation had not been finalized (Kenya, 2005).

Figure 2.1: Amount Allocated to the CDF (2003 -2009 K.Shs billions)
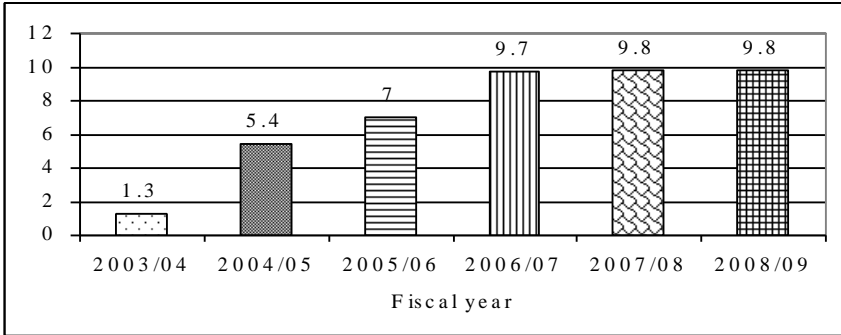
Source: Kenya government CDF website
(http://www.cdf.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2164&It
emid=85)

Figure 2.1 also shows that in the years that followed, wide variation in annual allocation to different constituencies is evident. This is due the allocation of funds to constituencies partly based on their contribution to national poverty. As a result, constituencies that have a higher contribution to national poverty receive more funds compared to those with lower poverty contribution to national poverty. In the 2004/05 fiscal year, for example, Bahari constituency received K.Shs. 33 million, the highest allocation, while Kisumu Town East received K.Shs. 20 million, the lowest allocation. Consequently, over the period between 2003/04 and 2008/09, the accumulated allocation to different constituencies varies significantly. For instance, by 2007/08 fiscal year, Bahari had received a total allocation of K.Shs. 204 million, while Mvita was allocated K.Shs. 125 million over the same period.

CDF Disbursement and Projects in Nyaribari Chache Constituency
Nyaribari Chache has been allocated funds totalling K.Shs 203 million by the 2008/09 fiscal year. During the 2003/04 fiscal year, the constituency was allocated K.Shs 6 million. Further, the constituency was allocated K.Shs 25.7 million during 2004/05 fiscal year, K.Shs 33.2

million during 2005/06 fiscal year, K.Shs 46.0 million during 2006/07 fiscal year, K.Shs. 46.3 million during the 2007/08 fiscal year, and K.Shs 46.3 million during the 2008/09 fiscal year (http://www.cdf.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2045&Itemid=70).

Figure 2.2: Amount allocated to Nyaribari Chache (K.Shs millions 2003-2009)
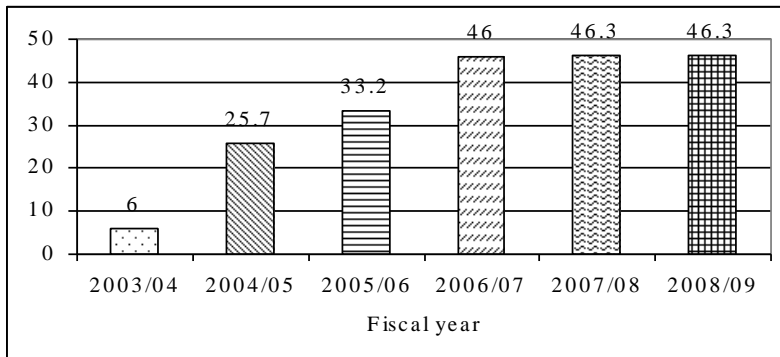
Source: Computed from the Kenya government CDF website (http://www.cdf.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2045&Itemid=70)

Figure 2.2 shows that funds allocated to the constituency increased rapidly between 2003/04 and 2007/08, with the biggest leap between 2003/04 and 2004/05 when allocation more than quadrupled. These funds have been allocated to projects mainly in education, electricity, education bursary; water and health (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Allocation to various sectors in the constituency (K.Shs) - (2003 - 2007)

Sector	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	Total
Education	2,166,000	6,401,450	14,440,000	18,998,000	42,005,450
Electricity	0	12,200,000	8,400,000	4,278,000	24,878,000

Bursary	0	2,568,366	3,321,685	4,000,000	9,890,051
Water	2,100,000	650,000	3,075,000	3,650,000	9,475,000
Health	1, 034,000	1,300,000	900,000	2,873,000	6,107,000
Emergency	0	1,133,333	1,673,481	2,318,300	5,125,114
CDF Office	370,000	0	0	3,000,000	3,370,000
Office administration (3%)	180,000	730,510	996,505	1,310,926	3,217,941
Police Lines	0	0	0	1,187,610	1,187,610
Roads & bridges	0	500,000	160,180	600,000	1,260,180
Design, M&E	0	0	250,000	920,000	1,170,000
Tree Nurseries	0	0	0	920,000	920,000
Training of the CDFC	0	0	0	760,000	760,000
Coffee Societies	0	0	0	800,000	800,000
Cattle Dips	0	0	0	400,000	400,000
Administration Dept.	150,000	0	0	0	150,000

Source: CDF records, Nyaribari Chache Constituency Office

The amounts allocated to different sectors or project areas in Table 2.1 were used for various projects. In the education sector, the amount was used to purchase books, construct classrooms and other structures in primary and secondary schools like laboratories and libraries. Electricity projects aimed at supplying electric power to market centres, households, schools, and health facilities. Water projects aimed at either rehabilitating public water springs or supporting piped water supply to households. Health projects involved the construction of staff houses in health centres, repairs of damaged buildings or purchase of other equipments like water tanks.

Further examination of allocations to different sectors shows that education and electricity were allocated 60 percent of the total funds over

the period between 2003/04 to 2006/07, more than other categories combined.

Figure 2.3: Percentage allocation to different sectors (2003-2007)
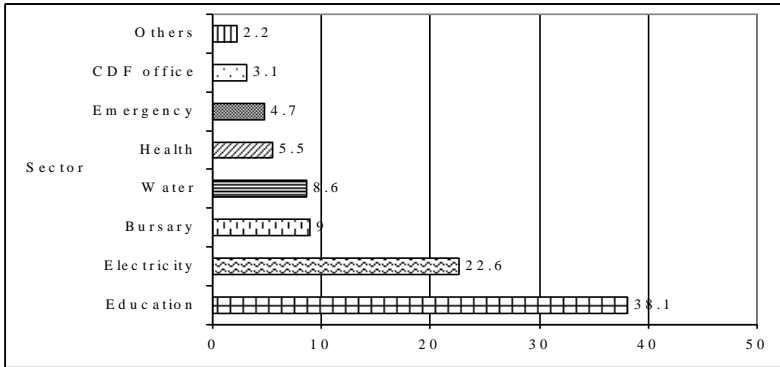
Source: CDF records, Nyaribari Chache Constituency Office

One issue that arises from Figure 2.3 is allocation of funds to electricity projects that received over 20 percent of the total allocation. Households, which benefited from electric supply, were expected to contribute part of the installation cost (K.Shs. 16,500). This meant that relatively few people in the constituency could benefit from electricity supply, because more than half of people in the constituency, and indeed Ibeno location, fall below the poverty line. This demonstrates how projects can actually exacerbate inequality at the local level.

Projects that have been implemented at Ibeno location include a laboratory at Matunwa Secondary School; water tanks and staff quarters at Ibeno Health Centre; Nyakwana Dispensary; construction of classrooms at Ibeno, Ibeno COG and Nyakebako primary schools; rehabilitation of several water springs; Kerera water supply project; and electricity projects at Kabosi, Kirwa, Nyabisabo and Nyamagwa. Some funds were also allocated to students in secondary schools, colleges, and universities as bursaries.

Challenges Facing the CDF

Several concerns have been raised since the Fund was established. It has been pointed out that local politicians, especially MPs, may dominate or unfairly influence project planning and implementation because they are the ones who appoint CDFC members (Nduva, 2005). Due to this, there is a possibility that development projects could be skewed in favour of individual interests or in favour of certain areas/clans in a constituency considered to be the strongholds of particular MPs. It is also possible that MPs could exclude areas or clans with divergent views from representation in the CDFC (Mapesa and Kibua, 2006).

Media reports have revealed numerous concerns over CDF planning and implementation. For example, there have been allegations over misuse of funds by constituency committees. The CDF is seen to provide opportunities for corruption so that in some cases courts have frozen bank accounts of certain constituencies, due to lack of financial probity or poor planning. This has led to conflicts between leaders and community members over the planning and the implementation of projects. Hence, the public has developed negative sentiments concerning CDF project planning and implementation (Mapesa and Kibua, 2006).

Another concern is that the CDF Act, 2003, CDF regulations, the CDF Act (amended) 2007 and other policy documents do not specify how local stakeholders are mobilised to participate in development projects. The use of the concept 'community' in CDF policy documents does not recognise differences in people's socio-economic and demographic characteristics, which might affect their mobilisation and participation. It is therefore not clear how people of different socio-economic and demographic characteristics are mobilised and how they participate in development projects.

In 2005, the Constituency Fund Committee (CFC) conducted a review of the CDF and suggested changes that would improve its planning and implementation. In its report, the CFC proposed among other things, to

formalize a system of receiving and dealing with complaints in project planning, to increase the amount of the fund to 7.5%, and to precisely define a system and authority to allocate funds (CFC, 2005). However, the CFC report does not address questions of how to achieve mobilisation and participation and constrains that chronically poor people face in the process. Furthermore, although the CDF Act, amended, 2007 provides a framework for solving complaints, and conflicts arising from CDF project planning and implementation, it does not show how people are mobilised to participate in development projects. The amended CDF Act (amended) 2007 also retains the power of MPs in CDF project planning and implementation. Hence, even after guidelines of the amended Act are implemented, problems to do with mobilisation and participation of people remain. This may continue to undermine the planning and implementation of the projects under the Fund.

Further, a study by Mapesa and Kibua (2006) found that there are low levels of awareness of the Fund; institutions for decision-making are weak; and community participation in project selection, execution, selection of committees, and monitoring and evaluation is inadequate. They also argue that implementation of projects under the CDF has the potential of introducing the politics of reward and punishment at the local level. Particularly, areas that oppose a particular MP may be excluded from the CDC, due to the power that MPs have to appoint committee members. The study does not, however, examine the mobilisation of poor and chronically poor people and their participation in CDF projects. In addition, although the study recognizes that the influence of 'powerful local notables' in project planning, the authors do not assess the social power relations entangled in project planning and how such relations induce or constrain people's participation in CDF projects.

Generally, studies have not discussed how poor people, and the chronically poor in particular, are mobilised and how they participate in development projects funded by the CDF. This lack of knowledge

hampers the effectiveness of poverty alleviation strategies. The aim of this paper is examine how people are mobilised, how they participate in development projects, and factors that constrain the mobilisation and participation of the chronically poor people. The questions guiding this study are how do people access information about development projects and how are they mobilised? How do people participate in such projects? What constrains the mobilisation and participation of the chronically poor in development projects?

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS AND POVERTY

Introduction

Poverty is complex and multidimensional. Conceived as multidimensional, poverty is characterised by social, economic and demographic attributes. From a social power relations approach, the mobilisation and participation of people in development projects is related to their social, economic and demographic characteristics. This is similar to the participatory development approach that emphasizes recognition of people's socio-economic and demographic characteristics as a basis for building their capacity through participation. Thus, a combination of people's socio-economic and demographic characteristics explains how they are mobilised and participate in development projects.

This chapter examines the linkage between socio-economic and demographic characteristics and poverty. Income is used as an indicator of household poverty. For this purpose, income is divided into three categories and cross-tabulated with other socio-economic and demographic characteristics. The characteristics examined are age, household size, education, health seeking behaviour, effectiveness of strategies of coping with shocks, membership in community groups, occupation, land size, tea acreage, sufficiency of food harvested to meet household needs, number of cattle and type of breed, durable household goods, and type of dwelling and its structural condition. As will be shown, establishing this linkage is important for analysing how people of different income levels are mobilised and participate in development projects.

Income of Respondents and Poverty

Almost all respondents (99%) obtained some income from farming. Other sources of income were off-farm business (23%), remittance

(11%), wages (9%), salaries (7%) and pensions (1%). The minimum and maximum incomes were K.Shs 100 and K.Shs 23,000 respectively, resulting in a range of K.Shs 22,900. The average monthly income was K.Shs 1,657 with a standard deviation of K.Shs 2,755. Most households earned K.Shs 300 monthly, while the median income was K.Shs. 800. Further, over three quarters of the respondents earned K.Shs 1,500 or less, while 13 percent earned between K.Shs 1,501 and 3,000. Only 9 percent of the respondents earned K.Shs 3,000 or more as figure 3.1 shows.

Figure 3.1: Levels of total monthly income (K.Shs)
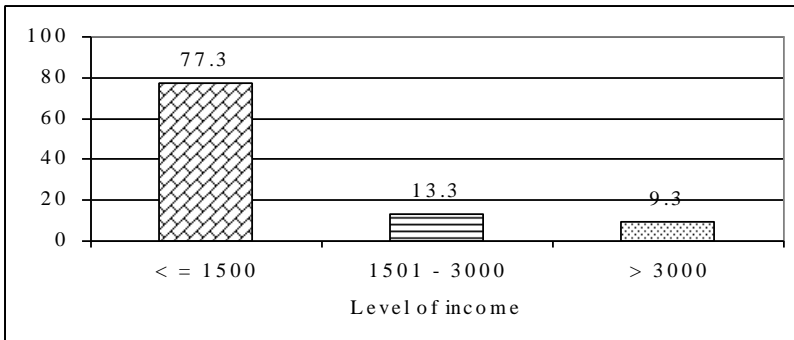
Source: Field Survey, 2006

Figure 3.1 illustrates the variation in income among respondents, an evidence of their diverse socio-economic and demographic characteristics. It also shows a high level of income inequality among respondents. Since income provides the means to acquire goods and services that improve well-being, it would be difficult for most households to meet their food and non-food requirements from their low incomes.

Household income also varied across the five sub locations covered by this study. A cross tabulation of income and the sub locations covered illustrated in Figure 3.2 shows that at least 70 percent of respondents from each of the five sub locations earned K.Shs 1,500 or less. In

addition, Kabosi Sub Location had a higher percentage of respondents who earned over Kshs 3,000 compared to the other sub locations while in Chirichiro, no respondent who earned more than K.Shs 3,000.

Figure 3.2: Levels of income of respondents in different sub locations (%)
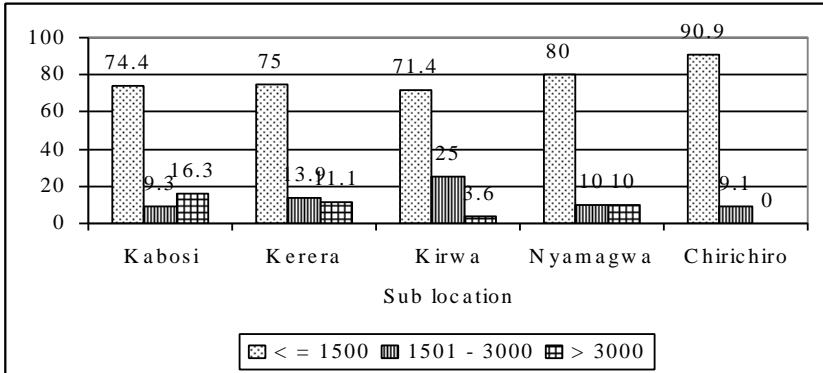
Source: Field Survey, 2006

Figure 3.2 implies that although income earned in the five sub locations varied, most respondents earned low incomes. This means that most respondents in each of the sub locations are likely to be poor in terms of their income. It also means that the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of respondents vary across the five sub locations, which might influence how they are mobilised and participate in development projects.

Demographic Characteristics

Age
The 150 respondents interviewed consisted of 57 percent men and 43 percent women. The minimum age was 20 years, while the maximum was 83 years. The mean age was 44 years and the most common age was 28 years. Figure 3.3 illustrates that although the ages of respondents varied, most (65%) were between 31 and 60 years of age.

Figure 3.3: Age distribution of respondents (%)
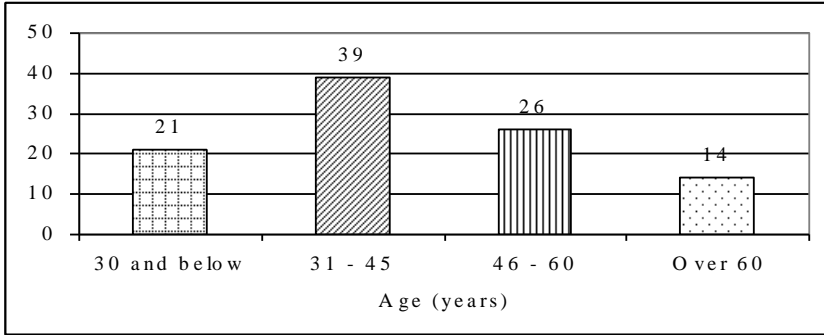
Source: Field Survey, 2006

Further, an analysis of the relationship between income and age is illustrated in Figure 3.4 below. This analysis shows that in all age categories, at least 67 percent of respondents earned K.Shs 1,500 or less. It also shows that a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 3,000 or higher were aged between 46 and 60 years. Further, the proportion of respondents aged 46 and 60 years who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less was relatively smaller, compared to the proportion of respondents of other age categories who earned at the same level of income.

Figure 3.4: Relationship between income (K.Shs) and age (years)
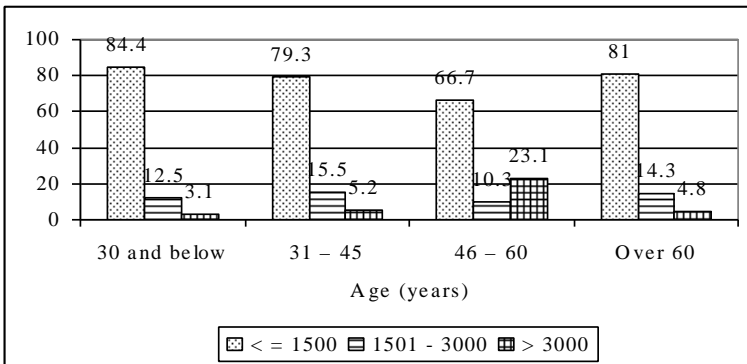
Source: Field Survey, 2006

This analysis shows that income varies slightly within respondents of different age categories. Thus, a higher percentage of the youth (30 years and below) and the old (over 60 years) is more likely to be income poor than those who are between 46 and 60 years of age.

Household Size
The households covered by the study had a minimum of two members and a maximum of nine members. The mean household size is nearly six, with a standard deviation of about two. Most households had six members. In addition, most respondents had households of between four and six members (73%).

Table 3.1: Household size

Household size	Frequency	Percentage
1 - 3	1	0.7
4 - 6	109	72.7
7 - 9	40	26.7
Total	150	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006

This study examined the relationship household size and income (Figure 3.5). This analysis shows that at different income levels, the proportion of respondents from households with different sizes does not differ a lot.

Figure 3.5: Relationship between household size and income
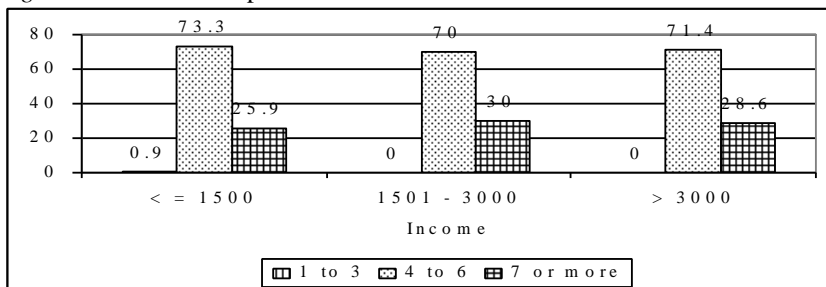
Source: Field Survey, 2006

This could be interpreted to mean that household size does not indicate whether a household head earns higher income of low income. Elsewhere, a study by the KNBS & MPND (2007) found that the incidence of poverty, the depth, and severity of poverty were highest for households with seven or more members in both urban and rural areas. The difference between findings in this study and the one by KNBS & MPND could be because this study only uses income and is based on a small sample size while the other study uses household consumption to measure poverty and is based on a larger sample size.

Marital Status
Regarding marital status, slightly over 90 percent of the respondents were married. The rest were either widowed (6%) or divorced/separated (1%), as shown in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6: Marital status
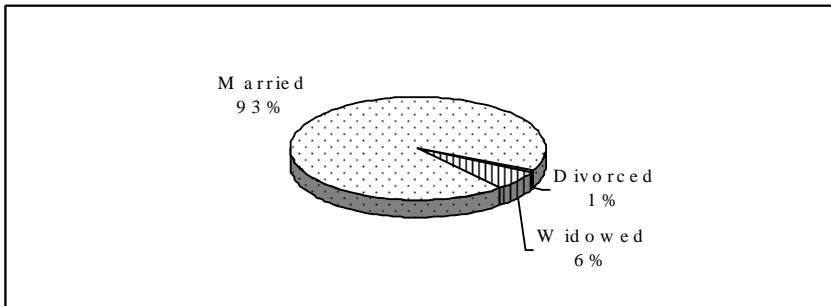
Source: Field survey, 2006

Due to a small number of respondents who were either widowed or divorced/separated, no further analysis of the relationship between income and marital status was undertaken.

Religion
Respondents interviewed belonged to three different denominations. Slightly over 53 percent are Seventh Day Adventists. The remainder

consists of 27 percent Protestants and 20 percent Roman Catholics (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Respondents by denomination (%)
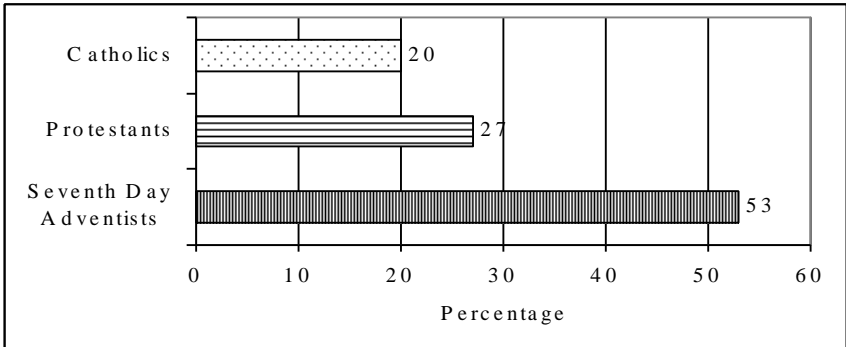
To establish a relationship between religion and income, a cross tabulation of the two variables was done (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Relationship between income and denomination

Income (Kshs)	Denomination		
	Seventh Day Adventist	Protestant	Roman Catholic
< = 1500	75.0	72.5	90.0
1501 - 3000	17.5	10.0	6.7
> 3000	7.5	17.5	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

This analysis shows that over 70 percent of respondents in all denominations earned K.Shs 1,500 or less while only a few respondents from each denomination earned K.Shs 3,000 or more. It also shows that a higher percentage of Catholics earned K.Shs 1,500 or less compared to other denominations, a higher percentage of Seventh Day Adventists

earned between K.Shs 1,501 and K.Shs 3,000 compared to other denominations while a higher percentage of Protestants earned more than K.Shs 3,000 compared to other denominations. From these figures, it is not clear whether income would widely vary among respondents of different denominations. Thus, poor people are likely to be found among members of all denominations.

Social Characteristics

Education
Over half of the respondents interviewed had completed their primary education while over a quarter had secondary education or higher. Only a few had completed college/university education (7%), while 14 percent had no formal education.

Figure 3.8: Level of education of the respondents (%)
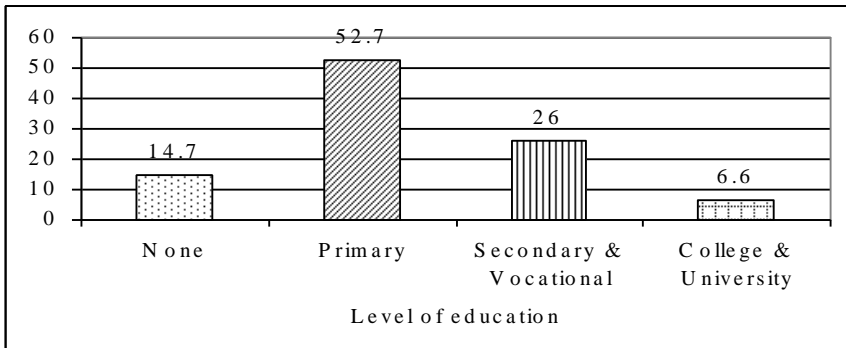
Source: Field survey, 2006

Further analysis through cross-tabulation illustrates that all respondents without education earned a monthly income of K.Shs 1,500 or less. On the contrary, 90 percent of respondents with college/university education earned more than K.Shs 3,000. Further, a very higher percentage (91%) of respondents who had attained primary level of education earned K.Shs

1,000 or less compared to those with primary education who earned K.Shs 1,501 or higher.

Figure 3.9: Relationship between income and level of education
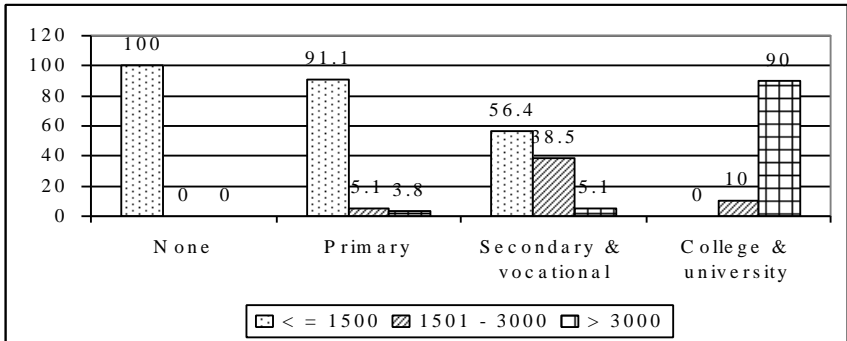
Source: Field survey, 2006

From this analysis, respondents with no education, or lower levels of education, earned lower incomes compared to those with higher levels of education. Thus, poor people are more likely to be found among those who had no education or low levels of education.

Health
In response to the question where respondents sought treatment during illness, 92 percent said that they visited government hospitals. The remainder said that they sought treatment in private hospitals (6%), consulted a traditional practitioner or herbalist (1.3%), or sought treatment in mission hospitals (0.7%). This shows that government hospitals and are the most commonly visited health facilities where the vast majority respondents sought treatment.

Figure 3.10: Respondents visiting various facilities for treatment (%)
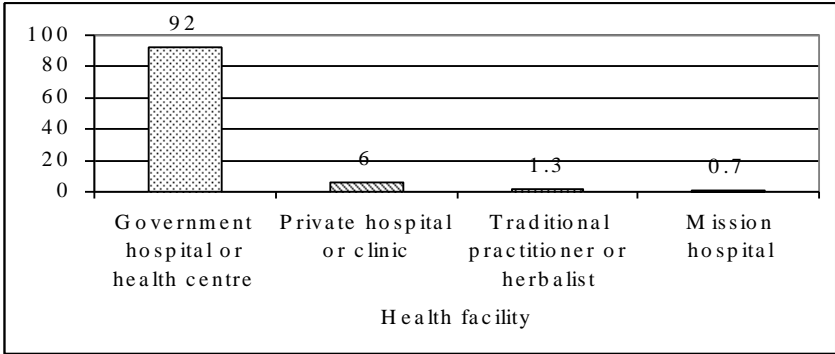
Source: Field survey, 2006

Further analysis of the relationship between income and health facilities visited for treatment was not done because very few respondents sought treatment in non-government hospitals or health facilities. Information obtained from key informants revealed that there is only one government health centre in the location and people preferred it because it was cheaper and had qualified personnel. In addition, the study found from focus groups that although there were few private clinics in the location, people thought that the clinics mainly focused on income generation as opposed to treating the sick.

Household Shocks
Most respondents interviewed (95%) reported to have experienced a shock over the previous year. Ill health and inadequate food were the two most common shocks that 65 percent and 61 percent of respondents had experienced, respectively. As illustrated in Figure 3.11, 17 percent of households experienced school fees problems, 13 percent had lost property, 10 percent had lost a family member, and 5 percent experienced household conflicts, while 3 percent experienced police harassment.

Figure 3.11: Households that experienced shocks (%)
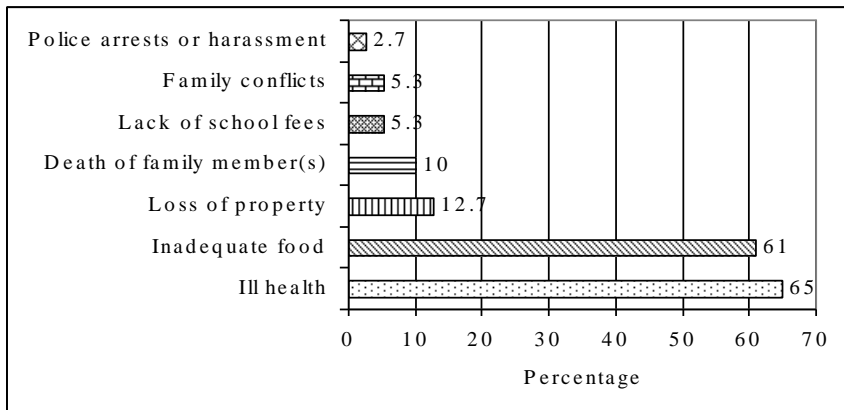
Source: Field survey, 2006

In response to shocks, three quarters of respondents resorted to sale of household goods. Others resorted to borrowing from relatives or friends (42%), sale of labour (29%), depended on charity (10%), depended on household income (20%) while 4 percent borrowed from banks or financial institutions.

Respondents reported various levels of effectiveness of strategies employed to cope with household shocks (Figure 3.12). Some respondents (8%) said that the strategies were largely effective. Others said the strategies were: largely effective (18%), to some extent (22%), to a less extent (33%), and to a lesser extent (19%).

Figure 3.12: Effectiveness of strategies employed to cope with shocks (%)
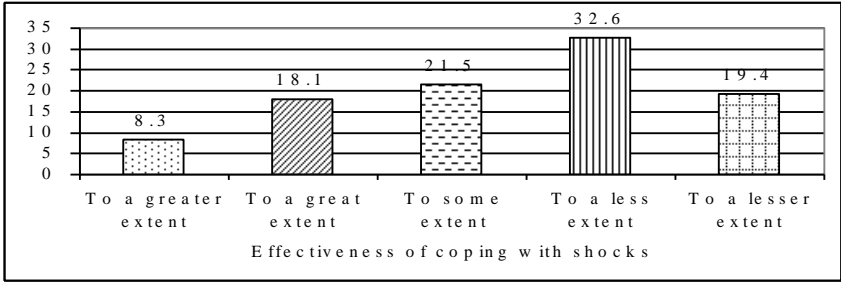
Source: Field survey, 2006

The analysis of the relationship between income and effectiveness of strategies employed to cope with crises (Figure 3.13) shows those respondents who earned K.Shs 3,000 or higher employed strategies that were effective to a greater or great extent. On the contrary, respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less did not effectively cope with crises. Indeed, over 95 percent of those who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less employed strategies that were effective to a lesser extent than the strategies employed by those with higher incomes.

Figure 3.13: Effectiveness of strategies of coping with shocks by income
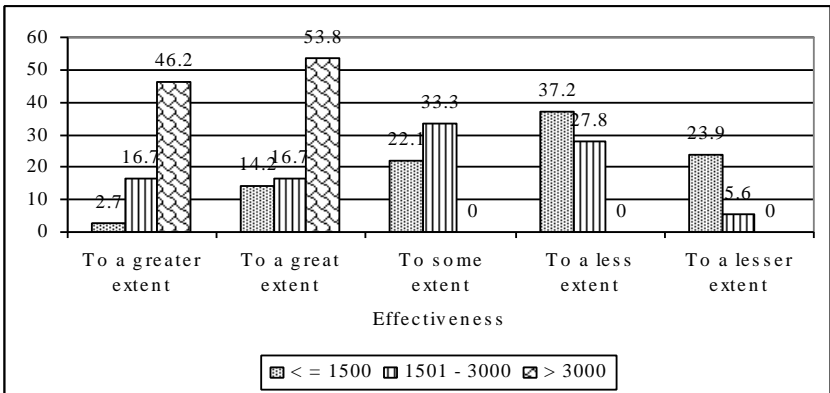
Source: Field survey, 2006

The analysis in Figure 3.13 shows that the effectiveness of strategies employed to cope with shocks is related to amount of income earned. This means that respondents who earned higher income were more likely to employ strategies that would effectively help them to cope with shocks, while those who earned lower incomes were likely to use strategies that were ineffective in coping with shocks. Thus, poor people are more likely to employ strategies that are less effective in coping with shocks.

Groups and Associations

Over half of the respondents belonged to some sort of group or association. Many belonged to one group, although a few belonged to two or three different groups. Further, of the six different groups or associations listed for the study, merry-go-rounds, self-help projects and welfare associations were the most common (Figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14: Groups or associations that respondents belong to (%)
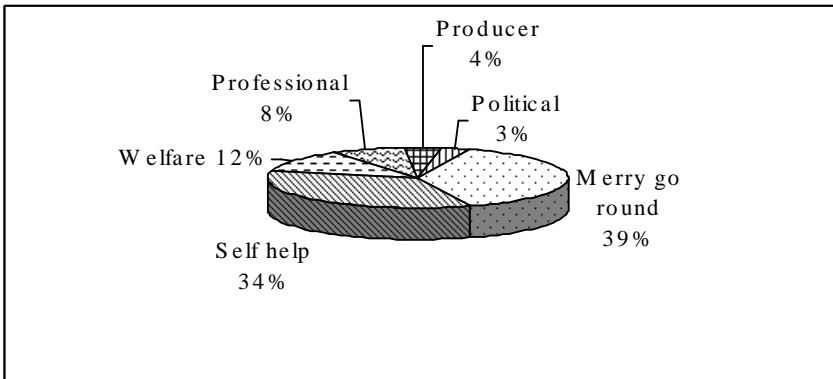
Source: Field survey, 2006

The study further analysed the relationship between income and membership in groups. Figure 3.15 shows that the percentage of respondents who belonged to a group increased with increase in income. Reversely, the percentage of respondents who did not belong to a group decreased with increase in income.

Figure 3.15: Relationship between membership in groups by income
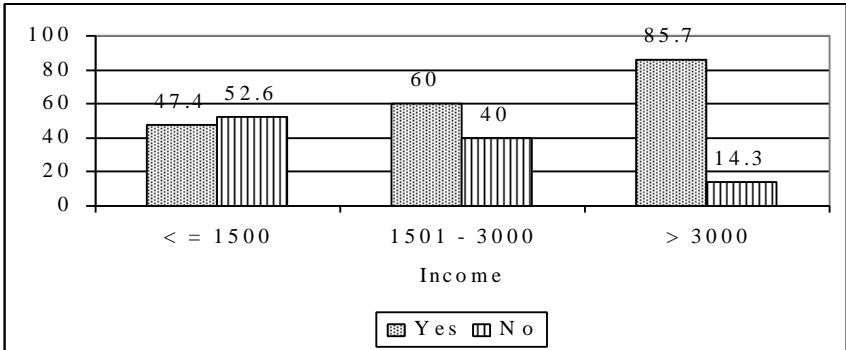
Source: Field survey, 2006

This means that respondents who earn lower incomes are less likely to belong to a group or association while respondents who earn higher incomes are more likely to belong to a group or association. Thus, the poor are less likely to belong to a group or association.

Regarding why respondents did not belong to a group or association, inability to pay registration fees or make regular contributions was the most common reason cited by respondents (54%) (Figure 3.16). Others attributed their lack of association to discouragement, due to collapse of a previous group (20%), or to avoid conflicts that arise in such groups (10%). For others, there were no groups that would meet their interests (6%), some were too busy with personal projects (6%), while 4 percent stated that they could not join any group due to serious illness.

Figure 3.16: Reasons for not belonging to a group or association (%)

Reason	Value
Terminal illness	4.3
Busy with personal projects	5.7
Groups cannot meet their needs	5.7
To avoid conflicts	10
Collapse of a previous group	20
Cannot afford to make payments	54.3
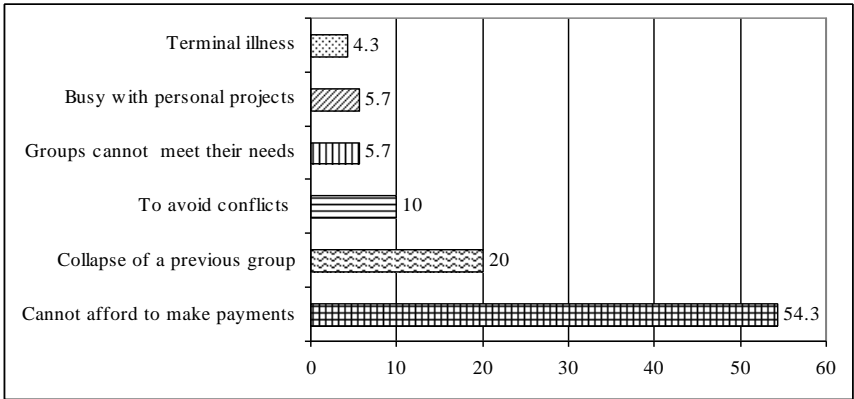
Source: Field survey, 2006

This shows that respondents who earned low income could not pay the registration fee or make regular payments required by groups and associations. Thus, the poor are more likely to be among those who did not belong to a group or association.

Economic Activities

Main Occupation
Three quarters the respondents were small-scale farmers (76%). Others were casual labourers (9%), salaried employees (7%), and small business operators (6%), while 3 percent were artisans as shown in Figure 3.17.

Figure 3.17: Respondents by main occupation (%)
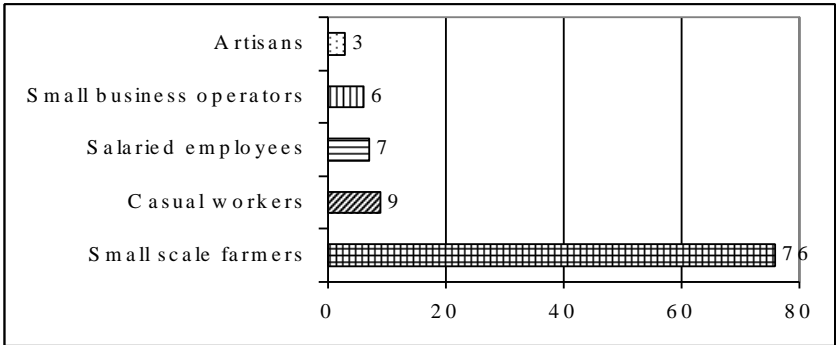
Source: Field survey, 2006

The analysis of the relationship between income and occupation in Figure 3.18 shows that most small-scale farmers earned K.Shs 1,500 or less, while most small business operators earned between K.Shs 1,501 and 3,000. Further, although some salaried employees earned between K.Shs 1,501 and 3,000, the majority of them earned over K.Shs 3,000, and none of them earned K.Shs 1,500 or less.

Figure 3.18: Relationship between main occupation and income
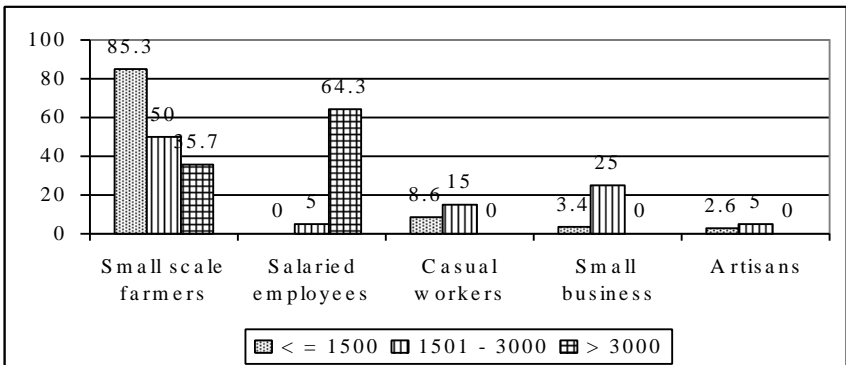
Source: Field survey, 2006

As this analysis shows, salaried employees are more likely to earn higher incomes than small-scale farmers, casual labourers and artisans. Thus, poor people are more likely to be found among casual labourers, artisans, and small-scale farmers.

Land Ownership and Size

Land as a productive asset contributes to household well-being. All respondents interviewed own land, although sizes varied. The mean size of land owned was 2.6 acres, with a standard deviation of 1.8. The land size ranged from 0.25 acres to 10.0 acres, and most respondents had two acres of land. Figure 3.19 indicates that 44 percent of the respondents own 2 acres or less, while 24 percent own plots of more than 4 acres.

Figure 3.19: Size of land that respondents own (%)
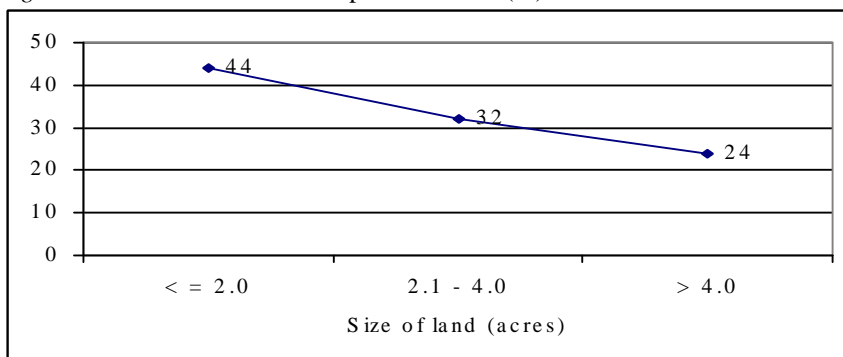
Source: Field survey, 2006

Land and its utilisation influence agricultural output through crop and animal production. The relationship between income and the size of land owned is shown in Figure 3.20.

Figure 3.20: Relationship between size of land and income
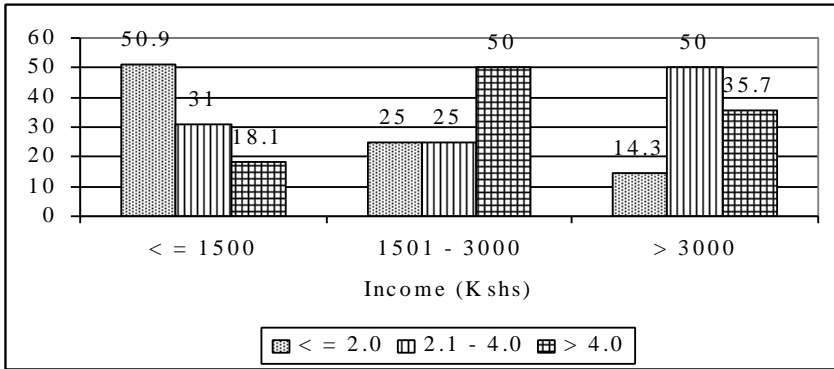
This analysis shows that half of the respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less own less than two acres of land. Further, the percentage of those who owned 2 acres of land or less decreased with increase in income. These figures clearly demonstrate that at least in the lowest income category, plot size and income are directly related.

Cash Crops

The survey found that bananas and tea are the most commonly grown cash crops by 94 percent and 82 percent of the respondents, respectively. Sugarcane is the third most common cash crop, grown by 30 percent of the respondents. Further, 31 percent grew coffee, 7 percent grew tomatoes, while 1 percent of the respondents grew pyrethrum (Figure 3.21).

Figure 3.21: Respondents growing different cash crops (%)
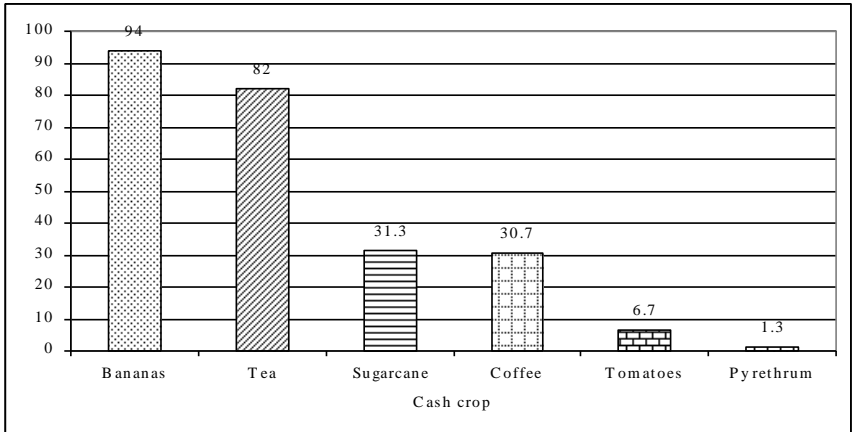
Since tea is the most widely grown cash crop in the area, this study sought to establish the relationship between income and tea acreage. For this cross tabulation, consider Figure 3.22.

Figure 3.22: Relationship between tea acreage and income
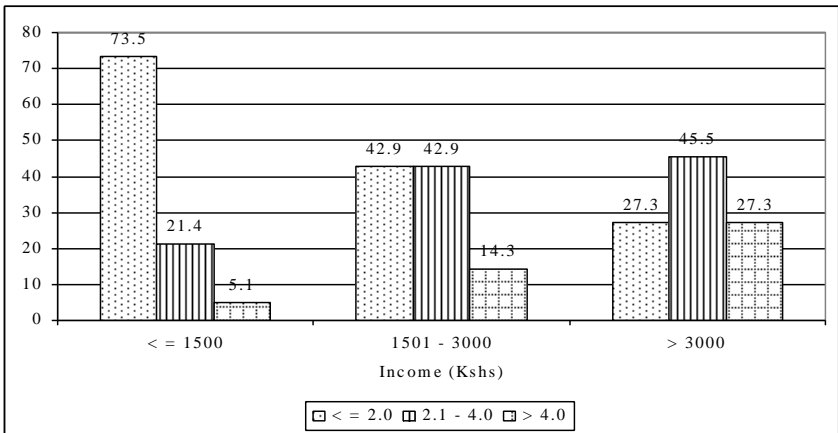
Figure 3.22 illustrates that a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less had 2 acres of tea or less, while those who earned over K.Shs 3,000 had between 2.1 and 4 acres of tea. Further, the percentage of respondents who owned between 2 and 4 acres over 4 acres of tea acreage increased with increase in income, while the percentage of respondents who owned 2 acres or less increased with decrease in income. This means that respondents with higher tea acreage are likely to earn higher income, while the poor are much more likely to be found among those with small tea acreage.

Maize Harvest
All respondents grew maize. However, as illustrated in Figure 3.23 below, more than half of the respondents (56%) harvested less than two sacks. The majority of the remainder harvested two to four sacks (31%), while only a few respondents harvested more than four sacks of maize (12%).

Figure 3.23: Amount of maize harvested by respondents (sacks) (%)
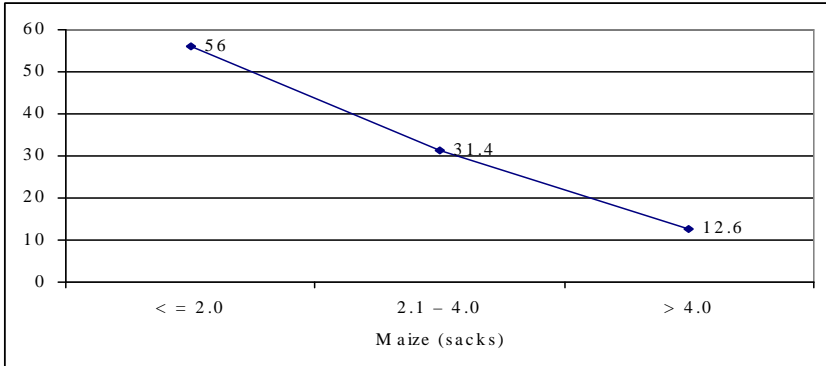
Source: Field survey, 2006

It also emerged from the interviews that, only 30 percent of the respondents harvested sufficient food for their household needs. The rest bought additional food, or relied on neighbours/relatives. The analysis of income related to food sufficiency is shown in Figure 3.24.

Figure 3.24: Relationship between harvest of sufficient maize and income
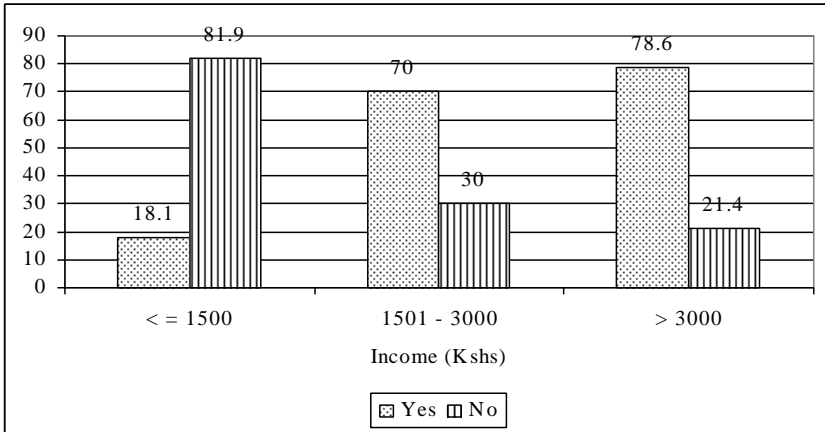
This cross-tabulation shows that the majority of respondents who did not harvest sufficient maize earned K.Shs 1,500 or less. Reversely, respondents who harvested maize that was sufficient for their household needs earned more than K.Shs 3,000. This confirms that harvest of sufficient maize is related to income earned in such a way that poor people are less likely to harvest sufficient maize for their household needs.

Livestock
The majority of respondents (77%) keep cattle. The number of cattle owned ranged from one to ten, with a mean of about two and a standard deviation of about one. Figure 3.25 will demonstrate this.

Figure 3.25: Number of cattle that respondents keep (%)
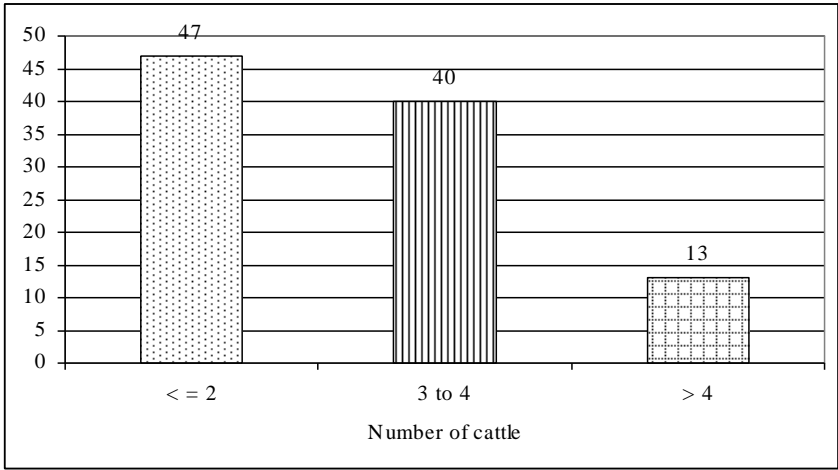
Source: Field survey, 2006

The cross-tabulation between the number of cattle and income is in Figure 3.26.

Figure 3.26: Relationship between the number of cattle and income
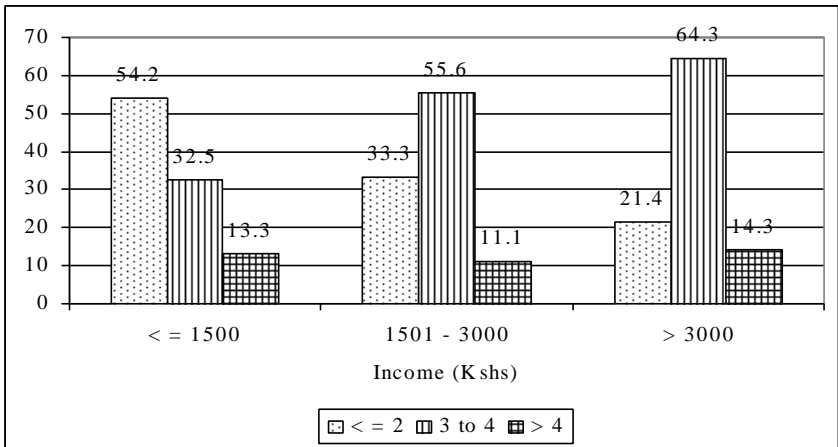
Source: Field survey, 2006

This analysis shows that a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less own two herds of cattle or less. In addition, the percentage of respondents who owned between 3 and 4 herd of cattle increased with increase in income, while the percentage of respondents who owned 2 or less herds of cattle decrease with increase in income. This implies that the number of cattle owned, is directly related to the income earned among respondents who owned four heard of cattle or less.

In terms of the breed of cattle reared, slightly over half of the respondents reared hybrids and a little less than half-bred local varieties. A small proportion of the respondents (4%) reared pure breeds (Figure 3.27).

Figure 3.27: Breed of cattle reared (%)
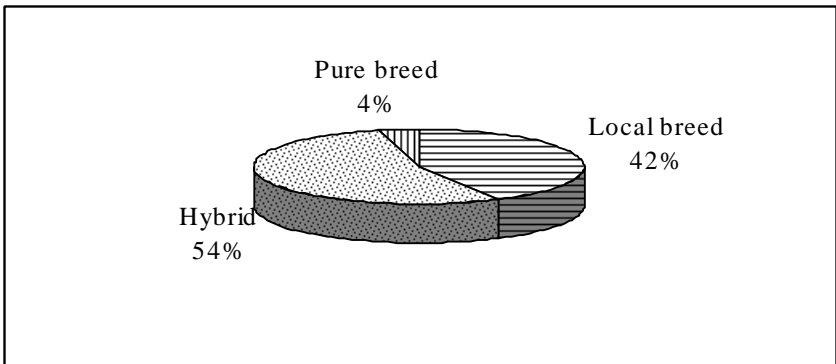
Further analysis of the relationship between income and cattle breed reared (Figure 3.28) shows that a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less reared local breeds, compared to those who reared hybrid or pure cattle breeds while respondents who earned more than K.Shs 3,000 did not rear local breeds at all. In addition, a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 1,501 or more reared

hybrid and pure breeds. It also shows that the percentage of respondents who reared hybrids increase with increase in income while the percentage of respondents who reared local varieties decrease with increase in income.

Figure 3.28: Relationship between breed of cattle reared and income
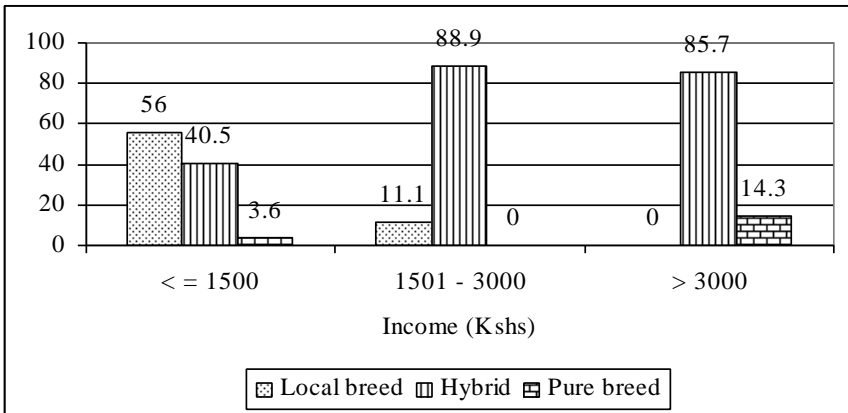
Source: Field survey, 2006

This analysis shows that individuals with low income are more likely to rear local breeds. Since local breeds produce lower yields, it is more likely that poor people are among those who breed local varieties.

Household Goods
Of the selected eight household goods, a radio, a charcoal stove and a kerosene stove are the three most commonly owned goods. Most of the respondents own a radio (84%), 37 percent own a charcoal stove, 28 percent own a kerosene stove, 20 percent own a mobile phone, 11 percent own a television set, 7 percent own a bicycle, 6 percent own a sewing machine, while 3 percent of the respondents own a gas cooker (Figure 3.29).

Figure 3.29: Possession of household goods (%)
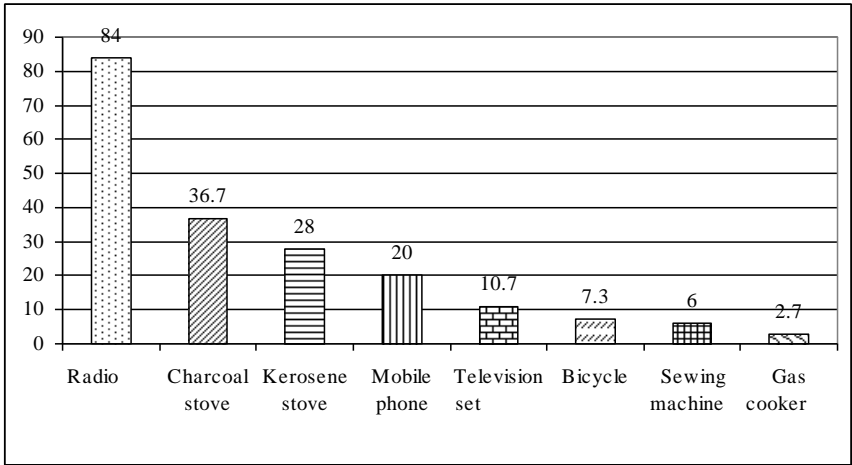
Analysis of the relationship between various household goods and income is illustrated in Figure 3.30.

This analysis shows that a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 3,00 or more owned a radio, television set, mobile telephone, gas cooker, kerosene stove and charcoal stove compared to those who earned lower levels of income. In fact, all respondents who earned more than K.Shs 3,000 owned a radio, while none of the respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less owned a gas cooker. This means that individuals who earn higher income are more likely to own durable household goods, while poor people are less likely to own them.

Figure 3.30: Relationship between possession of household goods and income
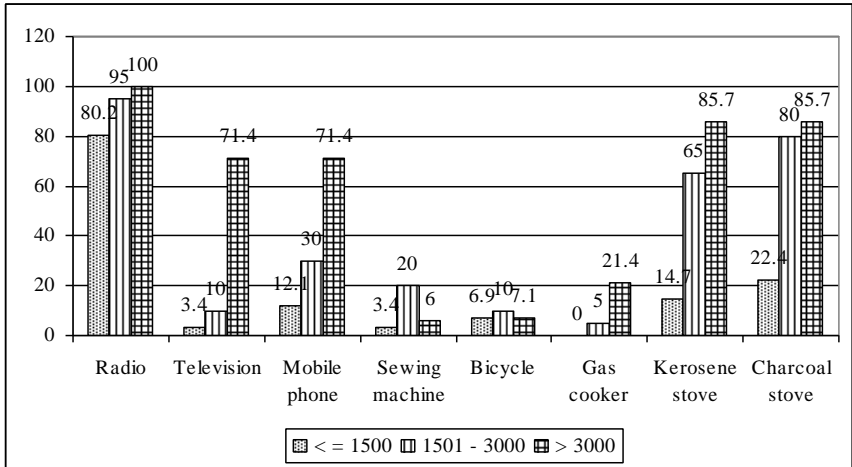
Source: Field survey, 2006

It also becomes apparent that, ownership of some household goods like bicycles and sewing machines was higher among respondents who earned between K.Shs 1,501 and K.Shs 3,000, compared to other categories of income. This could be because the majority of small business people are found at this level of income. Thus, the sewing machines and bicycles are used for business purposes. This also implies that ownership of a bicycle or a sewing machine could be an indication of occupation and does not necessarily indicate that someone is poor or not.

Household Dwelling
The predominant household dwelling used by respondents is a mud-walled structure with a *mabati* (corrugated iron) roof (61%). Grass-thatched and mud-walled dwellings were the second most common among respondents (21%). Some respondents had mabati roofs and brick walls (10%), while mabati roofs and concrete walls are least common (8 %).

Figure 3.31: Type of dwelling (%)
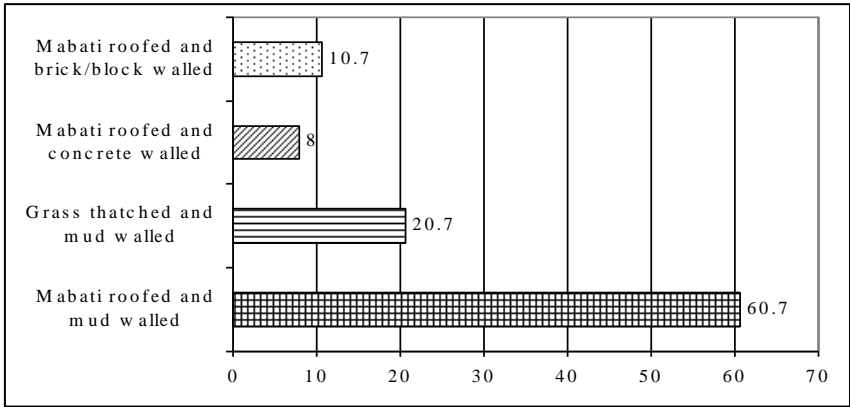
Source: Field survey, 2006

The relationship between type of dwelling and income is shown in Figure 3.32. This shows a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less had grass thatched and mud-walled dwellings compared to those who earned higher income. Significantly, none of the respondents who earned more than K.Shs 3,000 had grass-thatched and mud-walled dwelling and over half of them had this type of dwelling.

Figure 3.32: Cross tabulation of type of dwelling and income
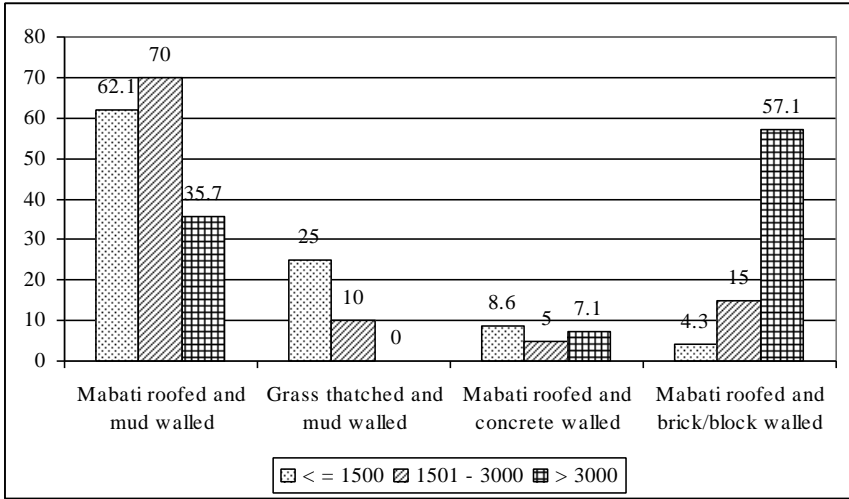
Source: Field survey, 2006

This analysis shows that people who earn lower income are more likely to have grass-thatched and mud-walled dwellings. Hence, poor people are more likely to be among those who have grass thatched and mud walled dwellings.

In terms of the structural condition of dwellings, most respondents had dwellings that needed no repairs, or only minimal repairs (78%). Furthermore, 19 percent of the dwellings needed major repairs, 2 percent were under construction, while 1 percent were completely dilapidated.

Figure 3.33: Structural condition of dwelling (%)
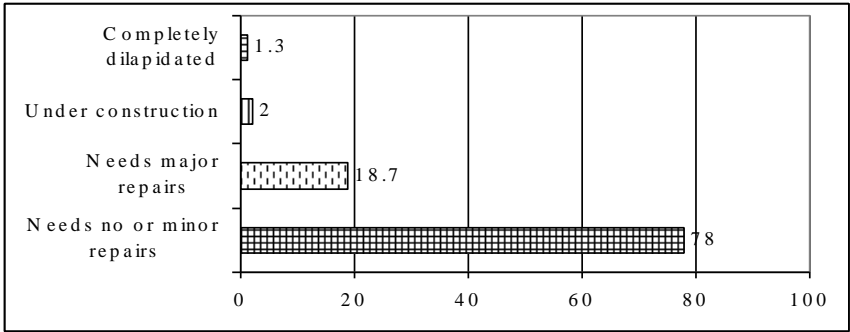
Further analysis of the relationship between income and the state or condition of dwelling is shown in Figure 3.34.

Figure 3.34: Relationship between structural condition of dwelling and income
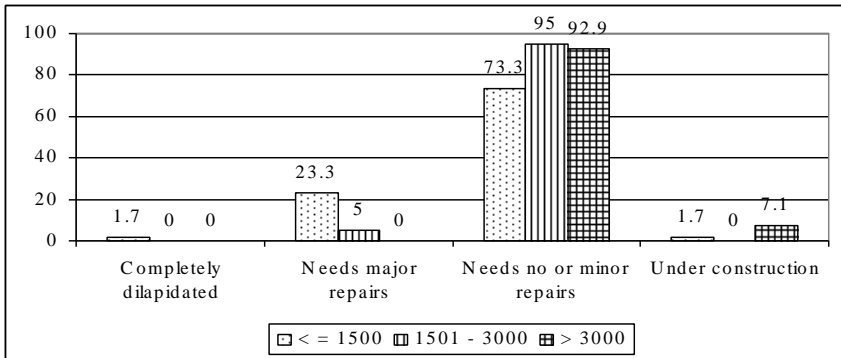
This analysis shows that only respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less had completely dilapidated dwellings and a higher percentage of them had dwellings that need major repairs compared to those who earned higher income. In addition, a higher percentage of individuals who earned K.Shs 1,501 or more had dwellings that needed no or minor

repairs compared to those who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less. This implies that people who earn low income are more likely to have dwellings that are completely dilapidated or those that need major repairs. Thus, completely dilapidated dwellings and those that need major repairs might be an indicator of poverty.

Conclusion

Although people experience poverty in different ways, poverty is related to household demographic, social and economic characteristics. Individuals earn varied amount of income, which is reflected in their social, economic and demographic characteristics. However, not all these characteristics are equally relevant in differentiating between the poor and non-poor.

Poor people are more likely to have no formal education or only attained primary level education. Further, they are also more likely to own smaller pieces of land, harvest an amount of maize that is insufficient for their household needs and employ strategies that are ineffective in coping with household shocks. In terms of occupation, they are more likely to be small-scale farmers, casual workers, artisans and to a small degree small business people. In addition they are more likely to have grass-thatched and mud-walled dwellings, which could be completely dilapidated or need major structural repairs. Poor people are also less likely to posses a radio, a mobile telephone, gas cooker, kerosene stove or a charcoal stove. Lastly, poor people are less likely to belong to groups or associations. Due to a combination these characteristics, poor people are likely to experience multi dimensional deprivation.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW DOES ACCESS TO INFORMATION INFLUENCE PEOPLE'S MOBILISATION?

Introduction

Mobilisation refers to processes and activities that prepare people for joint action. It involves coordinating various actors and preparing them for collective action. This is achieved through raising their awareness of development projects, arousing and inducing their interest and encouraging them to try new approaches. Mobilisation is important because it enables people to understand the purpose of development projects, roles they are expected to play, and how they can benefit by coming together for collective action. It also enables them to know social actors involved in development planning. Mobilisation therefore provides a framework through which local knowledge and experience can be harnessed in shaping development projects that are consistent with people's aspirations. In this context, methods used to pass on information about development projects and the appropriateness of these methods will influence people's mobilisation. Because mobilisation involves different social actors with different interests, social power relations mediate these interests and influence who is mobilised and by what methods.

This chapter will examine people's knowledge and awareness of the CDF and various methods used to mobilise community members. It is guided by the proposition that when people have access to information about development projects, they are more likely to be mobilised for collective action. Mobilisation will be measured in terms of people's knowledge and awareness of the CDF and appropriateness of methods through which people obtain information about development projects. The chapter aims at answering two questions: First, what is the level of people's knowledge and awareness of the CDF? Related to this is how do people access information about CDF project planning?

Knowledge and Awareness of the CDF

People's knowledge about the CDF itself, CDF committees and membership, when the Fund was established, and the source and purpose of the Fund enhance their understanding of development projects essential to their mobilisation.

Although all respondents had heard of the CDF, over 40 percent had heard of it in 2005, while 30 percent had heard of it in 2006. Figure 4.1 illustrates that people who knew about the CDF increased considerably between 2004 and 2005. In 2006, the percentage of respondents decreased, because many had either heard of the fund or known its operations.

Figure 4.1: When respondents knew the CDF (%)
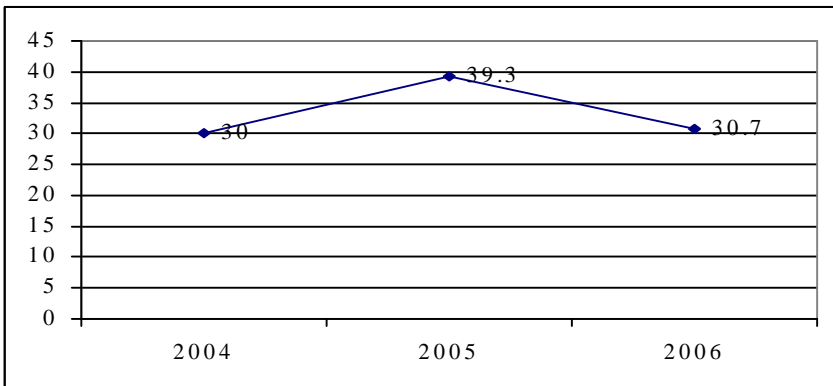
Source: Field survey, 2006

The analysis of the relationship between income and the year when respondents first heard about the Fund shows that a majority of respondents who earned over K.Shs 3,000 knew the Fund in 2004 and all of them had known the Fund by the year 2005 (Figure 4.2). On the other hand, few respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 or less knew the Fund in 2004 and most of then knew it in the year 2005. It appears that in 2004, the percentage of respondents who knew the CDF increased with increase in income.

Figure 4.2: When respondents knew the CDF by income
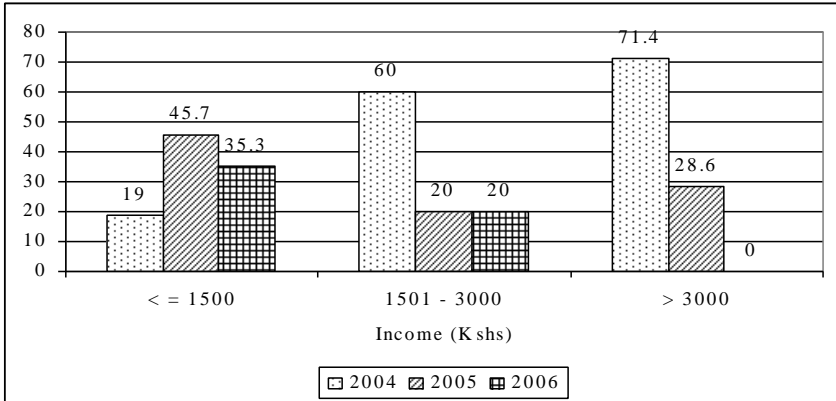
Source: Field survey, 2006

What emerges from Figure 4.2 is that respondents who earned higher incomes knew about the CDF earlier in its implementation than those who earned lower incomes. This means that respondents who earn a higher income are more likely to be mobilised, due to their knowledge or awareness of the CDF establishment and its implementation.

Over three quarters of the respondents did not know any CDF committee. Figure 4.3 illustrates that the highest percentage of respondents who did not know a CDF committee earned less than K.Shs 1501.

Figure 4.3: Relationship between knowledge of CDF committees and income
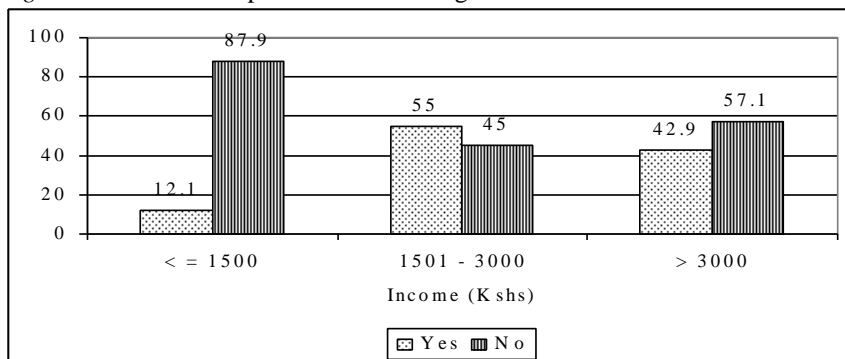
Source: Field survey, 2006

Since a very high proportion of respondents who earned less than K.Shs 1,501 did not know a CDF committee compare to other respondents who earned higher income, they were likely to have little knowledge of the CDF. The reason for this is that knowledge of CDF committees tends to promote people's interest in development projects, which is essential to mobilisation. Thus, those who earn a lower income are less likely to be mobilised.

Regarding knowledge of the source of the CDF, most respondents (73%) knew the source of the Fund (Figure 4.4). Of the remainder, 15 percent could not name the source of the Fund, while 12 percent considered it a foreign donation.

Figure 4.4: Source of the CDF
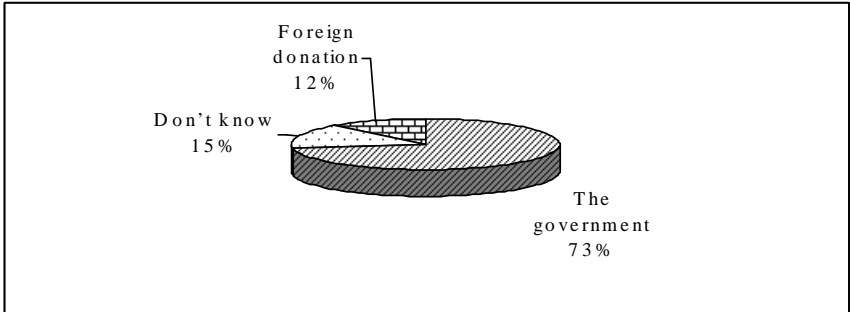
The analysis of the relationship between income and knowledge of the source of the CDF (Figure 4.5) shows that all respondents who did not know the source or thought that it was foreign donation earned K.Shs 1,500 or less. On the other hand, all respondents who earned K.Shs 1,500 and above knew the correct source of the Fund.

Figure 4.5: Relationship between source of the CDF and income
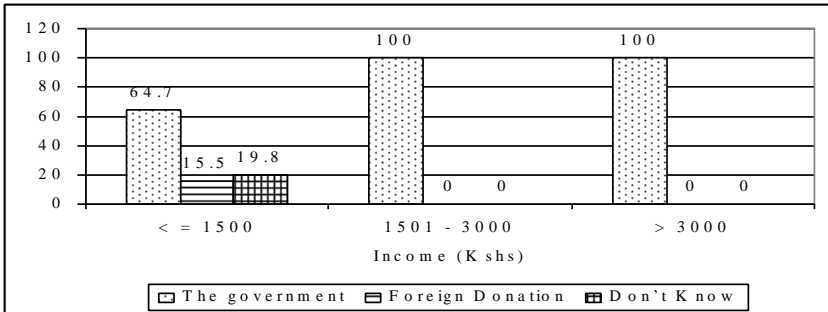
This analysis suggests that respondents who earn a lower income are less likely to be mobilised compared to those who earn higher income. This is because knowledge of the source of the Fund enhances understanding of the fund's operations essential in mobilisation.

Half of the respondents knew the purpose of the Fund, while the remaining thought that the fund is for helping the needy (31%), or did not know its purpose (18%). See figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Purpose of the CDF
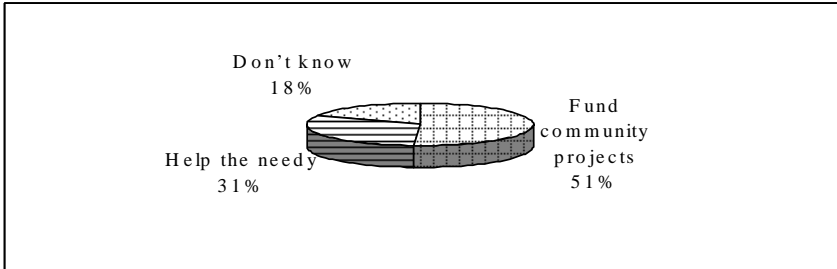
Source: Field survey, 2006

A further analysis the relationship between people's knowledge of the purpose of the CDF and their income shows that a higher percentage of respondents who knew the purpose of CDF earned more than K.Shs 3000, compared to those who earned lower incomes (Figure 4.7). It also shows that a higher percentage of respondents who thought that CDF is for helping the needy earned K.Shs 1500 or less while respondents who did not know the purpose of the CDF earned K.Shs 1,500 or less.

Figure 4.7: Relationship between the purpose of the CDF and income
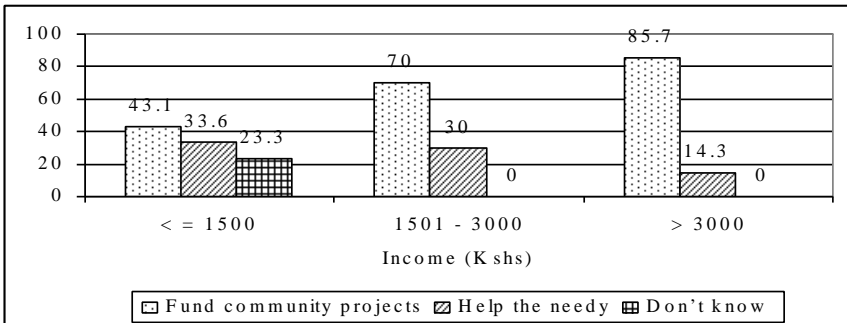
Source: Field survey, 2006

This could mean that respondents who earn higher income are more likely to be mobilised, because better knowledge of the Fund's purpose could increase their awareness of the government's role in development and the possibility to benefit from government funds through development project planning.

From the foregoing, it becomes clear that knowledge and awareness of the CDF varies among respondents of different income categories. The discussion further shows that respondents who earn higher income were more likely to know the CDF, its committees, and knew the actual source and purpose of the CDF in the first year of its implementation. Thus, due to their knowledge and awareness of the CDF, they were more likely to be mobilised for development projects. Reversely, respondents who earn lower income were more likely to know CDF in the second or third year of its implementation and less likely to know CDF committees, or the actual source and purpose of the CDF. Thus, they were less likely to be mobilised because they hardly knew the operations of the CDF, or the role they are expected to play in the planning and implementation of development projects.

Means Through Which People Obtain Information On the CDF

People access information about development projects through different methods. Information obtained through these methods enhances their knowledge and understanding of the planning and implementation of development projects. Such knowledge and understanding is crucial to mobilisation. Mobilisation through a given method depends on the number of people who obtain accurate information about development projects. Thus, when a particular method enables many or all people in a community to access reliable information, then more people are likely to be mobilised for collective action. On the other hand, when a method reaches only a few people, much lower numbers are mobilised for collective action.

In Ibeno, people access information about development projects through public meetings or community gatherings, from relatives or neighbours, from chiefs or assistant chiefs, and through the media. Public meetings or community gatherings was the most common method of accessing information, while access through the media was least common. The analysis of the relationship between various methods of accessing information and income will be discussed in the sections below.

Public Meetings and Community Gatherings

Public meetings (*barazas*) usually bring together people of an area in order to discuss matters of common interest. In the context of development projects, ideally, public meetings bring people together to share information and exchange ideas about project initiatives that would improve their livelihood. In Ibeno location, the chief and assistant chiefs, in collaboration with the village elders, convene public meetings. Village elders inform people of venues and of the agenda of planned public meetings through regular announcements made along main village pathways. The chief, assistant chiefs and village elders also inform people of planned public meetings whenever they meet in their day-to-day interaction. During public meetings, the chief or assistant chiefs merely inform people about projects that have already been earmarked for implementation. This is contrary to the CDF Act, which requires that people participate in identifying projects funded. Furthermore, the people are not clearly informed about the source and purpose of the funds and the roles they are expected to play. Similarly, community gatherings relate to meetings held in the in an area for specific purposes like funerals, fund raising, parent day meetings in schools and religious meetings. The chief or the assistant chiefs who usually attend take advantage of the occasions to inform the people about the CDF activities. In other cases, the chief or assistant chiefs sends a representative to such gatherings to inform people about development projects. The disadvantage of spreading information in this way is that it leaves a lot to chance and coincidence.

Over 70 percent of the respondents obtained information about development projects through public meetings or community gatherings. The analysis of the relationship between access to information through public meetings and income is shown in Figure 4.8.

Figure 4.8: Relationship between access to information in public meetings and income
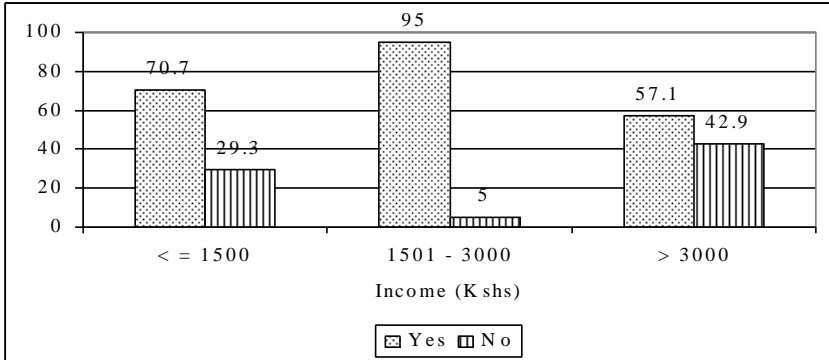
Source: Field survey, 2006

From Figure 4.8, it is appears that people in lower income ranges obtain information primarily through public meetings, while only a little more than half of those with higher income.

Although public meetings are the most common method to spread information, several weaknesses reduce the effectiveness of this approach. At such meetings, people discuss many other community issues, without paying particular attention to development projects. Often, people are merely informed of what the organizers think is necessary, rather than that they provide a forum for discussing development projects to obtain essential information and clarifications. Community gatherings are also ineffective because people attend the meetings for other purposes and can easily be distracted by other activities. During funerals, for example, people cannot be reached effectively, due to mourning, and passing on information about

development projects during funerals could be considered unethical and disrespectful to the dead. In religious gatherings, some leaders opted not to engage in development projects activities due to fear of politicising the meetings, while fund raising activities or parent-day meetings were rowdy, were convened for other purposes, and only few people attended such gatherings. Thus, public meetings and community gatherings do not enable people to access information about development projects very effectively.

Neighbours and Relatives
People also discuss development projects in their day-to-day interaction with neighbours, friends and relatives, often in social places like market centres. It is through such contacts that 58 percent of the respondents got to know about the CDF.

The analysis of the relationship between access to information through neighbours or relatives and income in Figure 4.9 shows that a higher percentage of respondents who earned K.Shs 1500 or less obtained information from relatives or neighbours compared to those who earned a higher income. Inversely, a higher percentage of respondents who earned more than K.Shs 3,000 did not obtain information through this method.

Figure 4.9: Relationship between access to information from relatives and income
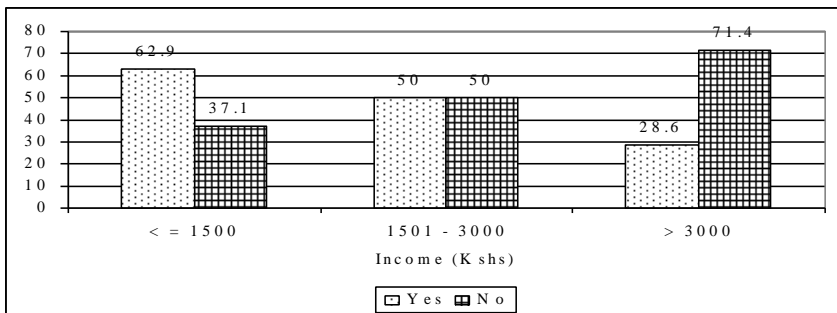
Source: Field survey, 2006

This could be interpreted to mean that respondents who earn lower income were more likely to access information through relatives or neighbours, compared to those who earned higher income. Thus, people who earn lower income are more likely to be mobilised by relatives, neighbours or friends than those who earned higher income. However, the effectiveness of this method very much depends on the accuracy of the information. If the information is inaccurate and people in he community do not make an effort to confirm it, then the chances of effective mobilisation are limited.

The Provincial Administration
The provincial administration, namely, the divisional officer, the chief and his assistant chiefs inform people about development projects in their offices, social places and through field visits. Field visits involve occasions where the chief or the assistant chiefs visit various villages and talk to people about development projects and other key administrative issues.

Slightly over half of the respondents obtained information from the chief or the assistant chiefs. The analysis through cross-tabulation (Figure 4.10) shows that a higher percentage of respondents who obtained information through the chief and assistant chiefs earned between K.Shs 1501 and K.Shs 3000. Further, a higher percentage of respondents who did not obtain information through the chief and assistant chief earned K.Shs 1,500 or less.

Figure 4.10: Access to information from the chief/assistant chiefs by income
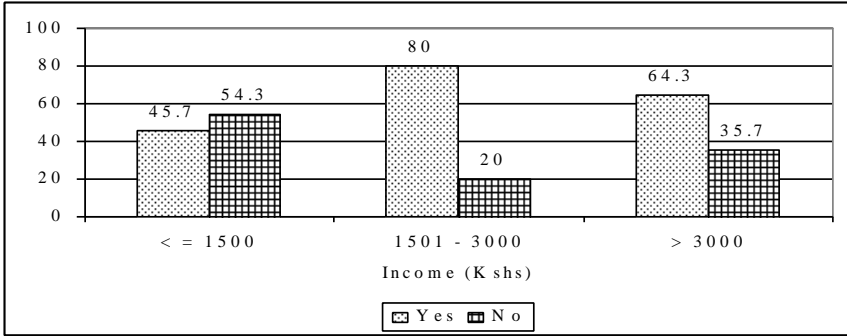
Source: Field survey, 2006

While it is not clear why the figure is higher for K.Shs 1,501-3,000 compared to other income categories, it appears that those with higher incomes are more likely to hear about projects from chiefs and assistant chiefs than those earning lower incomes.

The role of the provincial administrators in mobilising people for collective action is undermined by their administrative roles in that their task of maintaining law and order conflicts with mobilising community members to participate in development projects. Many people considered them autocratic, which hindered appropriate interaction required to exchange information about development projects. There appears to be deep-seated suspicion between some people and the provincial administration. Particularly, people who had been apprehended or punished were unlikely to be enthusiastic about development initiatives coordinated by the chief or the assistant chiefs.

The media
This study found that 45 percent of the respondents obtained information about development projects through the media. Further analysis shown in Figure 4.11 reveals that of the respondents who obtained information through the media, the highest percentage earned over K.Shs 3000.

Further, most respondents who did not obtain information through the media earned K.Shs 1,500 or less. It appears that the percentage of respondents who obtained income through the media increased with increase in income.

Figure 4.11: Relationship between accessing information through the media and income
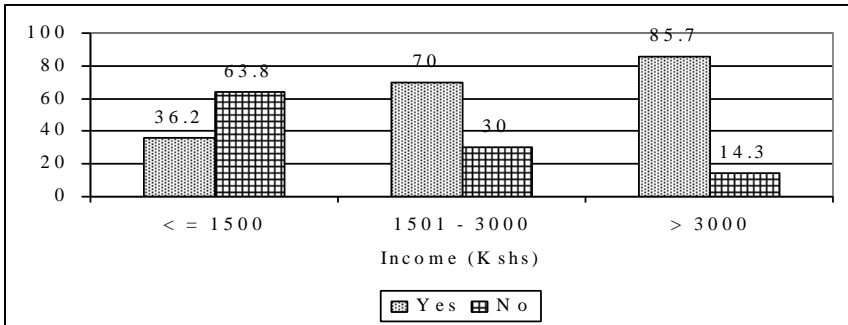
Source: Field survey, 2006

This makes it clear that respondents who earn a higher income are more likely to access information through the media, compared to those who earn a lower income. Thus, poor people are less likely to be mobilised through the media, because this requires access to media sources, some of which are beyond the reach of those who earn lower incomes. In addition, the effectiveness of the media can be reduced because it hardly deals with development project details regarding a location, sub location or village.

Conclusion

Regarding awareness of the CDF, respondents who earn higher income are more likely to be mobilised for development projects. This is because they better understand the operations of the Fund compared to those who earn a lower income. On the other hand, respondents who earn a lower income are less likely to be mobilised, because they have limited knowledge of the fund or even unaware of its operations.

Although several methods are employed to communicate information about development projects, not all respondents obtained information through these methods. Respondents who earned low income were more likely to be mobilised through friends or relatives, while those who earned higher income were more likely to be mobilised through the media and the provincial administration. Those who earn low income are hardly mobilised due to the minimal knowledge of the fund, its operations and the weaknesses inherent to the methods used to communicate information about development projects. When people cannot access or are denied access to information about development projects, powerlessness and voicelessness are likely to be perpetuated, and poverty alleviation strategies will not achieve their objectives. It is also possible that people can get access to information but still be denied participation due to impunity and corruption by those managing the funds as discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CDF INSTITUTIONS AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Introduction

Project planning involves many phases including project conception, identification, preparation, appraisal, selection and implementation, achieved through established local institutions. Project planning and implementation involves different activities by different social actors. These actors interact during different phases of the project cycle in order to shape it. This interaction forms an arena within which diverse views and priorities are discussed. The form of interaction is guided by established rules and regulations which influence how planning occurs and whose voice is included or excluded. Thus, the nature and form of established local institutions influence how people participate in development projects. Local institutions as pillars of project planning establish relationships and rules through which projects are conceptualised, designed, implemented, monitored and evaluated. The CDF committees, namely, the Sub Location Development Committee (SLDC), the Locational Development Committee (LDC), the Sub Divisional Development Committee (SDDC), and the CDFC provide the institutional framework within which the participation of people takes place. Therefore, people's participation largely depends on the proper formation and functioning of these committees. This chapter will argue that the involvement or exclusion of people in development project planning is influenced by the social power of different social actors exhibited in the formation and functioning of CDF committees.

This chapter will consider how people participate in CDF projects, and the role resources play in the process. It is based on the presupposition that people who have few resources are less likely to participate in development projects. The first part examines how CDF committee members are selected as well as their socio-economic characteristics. The

second part looks at who participates in project identification, selection and implementation; how participation takes place in public meetings, and the role that material and non-material resources play in the process. The chapter seeks to answer these questions: Who participates in CDF projects, when and how? Participation is captured at the level of selecting CDF committee members, contribution of ideas in CDF meetings, involvement in project selection, contribution of labour during implementation, and involvement in monitoring and evaluation of projects. The chapter also discusses the extent to which poverty, illustrated in terms of income levels, influences participation.

Selection of CDF Committee Members at Ibeno location

The chief and the assistant chiefs selected the members who made up the SLDC, they also convened and chaired the SLDC meetings. Likewise, the chief selected, convened and chaired the LDC while the Divisional Officer chaired and convened the SDDC. Further, the assistant chiefs and the chief had full discretion in the selection of SLDC members and LDC members respectively. The chief also selected members who represented the location at the SDDC single-handedly. Once selected, CDF committee members were informed of their selection and subsequent committee meetings by letters from the chief or assistant chiefs sent through the village elders.

Due to the nature of the selection process of all the three local CDF committees (SLDC, LDC and SDDC), people excluded at the lowest level are also excluded at a higher level. This is because the LDC is made up of members who were also members of the SLDC, while the SDDC comprises opinion leaders who are members of the LDC. This means that people, who are excluded from the committees at the sub location level have no chance of being selected at the location and the divisional levels.

This form of selection implies that the provincial administration exercises full influence in the formation and running of CDF committees, without being answerable to anyone. Due to the unrepresentative

selection of the committees, the process excludes some segments of the community. This exclusion is made worse because there is no forum or avenue through which people could engage CDF committees. This is probably the reason why the committees were considered exclusive by some categories of individuals.

Characteristics of LDC Members

As described above, the chiefs and the assistant chiefs select members of CDF committees at the sub location, location and the division. The next question therefore should be why some community members were selected and not others. This section will examine the composition of the LDC, since the study found that the chief, who was in charge of the LDC, influenced the composition and functioning of both the SLDC and the SDDC. At the time of the study, the LDC had 30 members. These were the chief, the area councillor, five assistant chiefs and 23 opinion leaders (consisting of five women and eighteen men).

The men on the LDC consisted of a retired secondary school head teacher, a retired district educational officer who had also worked as a primary school head teacher, and a retired primary school head teacher who owned a retail shop and a bar at local market centre, had many acres of tea and a *matatu* (public transport van). Another member of the committee used to be a Kenya National African Union (KANU) youth leader who had a large tea acreage and operated a retail shop at the local market centre. Someone else was the chair of a local tea-buying centre, had large tea acreage, and reared dairy cattle. Others were three priests representing the Seventh Day Adventist, Catholic and Pentecostal churches. The remainder were head teacher of five secondary schools and five primary schools.

The women comprised a treasurer and leader of a women's group in a local church who was also the chairlady of Ibeno location *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (women development) organisation. Another was a wife to a Kenya National Union of Teachers' district representative. She was also a member of the HIV/AIDS location committee and a representative of

Maendeleo ya Wanawake in one of the sub locations. Another was the secretary of *Muungano,* a women's group in the location and a committee member in the divisional social service department. The committee further consisted of a woman who had sons in the United States of America and was in charge a local women group, and lastly a nursery school teacher who was also the chairperson of a local church committee.

This means that apart from the chief, assistant chiefs and the area councillor, the members of the LDC was made up of retired teachers, priests, head teachers of primary and secondary schools, women group leaders and local traders. Some of these members had positions of leadership in other groups in the area and generally engaged in several economic activities. Thus, they owned more resources and were likely to earn higher income compared to over half of the people in that area who are absolutely poor. It is this category of economically, socially and politically influential people who are normally consulted before any project is implemented in their area. Their selection to CDF committees was doubtlessly due to their influence, and chiefs and assistant chiefs usually involved them in any development initiative to avoid confrontation and possible conflicts. Additionally, the LDC members were either respected or feared by other community members so that no one would openly go against their opinions. Thus, the LDC excluded poor and chronically poor people who do not possess the material and non-material resources with which they could influence the chief and the assistant chiefs. Furthermore, committee members identified and selected development projects without consulting other people in the community. Thus, views of those who are less influential were eliminated from the planning process.

Participation in Public Meetings

Public meetings provide a forum where ideas regarding priority needs and projects can be exchanged between CDF officials and community. This is important in order to ensure that interests of all stakeholders, including those of the chronically poor people, are taken into

consideration in project selection. Such meetings, when appropriately used, can result in projects that are consistent with people's needs and enhance the capacity of local people to take action to improve their livelihood. In Ibeno Location, the chief and the assistant chiefs convene public meetings. These meetings usually discuss problems and other development issues affecting the community. Village elders under directions of the chief and the assistant chiefs usually inform people when and where public meetings were held. The chief and the assistant chiefs set the agenda, chair the meetings, determining who speaks and for how long.

This study found that although some public meetings had been held in Ibeno, no meetings had been held to identify or select priority projects. Public meetings that had been held discussed other problems affecting the community, with little time left for development projects. During one of these meetings held to publicise the CDF, the area MP attended and only issued cheques to the heads of those institutions that had been allocated funds. The people who attended merely listened to the proceedings (and clapped when asked to). Some public meetings were also held at distant places, which discouraged people from attending.

The sitting arrangements at public meetings reflect the existing social power relations. The chief and the assistant chiefs usually sit at the centre of the front row, surrounded by other government officials, village elders and other handpicked opinion leaders from the community. Sometimes, armed police officers sit or stand at strategic positions during public meetings. Some seats are reserved for prominent people from the area, and any such a person appearing was directed to reserved seat. Other community members who are not influential sit on the ground or stand and follow the proceedings from a distance. It appears that due to socialisation, everyone knows her or his place in public meetings.

Exercise of social power is reflected by the rigid control of the meetings by the chief or the assistant chiefs, who decide who speaks and for how long. Those who are selected to speak are either friendly to the provincial

administration or politically influential people in the area, while poor people are not given any opportunity to speak. As a result, the meetings are reduced to avenues of informing people of the projects that are to be funded or have been funded. Furthermore, because contributions in public meetings depend on whether people are given an opportunity to speak, attendance does not guarantee contribution of ideas. On the rare occasion when poor or non-influential people are allowed to have their say, there is no guarantee that they will be taken seriously, due to the attitudes of the CDF officials and other well-to-do community members. Due to the chief's dominance, people usually refer to public meetings to as *ebarasa yomogambi* (chief's meeting). In this way, development project committees exercise domination over people in the area through consultation procedures that are largely imposed on the public. Through exclusion tactics, voices of potential opponents are sidelined in CDF committee meetings and ignored in public meetings. Thus, established local institutions enhance domination by influential members, while invisible forms of power act to keep the poor and chronically poor from rising up and challenging this state of affairs openly. The institutions set up tend to sustain the power of different groups within in the community like the provincial administrators, politicians, and women group leaders, at the expense of the voiceless and thee disenfranchised.

Participation in Project Identification and Selection

Only 4 percent of all those interviewed had attended project identification meetings. This appears to be largely due to the manner in which project identification and selection is done. As already discussed, projects are identified and selected by CDF committees constituted and convened by the chief and assistant chiefs. Thus, people who participate in project identification and selection, or those who contribute ideas, are nominated by the provincial administration. The decision by the chief and the assistant chiefs to nominate certain people to participate in the CDF project cycle is based on their understanding of who is influential obviously based on their material and non-material resources. Hence, poor and chronically poor people are excluded from project identification and selection because they are not part of CDF committees.

Participation in Project implementation

People participate by providing labour during the implementation of CDF projects. Labour takes different forms, including collection of stones during the rehabilitation of water springs, or the clearing of project sites. In some cases, people who contribute labour during implementation of projects are paid. For example, in the rehabilitation of water springs, only the skilled and semi-skilled workers are paid, while other community members who assisted in the construction activities were never paid. They were viewed as contributing to the rehabilitation of water springs that would benefit them. The study found that 12 percent of the respondents had contributed labour during the implementation of CDF projects. This is three times the number of those who participated in project selection. This means that there were far more opportunities for people to provide labour than to participate in project selection.

The analysis of the relationship between income and the contribution of labour (Figure 5.1) shows that the highest proportion of respondents who contributed labour to CDF projects earned between K.Shs 1,501 and 3,000. Furthermore, the highest proportion of respondents who did not provide labour consists of those who earned less than K.Shs 1,500.

Figure 5.1: Relationship between contribution of labour for CDF projects and income
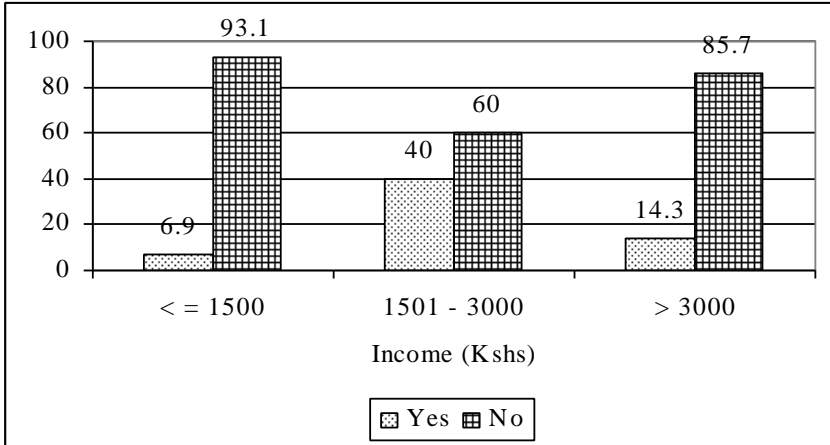
Source: Field survey, 2006

As this analysis shows, respondents from all income categories provided labour during the implementation of CDF projects although the highest percentage was from those who earned between K.Shs 1,501 and K.Shs 3,000. This is probably because of the way in which the process of labour provision was organised. In one instance, labour provision involved voluntary activities by willing community members without pay. In another case, all members of the community were expected to contribute labour for community projects failure of which they paid a fee. In this case, people participated because they either feared punishment from village elders or the provincial administration. Also there were instances where people participated because of the personal benefit they expected from the project. For instance, during the implementation of the Kerera Community Water Project, only people who paid initial connection fee to be supplied with water contributed labour. In the last case, people contributed labour to projects because project committees in charge of implementation of projects hired them. Often, project committees were made up people from institutions that

had received funding or were contractors who had been awarded a tender to implement a project. In other words, project committees usually selected people based on their labour requirements. Thus, project committees decided who participated and who was left out in the provision of labour during implementation of projects. As became also apparent, often, they selected either their friends or relatives, or those who were recommended by influential people. This means that people who were not friends, relatives, or recommended by an influential person, were left out of labour provision, especially when it involved payment.

Monitoring and Evaluation of Projects

Monitoring and evaluation of implemented projects is important in providing feedback whether projects are successful in meeting their objectives. In addition, any weaknesses during implementation can be identified and rectified before a project begins to fail. The study established that only the Constituency Development Committee (CDC), now the CDFC and project committees were actively engaged in monitoring and evaluating implemented projects. Due to the large number of projects in the constituency, the CDC alone could not visit every project site before, during and after implementation of projects. For example, due to ineffective monitoring and evaluation of projects characterised by complete exclusion of the community, some rehabilitated water springs collapsed soon after construction and were no longer in use.

It was evident that there is no institutional framework within which a representative cross-section of people in the constituency are involved in monitoring and evaluation of CDF projects. In addition, many people do not have clear information about projects funded and amounts of money involved a prerequisite for proper monitoring and evaluation. Although records of amounts allocated to projects are displayed at the CDFC office at the divisional headquarters, these records are out of reach for most residents of the constituency. Regrettably, the records are not displayed at the chief's or assistant chiefs' offices, which can be easily reached by

the people. In summary, it seems fair to say that the CDC has not taken any initiative to involve the people at the local level in monitoring and evaluation of funded projects although it has been well established how essential it is for the success of development projects that the people are involved in monitoring and evaluating them.

Conclusion

The various CDF committees, namely, SLDC, LDC and SDDC, control project planning by influencing who participates in identifying, selecting and implementing development projects. This is due to the selection of Local CDF committees by the chief, and the assistant chiefs, which results in committees with members who were politically, socially and economically influential.

This chapter has shown that the CDF committees are unrepresentative and do not adequately consider the voices of the people they are expected to serve. Consequently, the poor and the chronically poor hardly participate in CDF project activities and are not nominated to CDF committees, because they lack social and economic influence. It appears that CDF committees operate as exclusive organisations accessible only to the provincial administration and individuals who have material and non-material resources.

As a result, the current CDF institutions do not facilitate the participation of poor people in development projects, because the provincial administration's role in convening and chairing public meetings limits people's participation. People's participation is understood in terms of CDF committees identifying and selecting projects to be funded and submitting the lists of proposed projects to the CDFC. Thus, local development planning has not given voice to poor people and those who should empower the poor and chronically poor are the ones who do the most to exclude them from decision-making. Hence, powerlessness and voicelessness are likely to be perpetuated under the current state of affairs.

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CHAPTER SIX

FACTORS THAT CONSTRAIN MOBILISATION AND PARTICIPATION OF THE CHRONICALLY POOR [1]

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Introduction

The main contention of this paper is that the participation of all categories of people, including the chronically poor, is essential to the success of poverty alleviation interventions. Participation of poor people is important because strategies to alleviate poverty may fail to attain their objectives when they do not incorporate priorities of the poor (Omosa, 2002). From the literature, chronic poverty is distinguished from poverty in general by extended duration. Chronic poverty describes extreme poverty that lasts for several years, an entire life, or even across generations (CPRC, 2004, 2009). The chronically poor experience long periods of unemployment; they suffer chronic ill health or impairments (Moore, 2001); they face layers of social discrimination (Moore, 2004); and they have little access to productive assets and suffer low capabilities (Brewin, 2007; Sen and Hulme, 2007).

The researcher identified chronically poor households in two stages. The first stage involved establishing characteristics of households considered as chronically poor in the location through discussions with diverse groups in the location. From the discussions held, two common terms, *omotaka omwere* and *omotaka omochorochombu* were used to connote individuals or households who have been poor for a long time. Such people experience persistent ill health and are unable to pay for medical bills or buy drugs. Further, they were least likely to belong to community groups or associations. In terms of land, they had small pieces of land or if they had larger pieces, they leased much of it and hardly purchased farm inputs like fertiliser and hybrid seeds for cultivation. Mostly, their dwellings were completely dilapidated grass-thatched and mud-walled or

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[1] The original names of persons whose case histories are presented here have been changed

their structural condition needed major repairs. Their beddings consisted of *amachanchabe* (rags) or *egesero* (animal hide or skin) and they used old *sufurias* (cooking pots) while their utensils consisted of cooking fat tins. In addition, they usually sold labour as their main economic activity and were sometimes paid in form of food. The second stage involved identifying ten households that exhibited these characteristics with the help of the village elders from the location.

This chapter will analyse factors that constrain the mobilisation and the participation of chronically poor people. Based on selected case histories of chronically poor households in Ibeno location, processes will be explored that cause and entrench conditions, which impede mobilisation and participation. These case histories present rich insights from the perspective of chronically poor people, which will be useful in understanding what hinders their mobilisation and participation. A thematic approach is used to explore the relationships. These themes are clusters of deprivation, absence of initial assets, gender relations, persistent health shocks, and physical and mental disability. The proposition that guides this analysis is that socially excluded people are less likely to access information and to be mobilised to participate in development projects. Social exclusion is indicated by lack of access to economic and non-economic resources in terms of institutions, positions or opportunities that allow participation in social, economic and political activities in a society.

Clusters of Deprivation

The literature on chronic poverty shows that chronically poor people experience clusters of deprivation. This expresses itself in chronic hunger, ill health, low income, illiteracy, completely dilapidated dwellings and possession of few, if any, productive assets. This is why the chronically poor are caught up in a deprivational trap difficult to escape from a state, which in turn affects their mobilisation and participation in CDF project planning as illustrated in Box 6.1.

Box 6.1: Clusters of deprivation

Kerubo is a widow in her mid thirties with four children. She married at the age of 16 years, after dropping out of school in class four, and struggles to cater for her household needs through peasant farming and selling labour. Her husband, though illiterate, was the principal income earner of the household through wage labour before he died after a prolonged illness for which they were unable to meet the medical expenses. After the death of the husband, the only grass-thatched and mud-walled house of the household deteriorated and collapsed. Fortunately, friendly neighbours helped her to construct another mud-walled house with a corrugated iron roof.

Kerubo's household goods consist of three old seats, old cooking pots and plastic utensils. She owns land of less than a quarter acre where she grows maize, beans and bananas. She does not grow any cash crop, due to the small size of land. She has a local breed cow belonging to a kind relative, so she can benefit from the milk. She harvests about two sacks of maize and the household rarely takes two meals a day. Though she had on one occasion received seed maize from the government through the local provincial administration, she cannot afford fertilizer or other farm inputs.

To cope with negative shocks that have become part of her life, she sells part of her harvest, because she simply has no other option. She does not belong to any community group or association because of her inability to make regular contributions. The children do not attend school regularly due to lack of money for school uniforms and fees.

She has heard of the CDF, but does not know about its operations, or her rights and obligations. This is because '*inkokora ekonda boire gose inde isiko aiga intari gotara imanye amangana*' (she does not obtain any information because she is either selling labour or at home). She has never attended any community meeting because she is always busy in her small farm or selling labour. She argues that '*Twensi nabanyasae tore korende nabo tochaire, monto taagokorigereria*' (Though we all belong to God, we are despised and no one can help you). The meetings take a lot of time and may subject her to public ridicule, therefore, she does not have any courage to attend public meetings.

This case demonstrates how poor people are likely to slip into poverty after the death of the principal income-earning member of the household.

This is made worse by possession of insfficient assets like land, livestock, or durable household goods. In addition, due to low levels of education, the chronically poor are engaged in selling labour and peasant farming. As a result, they harvest food that is insufficient for their household needs. Casual labour generates low and irregular income, making it difficult to buy additional food, or to pay for household expenses. The narrative suggests that chronically poor people experience numerous forms of deprivation. It appears that for the chronically poor, deprivation is not just an economic experience but also a social one, which combine to create a deprivation trap that limits access to information and participation in development projects.

Absence of Initial Access to Productive Assets

The social power approach argues that possession of assets like land, cash crops and livestock may influence a person's ability to participate in project planning. This is because assets enhance a person's economic well-being, which in turn improves their political and social standing. Assets are also important in establishing relationships to and networks with CDF officials and the provincial administration. Moore (2004) adds that failure by the older generation to provide the assets required by the younger generation to effectively meet their needs can result in chronic poverty among the next generation. The study found that the social, economic and demographic background of a household has a demonstrable influence on its current well-being, mobilisation and participation. Consequently, a household head who was born into a large family with minimal productive resources and is socially excluded is more likely to slip into poverty. This is illustrated in Box 6.2.

Box 6.2: Absence of initial access to productive resources

Oigoro is a 45-year-old married man with six children. His father was a polygamist and had many sons, so that Oigoro inherited very little land. The parents '*mbabwate nyuma na bosio, barenge kwenga na konywa amarwa*' (brewed and sold local beer as a source of livelihood because they had no other source of livelihood). During his childhood, the parents sold part of their land to pay for household expenses. The result was that '*amatoke oka twarenge koria na konywa amarwa*' (they survived on bananas and local beer). He never

attended school, but instead helped his parents to brew beer in order to earn a living. He was introduced to beer preparation and drinking at a young age, but no longer consumes the local brew because of poor health.

He has two grass-thatched and mud-walled houses which are completely dilapidated and probably will not survive the next rainy season. The last rainy season saw the collapse of the household pit latrine. There is no one who could help him with building materials, i.e. grass thatch and building poles. He has less than an eighth of an acre on which he grows some bananas and harvests about half a sack of maize. He uses straw as fuel for cooking, and neighbours once accused his children of stealing firewood. The household does not have any durable goods except for some old furniture, old utensils, and tattered blankets. He used to have ten chickens that he sold to buy staple food.

He ekes a living by selling labour. Sometimes casual work opportunities are absent or exploitative. The wife also sells labour but was ill during the study. The children do not attend school regularly due to lack of money for fees and uniform. Three of the children went to stay with their grandmother, due to difficulties in meeting their needs. The parents suffered from frequent illnesses, which prevent them from working throughout the year.

Although Oigoro has heard of the CDF, he does not know its operations or any project funded nearby. He does not know when public meetings are held, because most of the time he goes to sell labour. He detests going to public places because people despise him as they still associate him with his poor and alcoholic parents. In addition, he states that he cannot join a group of rich people due to his poverty. He is not interested in government initiatives because he has never received any support from its agencies.

In this narrative, lack of initial access to resources/assets like land, education and social capital are seen to contribute to poverty. This is because in the struggle to survive, the minimal assets available are eroded, resulting in a deeper slippage into extreme poverty. Persons born in households with little productive assets, often lack formal education due to their parent's deprivation and are more likely to be deprived themselves. This is evident from completely dilapidated dwellings, ill health, food shortages and lack of durable household goods. Further, bad reputation leads to the erosion of respect in the eyes of the community.

All these factors combine to exclude persons from the rest of the community, making it difficult to access information or to participate in development projects.

Gender Relations

The study also found that tensions and violence in the home make it difficult to overcome poverty. Economic activities are important in promoting well-being and overcoming poverty, but this requires that household members partner in various activities to work towards improving their livelihood. Disruptive and violent acts by a household member, particularly a household head, significantly affect the well-being of the whole household. The result can be that one partner struggles to cater for the whole household, as illustrated in Box 6.3.

Box 6.3: Effect of gender relations

Gesare is a married woman in her late thirties with six children. Three of her children married after dropping out of school at an early age. Gesare herself never attended school. The household land is less than a quarter acre, from which about a sack of maize and twenty kilograms of beans are harvested. Due to the size of the plot, she does not grow any cash crop to generate income.

The only grass-thatched and mud-walled house is completely dilapidated. There is no furniture in the house, only some utensils made from cooking fat containers. Some children sleep at a neighbour's house due to lack of a bedroom. She has neither a bed nor any bedding except for some tattered blankets, and cannot afford decent clothes.

She sells labour to earn income because it is the essential means of obtaining a livelihood. She sometimes borrows food, which she pays back by selling labour. She was once in a merry-go-round but quit, because the husband always demanded the amount she received. The school-going children rarely attend classes due to lack of examination fees and uniforms. She doubts the children will ever go beyond their current primary school class levels.

Gesare's husband is an alcoholic and never contributes anything to the household income. He always leaves home early in the morning and comes back late at night drunk and beats her frequently. She has to prepare food for him

whatever time he arrives. He also demands money from her, and whenever she fails to produce any, she receives a thorough beating. The husband always says that he would repair the house but has never taken any action. A neighbour once offered to buy grass to thatch the house. When the husband learned of it, he beat the wife and sent her away, grabbed the money and used it on beer. It took the intervention of the assistant chief for the wife to be able to return home.

Gesare has heard of the CDF and that it was used to construct classrooms in a nearby school and for rehabilitating water springs. She does not know when meetings were held to select these projects. She is skeptical that people would listen to her due to disrespect resulting from the permanent conflict with the husband. In addition, the husband also warned her not to appear in any public forum lest he is seen as a failure. Hence, she has never attended any community meetings.

Conflicts caused by irresponsible household heads can sabotage all efforts to engage in activities aimed at improving the well-being of a household. A household head who misuses the little resources available makes it difficult to pay for household expenses. Gender-based violence is disruptive to economic activities and may lead to a further slippage into poverty. Other than increasing vulnerability to deprivation, violence causes injury to individual health, which in turn limits the ability to undertake useful economic activities. In addition, the fear instilled in household members limits their ability to attend public meetings. Furthermore, they are less likely to be taken seriously, even if they attended and contributed ideas in public meetings. This shows that gender-based violence affects women's access to information and limits their participation in development projects.

Persistent Health Shocks

Health shocks put a lot on the pressure on economic and social well-being of a household. Many households slide into chronic poverty after a shock or series of shocks, from which they are unable to recover (Moore, 2004). This is because households are often forced to respond to health shocks by use of hard-earned assets or resources. These household crises and shocks erode household assets, limiting any chance of recovery to

improve well-being. Households that hardly have any assets and earn only little or unstable incomes are likely to fall deeper into unending deprivation. They will therefore spend more time dealing with negative shocks, which limits any chance of accessing information about CDF projects, or attending any community meetings aimed at identifying priority needs. Box 6.4 illustrates effect of persistent health shocks.

Box 6.4: Effect of persistent health shocks

Kibwage is a forty-seven year old man who is now separated from his wife. In his youth, he dropped out of primary school, but later managed to build a house. He bought livestock and chicken and in this way established a respected family in the community. Through lumbering and small-scale farming activities on his four-acre piece of land, he managed to buy two cows, three goats and several chicken. He also cultivates maize and bananas, part of which he sells. He married and has three children.

By the time they had their third child, the firstborn became sick and died after a year of treatment. After the mourning period, they settled and went on with their lives. However, the children frequently became ill and died one after another. The neighbours advised Kibwage to consult a traditional medicine man to cleanse the household. In the processes of cleansing the household, Kibwage gradually spent all his assets. However, the cleansing did not prevent his other children from illness and death. In total, five of the eight children died. Out of frustration, Kibwage quit lumbering and a self-help group that he had been attending for some time. He leased part of the land to pay his debts and slowly got into drinking beer. He became an alcoholic and could no longer contribute to household expenditure. As life became unbearable, due to lack of income and food, worsened by the deterioration of the grass-thatched house they lived in, the wife could no longer cope with the situation and left him.

Kibwage has heard of the CDF and its bursary component, but does not know any of its operations. He used to attend community meetings before the family began to experience health shocks. Now, he is despised in the community due to his completely dilapidated house, separation from his wife, and his drunkenness. Even if he attended a community meeting, he would not be given an opportunity to speak. All these factors limit his ability to access information and to participate in development projects.

Persistent negative shocks, particularly those that require many resources to cope with (such as ill health) can lead to chronic poverty. They erode household assets and resources. This leaves people struggling to cope with meeting the expenses. They also spend a lot of time attending to the sick and may not have time to attend community meetings or to go to places where they can obtain information about the CDF. The situation is made worse if the crisis is perceived as an outcome of witchcraft or evil spirits. Some community members may opt to avoid interacting with such a household, resulting in social exclusion. Once a household is excluded, access to information and participation in development projects is significantly limited.

Mental Disability

Mental disability when accompanied with neglect can lead to poverty from which it is difficult to escape. A mentally disabled person neglected from childhood is likely to end up chronically poor as an adult. Due to neglect, access to formal education or introduction to any activity aimed at improving their capacity is minimal. Other people, including extended family members, may exploit them and deny them access to common household resources such as land. This complicates their situation, because they cannot readily defend themselves due to ignorance of the likely alternative channels to be followed, as illustrated in Box 6.5.

Box 6.5: Mental disability

Asiago is a mentally disabled male in his early forties. He never attended school and has not been introduced to any activity aimed at improving his well-being. His parents neglected him from an early age, when they realized that he was mentally disabled. He was isolated from his siblings and his needs were not attended to. Through the help of a cousin, he married and has three children. Two of the children suffer from unexplainable seizures. The wife has to be always nearby to assist him when he needs attention. He hardly leaves the compound, because he has become also physically weak and does not engage in any economic activity. The result is that the wife has to maintain their household's well-being all by herself.

When she married him, she leased part of their three-acre plot of land and bought some household items, because there was nothing in the grass-thatched, mud-walled house that his cousin helped him build. His brothers were unhappy with the marriage, as they wanted to take over his inheritance. Due to his mental disability, he could neither resist nor take any action against his brothers. His wife sought help from the chief, who, together with the village elder warned the brothers against any further interference.

Much of the land is under lease, while the wife grows some maize and tea bushes on what is left. She sells the tea to *soko huru* (tea dealers), and part of her maize harvest to generate income. She also sells labour, and they own two goats and some chicken.

The wife does not belong to any community group because she cannot be accepted due to lack of funds to contribute. She is also being discriminated against, because she is married to a mentally disabled man. She has never heard of the CDF because she rarely visits social places to obtain information and no one informs her about it. The result is that she has never attended any public meeting aimed at identifying priority projects. She also pointed out that even if she attended no one would bother about her.

The case illustrates that mental disability coupled with neglect during childhood is likely to lead to chronic poverty. Such a person lacks the capacity to take charge of his/her life and is likely to be socially excluded. When married, their spouses have greater responsibility to sustain the household, to take care of the children and to work hard to pay for all household expenses. This consumes a lot of time and limits their chances of attending public meetings or visiting communal places. If the spouse is equally uneducated and relies on peasant farming and selling labour, the household easily slides deeper into poverty. All this also shows that people who are socially excluded are unlikely to access information, or to participate in development projects.

Conclusion

The case histories suggest that chronically poor people have been pushed to the margins of survival and are trapped in complex and multidimensional deprivation that impedes upward mobility. It also appears that a major negative shock within a household such as any form of disability, lack of material and non-material assets, gender-based conflict can trigger the slide into chronic poverty, or make it difficult for a household to improve its well-being. Many chronically poor rely on odd jobs involving selling labour. These jobs generate low income and have long working hours, which makes it difficult to undertake any other economic activity. Moreover, due to the dehumanizing conditions under which they live, chronically poor people are often despised, rejected and avoided. Thus, they experience by high levels of social and economic exclusion.

As has been demonstrated, chronically poor people are greatly disadvantaged in accessing information about development projects. This is because they rarely belong to community groups or other social networks that would enable them to access information. The CDF officials do not consider them sufficiently knowledgeable or respectable to contribute to the development process and do not bother to inform them about development projects, which limit their chances of accessing information. Consequently, they are the ones least likely to be mobilised. It also seems that among the chronically poor, socialization and past disregard of their contribution in development projects has led to internalised feelings of subordination, apathy, self-blame and powerlessness. Thus, they are socially excluded from the two most important avenues of participation: CDF committees and public meetings.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study has dealt with how people are mobilised and how they participate in development projects. More specifically, it has examined the mobilisation and participation of chronically poor people in development projects. By use of the CDF as a case study, this study has analysed the mobilisation and participation of the people in Ibeno Location. The study's interest in participation derives from the recognition that poverty includes powerlessness and voicelessness. Thus, participation offers people a real opportunity to have a voice in development projects aimed at improving their well-being. Participation is also important because it improves the capacity of those involved to take actions essential to improving their well-being, to enhance project sustainability, to promote social learning among actors, and to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of funded projects.

From a participatory development approach, local knowledge is essential in formulating priority projects. People articulate their priorities and exercise their rights through local institutions, and development workers play a facilitative role in project planning. In addition, according to the social power approach, power is dispersed through society, power is entangled in social relations between agents that differ in their interests, identities and resources, and that power is articulated through complex mechanisms including tactics of enrolment and negotiation. Based on these theoretical arguments, three propositional statements were formulated to guide the study. First, when people have access to information about development projects, they are more likely to be mobilised. Second, people who have fewer resources are less likely to participate in development projects. Third, socially excluded people are unlikely to be mobilised or to participate in development projects.

This study has argued that access to information about development projects is important for people's mobilisation. Through information, people understand the nature and operations of development projects, and what is expected of them. Findings showed that people who earn lower income had less of knowledge and awareness of the CDF. They also showed that people access information about development projects through the media, the provincial administration, relatives, neighbours and in public meetings. However, these methods are ineffective in achieving proper mobilisation. The reason for this is that the poor usually do not access information through these methods. In addition, due to the perception of the provincial administration as autocratic, their presence in public meetings makes some community members uncomfortable. As a result, some people either never attend the meetings or do not want to have anything to do with the projects. Thus, failure to achieve effective mobilisation can be attributed to lack of adequate methods of spreading information about the fund's operations.

The CDF committees, namely, the SLDC, the LDC and the SDDC, identify and select projects funded in the location. At the location and sub location levels, exclusively, the chief and his assistant chiefs selected the committees. Political patronage is the main factor that influences the constitution and functioning of CDF local institutions at the sub location, location and divisional levels. Due to this, CDF committees consist of persons who are economically or politically influential. On the other hand, people who have minimal material and non-material resources are excluded from CDF committees because they lack resources or networks through which they could influence the provincial administration. It appears that exclusion of some categories of people from CDF committees is part of the enrolment tactics, which result in domination of the process by those who are able to exercise social power. Moreover, because committee members are not obligated to consult community members, people's views are excluded from funded projects. Thus, the committees make decisions on behalf of the people, without the people confirming whether the projects selected were in line with their aspirations or not.

Public meetings convened by the chief and assistant chiefs (chief's baraza) usually discuss many community issues, including CDF project activities. Other public gatherings where CDF project activities are highlighted include fund raising meetings, funerals, church gatherings, and parents' day meetings in secondary schools. However, attendance of public meetings was limited due to distant venues for some meetings, ignorance of such meetings, and fear of intimidation by the provincial administration. People's motivation to attend or not to attend public meetings is also shaped by their perceptions of the openness and fairness of such meetings. In addition, not all those who attend public meetings could readily contribute ideas, because the provincial administration selects community members who speak. Due to a low estimate of poor people by the provincial administration who seem to think that they are not knowledgeable enough to contribute, the poor are hardly given an opportunity to speak. All these factors act to exclude poor people from active engagement in development project identification and selection.

The established local institutions notwithstanding, chronically poor people know little about the CDF and are hardly mobilised to participate in development projects. This is because they are cut off from proper institutional avenues through which they can access information and participate in development projects. This is evident in limited access to social capital, and rejection by CDF officials and other members of the community. Thus, for chronically poor people, access to information, mobilisation and participation in development projects are yet to have an impact.

Participation is seen as a means to achieve project objectives. This is because it is assumed that through representation in CDF committees and discussion in public meetings, people participate to identify and select priority projects. In reality, participation is influenced by political, economic, social and cultural factors that operate and shape who gets to sit at the decision making table and whose issues get addressed.

Conclusions

Although project identification and selection is done at the sub location and location levels, this has not induced active involvement of poor people. This is because political patronage influences the constitution of CDF committees and consultation in public meetings. Political patronage is the single most important factor that explains how people are mobilised and how they participate in development projects. Through it, local notables are selected to CDF committees and dominate public meetings where consultation about projects takes place. In this way, CDF officials and the provincial administration shape who participates, and the way in which participation occurs. Due to this, the poor and chronically poor are left out of the planning process. Although an attempt is made to consult people in public meetings, few poor people attend such meetings or suggest priority projects. The CDF local institutions and public meetings are imbued with social power in which only the economically, socially and politically powerful influence decision-making. The voice of chronically poor people is therefore not audible in various phases of the project cycle, because they are excluded from CDF committees and by-passed in public meetings.

Poor people have not even begun to take advantage of the participatory space provided by the CDF to influence project planning. The study established that though some poor people were willing to attend public meetings and seek more information about the Fund, others were not keen. There were cases in which poor people declined active involvement in project planning activities, because they thought that the well-off should provide leadership. This can be attributed to the history of local development, where poor people were excluded from development projects in such a way that they do not see how they could influence projects. This implies that factors within the social sphere of the poor hinder them from taking an active role in project planning. Hence, it should not be assumed that people are automatically ready and willing to participate in all phases of the project cycle, as proposed by the participatory development approach.

For chronically poor people, access to information is a big challenge. Inappropriate mobilisation methods result in a situation where some people hardly understand the Fund's operation or the role they are expected to play. Through enrolment, the provincial administration convinces and enlists participants like village elders, opinion leaders and prominent people into networks through which information is passed, to the disadvantage of the poor. Development planning therefore takes place without the levels of knowledge and awareness necessary to achieve effective mobilisation. This in turn limits the ability of people to engage in CDF project activities that they hardly understand.

Based on the theoretical discussion in the paper, mobilisation and participation that privileges some people over others in the community simply cannot achieve the intended objectives of local development. From a social power perspective, poverty alleviation strategies that emphasise people's participation mean little if they do not address the social power relations embedded in transformative project activities. On the other hand, poverty alleviation strategies that pay close attention to social power relations in the community and aim at addressing arenas where power may become concentrated are more likely to result in effective projects. It should be noted therefore that the establishment of new institutions will not of itself lead to poor people having a voice in development projects. This is because previous institutions are not automatically dismantled but may become integrated in new ones. This insight questions the view that decentralised funds will automatically transform power relations to facilitate mobilisation and participation of those who have been excluded from development projects for a long time.

Recommendations

Due to the importance of local institutions in mobilisation and participation, the CDF law should provide for nomination and election of CDF committees directly by the people. This would challenge the exclusive role of the MP and the provincial administration in selecting members of the committees. It will also ensure that persons who are

accountable to the community and appropriately represent the people in CDF committees. Further, to ensure that the institutions facilitate genuine participation, the institutions should use participatory methodologies to establish people's priority projects and to develop strategic plans through which projects can be implemented systematically. This is because clear interaction between people and established local institutions is essential to achieve successful participation. In addition, before projects are forwarded to the CDFC, they should be circulated widely in their respective locations, so that people are able to verify that the proposals are consistent with their priorities. Strategic plans for constituencies should also be circulated in the same manner to ensure that the voice of the people informs priority projects. This will ensure that any misunderstanding or potential conflict is resolved before projects are implemented.

The CDFC should design and implement emancipatory educational and awareness activities to enable people to understand the nature and operations of the CDF. Such activities could specifically address the information needs of the poor and the chronically poor who are excluded from formal networks. This would enable people at the local level effectively to engage CDF officials in project identification and selection, and thereby to take charge of their own development. In addition, when people have such knowledge and awareness, they can challenge projects that do not address their needs, because they know their roles and procedures to follow, in case of any disagreements in projects funded.

To further enhance people's knowledge and awareness of the Fund, notice boards should be located at the chief's and the assistant chief's offices, and at local market centres, where people frequent. These notice boards would display details of the CDF, like amounts disbursed, projects selected, funds allocated to various projects, ongoing and completed projects, and when project-planning meetings are held. This would be effective in reaching many people in a location. Of course, it would be necessary to update the notice boards regularly, so that people

are aware of what is happening at any one time. People should also have an opportunity to confirm whether the projects selected are the ones to be funded, and whether they are being implemented. This could be the basis for future discussions with CDF officials and committees.

In analyzing how people are mobilised and participate in development projects, the study used income as an indicator of well being. However, income is limited in value, due to direct consumption and the focus could be on household expenditure on food and non-food items to establish household well-being. The income used corresponds to the household heads, as opposed to the household in general. Thus, it is not possible to distinguish poor from non-poor households, based on consumption per adult equivalent. This study therefore recommends further research on how people are mobilised and participate in development projects, based per adult equivalent household consumption. Such a study would examine mobilisation and participation of poor and non-poor people and make realistic recommendations that would address the voice of poor people in development project planning and implementation at the local level.

This study examined participation in development projects, yet there are other forms of participation that are equally intertwined in development projects. Hence, the study recommends further research on political participation with regard to how poor people influence public or development policies that impact their lives.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Household Heads

Identification

NO.	QUESTION	RESPONSE	CODE
Section one: Social, economic and demographic characteristics			
1	Gender of the respondent	1. Male 2. Female	
2	Age of respondent		
3	Marital status	1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced/separated 4. Other, specify.........	
4	Total household members		
5	Religion/ denomination	1. Protestant 2. Catholic 3.Seventh Day Adventists 4.Other, specify..........	
6	Highest level of education attained	1. None 2. Primary 3. Secondary and vocational 4. College and University 5 Other, specify..........	
7	What is your main occupation?	1. Small scale farmer 2. Salaried employee/professional	

		3. Casual worker 4. Small business operator 5. Other, specify.........	
8	Do you own land?	1. Yes 2. No	
9	What is the size of these pieces of land (acres)?	b.Ancestral/ Inheritance	
10	Do you grow any of the following crops?	1. Yes	2. No	If No => 13
	a. Coffee			
	b. Tea			
	c. Pyrethrum			
	d. Sugarcane			
	e. Tomatoes			
	f. Bananas			
11	If so, what's the value of each cash crop (acres)?		
	a. Coffee		
	b. Tea		
	c. Pyrethrum		
	d. Sugarcane		
	e. Bananas		
	f. Other, Specify		
12	What value of the following crops did you harvest last season?		
	a. Maize (sacks)		
	b. Beans (sacks)		
	c. Sorghum (sacks)		
	d. Other (specify)		
13	Is the amount of food you	1. Yes	

	harvest sufficient to your household needs?	2. No	
14	If no, for how long do you buy additional food (Months)?		
15	What is your monthly income from the following sources (Kshs)?		
	a. Farming		
	b. Remittances		
	c. Off farm business		
	d. Salary/wages.		
	e. Total		
16	Type of dwelling (*record observation*)	1. Grass thatched and mud walled	
		2. Mabati roofed and mud walled	
		3.Mabati roofed and concrete walled	
		4. Mabati roofed and brick/block walled	
17	Structural condition of dwelling (*record observation*)	1. Completely dilapidated	
		2. Needs major repairs	
		3. Needs no or minor repairs	
		4. Under construction	
	Household assets and goods		
18	Number of cattle		
19	Breed of cattle	1. Local breed	
		2. Hybrid	
		3. Pure breed	
20	Number of goats		
21	Number of Chicken		
22	Number of sheep		
23	Do you or any member of your household own any of the following		

		items?	
		a. Radio or stereo	1. Yes 2. No	
		b. A television set	1. Yes 2. No	
		c. A telephone/ Mobile phone	1. Yes 2. No	
		d. Sewing machine	1. Yes 2. No	
		e. Bicycle	1. Yes 2. No	
		f. Motorcycle	1. Yes 2. No	
		g. Car/motor vehicle	1. Yes 2. No	
		h. Gas cooker	1. Yes 2. No	
		j. Kerosene stove	1. Yes 2. No	
		k. Charcoal stove	1. Yes 2. No	
	Household shocks		
24	Has your household experienced any shock over the last one year?	1. Yes 2. No	
25	If yes, which one(s)?		
		a. food shortage	1. Yes 2. No	
		b. Loss of property	1. Yes 2. No	
		c. Drought	1. Yes 2. No	
		d. Ill health	1. Yes 2. No	
26	What measures did you take to cope with the shock(s)?	a. Sale of household assets	
		b. Sale of labour	
		c. Borrowing from banks/financial institutions	
		d.Borrowing from neighbours /friends	
		e. Depended on charity	
		f.Depended on household income/ earnings	
27	To what extent were the	1. Greater extent	

	strategies employed to cope with shocks effective?	2. Great extent	
		3. Some extent	
		4. Less extent	
		5. Lesser extent	
28	When you fall ill, where do you usually seek treatment?	1.Government hospital or health centre	
		2. Mission Hospital	
		3. Private Hospital or Clinic	
		4.Traditional practitioner or herbalist	
	Groups and associations		
29	Do you belong to a community group?	1. Yes 2. No	
30	If yes, what is the number of such groups		
31	List the types of groups		
32	If no, explain why		
	Section two: Participation in CDF Projects		
33	Do you know or have you heard of the CDF or projects?	1. Yes 2. No	
34	If so, which year did you hear/know of it?		
35	Do you know any CDF committee?	1. Yes 2. No	
36	What is the source of the CDF?		
37	What is the purpose of CDF?		
38	Have you ever been involved in any of the following CDF project activities?		
	a. Attended project identification meetings	1. Yes 2. No	

	b. Attended Project selection meetings	1. Yes 2. No	
	c. Contributed ideas during CDF meetings	1. Yes 2. No	
	d. Contributed labour during project implementation	1. Yes 2. No	
Section three: Mobilisation of People			
39	Through which means do you obtain information about the CDF/projects?		
	a. Relatives/neighbours or friends	1. Yes 2. No	
	b. The chief, assistant chief or village elders	1. Yes 2. No	
	c. The media	1. Yes 2. No	
	d. Public meetings and community gatherings	1. Yes 2. No	
	e. Other, specify....		

Appendix 2: Interview Guides

Guide for Focus Groups
1. What are the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of chronically poor people?
2. a) Who are the main actors in CDF project planning and implementation?
   b) What are their social, economic and demographic characteristics?
   c) What roles do they play?
3. How does people's participation in CDF projects take place?
4. a) What methods are used to inform people about development projects?
   b) What methods are used to mobile people for development project planning?
   c) How effective are the methods in reaching poor and chronically poor people?
5. What factors constrain mobilisation and participation of people in project planning and implementation?

Guide for Key Informants
1. a) Who are the main actors in CDF project planning and implementation?
   b) What are their social, economic and demographic characteristics?
   c) What roles do they play?
2. How does people's participation in CDF projects take place?
3. a) What methods are used to inform people about development projects?
   b) What methods are used to mobile people for development project planning?
   c) How effective are the methods in reaching poor and chronically poor people?
4. What factors constrain mobilisation and participation of people in project planning and implementation?

Guide for Case Histories

Focused on three themes for selected households

a) Social, economic, and demographic background

b) Knowledge of the CDF and CDF projects

c) Factors that constrain mobilisation and participation in development projects