

**Urban Resident's Associations and the Management of Services in  
Nairobi: A Study of the Karen and Langata District Association  
(KLDA)**

**By**

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## DECLARATION

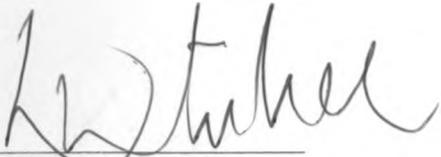
This project paper is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.



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This project has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.



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## **DEDICATION**

To my parents, Muthee and Wanjiru  
For your love, support and encouragement

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## **Abbreviations**

AGM	Annual General Meeting
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organisations
DDCs	District Development Committees
GOK	Government of Kenya
KARA	Kenya Alliance of Residents Associations
KLDA	Karen and Langata Development Association
KLGRP	Kenya Local Government Reform Programme
LAs	Local Authorities
LASDP	Local Authorities Service Delivery Plan
LATF	Local Authorities Transfer Fund
LGLA	Local Government Loans Authority
LUUM	Lindi Umoja Usafi na Maendeleo
MDP	Municipal Development Programme
MLG	Ministry of Local Government
MUUM	Makina Umoja Usafi na Maendeleo
NCBDA	Nairobi Central District Association
NCC	Nairobi City Council
NDA	Ngong District Association
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
UNHCS	United Nations Center for Habitat and Human Settlement
UULS	Ushirika wa Usafi Laini Saba
We Can Do It	We Care About Nairobi Do It .

## **Abstract**

This study examines the role of residents associations in service provision and management, using Karen and Langata District Association (KLDA) as a case study. This is done by searching into the operations of KLDA to establish the governance structure, member's participation, service provision strategies and the relationship between KLDA and the Nairobi City Council (NCC).

Evaluation of KLDA was done by getting the views of KLDA management team. Further information on KLDA was provided by the members of the association in order to assess their level of satisfaction with the service provision in the area. Leaders of other associations namely, Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA), Buruburu Residents Welfare Association, Dandora Residents Association, Kenya Alliance of Residents Association (KARA), We Care About Nairobi Do It (We Can Do It), Makina Umoja Usafi na Maendeleo (MUUM), Lindi Umoja Usafi na Maendeleo (LUUM), Ushirika wa Usafi Laini Saba (UULS) as well as NCC officials were also interviewed to complement the case study.

The findings show that residents associations play a central role in service provision to residents and urban policy redirection is needed to incorporate these associations in urban governance, essentially decision making related to service provision. Associations hold democratic elections to choose leaders who are accountable to the members, allow members participation in management of the affairs of associations and provide a channel through which residents benefit from assistance provided by the state and non state actors. However, conflict and lack of coordination exists between associations and the state actors as reflected in the case of KLDA.

## **CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION**

The chapter begins by discussing the development model followed by Kenya since independence and its problems that led to formation of associations such as KLDA to improve service provision. This is followed by an outline of this study. Other sections in the chapter include problem statement, study objectives, research questions, justification, scope of the study and definition of concepts used in the study.

### **1.1 Background Information**

The post-colonial African states, including Kenya adopted a development model that was characterised by a high degree of public sector profile. The state was actually involved in all sectors of the economy including administration, regulation, provision of public commodities and entrepreneurship (Onjala, 1998:86; Barkan et.al.1991; Ndegwa, 1993;Ng'ethe et.al., 1990 and; Ng'ethe and Kanyinga, 1992). A centralised development approach characterised state interventions in development planning and implementation. This occurred mainly through the central government and the Local Authorities (LAs).

The local councils (LCs) are components of the local government system which is an elaborate system of public administration set up under the Local Government Act Cap 265. The Local Government Act is a legal provision which gives the LCs in different parts of the country the mandate to administer local affairs and provision of services to their particular localities (Akivaga et.al., 1985:7).

LAs were established to provide a wide range of services most of which are strictly local in character (markets, slaughter houses, minor roads and street lighting), while others involve both local and national interests such as education, health services, roads and housing (GOK, 1970/74: 179). The Minister of Local Government is charged with the responsibility of acting as the prime agency for guiding and assisting local authorities in determining their individual policies, planning their development programmes and administering their technical and financial responsibilities (GOK, 1974/78: 502; Akivaga et.al., 1985 and; GOK, 1978).

Until the era of multi-party politics and the call for good governance, the LAs operated with hardly any involvement of local residents. At the same time their service provision and management was poor. In Kenya residents in most urban areas have responded to shortage or absence of public services by providing and managing services in urban areas on their own. They have formed associations to ensure that the residents are provided with the services. The associations are involved in lobbying and advocacy for better services. In Nairobi for example, associations such as KLDA, Muthaiga resident's association, Buruburu resident's association, have prominently featured in providing services such as collection of garbage, security, advocacy for residents rights and contribution to urban policy processes. Residents of Karen and Langata area came up in arms to demand for transparency and accountability from the NCC. The demands were occasioned by deterioration in service provision despite payment of rates and other taxes to the NCC.

Inefficiency in service provision has been partly due to the fact that the LAs act as arms of the Central Government with limited autonomy. The LAs lack autonomy and power, acting as delegate of the central government. Akivaga et.al (1985: 24) notes that the scope of their duties and functions depends on the scope of authority set out in the instruments of delegation, that is the Local Government Act which empowers them to undertake a wide array of duties and functions. This, coupled with other constraints such as lack of clear urban policy, lack of managerial skills, increased urban population, corruption, poorly paid staff and the poor overall macroeconomic performance led to decline and deterioration in delivery of services. Urban areas therefore came to be characterized by traffic congestion, floods, bad roads, erratic electricity and water supply shortages and mounting vermin-infested garbage heaps.

Urban populations continue growing but the capacity of LAs has not expanded to cater for the large numbers of people in the urban areas. This has increased pressure on facilities such as water, drainage, housing, transport systems and increased insecurity due to large numbers of unemployed people. This is accompanied by changes in urban

governance, whereby non-state actors (the civil society which includes residents associations) have participated actively in management and provision of services.

This study examines the operations and management of associations with specific focus on KLDA. This is an association formed by residents of Karen and Langata. These are Estates on the southern part of Nairobi and are occupied by high and middle-income groups. The association seeks to address problems of service provision facing the members. It ensures that members have access to goods and services such as security, infrastructure and water among others.

This study comprises five chapters. This chapter comprises the introduction, followed by the problem statement. The latter shows the areas related to associational life in urban areas that have been previously studied and the lacuna that exists and which this study intends to fill. It further provides the scope of the study, objectives of the study, research questions and definition of concepts used in the study.

Chapter two reviews the literature related to issues being assessed by this study and is organised into a number of themes. These include history of associational life from precolonial to post colonial period, urban governance under which a discussion of the local government system and reforms taking place is provided. This is followed by a discussion on associational life in contemporary urban areas, a brief discussion on the role of residents associations, their governance structure and service provision strategies. Finally an analysis of partnership and participatory approaches to service provision is provided.

Chapter three comprises the theoretical frameworks used to guide this study. These include, the statist approach, decentralization model, civil society and associational life approach, social participation approach and institutional capacity building model.

Chapter four provides an outline of the methodology and consists of the study site, sampling procedure, data collection, and data analysis methods.

Chapter five presents the findings of the study on KLDA. It is organised into the following themes: the organisational and governance structure of KLDA, the role of KLDA in provision and management of services and participation in service provision. The latter entails a discussion on the contribution of KLDA membership to the activities of the association. It also discusses the working relations between KLDA and the NCC, civil society organisations and the business community.

Chapter six provides the concluding remarks and recommendations. The section on recommendations is divided into two parts namely, policy recommendations and areas of further research.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Residents associations continue to play a very vital role in the society. The important nature of the role they play is seen in their increasing number due to their potential to improve people's lives. Associations provide some of the services that the state has failed to deliver efficiently. They do this through effective management of the country's resources, ensuring proper service delivery and working towards a healthy environment (Kenya Times, 2002). They are becoming increasingly popular and useful in addressing a wide range of problems facing residents such as insecurity, uncollected garbage, decaying infrastructure and water shortage.

By joining together urban residents seek to provide services and also influence LAs and other relevant departments of the state to provide to the members especially those services that the association is incapable of providing. LAs have experience, technical expertise and capital to carry out some activities that the associations cannot manage. Through lobbying and advocacy, associations aim at getting the attention of the appropriate authorities and to ensure that they deliver services to the residents.

Studies on associational life in urban areas show that urban associations are formed as a response to a number of factors: decline in provision of services by the central and local government (Tati, 1998; Shack, 1975; Ellias, 1998; Barkan, 1991 and; Andrea, 1998).

They are also formed in order to maintain links with the rural areas and to provide social support, mutual aid and recreation (Barkan, 1991; Shack, 1975).

However, many of the service delivery associations are fairly young, have been formed, as a response to crisis in service delivery from the late 1980s thus there is limited documented information and knowledge on the operations and management of these associations. There are few case studies focusing on specific associations. This study focuses on KLDA with an attempt to establish the governance structure, strategies of operation, participation and relationship with the NCC, and other actors.

This study examines and analyses the operations and management of KLDA with the purpose of contributing to the understanding of urban residents' associations in provision and management of urban services. Through a detailed examination of the activities of the association, governance structure and the relationship between KLDA and NCC the study seeks to find the factors, which contribute to effective provision and management of services by urban residents' associations.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The broad objective of this study was to examine the role of urban residents associations in ensuring access to services by urban residents using KLDA as a case study.

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

1. To examine the service provision strategies adopted by the urban residents associations and their effectiveness in service delivery.
2. To investigate the level of residents participation in decision-making and service provision.
3. To study the governance structure of urban residents associations.
4. To study the nature of the relationship between urban residents associations and the NCC and other non-state actors.

The study seeks to answer the following questions

1. What strategies have urban residents associations adopted in order to achieve their objectives?
2. What is the level of resident's participation in decision-making and service provision?
3. What is the governance structure of urban residents associations?
4. What is the relationship between urban residents associations and other actors within the city of Nairobi?

## **1.5 Justification**

Urban areas are constantly changing hence the constant need for fresh information for policymaking, planning and management of urban services. This is important because of the challenges facing urban areas such as increased urban populations, globalisation and the need for efficient service provision.

The study is vital in contributing to issues of provision of services and urban management. It avails information relevant for urban governors to realize the importance of residents associations and see the need to establish a framework for formation of partnership and strong links for efficient and effective delivery of services to urban residents. Although associations provide services to a significant percentage of urban residents, not many urban authorities understand the nature of their operation, hence lack of coordination and strong and lasting partnerships for effective service delivery.

The study examines the relationship between associations and other development agencies. This is important in the current development approaches, which encourage partnership approaches to development. This requires succinct knowledge on operations and governance structures of associations such as KLDA that are formed and managed by residents. The mechanisms applied in operations of such associations are informed by the realities on the ground. Their importance cannot be underscored in formation of partnerships for enhancing service delivery.

The study will also contribute to the theory of associational life in urban areas and strengthen it for use in the study of other urban residents' associations and how these associations can work together with the LAs, the non-profit sector and the private sector to ensure effective and efficient delivery of services to urban residents.

Finally the study will point out the unique aspects of KLDA and therefore contribute to ongoing research and debates on urban associations.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study examines the operations of residents associations and their outcome using KLDA as a case study. This is an association formed by residents of Karen and Langata, residential areas in Nairobi and its activities are confined to the area.

It involves assessing the role played by the association in providing services to the residents, the governance structure, service provision strategies applied in order to its achieve objectives, the ways in which residents participate in the activities of the association and its relation with the NCC and other non state actors in service provision. The task is to assess whether the association has achieved its objectives, how this is done and whether members are satisfied with the services provided by the association.

## **1.7 Definition of Concepts**

### **1.7.1 Resident Associations**

It refers to groups of people living in the same area or sharing common interests who have organized themselves to solve specific problems and improve the lives of their members (Kenya Times, 2002).

In this study KLDA is a resident's association formed by people living in the same neighbourhood pursuing a similar goal, of ensuring access to basic services. This is done by providing services, lobbying, advocacy and making demand to the NCC and other relevant state authorities to deliver services commensurate to the revenue that residents pay.

### **1.7.2 Governance**

It refers to the legitimate exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all the levels. It comprises the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups exercise their legal rights and obligations and mediate their differences (Panganiban, 2001).

It also refers to the process through which public goods and services are provided with government as a conduit. Government in this case is not a single entity but the application of legal rules jointly agreed upon by citizens and institutions with a given mandate to ensure compliance with those rules (Ngware, 2000).

In this study, governance refers to how the management team of KLDA organises the activities of the association, mobilises resources and ensures that the members are involved in the decision making on how the association is managed. It also encompasses the issues of how the people in leadership positions are elected, how they relate with the ordinary members and the external environment (Government, private sector, local and international donors, other urban resident's associations and the non-profit sector).

### **1.7.3 Participation**

It is a political act and process whereby individuals actively engage in conceptualisation, planning and management of their development. It involves power sharing in decision-making (governance process). The assumption behind power sharing is the existence of a balance between the interacting parties (Ellias, 1998).

Participation in this study refers to the issues of involvement of members in the management of the activities of the association either through attending meetings, voting, raising complaints, belonging to a committee, making suggestions on the activities of the association and how these will be carried out.

### **1.7.4 Service Provision**

It refers to decisions made through collective choice mechanism about: the kind of goods and services to be provided by a designated group of people; the quantity and quality of the goods and services to be provided; the degree to which private activities related to these goods and services are to be regulated; how to arrange for the production of these

goods and services; how to monitor the performance of those who produce these goods and services (Ostrom, 1993 cited in Mhamba, 1998).

In this study provision refers to how activities are organized to ensure members receive services that they need either through private means or through the LAs. The members contribute money that is used to hire private providers or to organise ways of getting the services from the state authorities, as tax payers they are entitled to good services at all times.

### **1.7.5 Civil Society**

Gibbon (1996:28) defines civil society as an organisation constituted outside the state representing associations and interest groups in opposition to the state and checking its excesses and protecting those holding significant stake in society from the state.

Ikelegebe (2001) notes that the life of civil society organisations is defined by distinctiveness and relative independence from the state and its objectives are essentially civic and public, while its activities are underlined by claims, contestation and popular struggles. The first definition provided by Gibbon asserts that civil society organisations are formed to oppose the government. This is not necessarily the case because in the recent past partnership approaches between the state and non-state actors have become popular due to increased problems that require combined effort among stakeholders.

This study will adopt the second definition provided by Ikelegebe. It only points out that the civil society is different from the state in terms of its objectives and activities but does not insist on being opposed to the state.

## **CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this chapter, the author discusses associational life, urban governance, residents' associations' participation and partnership approach to service provision. Associational life is discussed by examining pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. The discussion on urban governance examines the Local Government system highlighting its operations and the reforms taking place within it in an attempt to improve service provision. Finally the roles, governance structure and service provision strategies applied by residents associations are critically presented.

### **2.1 History of Associational Life in Kenya**

#### **2.1.1 The Pre-colonial Period**

In Africa there has always existed heritage of communal self-help groups which local leaders and community organizers have been able to draw from. These groups were organised around the tribe, clan or the whole community (Bery, 1986 and Salole, 1986 cited in Ng'ethe et.al, 1990: 3). Gilbert and Gugler (1982), observed that even before the colonizers embarked on what they referred to as "civilizing the continent", there was a lot of associational life in the form of community life. People worked together for the good of society with the belief that when society prospers all its members shared in the prosperity. These communal tasks were voluntary in nature (Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999: 35).

The recruitment, socialization and succession to community work were well determined and structured functions expected of every individual in society (Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999: 35). Many communities in Kenya for example, Akamba, Luo, Luhyia, Agikuyu had mutual assistance systems, where community members met during times of happiness, marriage, initiation, birth of a child and grief such as sickness, wars and death.

Kinship networks played a major role in promoting associational life. The homestead as a unit of governance determined who was involved in what activity at particular points.

Village elders were concerned with issues of security while a hierarchy of councils existed to oversee overall decision-making. This particular setting ensured that people participated in issues of governance and development. This kind of governing system was mainly rural based.

### **2.1.2 The Colonial Period**

The colonial period saw the introduction of new authority structures that subordinated all traditional institutions to the colonial order. African communal system was considered savage and was replaced with western religion, education and medicine (Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999: 6). The colonial government appointed chiefs and administrators who were given the role of forcing people to abandon their traditions and accept the colonizers way of life.

The chiefs and administrators appointed by the colonial government became very unpopular with the local communities. Parallel associations (movements and political parties) emerged to oppose and fight the colonial government. Many African associations were formed to meet the needs that the colonial state either explicitly ignored or to which it paid less attention (Hyden, 1995: 38). Hyden further notes that discriminatory policies of the colonial state had the effect of alienating the more educated and well-travelled segments of the population in particular. These groups formed associations to protect and promote their interest's vis-à-vis the state.

There was confrontational relationship between the colonial government and these associations because they represented interests different from the ones pursued by the colonizers. They challenged the government's policies and fought for the alienated land, against taxation without representation, forced labour, education among others. Hyden (1995: 39) notes that, associational life in African politics formed the root of nationalism and provided the context within which democratic values were fostered.

Collective action in both urban and rural areas played an important role in the fight for political and economic independence. Formation of political parties and other movements for example, the Mau Mau movement in Kenya led to freedom and made it possible for

Africans to access land, employment, leadership which were initially controlled and held by the colonialists.

### **2.1.3 The Post-colonial Period**

The post-colonial state started life with infinitely more popular support than the colonial state would ever have mobilized but it had more commitment (Hyden, 1995: 40). The post-colonial state's legitimacy centred on the ability of the state to enhance development as promised at independence (Kanyinga, 1995: 71 and; Fowler, 1995: 54).

The logic of the transition implied that the state was now the true representative of the people and so there was little need for autonomous voluntary organisations. Kanyinga (1995: 70) notes that, in the 1960's and 1970's, the state provided the bulk of services while the voluntary sector confined itself mainly to relief and welfare. The Kenyatta government encouraged self-help activities and emphasised the need for self-reliance in development. As the 1979-83 Development Plan indicated: -

“Those institutions concerned with providing needed social services include, in addition to the government which has the major responsibility, the harambee movement, the churches and their affiliated organizations, other voluntary agencies, cooperatives and some private forms of organization as in education and health. The services of all these institutions are welcome supplements to the major social programmes of the government and will be encouraged to extend their services particularly to the rural and urban poor.” (pp. 19).

The term Harambee is a slogan meaning “Let's pull together” or cooperate in carrying out individual, group or community activities (Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999: 36; Ng'ethe, 1979 and; Gachuki, 1982). The practice of Harambee operates on the members of the community volunteering resources towards common development goals. Harambee had grown with little coordination, it was left out of government development plans (Gachuki, 1982) and had been absorbed into the multiethnic patronage system that sustained the political regime (Hyden, 1995: 40). Related to the Harambee movement is the cooperative movement whereby members contribute resources to achieve a common goal.

The cooperative movement has been instrumental in promoting associational life and development in Kenya. The movement is based on the values of self-help, equity, democracy and solidarity and its widespread in Kenya (Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999: 38). The cooperative movement has remained a strong force in the enhancement of citizen participation in development despite problematic aspects such as mismanagement, corruption and power struggles. It is also very problematic due to government control through the Cooperatives Act. This ceased when the new Cooperatives Societies Act and Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1997 on Cooperatives in a Liberalized Economy became effective. Cooperatives became free enterprises, expected to compete with other private commercial enterprises in the market (GOK, 2002: 37). However the Act did not provide for implementation of the Act. Liberalization has exposed Cooperatives to turbulent moments as they try to adjust to the dynamics of the economy. The sector is faced with weak marketing structures, poor management and leadership capacity and weak capital base, hence unable to compete effectively (GOK, 2002: 38). Many people, including members of Cooperatives have reverted to the group approach to development such as residents associations.

## **2.2 Urban Governance**

Urban governance is the sum total of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city, it is a continuing process through which conflicting and diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action taken (UNHCS Habitat, 2000:17). It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens.

One of the key challenges facing developing countries is that urban development space is negotiated and highly contested between different stakeholders. There is lack of effective coordination between the various actors, which leads to wastage of resources and duplication of roles. Lack of good urban governance has contributed to deterioration in urban services hence formation of residents association.

To ensure good urban governance Habitat has adopted the “enabling approach” to be guided by several strategies:

Decentralization of responsibilities and resources to LAs based on the principles of subsidiary and accountability; encouraging the participation of civil society particularly women, in the design, implementation and monitoring of local priorities; using a wide variety of partnerships, including the private sector to achieve common objectives; building the capacity of all actors to contribute fully to decision making and urban development processes; facilitating networking at all levels and taking full advantage of modern information and communication technologies (ICTs) to support good urban governance and sustainable urban development (Habitat,2000:16).

These strategies are reflected in the Habitats Global campaign for Good Urban Governance whose theme is “inclusiveness” with a vision to realize an inclusive city, where everyone regardless of wealth, gender, race or religion is enabled to participate productively and positively in the opportunities cities have to offer.

From the discussion on the strategies outlined by Habitat in its campaign for Good Urban Governance one can point out that they are important and ensure effective use of scarce development resources to achieve equitable distribution of resources and sustainability of the benefits of development. However, there are several questions, which have not been adequately addressed. For example, who will play the role of building the capacity of actors? Who will establish, maintain and coordinate the activities of various actors? What is the role of the government? There is no political will to establish mechanisms that ensure people’s participation in the decision-making processes and formulation of policies. Reforms have to start from the state itself in order to build institutions that support people’s involvement in issues regarding their welfare. There is also the issue of coordination of different actors to ensure that there is no duplication of roles, it is therefore important to be clear on what each partner does and provides depending on their capacity.

In discussing urban governance, it is important to understand the local government system. The local government system is central to service provision and is best placed to establish mechanisms for partnership approaches and coordinate participation by

communities. The section below discusses the local government system and issues related to financing services and the reforms taking place.

### **2.2.1 The Local Government System**

LAs in Kenya are composed of city, municipal, town and county councils. They are constituted under the Local Government Act Cap 265 of the Laws of Kenya and mandated to perform certain functions outlined in the Act. There is also a legal provision that empowers LAs to collect revenue from property within its jurisdiction and other fees from services provided to the residents such as business permit, parking, garbage collection and water to fund their activities. The Act also provides for involvement of local residents in management and provision of services. However during the 1980s and 1990s, the Kenya government appeared to be more concerned with controlling Local governments than providing the necessary facilitation required for service provision. The 1983 District Focus for Rural Development initiative aimed to decentralize the decision making process and strengthen local institutions but resulted in deconcentration rather than effective decentralization (Stren et al, 1994) or devolution of power. The District Development Committees (DDCs) were later established within the LA structure consisting of central government officials, members of parliament and other nominated officials to ensure local participation in development.

At the same time, a rural-urban strategy was put in place, in which urban infrastructure was to stimulate the economic development of both urban centres and agricultural hinterlands (GOK, 1986). However, the success of these strategies was hampered by recession, introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and limited political will. In their attempt to deliver urban services, increasing control exercised through the DDCs has hampered progress of LAs. In late 1989 some of the DDCs were for example, mandated to effect service charge to make up for local deficiencies. While this new source of revenue was considerable, it was withdrawn in 2001 since it did not lead to improving services substantially (MLG, 2001).

Many LAs struggle to make ends meet; deficits and heavy debt are common (MLG, 2001). Access to capital is insufficient, investment in infrastructure is generally

inadequate and maintenance is poor (Stren et al, 1994 and MLG, 2001). Stren also notes that the ineffective government management of urban services has increased the momentum of community-based initiatives, strengthened and socialized the informal sector.

The most glaring failure in Kenya's local government system is reflected in the city of Nairobi. Early in March 1985, the Central Government suspended the NCC placing it under the control of MLG nominated officials (Urban Perspectives, 1993). Several weeks later, the Minister for Local Government went even further placing all municipal employees and all buildings and services under the control of a commission that was appointed to supplant the council (Urban perspectives, 1993). Contradicting its original intention to clean-up the council and re-establish elected local government; the government passed a motion through parliament extending the life of the city commission to December 1992 (stren et.al, 1994), when Kenya held its first multi-party elections.

Over the ten-year period when the control was suspended, a string of political appointees managed the affairs of the City Council. Services had not improved, and the commission's finances went from bad to worse, with the central government running up big debts and the quality of services also steadily declining (Stren et al, 1994). Stren observes that part of the motivation for dismantling the NCC may have been to take control of a substantial political base away from central province leaders who tended to oppose president Moi's governing coalition. Indeed, none of the Ministers for Local Government during the 1980s and 1990s was from central province of Kenya. Each new chairman started his term of office by promising to leave no garbage heap unturned, however the city continued(s) to be plagued by garbage heaps and mismanagement (Urban Perspectives, 1993).

The multi-party elections of December 1992 ushered in a new chapter in Nairobi politics and in Kenyan politics in general. In Nairobi, Kenya African National Union (KANU) party won only one of eight parliamentary seats and seven of the elected seats of the city council in both 1992 and 1997. Soon after the new mayor Steve Mwangi of the Ford

Asili party was elected, a power struggle between the LCs and the Moi's central government took shape. The then Minister for Local Government used his statutory power to nominate only KANU councillors to fill seats in all councils. The Minister also issued a series of directives that curtailed the powers of the mayor and tension between the city council and central government continued (Stren et.al, 1994).

The new mayor started somewhat differently, inviting residents to come together in the "Nairobi We Want convention" for three days (July 27-29, 1993). More than 800 residents of all ages and from all walks of life, university professors, social workers and hawkers met and talked freely about what may have gone wrong and what could be done to put it right (Urban Perspectives, 1993). Seventeen committees each dealing with a vital issue housing, water, health, education, held discussions and submitted their recommendations. No action was taken and service delivery continued to deteriorate despite remittances in form of rates, water charge, service charge and parking fee. The revenue generated through rates, fees and charges are often inadequate. This is mainly due to poor management of resources and inability to adequately collect revenue that is due to the council. The sub-section below discusses the financial stature of LAs.

### **2.2.2 Financing Urban Services**

Kenya has 174 LAs ranging from City, Municipal, Town and County Councils (GOK, 2002/08). In order to provide services to the residents they are required to raise funds from own local sources such as rates, licences, cess and rents from their properties. They also receive finances from central government. Other sources of funds include, fuel levy, Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF), Contribution in Lieu of Rates (CILR) and service charge introduced in 1988 and abolished in 2001. In addition LAs benefit from grants from well-wishers and loans from various financial institutions.

The poor macro and micro economic performance in the country has led to reduced local revenues and income transfers from the central government. LAs are also faced by inability to collect revenues due to them resulting in financial constraint and poor service delivery.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, LAs used to collect Graduated Personal Tax (GPT) from the people residing in their areas. This was collected by the provincial administration and passed on to the county councils (GOK, 1970/74). This made a substantial percentage of the council total revenue. After the transfer of some services from county councils to the central government in 1970, the tax was abolished for the county councils (MLG, 2001) during the same year and in 1974 for the Municipal Councils.

Municipal Councils were given compensation grants by the Central Government for the loss of GPT but this was later discontinued (MDP, 2002). This affected service provision and central government responded by introducing service charge and expanded agricultural produce cess (MDP, 2002). Service charge benefited urban-based LAs while agricultural produce cess benefited rural based LAs. However service charge was abolished in 2001 due to a number of problems. These include, delays in procurement of service charge documents (stamps); administrative problems related to the use of stamps, receipting and remittance which were open to fraud. This was mainly due to the poor system of collection and record keeping; utilization of the money was subject to the minister's approval; lack of adequately trained personnel to manage the service charge, consequently, the LAs started spending the money without following laid down procedures (MLG, 2001).

Another source of funding for LAs has been the Local Government Loans Authority (LGLA). This fund was established to provide loans to LAs from the Exchequer. The fund is based on the demand for loans received from LAs and approved by the Minister for Local Government (GOK, 1986). Donor funds to LAs, were channelled through LGLA and treated as loans.

LGLA is ineffective due to the institutional structure which does not lend itself to financial discipline and adaptation to changes in the financial market (MDP, 2002) The management of the fund is vested with the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government. The management board consists of the members appointed by the Minister for Local Government which brings in the issue of political interference. The debts owed

to the Central Government by LAs have been increasing over the years affecting the performance of LGLA. It is the poor financial performance, which has resulted in the local government reforms taking place in Kenya. The section below discusses the reforms including the financial measures put in place to respond to the poor financial performance.

### **2.2.3 Kenya Local Government Reform Programme**

This is a programme that was conceptualised in the 1990s and its implementation overseen by the Ministry of Local Government (MLG) with support from the Ministry of Finance and Planning (KLGRP, 2001). It was established in order to explore and implement new ways and measures to enable LAs become effective in financial management and consequently service delivery. The programme had three key objectives:

- Improve local service delivery
- Enhance economic governance
- Alleviate poverty

The three key objectives were to be achieved by increasing efficiency, accountability, and transparency and citizen ownership. The components included, rationalising central-local governments financial relations, improving LAs financial management and revenue mobilisation and improving local service delivery.

Essentially, KLGRP was formed to institute broader institutional, managerial and procedural reforms in the system of local government finance since LAs are poorly equipped and have limited capacity to handle full accounting records (KLGRP, 2001). The debt situation in LAs and the heavy dependence on the Central Government to finance investment was found to be increasingly unsustainable given the state of the economy and the pressure by donors and multilateral agencies to improve the quality of public investment projects and reduce the portion devoted to debt servicing (MDP, 2002). To coordinate the various reform initiatives the KLGRP Technical Secretariat was established by the MLG. The secretariat comprises of various officials from the Ministry

Finance and Planning as well as the MLG. So far the programme has concentrated on financial management and service delivery as discussed below.

#### **2.2.4 Financial and Service Delivery Reforms**

These reforms comprise of two major components namely, (LATF) and Local Authorities Service Delivery Plan (LASDP). The LATF Act No.8 of 1998 was established to distribute five percent of the national income tax to all 174 LAs (MLG, 2002). LATF was aimed at providing resources directly to LAs to improve local service delivery, financial management and service delivery. To back up LATF has been the Road Maintenance Levy (RML) fund. A fund aimed at strengthening the LAs internal capacity to maintain road networks.

In improving financial management, the programme has concentrated on revenue and expenditure accounting, improving revenue mobilisation through single business permit and resolving local debt problems.

Under the LATF (MLG, 2001) LAs are required to prepare, a Revenue Enhancement Plan, a Debt Resolution Plan and a LASDP. The preparation of LASDP entails involvement of citizens and stakeholders in each LA in order to identify and prioritise programmes and activities that address the actual needs of citizens.

The plan is required to be realistic on the resources available defined as local revenues and LATF after deduction of specified debt repayment, salaries and wages, councillor allowances and operating and maintenance costs (MLG, 2001). The plan should reflect projects identified and priorities for a period of three years to be funded by the available resources and background information for each project.

The LAs are required to publicise the resources available and the approved list of proposals in order to increase transparency and local accountability (MLG, 2001). The projects are then implemented through the annual budget preparation and execution.

Through LASDP, LAs are to show more accountability to local people than to Central Government by involving all citizens and stakeholders in each LA to participate in its

preparation. This allows access to funds under LATF and other sources of funds of the LA.

The LATF funds are distributed based on the following criteria (MDP, 2002): -

1. Basic minimum to all LAs Kshs. 1.5 million, that is 11.4%
2. Population size of the LAs (1999 census)-70%
3. Urban population size (1989 census) for the city, municipality, town status-18.6%.

While the LATF can be seen as important in enhancing service delivery and allowing for the participation of citizens in identification and prioritisation of projects it suffers from several setbacks. First, allocation of funds is based on the population and not on the needs and costs in each LA, this means that Municipal/Town Council that have higher demand for services could receive less money than County Councils whose demand for services is less but the population higher. Second, the population statistics used in the allocation of funds were derived at night when people who work in the towns sleep in the county councils, making their population size higher hence more money than Municipal Councils whose day time population is higher and use more of their services.

Third, unless the councillors and other LAs officers are well trained on how to work with the citizens and guide them (not manipulate them) in matters of prioritising and budgeting the LASDP process may just be one that is too ambitious to be effectively implemented by LAs. The process is administratively cumbersome and requires more resources to undertake this training and also needs more human capital in terms of people who have skills and capacity to guide the process.

Fifth, there is need for empowering the local citizens in order to effectively participate in the LASDP process as well as outlining a mechanism for selection of the stakeholders to ensure that there is equal representation in terms of gender, education, economic status, religion, party affiliation and age. Empowering the residents would help to make them come up with projects that are realistic according to the funds that are available.

Finally the process lacks the important component of coordination. Residents in two neighbouring LAs could merge and identify one project for example a health centre to avoid duplication. This is only achievable with the facilitation of the LAs, who may also need training.

Reforms in the Local Government system are welcome since the local government administration in Kenya has suffered serious loss of integrity in the eyes of the public due to inefficiencies in delivery of services. Decline in performance and service offered by LAs throughout the country has significantly contributed to poor quality of life in the urban areas. Establishment of LATF, structured to provide both a source of funds as well as a set of incentives and penalties to allow LAs to improve their effectiveness in service delivery marks a good sign towards recovery of the Local Government system. By involving citizens to contribute towards identifying and prioritising projects the LAs are being responsive to local needs and interests and could work very well with residents associations since they represent local peoples interests.

### **2.3 Associational Life in Contemporary Urban Areas**

Community participation has become important in various aspects of social and economic life of cities. These aspects include housing, mass transportation, solid waste collection, management of public markets, security and construction of educational facilities.

Associational life in urban areas has mostly been based on ethnicity. People from same ethnic grouping form associations to develop their rural areas, assist new emigrants and cater for their welfare (funeral, wedding, education, medical among others) of members. According to Njoka (1998: 10), many Nairobi residents associations have their origins from ethnic groups found in their respective rural areas, and when faced by urban problems, majority find it expedient to join voluntary associations. However deterioration in service provision has led to changes in associational life, whereby residents living in

the same neighbourhood but are from different ethnic backgrounds join together to improve services in their area.

In the past two decades urban populations have expressed their dissatisfaction with the services provided by LAs and central government. The resultant outcome of this dissatisfaction has been the formation of different coping mechanisms, the most popular one being neighbourhood associations (Ellias, 1998: 14). Neighbourhood and/or associational mobilization provides a framework for designing a more purposeful action to ensure order, social discipline and security and well being of each member of society (Ellias, 1998:14). Participation in the association provides a sense of community and responsibility.

Tati (1998: 1), in the study of urban associational life, examined how various social groups have reacted to the urban transformation brought about by recession, economic reforms and democratic openness. According to Tati, reaction means involvement in supplying total or partial services and goods that the public authorities have so far provided but could no longer sustain due to financial crisis and restructuring.

Tati notes that, urban transformation has been accompanied by a profound social reshaping, which has given rise to different forms of community organisation in order to secure their welfare. Some associations may be endogenous forms of organisation aimed at recovering certain efficiency in the context of urban crisis. Others are channels of income redistribution and political influence of the reforming state (Tati, 1998: 1).

In the study of neighbourhood service organisations (NSOs), Barry (1991:14) noted that, NSOs are formalized structures that enable people to plan programmes, develop services and advocate change at the neighbourhood level operating in several substantive service or functional fields. They are neither the charter nor the affiliate of another authority whose by-laws control them (Barry, 1991:14). They may receive funds from outside sources and abide by their guidelines but these do not control the organisation.

According to Barry (1991), they vary in their scope and situation, but together demonstrate that people can improve conditions when they take initiative at the neighbourhood level. Again, they have diverse origins and a range of activities, some originate in crises, which awaken the community before residents begin their own agenda, while others begin when residents initiate a particular program, which develops into several services. Whatever their origin, they are not a form of outside advocacy for local groups or of mandated participation in plans from elsewhere, or of sub-area planning in which agencies decentralize, but a process in which people plan for themselves.

NSOs integrate strategies responsive to needs and capacity of the local people for the benefit of the people who participate in them. Barry notes that participation can strengthen feelings of efficacy, increase social interaction and contribute to leadership development as well as positive personal changes.

The approaches adopted by NSOs include organizing groups for social action, planning programs responsive to neighbourhood needs and advocating social and political action. This improves services and ensures access to services by underserved population, though this varies from one area to another.

Since the 1980's, when services provided by NCC began to deteriorate, there have emerged a proliferation of voluntary associations with diverse aims (Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999). Many times urban residents have had to improve the quality of their own life or physical environment by willingly giving up some of their engagements to participate in clean up of their neighbourhoods on their own or with assistance from the NCC.

In Nairobi, it is now inconceivable to find a residential or business area that lacks a voluntary association. The activities of these associations are geared towards improving the services of their areas. For example, the Buruburu residents association succeeded in its efforts to have a 24 hours bar and discotheque (Tents) closed because it was a

nuisance to the residents (Njoka, 1998: 14; Mutsotso and Munyendo, 1999: 38). The residents took legal action, petitioned government and politicians and the business premise was demolished. This was further followed by demolition of a number of informal businesses, which had littered the open space around the shopping centre.

Another association in Zimmerman Estate to the North of Nairobi protested against poisonous emissions from a leather-tanning factory near the Estate (Njoka, 1998:14). The group succeeded in having the factory close operations as the management sought ways of reducing the pollution (Njoka, 1998: 14).

### **2.3.1 Role of Urban Residents Associations**

According to Diarmuid (1992:140) neighbourhood groups are expected to make frequent representation to and lobby the statutory authorities for assistance in remedying and ameliorating problems associated with neighbourhood development. Diarmuid notes that few communities can sustain their efforts on the basis of local resources alone and have to turn to public agencies for external aid in the form of finance, information, advice and expertise. Diarmuid envisages a harmonious relationship between the associations/groups and the government agencies. However, this is not always possible because some government officials/organs view people's organisations as their competitors and any criticism of their service delivery mechanisms closes out any working relations with them.

Mok (1988) wrote about grassroots organizations in China and noted that residents committee as a form of neighbourhood organization provides a good illustration of a linking mechanism between the bureaucracy and the ordinary citizens. Mok argued that residents committees can reflect some of the community problems and needs to policy makers and conversely, help the grassroots government explain or even implement public policies. In this way, the residents committees perform an initial intermediary function between the bureaucracy and the citizens, thus integrating the two.

Residents committees are expected to identify and channel people's ideas, thinking or grievances so that local needs and aspirations can be transmitted to the government to be incorporated in the policy making process. They help deliver information on government policies to the people, who can then react and make suggestions. Residents committees are therefore responsible for maintaining communication between the government and the residents in a vertical and reciprocal way.

According to Mok, the committees should confine their activities to those that maintain security and educate the residents to be law-abiding citizens, and gives the following examples: -

- Crime prevention, by patrolling the neighbourhood with assistance from local public security officers.
- Environmental protection through prevention of illegal structures by giving early warning to residents concerned.
- Registration of persons in the neighbourhood to help residents be aware of new residents and visitors.
- Supervision of juvenile delinquencies by giving advice and guidance to delinquencies living in the neighbourhood.

Mok's argument about resident's committees role of assisting the government to interpret and implement policies in the grassroots is relevant but in most cases the government has neither been interested in working with people's organizations, nor comfortable with these groups, though this has been changing with increased pressure from the non state actors. The government in the past was very suspicious of such groups especially when they challenge the government's role in provision of basic services to the citizens and accusing it of being ineffective and corrupt, for fear of losing its legitimacy.

However residents associations in Nairobi have resisted any opposition and boldly identified the problems faced by residents as well as suggested solutions to these problems including seeking legal redress.

Residents associations are involved in organising for improved access to better services by the members. Most associations in Nairobi are involved in organising access to services such as water, sewerage and security. Several associations such as KLDA, NCBDA, MUUM, Buruburu Residents Welfare Association and Dandora Residents Association have managed to improve service provision in their areas. Since its inception, KLDA has represented Karen and Langata residents in lobbying for better services in the area. Over the years, the main issues of concern to the KLDA have been lack of adequate services (water, sewerage, garbage collection, roads, security) and illegal land subdivisions and constructions.

NCBDA has coordinated the rehabilitation of public toilets in the Central Business District (CBD). Twelve toilets have been renovated to acceptable standards. Money to renovate them came from donors and the business community. NCBDA has been actively involved in maintaining security in the CBD. In order to achieve this objective, it has established police information centres that are manned by police officers to act on crimes reported by the members of the public. Currently, there are eleven centres in the CBD. NCBDA has also established community-policing centres that work with the community-policing units formed by the police force in Nairobi.

Through Business Improvement Districts, NCBDA has managed to improve the road system in the CBD. In this project NCBDA works closely with NCC, Ministry of Roads and Public Works who provide the technical know how and labour/skills while the business community provides funds. This has led to improvement of pavements, marks on the roads and filling of potholes. Areas where this has already happened include Kenyatta Avenue, Wabera Street and Kimathi Street.

MUUM has managed to construct eight toilets in each area with donation from UNICEF. The people using the toilets pay a fee, which is used to maintain them. Members of MUUM have also dug drainage trenches and with funding from donors they are cemented. People are educated not to throw rubbish inside them to avoid blockage and anyone found doing so is fined.

Buruburu Residents Welfare Association has one of its objectives as “working with the government security organs to enhance security in the Estate.” During the monthly meetings, police officers from Buruburu police station are invited where the members inform them about the insecurity problems in the area and areas that need more attention.

Dandora Residents Association works with the provincial administration (chief and Divisional Officer) and the police to maintain security in the area. It has formed vigilante groups to patrol the area. Members who volunteer to join the vigilante group are rewarded using the contributions made to the association by the members. The subsection below discusses the governance structure of these associations.

### **2.3.2 Governance in Urban Associations**

The associations discussed above have various governance structures. The issue of governance is important in management of the affairs of residents associations. Efficient and good governance provides a framework within which formulation and implementation of policies can be achieved.

Milbrath (1972:21) notes that, each organization has an active board or committee members who contribute to its work, they may represent residential, business and service groups that assess community problems, formulate policies and make decisions for organizational solutions, or mobilize constituency support for program implementation. Milbrath also notes that, this small group of “activist gladiators” integrates community members, paid members and the government for neighbourhood ends. The officials also represent the group to other organisations such as donor and other civil society organisations (CSOs).

The leaders are chosen by members, people whom they think can represent their interests and are capable of working in a team, since there are several leadership positions and the people holding them have to work in a coordinated manner for the achievement of group’s objectives. They should also involve the members in decision making to ensure

that they do not lose interest in the group's activities since this could lead to disintegration of the group's activities (Milbrath, 1972:22).

Leadership changes regularly in urban residents associations. Members elect their leaders annually, after two or three years depending on the constitution. In order to be effective in their operations, associations divide their particular neighbourhood into small areas and residents of each area elect their representative, which form committees. To effectively manage its operations, MUUM has divided Makina into six areas and five committee members who are elected by the people represent each area. We Can Do It has also divided Nairobi into twelve zones with each zone represented by two members in the steering committee. The steering committee acts as the governing council and is in charge of policy formulation and review of the society, guided by the constitution.

Members are encouraged to join these committees. For example, Buruburu Residents Welfare association has a general committee consisting of 21 members; three officials are elected from each of the seven areas represented by the association.

The leaders of these associations play an important role of making decisions particularly on issues on how to achieve the objectives of the association. They develop strategies such as establishing working relations with the residents as well as non-members, individuals and organisations such as NCC, church, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Overall, the associations play a key role in service provision strategies as discussed below.

### **2.3.3 Service Provision Strategies**

In order to effectively carry out their activities and to improve services in their respective areas residents associations design strategies to help achieve their objectives. Some strategies involve internal arrangements such as mobilizing resources in terms of membership fees, member's donations, voluntary work by the officials and adoption of participatory mechanisms in decision-making. On the other hand, associations work with other organisations to enhance their capacity.

In management of service provision officials and members work together. Members attend meetings either weekly, monthly or annually to give their views and suggestions concerning certain issues that are relevant to improvement of service delivery. In these meetings the leaders present financial statements to the members.

Residents associations have formed partnerships with various organizations including the government and the private sector in order to enhance their capacity. They get assistance of different forms, funding, labour, skills, training, expertise, and materials from the state and the non-state actors such as NGOs and umbrella associations (We Can Do It and KARA) and the business community.

In order to achieve the tasks of service provision, associations mainly engage members in participation and forge partnership with other actors as discussed below.

### **2.3.4 Participation**

Community participation in development involves the action of a social group occupying a defined geographical area, based on their own initiative to improve their lot through the provision of basic infrastructure facilities and needs which may be economic, social or cultural (Bayo and Haji, 1982). They also note that, this concept evolved from self help and the provision of more responsive local services in a movement towards the re-examination of the whole social and economic structure.

According to Justine (1996), participation represents a situation in which a community takes responsibility for, gets authority over and carries out control on operation, management and maintenance of a service benefiting its members. A smaller group within a community often carries it out. Justine calls this a Committee that is responsible for the financial situation and performance of the service. The committee defends the interests of different groups in a community and its authority depends on its leadership qualities, its legitimacy in the eyes of the community and of outsiders, and on its legal status. The committee takes decisions on what to do and how to do it, regarding objectives, daily workflow, personnel and finance.

According to Brinkerhoff (2002:54) there are five types of participation as discussed in the following box.

### **Box 1: Types of Participation**

1. Information sharing-One way information flows that serves to keep actors informed, to provide transparency and to build legitimacy. From government to public, examples include dissemination of written material through official documents, newspapers or magazines, distribution of documents from Local Government offices, press conferences, radio or Television broadcasts or establishment of websites. From the public to government examples include responding to questionnaires and surveys, accessing toll-free telephone hot lines and providing various kinds of data survey of analysis.
2. Consultation-This is a two way or flow and exchange of views. It involves information sharing and garnering feedback and reaction. Examples include beneficiary assessment, participatory poverty assessment, town hall meetings focus groups, national conferences, round tables and parliamentary hearings.
3. Collaboration-This refers to joint activities in which the initiator invites other groups to be involved but retains decision making, authority and control. Collaboration moves beyond collecting feedback to involving external actors in problem solving, policy design, monitoring and evaluation. Examples include public review of draft legislation, government led working groups and government convened planning sessions.
4. Joint decision making- this is where there is shared control over decisions made. Shared decision-making is useful when the external actors knowledge, capacity and experience is critical for achieving objectives. Examples include joint committees, public-private partnerships, advisory councils and blue ribbon commissions or task forces.
5. Empowerment-It involves transfer of control over decision-making, resources and activities from the initiator to other stakeholders. Empowerment takes place when external actors, acting autonomously and in their own interests, can carry out policy mandates without significant government involvement or oversight.

Examples include local resource management committees, community empowerment zones, water user associations; some forms of partnerships and civil society "seed" groups.

Though the five types of participation illustrated by box 1 seem to be connected, they differ in terms of how well the stakeholders are involved in decision-making. They should be interlinked instead of being seen as though they act in isolation. Information

provision and transparency are fundamental in all the five types, but consultation and information sharing where there is a two-way flow of information lacks in the first component. According to Brinkerhoff (2002:55), consultation can blend into situations in which external stakeholders and beneficiaries either share decision-making power or actually make final decisions and assume responsibility for implementing them.

According to Brinkerhoff et.al (2002:56), participation enhances dialogue and problem solving and groups feel empowered to present demands or initiate action aimed at solving those demands. This means that the outcome will be responsive to needs and desires of the members of the group. Brinkerhoff argues further that Participation relates to effectiveness, cost sharing and efficiency, which translate into, better delivery of services (Brinkerhoff, 2002:56). These occur due to pooling of resources (labour, skills, finance, expertise) as people cooperate in a coordinated manner. Participation increases support, legitimacy, transparency and responsiveness to decisions made regarding a particular issue (Panganiban, 2001:105). This relates to democratic governance, whereby there is information sharing to increase transparency, bolster legitimacy and lessen opposition.

### **2.3.5 Partnership**

Partnership can be defined as a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible (Gray, 1989:5 cited in Edralin, 2002:171). Partnership also means pooling together resources which different stakeholders can mobilise to address a problem.

Partnership between government organisations and non-state actors has become central in local development. As decentralization of responsibility for administration and finance from central government to local governments unfolds non-state actors are increasingly becoming key players in development efforts. Edralin (2002) further defines partnership a dynamic relationship where particular roles and responsibilities (in terms of activities and resource allocation) are decided upon collectively and delegated to each member of the partnership with the recognition that each is dependent on, and accountable to, the other members.

The organisations involved have a mutual obligation to contribute in terms of human resource, information, material and financial resources and to assume some of the risks associated with joint decision-making.

According to Utting (2001:1), partnership exists where there is deliberate and active process of –

- Joint/collaborative/co-operative action i.e. working together in concrete physical activities
- Mutual interdependence i.e. established and participatory decision-making
- Shared responsibilities
- Shared goals

Partnerships involve the integration and co-ordination of a wide variety of actors, agencies and institutions, thus interests and objectives. So interests, benefits and powers of the different partners may vary.

Possible partnership arrangements include public-private that is, between the public and private sector actors; private-private connoting joint action between private entities and public-community that is, between the public sector (Local Government) and community or residents association.

In the public-private partnership, the business community provides resources in terms of funding (cash or materials) various projects to be undertaken by the public sector for the benefit of citizens, for example money to build a health centre, public toilets or if a company produces iron sheets, it donates a number of them to be used in roofing a clinic among others. The private sector has begun adopting Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), whereby there is a kitty used to fund community projects run by the government or the voluntary sector including people's organisations.

Partnerships between private sectors are currently being applied in improving the services in CBD through the Central Business District Improvement project coordinated by NCBDA. Business operators along a particular street contribute money to pave and clean

the street. KLDA has also forged working relations with the business community as discussed in chapter five.

In public-community partnership, citizens establish links and working relations with the government in order to improve services in their areas. Residents associations have adopted this strategy where they mobilize funds and seek assistance from LAs (expertise, materials, labour) and the police force, to improve water supply, roads, security and garbage collection.

Non state actors capacity to achieve development outcomes and to deliver services or effectively manage projects over time depends upon their ability to establish meaningful and effective relationships with other organisations, and the state organisations involved in service provision. The partnerships provide opportunities for effective service provision but there are also challenges that need to be overcome.

Partnerships lead to improved services for a large portion of population and better service delivery which is available and accessible to all people regardless of ability or willingness to pay (Utting, 2001).

Partnership leads to greater opportunities in social, political, economic and administrative and urban environmental management. It also increases people's productivity by tackling (removing or reducing) those factors within their context that negatively affect quality of life and productivity-thus results in poverty reduction (Gray, 1989 cited in Edralin, 2002 and Utting, 2001). The private sector involvement in service delivery injects new resources in service provision programs that can help increase resources of Local Government.

There are certain risks associated with partnership approaches to development including, conflicts of interests arising from poor choice of partners. Although partnership among organisations is important for success, there are questions about the win-win status of partnership and its contribution to local development (Utting, 2001). There are other issues such as the economic and social costs of partnership, coordinating systems of

governance to avoid duplication, sharing resources and accountability and integrating organizational cultures (Gray, 1989 cited in Edralin, 2001).

To realize the full potential of partnership there is need for laid down regulations stipulating the roles played by each partner according to their resources and capacity. There also needs to develop trust between and amongst various actors and recognition of the roles played by each actor.

Participation of members in the activities of residents associations is key to achievement of their objectives. It is important because residents provide resources to fund the operations and activities carried out by these associations. However, establishing working relations with other actors involved in service provision is relevant in order to enhance their capacity in service delivery. Effective partnership can only thrive where members of the association are involved and there is cooperation between members and leaders.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This section began by providing a historical background of associational life from pre-colonial to post colonial Kenya. Conflicts always arise between the authorities and associations due to differences in interests. However due to increasing challenges such as poor macro economies, increased population and globalisation, development approaches have changed and now there is increasing emphasis on participation and partnership for effective service provision. Adoption of these approaches is slow especially by government authorities for fear of losing legitimacy and it is for this reason that there is lack of clear guidelines and mechanisms through which participation by local communities and partnership with the non state actors can be developed and sustained. In order to enhance the understanding of the various issues in this section, a discussion on several theoretical perspectives is provided below.

## CHAPTER THREE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the theoretical approaches that inform this study. It begins by examining the statist approach. This is followed by decentralization model, the civil society and associational life model, social participation and the institutional capacity building for voluntary organisations models. These approaches are complementary and each aims at filling a gap left by the other.

### 3.1 The Statist Approach

The first decade of independence in African countries was concerned with two major objectives namely, power consolidation by the ruling coalitions and the search for appropriate development institutions (Oyugi, 2000). The state was conceived as the central motor of development (Rothchild et.al.1988; Ng'ethe et al, 1990).

Ng'ethe et.al (1990:8) notes that until recently the development agenda in Africa was the prerogative of the government and to a little extent, the private sector, but in the face of economic crisis, natural calamities, famine and a deteriorating environment what has acquired the name "big government" has found it increasingly difficult to meet the development needs of its people, hence the need for other actors to participate in development. Migdal (1988:4) notes that the state organization became the focal point for hopes of achieving broad goals of human dignity, prosperity and equity: it was the chisel in the hands of the new sculptors.

African states including Kenya adopted centralized planning; development was delivered through the central government and local government. Public enterprises were established to manage and plan for development, by providing most services with an assumption that the market would exploit the citizens. However, the centralization meant structural weaknesses of local authorities. It deprived them operational autonomy, and consequently made them more dependent on the central government in the discharge of their responsibilities (Oyugi, 2000: 12).

In the late 1970s there was realization that the government lacked the capacity to deliver the development promise to the citizens (Ayaode, 1992:40; Rothchild et.al.1988; Kanyinga, 1995 and; Mbatia, 1996). Factors such as poor governance, mismanagement and international dependency were cited as some of the factors contributing to the state's inability to deliver services.

The response to Africa's woes by international institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Bank and other bilateral donors) reinforced and strengthened and often complicated the desperate situation of African countries (Aina, 1993, 1997 and; Potts, 1997). SAPs whose basic logic was on scaling down of state's activities especially in provision of basic services increased the magnitude of the problem of service provision and development in general.

Lack of capacity by the state to deliver services efficiently led to increase in non-state actors for example, church, non-governmental organizations, local self help groups and cooperatives to provide some of the services (Mbatia, 1996). Associational life has become important as people join together to provide the services not provided by the state. Urban residents' associations have arisen out of the need to provide services to urban residents, which the state is unable to provide.

The perspective focusing on the state as the only provider of services to the citizens is inadequate for the study, because the state has not managed to deliver effectively the services it was expected and/or promised to deliver at independence. This perspective fails to recognize the voluntary sector and people's organizations that have emerged to provide some of the goods and services that the state has little capacity to provide or has not delivered effectively. The failure in question can be best addressed using the decentralisation model.

### **3.2 Decentralization Model**

Scholars of decentralization have attempted to define decentralization, but there is no consensus on what the concept exactly means. According to Oyugi (2000), the 1961 UN meeting of the United Nations Working Group on Decentralization, concluded that

decentralization has two aspects namely devolution and deconcentration, but an attempt to go beyond the two has been made though confusion has arisen.

In 1981, Rondinelli identified four types of decentralization *viz.*, devolution, deconcentration, delegation (to parastatals) and privatisation. In 1997 Haque came up with a list, which besides deconcentration and devolution, includes delegation (which means transfer of functions to the local level but with the ultimate responsibility lying with the central government), intermediation (which means transfer of functions to the self-help organizations) and finally privatisation. Balogun (2000) identified three types namely, deconcentration, devolution and delinking (delegation of responsibilities to semiautonomous state agencies).

The examples cited above have highlighted the confusion that exists in the debate on decentralization. For example, Rondinelli and Haque have used the word delegation to mean different things though they agree that it is a component of decentralization. Again what Balogun refers to as delinking is used by Rondinelli to mean delegation. Haque uses the word intermediation to mean delegation to local self-help groups. However, he does not suggest which unit should be linked to the self-help group in this transaction, nor does he say whether within the broad concept of self-help one could include other civil society organizations (CSOs) at the grass-roots (Oyugi, 2000).

The UN definition remains the standard definition today which states that decentralization is the transfer of authority on a geographic basis whether by deconcentration (i.e., delegation) of administrative authority to field units of the same department or level of government, or by the political devolution of authority to local government units or special statutory bodies. Deconcentration refers to the delegation of authority to make administrative decisions on behalf of the central administration to public servants working in the field and responsible in varying degrees for government policy within their territories, it entails a transfer of administrative authority from the center to the field. Devolution entails a transfer of governmental or political authority,

with the powers of the constituent units determined by legislation rather than by the constitution.

Ngware (2000:55) defines decentralization as the policy of transferring power from the central to sub-national levels, including local and regional institutions, and also notes that it involves new attitudes, functions and obligations between central government staff and staff at the grassroots level. This relates to Rondinelli's definition, that decentralization is the transfer of authority to make, plan and manage public functions from a higher level of government to an individual, organisation or agency at a lower level (Rondinelli, 1981:137 cited in Conyers, 1986).

The two definitions are limited due to their focus on territorial as opposed to functional decentralisation and this excludes the transfer of authority from central to peripheral organisations.

Decentralization is associated with benefits such as, strengthening LAs making them to be in a better position to empower the society and enhancing their institutional capacity as a countering power to the excesses of the central government; improving the provision of services and the implementation of development activities by taking account of local needs and conditions; improving coordination between various government agencies involved in development at regional level; reducing delays in decision making; increasing flexibility in the administration of development by mobilising local resources (finance and manpower) and increasing local commitment (Conyers, 1983, Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983 cited in Conyers, 1990:91).

Decentralization through devolution is expected to improve the LAs autonomy and capacity in achieving three important objectives namely, improved local service delivery, enhanced economic governance and alleviation of poverty (GOK, 2002/08). It is also expected to empower both LAs and citizens to operate in a more accountable and transparent manner to achieve common development objectives.

The local government system was seen as a form of decentralization and this was justified in terms of its potential to facilitate "local self-governance" (Oyugi, 2000 and Ngware 2000:55). The assumption was that the LAs would provide a setting within

which participation in development by local stakeholders can take place. However, decline in service delivery in the late 1970s led to changes in development planning whereby the African states adopted decentralization models, which did not enhance people's participation. This was to be achieved through DDCs composed of ministerial departments. The DDCs were not autonomous entities, the rules they followed and the procedures they applied were centrally determined (Oyugi, 2000). Therefore they were instruments of the central authority and were used in controlling citizen's participation in the development process. Thus then acted as mere appendages of the parent ministries at the centre. The central government transferred administrative responsibilities to the local levels without empowering them to make decisions regarding service provision.

Ngware (2000) also noted that in Kenya there has been considerable ambiguity in the willingness to devolve real power and influence from the central government, even when legal, power, functions and tasks have been allocated adequate manpower and fiscal resources are often not provided. The general lack of real devolution is at the height of institutional decay in LAs particularly in the new social, political and economic setting.

Chapter 10 of the Draft Constitution of the Republic of Kenya deals with the principles and objectives of devolution. One of the key principles is to give powers of self-governance to the people at all levels and enhance participation of people and communities in the exercise of powers of the state including preservation of natural resources, policing and maintenance of law and order. It also gives emphasis to decentralisation of central government powers and location of central government institutions and departments away from the capital territory. The devolved government levels, village, location, district and province and urban development are entitled to an equitable share of revenue raised nationally to enable them to provide their services and discharge their responsibilities.

In the devolved governments, it is possible to establish mechanisms for working with people's organizations as well as other non-state actors. However, there is need for clear

guidelines to establish ways in which communities participate in service provision as well as coordination between various actors to ensure accommodation of interests from different groups.

This model is relevant to this study because residents associations represent local peoples interests and could play a significant role in policy making in the devolved governments. Associations are part of the CSOs, a model which is discussed below.

### **3.3 The Civil Society and Associational Life**

Associational life and collective action fall within the realm of civil society. As African states experienced failures of development projects and expectations of independence, particularly in the 1980s with consequent depreciation of legitimacy and resulting internal discontent, the state became emasculated and decomposing and resulted to coercion, repression and restriction of rights (Chabal, 1998 and Fatton, 1999). These economic and political crises in the 1980s and 1990s in Africa gave rise to social movements based on common interests, to find grassroots solutions to economic and social problems and make collective demands on the government.

Makumbe (1998:305) notes that, the emergent civil groups were engaged in struggles against despotic rulers, repressive regimes and state violations of individuals and collective rights. According to Keane (1988:13) civil society has been articulated as having tremendous implication for shaping and pluralizing power relations and broadening the avenues of societal representation of interests of individual and group influence and participation. The civil society has heightened public debates, media criticisms, political mobilisation, public agitation and contestation for increased participation over policy and governance resulting in the opening up of space for negotiation between the state and society.

The civil society refers to the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self generating, self supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by the legal order or a set of shared rules (Ellias, 1998; Aina, 1997 and; Nakirunda, 2001). It involves citizens

acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, exchange ideas, make demands on the state and hold officials accountable.

Makumbe (1998:305) defines civil society as the aggregate for institutions whose members are engaged in a complex of non-state activities. Its life is defined by distinctiveness and relative independence from the state and its objectives are essentially civic and public, while its activities are underlined by claims, contestation and popular struggles (Ikelegebe, 2001:2). A central hypothesis of the civil society is that it's the force for societal resistance to state excesses and the centrepiece organisation materially and ideologically of the social movements and protests for reform and change.

Gibbon (1996:28) notes that civil society is constituted outside the state representing associations and interest groups in opposition to the state and checking its excesses and protecting those holding significant stake in society from the state. This definition assumes that non-state actors are in opposition to the state, which is not the case because in Kenya the state works with NGOs, private sector and local communities. For example, NCBDA works with the police to provide security in the CBD. NGOs and also the private sector work with the state in providing services such as health, education, water and relief food to the citizens. This is the partnership approach whereby several providers collaborate to ensure efficient delivery of services and coordination in their activities to avoid duplication of roles.

Recent definitions delineate the civil society as that arena between the state and the family but within the public realm that is inhabited by a plurality of organized interests in the form of associations and movements (Ikelegebe, 2001:3). These associations include trade unions, professional clubs, business clubs, cultural groupings, community groups, women groups, church related groups, NGOs and urban resident's associations.

Associations are arenas within which members with common interests and goals articulate their needs and prioritise as to the ones to be met first (Barkan et.al.1991; McCormick et.al., 2001:3) An association is a group of people organized for a joint

purpose. People choose to join associations voluntarily in order to address particular needs, which they cannot achieve alone (McCormick et.al., 2001). The benefits of joining an association could either be tangible good or in the form of a service and sometimes intangible such as influence.

The popularity of urban residents' associations with urban dwellers has increased because of the functions of these associations in providing opportunities for social support, basic services such as security, infrastructure, water, sanitation, garbage collection among others. The state is responsible for the delivery of services to the city residents as taxpayers. These associations are formed in order to demand for the services and also represent the members in urban policy processes. The aim of these associations is to influence policy and ensure that urban residents have access to quality services.

The way in which an association is organized determines its effectiveness in delivery of goods and services to the members. This is the internal structure, which includes rules, governance structure, plans and strategies. Their external environment such as the constitution, national and local laws and regulations also affect associations, by imposing certain obligations on associations and in some cases, defining their form and manner of operation (McCormick, et.al., 2001). Urban residents' associations have adopted their own ways of operation but they have to be within the limits of the law and the constitution.

The civil society perspective seeks to focus on the role of the society in understanding the problems of development and governance in Africa. Rather than pay too much attention on the state as an analytical unit in understanding development and governance crisis, the approach observes that the African state is embedded in society and therefore seeks to focus on the role of society in shaping the state. The perspective underscores the role of non-state actors in development and governance in African states.

The civil society and associational life perspective will guide the study since it provides a framework for understanding reasons which lead to formation of associations. It is also

capable of capturing the role played by these associations and the factors, which contribute to their effectiveness. However it fails to capture issues of participation in people's organisations. This is dealt with in the model of social participation discussed below.

### **3.4 Social Participation Model**

This is perhaps one of the ideal models for conceptualising peoples patterns of coalescing and cooperation. At a minimal level, social participation entails an activity pattern of two or more people, who could engage in a wide range of activities, for example playing cards, belonging to a neighbourhood improvement and interacting in various ways with kinsmen (Edwards and Booth, 1973 cited in Njoka, 1998: 5). These activities involve an element of sharing, with each participant having a goal to pursue and fulfil. Each activity and unit of behaviour is goal oriented (Njoka, 1998: 5).

According to Njoka the goals in question could be instrumental or expressive. Instrumental goals constitute those directed outside of the group in the sense that they have functional consequences for some whole (the society). A case in point is an event where residents of Buruburu Estate protested against loud music from the numerous bars that had sprung up in the area. Expressive goals are pursued when members of an association come together to engage in activities for their own internal benefit (that is, as a unit). The attainment of these benefits has in this case no significant or direct effect on the non-participants of the group activities. A group of women who meet occasionally to contribute money to be given to one of them are in this category. Most associations pursue a mixture of instrumental and expressive goals.

Njoka (1998: 6) notes that, social participation can also be formal or informal. The difference here should be seen in terms of the degree of activity rather than the types. Informal participation is characterized by loose organization whereas formal social participation is highly structured, bureaucratized and systematized, with elaborate norms and procedures of doing things. The roles, statuses and benefits of each of the members or category of members are also clearly defined.

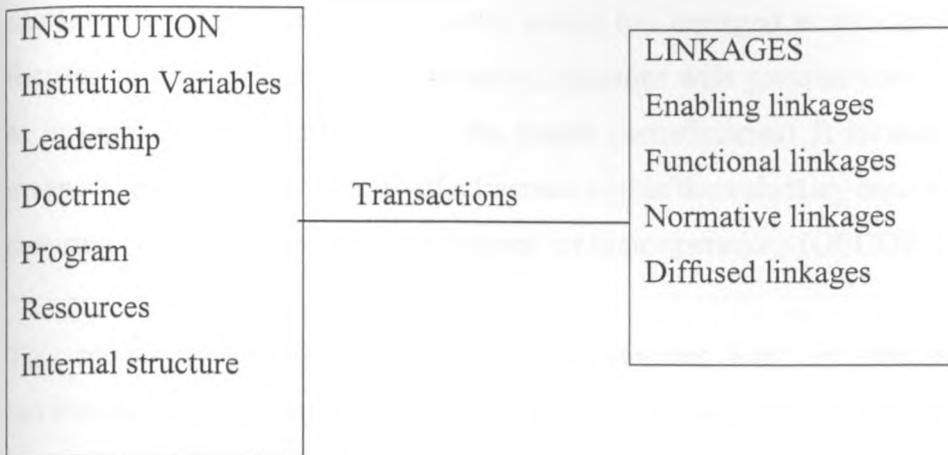
Urban resident's associations are formed by people who have common interests with the aim of meeting some of the socio-economic problems facing them. They pursue both instrumental and expressive goals. They represent formal social participation. They have a constitution, which specifies their roles, governance structure, rules and regulations, what each member is expected to do and how they carry out their activities.

The social participation model is important for the study since it provides a framework for analysing the operations of people's organizations. It is especially relevant in the study of KLDA; to examine the role played by each member in the association and how favourable it's constitution is to the achievement of its objectives. This model concentrates more on participation but fails to assess the operations of associations in a critical way in order to provide a link between participation, leadership, values and norms. This is discussed below in the model of institutional capacity building for voluntary organisations.

### **3.5 Institutional Capacity Building Model**

Institution building is a perspective on planned and guided social change. It is concerned with innovations that imply qualitative changes in norms, in behaviour patterns, in individuals and group relationships, in new perception of goals as well as means (Eaton, 1971: 21). Eaton defines institution building as the planning, structuring and guidance of new or, reconstituted organization which a) embody changes in values, functions, physical and/ or social technologies, b) establish, foster, and protect new normative relationships and actions patterns, and c) obtain support and complementarily in the environment.

The concepts composing the model are summed up in the following diagram-:



The institution building universe- Eaton (1971).

Eaton (1971) provides a description of each of the above variables as follows-:

- 1) Leadership- The group of persons who are actively engaged in the formulation of the doctrine of the institution and who direct in operation and relationship with environment. It is critical because an organization requires intensive, skilful and highly committed management both of internal and of environmental relationships.
- 2) Doctrine- The specification of values, objectives and operational methods underlying social action. A series of themes which project, both within the organization itself and in its external environment, a set of image and expectation of institutional goals and styles of action.
- 3) Program- those actions which are related to the performance of function and services constituting the output of the institution. The program is the translation of the doctrine into concrete patterns of action and the allocation of energies and other resources within the institution itself and in relation to the external environment.

The increasing potential for non-state actors in development and governance has brought about the need for assessing their activities in order to determine whether they are sustainable. The institutional capacity model has emerged as an important one since it focuses on the management, organisation, relations with governments and donors as well as linkages among themselves and the people (beneficiaries). It focuses on the ways and means of ensuring institutional effectiveness within the voluntary organizations as well as ensuring conducive external environment for their operations (OECD, 1988).

This model recognizes that voluntary organisations work in complex socio-political environments, in situations of scarce resources and unmatched demand for services by beneficiaries and little impact on policy. The model also recognises the diversity and heterogeneity characterising the voluntary sector and therefore proposes a flexible framework of ensuring as well as assessing effectiveness across organisation while at the same time respecting their individuality.

The model further recognises that voluntary organisations are constantly growing and adapting to different circumstances. It therefore underscores the need for voluntary organisations to be led by vision, consistent pursuit of clear goals and mission as well as from their ability to learn from their experience (Clark, 1991). It also recognises that voluntary organisations possess a unique approach to management characterised by loose, informal and highly person centred and flexible organisational structures that enhances local self-governance.

Local self governance involves the ability of the people to take command of their own destiny for example to elect their own officials and leaders, to set their own priorities and indeed to implement programmes which respond to their own felt needs. Efficient and successful local self-governance requires a broad range of capacities such as institutions, legal power and resources such as finance, manpower and working facilities (Ngware, 2000:57). He also notes that there is growing evidence to suggest that the lack of such capacities is one of the factors which hinders the practice of efficient local self governance

The model is relevant for this study because it provides a framework for assessing organisation's progress and management of scarce resources and mechanisms through which effectiveness and sustainability of voluntary organisations can be ensured through increased participation in governance and decision making.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

The four models selected to guide the study lay particular emphasis on non-state actors as partners in development. This is because they represent popular will of the people and are flexible enough to allow for peoples participation in development. However, there is no clear discussion on how their activities complement those of the state. They are also not clear on whether there are established mechanisms for partnership and institutions to ensure sustainability of the activities of non-state actors in service provision and development in general.

## CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins with a description of the site selected for the study, Karen and Langata areas in Nairobi. This is followed by the sampling procedure, data collection and data analysis methods.

### 4.1 Study Site

The study was conducted in Nairobi with a specific focus on KLDA, an association formed by residents of Karen and Langata Estates in Nairobi. Of the many resident's associations, KLDA has featured prominently in advocacy and lobbying for the members interests. It has been in operation for more than 60 years and its activities have changed over the years. It was one of the founding members of The Kenya Alliance of Resident Associations (KARA). It presents a good case study on how urban resident's associations can contribute to urban and governance.

Nairobi owes its birth to the building of the Kenya-Uganda railway line that started from the coast to Uganda via Nairobi (Tiwari, 1981:123). The railroad reached Nairobi on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1899, that is generally considered the date of the founding of Nairobi (Tawira, 1981: 126). Nairobi takes its name from a Maasai term *enkare nairobi*, meaning the place of cold water.

The Municipal boundary of Nairobi was drawn in 1900, and was extended in 1926, in 1941 and the present boundary in 1964 (Tawira, 1981: 129). As Nairobi was being prepared in order to achieve the status of a city, the Municipal council asked for a master plan that was made public in 1948 (Tawira, 1981: 129). The most far-reaching effect of this plan was that it took away the veto from the railway administration and bestowed the authority for change to city hall (Tawira, 1981: 129). City hall headed by the mayor manages provision of services such as water, education, health, garbage collection and markets within the jurisdiction of Nairobi. However there were some changes between the years 1985 and 1992 when the Central Government placed City hall under a commission in order to improve services delivery in Nairobi.

The study focuses on Karen and Langata, residential areas of Nairobi where the activities of KLDA are carried out. The present Karen and Langata area is in Maasai land. This land was called '*ongata*' meaning 'open plain'. '*Langata*' is coined from '*ongata*'. There were completely no developments in this area by 1902. The nomadic Masaai used the land for pasture. At this time Kenya was divided into provinces that didn't follow the current boundaries and names. The *ongata* area belonged to Maasai Reserve province.

In 1964 when the boundary of Nairobi was extended, Karen and Langata became part of Nairobi after being carved from Kiambu district.

After the 1<sup>st</sup> World War the British army saw a vast land that could not support agricultural production. As a result, they decided to settle and cultivate it. Most of them settled in the present Karen and Langata. This marked the beginning of settlement in Karen and Langata area.

Land sub-division into smaller parcels in the district started in 1920s. This is the time when the first title deeds were issued. Karen Blixen a lady who Karen is named after owned large chunks of land, which extended from forest road to Ongata and up to Ndege road. In total, Karen had six thousand acres of land. When Karen left for her mother country Denmark, Martin Lemi who was a mining engineer and a private developer bought most of her land. Martin is the one who established Karen club.

By 1945, Martin owned property including Karen estate and Karen building company, which had a water scheme for Karen residents. He got water from boreholes (first boreholes in Karen and Langata) and Mbagathi River.

Hardy estate is named after Hardy Manna. This was white settler who had 102 plots each having five acres. In 1946 Martin Lemi bought Hardy estate when Hardy died and then sub-divided the plots into 5 acres and sold them.

By 1945 the British had started preparing Kenya for independence by establishing Development and Reconstruction Authority (DRA). They brought expatriates to train

Kenyans on artisan skills. As a result three technical colleges were established. These were Thika, Kabete and Sigalagala. Some of the instructors in these colleges decided to settle in Kenya hence bought land in Kenya. A good number of them settled in the present Karen and Langata Estates.

Civil servants mostly university students of British origin who were working in the provincial administration as Provincial commissioners, District commissioners, and District officers also bought land in Karen and Langata. Likewise some army officers who worked in the royal air force bought land and settled in the district.

At independence, if a person owned twenty or more hectares land, the use was considered to be agricultural. A large portion of land in Karen and Langata by then was agricultural. There were several agricultural farms in the district, the famous being Karen Blixen's coffee plantation. This failed because first, there was a collapse in the coffee market and secondly, the place was a little too high for coffee.

Land subdivisions have occurred gradually resulting into conversion of most land into residential. The subdivision took more impetus from 1988 when the minimum allowable plot size was changed.

The 1988 structure plan which was a rezoning decree to the effect that minimum allowable plot size emanating from subdivision be lowered from 1 hectare (2.5 acres) to 0.2 hectares (0.5 acres) and 0.4 hectares (1 acre) in the district. This has contributed to increased in population in the area. This is because people who initially were not able to own land in the area can now afford to buy.

## **4.2 Unit of Analysis**

Unit of analysis refers to the unit that the study initially describes for the purpose of aggregating their characteristics in order to describe some larger group or abstract phenomenon (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999: 11). The unit of analyses therefore represents the individual units about which or whom descriptive or explanatory statements are to be made.

The unit of analyses in this study is KLDA. Information on KLDA was gathered from the officials and members of KLDA. Officials from the NCC were also interviewed as well as several leaders of other residents associations in Nairobi.

### **4.3 Sampling**

Sampling refers to the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they are selected (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999: 11). Individuals selected form the sample and the large group from which they were selected is referred to as population.

The membership of KLDA provided the sampling frame. Purposive sampling was used to select KLDA leaders, members, leaders of other associations and NCC officials. Purposive sampling refers to a sampling technique that allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his/her study. Cases of critical subjects are selected because they are informative and possess useful information. Out of the four officers of KLDA (Chairman, Treasurer, Vice Chairman, Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer) two of them were interviewed, the Vice Chairperson and the Honorary Treasurer. The Vice Chairperson was interviewed in the place of Chairman who was not available at the time when the study was carried out. The Honorary Treasurer is in charge of finance, management of resources and administration hence in a position to offer information concerning the operations of KLDA.

KLDA has five sub committees namely; forward planning, public relations, environment, water and roads. The chairperson of the forward planning sub committee was interviewed. This committee is central in policy making and formulation of strategies to improve service provision in the area. The former chairman of KLDA who is currently the chief executive officer of KARA was also interviewed. Being a founder member of KLDA he possesses knowledge on the operations and management, governance structure and service provision strategies of KLDA. In addition to this, he works with all the residents associations in Kenya and has a wealth of information on the role played by these associations in improving service provision as well as their mode of operation.

Out of 690 members of KLDA ten members were interviewed. These are in depth interviews and respondents were purposively selected. The number was chosen due to limited time and resources. Interviews at NCC with officers from the departments of revenue, water and planning and development were conducted. The departments are critical in service provision since they deal with finance, planning and implementation of projects. Only one official was contacted in each department because there was limited time as well as resources.

Leaders of other residents associations in Nairobi were also interviewed as key informants. These associations include Buruburu residents welfare association, Woodley welfare association, Dandora residents association, MUUM, LUUM, UULS, and NCBDA. Only one official was interviewed in each association. Other key informant interviews were carried out with officials from KARA and We Can Do It. Interviews were conducted in those associations to offer supplementary information to act as a backup or offer divergent views from those of KLDA.

#### **4.4 Data Collection Methods**

Primary and secondary data were collected. Primary data was collected using key informant interviews, in depth interviews and observation methods.

KLDA officials provided information on issues of the role played by the association in promoting the welfare of the members, the ways in which members are involved in the activities of the association and decision-making. They described the relationship that exists between the association and the NCC and other organs of the government involved in providing services to the people such as the police and provincial administration. Interviews with these officials provided answers to the question of the structure of governance of KLDA, how leaders are chosen, and the number of terms served by the officials and how they relate with members.

In depth interviews with the members of KLDA provided information on how they are involved in the activities of the association, how they relate with their leaders, the role

played by the association in their welfare and their view on the relationship that exists between the association and the NCC.

Leaders of other residents associations in Nairobi provided information on the role played by their particular associations at ensuring access to services by the members, objectives of the associations and how they are being achieved. The officials provided information on how members participate in the activities of the association and decision-making, the mechanism of choosing the leaders and how the association relates with NCC, the police and the provincial administration.

NCC officials gave their views on the expected roles of residents associations and how they should relate with the government organs involved with service provision to the citizens. They provided information on how they have worked with these associations and problems they experience in their working relationships.

The officials of the two umbrella organisations provided information on the role played by these organisations in promoting the activities of residents associations in Nairobi, how they support them through sharing information, assisting them in the registration process and accessing donors/sponsors. Further they provided information about how members get involved in the activities of these organisations through their representatives.

#### **4.5 Methods of Data Analysis**

Data analysis refers to the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of information collected (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999: 203). The report was written using both primary and secondary data. The data collected was qualitative. Analysis of the primary data was done through generation of relevant themes, categories and relationships. The themes were derived from the objectives and research questions of the study, which include, organisational and governance structure of KLDA, role of KLDA in management and provision of services and strategies used by KLDA and participation of members.

## CHAPTER FIVE KLDA AND MANAGEMENT OF SERVICES

This chapter discusses the findings of the field study of KLDA. The section begins by an overview of KLDA that shows the population of Karen and Langata area vis-a-vis KLDA membership. Following this is a discussion of the organisational and governance structure of the association. This is followed by a discussion on the role of KLDA in management and provision of services. Finally a discussion on participation in service provision is provided, and this deals with contribution of members in the activities of the association. It also focuses on the working relations between KLDA and the NCC, civil society organisations and the business community.

### Overview of KLDA

This is the oldest resident association in Nairobi, formed in 1940 as Ngong District Association (NDA) by the colonial administrators. The European settlers (British) formed it to protect their interests. The association serves Karen and Langata areas located on the Southern part of Nairobi. The area is occupied by a total of 25,982 people with a total number of 8,432 households as shown on table 1.

**Table 1:** Population of Karen and Langata area from 1979-1999

	1979	1989	1999
Male	8,347	12,135	15,236
Female	4,765	7,457	10,646
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,112</b>	<b>19,595</b>	<b>25,982</b>
Number of households	2,081	5,980	8,432
Square kilometres	74	74	71.8
Density	176	268	381.9

**Source:** Census reports 1979, 1989 and 1999.

Out of the total population of the area, only 690 are members of KLDA. This however does not mean that non-members have not benefited from the services of KLDA. The

association has managed to improve the road system, public transport, water and security. These are collective/public goods and non-members are not charged for using them.

After independence, the old name NDA was changed to KLDA. The change was necessary because: first, Ngong, the name the association was operating, no longer embraced Karen and Langata area served by the association and secondly, the association had to draw a new constitution which would allow the participation of all Karen and Langata residents irrespective of colour, race, sex or creed.

### **5.1 Organisational and Governance Structure of KLDA**

According to the KLDA's constitution, there are five officers namely, Chairman, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Vice Chairmen, Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer. There is an Executive committee comprising of not more than twelve members including the officers, though additional members may be co-opted at the discretion of the committee. There are five subcommittees all are under the Executive Committee elected by the members. These are:-

1. KLDA Forward planning subcommittee
2. KLDA Security subcommittee
3. KLDA Water and sewerage subcommittee
4. KLDA Environment subcommittee
5. KLDA public relations subcommittee

Elections at KLDA are held at each AGM where officers and committee members are elected. Only the Chairman's term of office runs for two years but can only offer himself/herself for re election for a period not exceeding one further consecutive term. The other elected officers and committee members retire annually but are eligible for re election. In the AGM members get to know the annual performance of the association, they decide the amount to be paid as subscription fee and what the money should be used for.

Elections are held regularly to ensure that leaders do not become entrenched in the office. The members elect their leaders on the basis of their performance. The leaders of KLDA are accessible, transparent and accountable and members are free to call them anytime

they have issues to discuss with them. Some of the leaders are neighbours of members and this gives them a chance to interact with them several times.

Holding the elections regularly gives members a chance to evaluate the officials meaning that they can only be re elected if they have proved that they can deliver and manage the affairs of the association in the interest of the members. It also gives other members a chance to be elected, who may have skills/expertise and new ideas that could be relevant for the association to adopt new ways of doing things.

The officials of KLDA are involved in establishing links with the relevant authorities in order to get support to improve the capacity of the association in service delivery. KLDA seeks for support from the NCC, the provincial administration and the police force. Several examples are outlined in the section dealing with service provision strategies.

The officials elected by members in an open and democratic election work with the members in order to achieve the objects of the association which are to promote and protect the general interests of the members of the association in accordance with the association's Motto "The Future-Our Responsibility". The officials and members offer their services to the association voluntarily. They volunteer their skills and time by serving in various sub committees and leadership positions. They offer their leadership, technical and professional skills.

Voting for good leaders is important because the officials have a major role to play, of representing the association in public meetings and to relevant authorities. Leaders are expected to make decisions on behalf of the members for example, have dialogue with the NCC and design mechanisms to forge partnership with service providing organizations. Associations have a constitution that stipulates how leaders are chosen and when leadership changes.

According to the KLDA's constitution, the officers (Chairman, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Vice Chairman, Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer) shall stand down annually and the incoming officers elected at each AGM. The AGM is held not later than 31<sup>st</sup> of

March every year and members are given prior notice, 21 days before the date approved for the meeting. Each member of the association is sent a letter specifying the agenda of the meeting at least 7 days before the date of the meeting. This gives the members time to think over the issues and come up with presentation at the meeting.

However, according to Nick Evans most members only contribute the annual subscription fee, its just few people who volunteer their time and services. Mills also cited inertia as a problem faced by the association, the culture of waiting for somebody else to take action because you have paid money to the NCC and membership fee to the association.

The members interviewed noted that they are involved in paying their membership fees, electing their leaders and attending meetings. However they do not attend all the monthly meetings, the so-called social evenings. They are also not involved in sub committees. They were comfortable with the leaders they elected because they have the capacity to organise the management and the operations of the association.

According to the KLDA's constitution, "the activities of the Association, in accordance with its objects, shall be managed and directed and its funds controlled and applied by the committee in such manner as they, at their sole discretion, think best subject only to such general or specific direction as may from time to time given by the Association in General Meeting". Since the committee members are elected by the people, they are entrusted with making decisions regarding the use of resources, though the members have the power to give guidance and their views regarding the resources.

In the KLDA's handbook Nick Evans notes that,

The committee members are responsible for management of funds but are indemnified against recourse for negligence through insurance policies. Funds belong to the members and are used for the general administration of the association. The office holders and committee act in accordance with the wishes of the stakeholders, though these wishes are not often expressed. The committee makes financial decisions that it considers appropriate (having been so empowered by the members in General Meetings) and deposits funds in institutions considered to be financially sound. The office holders make day-to-day decisions, but if there is any doubt, or the amount under discussion is large the matters are referred to the committee. Exceptionally, a matter may be raised in

a General Meeting if it will have far-reaching effect that may not be the liking of members (KLDA, 2002).

The association is accountable to its members. A newsletter produced four times a year contains information on what has happened within a particular period and is available to all members, for example the status of the various services that the association works on such as water, roads, security, and environment among others. Books of accounting are available for inspection by the members in the KLDA's office where there is fulltime employee.

In the social evenings held once a month, members are informed about the recent activities undertaken, the achievements and challenges. Members express their views regarding the issues being handled by the association.

Leaders are accountable to the members of the association. The officials hold regular meetings with the members of the association. This ensures that members monitor how the officials make use of the money owned by the association. It also ensures that members participate in decision making for management of service delivery. For example the members of Buruburu Residents Welfare Association meet monthly with their court representatives to give their views on issues such as security and suggest ways of how it can be improved.

KLDA has been pushing for establishment of boroughs in Nairobi whereby each borough collects revenue from residents of that area and provides services. Each borough then contributes a certain portion of the member's contributions to the NCC, which will serve as the headquarters. KLDA suggested that Karen and Langata area would become the pilot project.

The NCC officers interviewed noted that such a suggestion was being made because Karen and Langata area is a rich neighbourhood and can sustain its own borough and access quality services unlike other areas where services may not even be available. They maintained that most areas in Nairobi would not afford to support the boroughs

considering that 60% of Nairobi's population lives in the informal settlements. There are many factors that need to be considered if a borough system is adopted such as population, income, economic activities, level of development and area in square kilometres. KLDA has not considered these, the issue considered is only provision of services and this is limited. The section below discusses the role of KLDA in service provision.

## **5.2 Role of KLDA in Provision and Management of Services**

The quality of service provision in urban areas in Kenya as indicated earlier in this study is pathetically low compared to what is required for decent standards of living. Services are inadequately or are not provided at all. It is for this reason that KLDA was formed, in order to enhance service provision in the Karen and Langata area.

Examples of services that have been improved in the area since the early 1990s when the association became active include security, roads, water supply and environmental conservation.

According to the Honorary Treasurer of KLDA,

“The association was formed to ensure that members have access to three things namely continuous flow of water, good roads and security for themselves and their property. KLDA may not be doing the actual provision for example constructing tanks where members fetch water but it organizes through liaising with the relevant authorities to ensure obstacles hindering access to these services are overcome.”

### **5.2.1 Water**

Piped water supply is a major problem in Karen and Langata area. KLDA has actively been working on ways to improve water supply in the area, in order to revert a situation whereby residents over utilise underground water. If many boreholes are drilled without control and professional guidance, the water table may be lowered and underground water resources may be depleted.

The greater the depletion of aquifers the more expensive water is to pump; furthermore, the 'mining' of water is unwise where there is apparently no plan to allow replenishment at a later date. It is quite possible that widespread depletion will lead to aquifer

compaction; this may be irreversible, meaning that the efficiency with which an aquifer gives up the water stored in it will fall.

Aquifers beneath Karen and Langata area are a finite resource that is currently being over-exploited. This therefore rules out the possibility that boreholes might comprise a strategic water resource, unless changes in legislation are enacted and enforced that allow the closure of boreholes not being used for domestic or public water supply.

KLDA has formed a water sub committee that is involved in planning and organising ways of improving the water supply in the area. This sub committee works with the members of KLDA as well as the water department at NCC to improve water supply in the area. The members make contributions towards water projects.

The subcommittee has regular meetings with the water department where discussions of ways in which the water supply in Karen and Langata area can be improved. Working with the water department is regarded as important since the association benefits from technical expertise and labour relevant to the water projects undertaken by KLDA. Negotiations between the sub committee have been fruitful in a way since an agreement was reached with NCC for the area to have running water at least twice a week. The association is however working in order to achieve continuous supply of water in the area.

Members interviewed noted that the association has made efforts to improve the water supply in the area. The members noted that they are always ready and willing to support the water projects initiated by the association. The members interviewed have previously given donations in form of money to support water projects but are not involved in meetings with the NCC water department.

The association pays for the improvement of the water system for example by purchasing valves, pipes and paying for the costs of maintaining the water tanks. To ensure that the money is spent on the water project only, KLDA pays money to the garage where the tankers are repaired and buys the valves or pipes, but does not give the money to NCC.

The association collected money from the members to improve the flow of water from the Dagoretti water reservoir, which supplies the area. There was need for repair work to prevent backflow and increase pressure of the supply to the Karen tanks when the outlet is opened. The NCC technical people agreed to work with KLDA but the top administration, the mayor and town clerk blocked this. The reason for this being that the association was not letting the NCC to control the funds and this meant that the top management could not get a chance to misappropriate some of the money. The project has since stalled because KLDA cannot implement the project without clearance by the NCC.

The role of KLDA in improving water system in Karen and Langata area is commendable, though not without obstacles especially from NCC. Cooperation from the members of KLDA plays a major role in improving water supply in the area just like other services, such as security and road system as discussed below.

### **5.2.2 Security**

Insecurity in most areas in Nairobi has compelled residents to come up with their own initiatives to protect themselves and their property. High rates of crime brought about by poor economic situation, unemployment and weak police force has led to formation of vigilante groups and partnerships between communities and the police force to maintain law and order and, ensure safety of people and their property.

KLDA aims at ensuring the highest possible degree of safety in the area. It has encouraged formation of small neighbourhood watch groups on all roads. These groups appoint a security committee reporting to the police and KLDA on security matters within their area. Then on a rota basis they form smaller groups, which frequently patrol the roads at night challenging any one who looks suspicious. KLDA security sub-committee briefs members on the trend of crime and advises them on suitable crime prevention measures. KLDA's newsletter highlights crime incidents in the area.

KLDA's Handbook 2002 contains information on how to reduce the risk to personal security or loss of possessions. The members are informed on how to protect their homes by having good quality doors and windows, good lighting system, installing and maintaining telephone and good fencing. The Handbook also contains information on how to protect oneself outside the home, when driving or walking, how to avoid being hijacked and what to do when hijacked.

Burglar proofing of windows and strengthening of doors are some of the measures that all residents have invested in. In addition to alarm systems, the residents have taken on rapid response services from private providers. Other residents have gone a step a head to erect barricades manned day and night on roads entering their residential areas. This includes areas like Mwituu, Ngong view and Mukoma roads.

KLDA has also started two major security watches namely Karen Security Watch and Langata Security Watch and these have been instrumental in bringing the crime levels down. Sunday afternoons had become the most dangerous times, when thugs struck but this has stopped due to patrols by Ultimate Security Guards and the police who patrol on weekends.

The members interviewed were all in agreement that the levels of crime in the area have reduced. They noted that KLDA's initiatives combined with individual efforts and other groups have been instrumental in maintaining security in the area. They commended KLDA for providing information to residents on crime infested zones, how to deal with situations such as hijacking and organising ways in which residents form groups to patrol their areas with the assistance from the police. These groups comprise of households in a particular neighbourhood.

Interviews with the members revealed that they are actively involved in the watch groups to improve security in their neighbourhoods. However five members interviewed expressed concern over their neighbours who do not participate because they are not members of the association. They noted that these people benefit although they do not get

involved in arrangements of patrols which include, time when the patrols take place and liaising with the security sub committee to seek assistance from the police force on behalf of the residents. They were concerned that if all residents in the area participated in the patrols, there would be no incidences of crime.

There are also two trusts formed- Hardy, and Karen and Langata trust, whose main objective is to maintain security in the area by working with the residents whether members of KLDA or not. These are independent of KLDA but members of the association are also members of the trusts. The members of the trusts pay subscription fee and donate money to fund the activities of these trusts. The trusts have vehicles that carry armed police as they patrol the area. Members provide information to the police about the crime-infested areas and report anyone who looks suspicious.

Like KLDA other residents associations in Nairobi are involved in organising ways of maintaining security in their areas. Buruburu residents' welfare association liaises with officers from Buruburu police station to maintain security in the area. The officers are invited during the monthly meetings where the members inform them about the insecurity problems in the area and areas that need more attention. Dandora Residents Association works with the provincial administration (chief and Divisional Officer) and the police to maintain security in the area. It has formed vigilante groups to patrol the area. Members who volunteer to join the vigilante groups are rewarded using the contributions made to the association by the members.

NCBDA has established police information centre that are manned by police officers on a fulltime basis, so that members of the public can report crime committed and provide information of any suspected criminals. NCBDA has also established community-policing centres to ensure that the public works closely with the police to maintain law and order and enhance security in the CBD. NCBDA liaises with the business people to organise ways of installing security lights in areas where there are none.

### 5.2.3 Roads

Transport in many areas in the city has become a nightmare because of bad roads. The Ministry for Roads and Public Works and the NCC have not managed to maintain the road system despite frequent requests by the city residents to have their roads repaired. Bad road system increases fuel consumption and causes delays increasing the cost of production and this keeps investors away since it increases their expenditure. Residents in Nairobi have come up with their own initiatives to improve the road system.

KLDA has formed a roads subcommittee to oversee improvement of the road system in the area. The subcommittee works with the Ministry of Roads and Public Works and NCC to maintain a good road system in the area. KLDA draws the attention of the Ministry of Roads and Public Works and the NCC in case the association wants to undertake a roads improvement project in the area. The chairman of KLDA contacts an engineer from the Ministry of Roads and Public Works in case there is a section of the road that needs to be worked on.

The members of KLDA interviewed were happy with the road system in the area, which is not comparable to other areas in Nairobi. They commended the roads sub committee and the management team of KLDA for its efforts in improving the road system in the area.

The association supported the paving of the Karen Shopping Centre, the two police stations (Hardy and Karen police station) and the market. Materials to undertake the project were provided by the business community. Further discussion on this is provided in the section on partnership with the business community.

NCBDA has initiatives similar to those of KLDA to improve the roads in the CBD. The Business Improvement Districts organised by NCBDA have helped to improve the road system in the CBD. In this project, NCBDA works closely with NCC, Ministry of Roads and Public Works who provide the technical know how and labour/skills while the

business community provides funds to buy materials and hire labour. This has led to improvement of pavements, marks on the roads and filling of potholes.

The partnership approach adopted by residents associations in improving the road system in their areas may help in the repair of roads in some areas. However, in areas where residents cannot access partners capable of funding road projects may be left behind. The role of assisting such residents lies squarely with the government. The government is well placed to mobilise resources from various organisations and coordinate redistribution and use, for the benefit of the poor and marginalized people.

In order to perform the roles discussed in this section, KLDA works with the members as well as other agencies involved in service provision. An assessment of these working arrangements is discussed below.

### **5.3 Participation in Service Provision**

Service provision involves the efforts of different actors who include beneficiaries as well as external agents. Each of these actors contribute towards achievement of the goals of any organisation. Participation of various actors in service provision enhances resource mobilisation and management of those resources to achieve the desired goal. KLDA engages members and officials in the operations and management of the association. There are also external actors that work with the association in order to enhance its capacity to improve services in Karen and Langata area.

#### **5.3.1 KLDA Membership Contribution**

In order to achieve the desired goal of improving services in the area KLDA relies on the decisions made by the members and the officials. Decisions regarding resource mobilization and ways in which activities of the association are to be carried out are made by consultation between members and leaders.

Resource mobilization is done through membership contributions and donations. Members of KLDA pay an annual subscription fee of Kshs. 2,500. This amount is not fixed it varies according to the demands but for the last two years members have agreed

that this amount is sufficient. Members of KLDA agree on a certain amount that every individual should contribute in order to fund the activities that need to be carried out to improve services in the area. Donations for particular projects is also done at times if the officials realise that the annual contributions are not enough to complete a certain project. For example, the association has received donations from the members to fund the court cases and the water project.

The members interviewed pay their contributions and provide donations to the association. They however noted that the association could have more money if more people joined the association. With a strong financial base the association can have a major impact in the area such as having continuous water supply in the area. This can be done if the association initiated a multimillion-water project for the area.

Members get involved in the formulation of development strategies of the Karen and Langata area. The Karen and Langata Development Strategy (KLDS) was prepared by involving all the residents who were interested in preparing a development strategy for the area. The development strategy was being prepared to guide growth and prevent environmental damage. The stakeholders involved include residents of Karen and Langata area, property developers, formal and informal business operators, and institutions (academic, health, religious among others) in the area, NCC and other service providers and local administration. The stakeholders were expected to provide any materials (maps, photographs, reports) or any documents having information about the area, make comments about development in the area and offer expertise.

Members attend meetings weekly, monthly or annually when called upon by the officials. In these meetings the members get to know the activities that the association has been carrying out within a certain period, the achievements, obstacles and how they can be overcome. Members give their views to be incorporated in the operations and management of the activities of the association.

The members of KLDA were commended by the officials interviewed because they are always willing to give donations when called upon to do so. Paying the required money is not sufficient because decisions have to be made on how to spend the money and prioritise issues since resources are always scarce. This stage of identifying ways in which the money will be used and how deficits will be met is critical.

Internal organisation and management of an association is critical since it determines how the association runs its affairs and satisfies the desires of each member. As noted in this section some members feel that the membership of KLDA is low and this is an impediment to big projects which may require that the 690 members pay more money to finance such projects. In order to deal with such situations the association should get members views and suggestions on how to increase the membership base. Probably the public relations sub committee needs to be strengthened so as to attract more people to join. The next section deals with how KLDA relates with non-members who include state and non-state actors in service provision.

### **5.3.2 Partnership with Other Agencies**

This involves ways of working with the state and non-state actors in order to enhance KLDA's capacity to improve service provision in Karen and Langata areas. KLDA has forged partnerships with NCC, NGOs and the business community to increase synergy and hence improved capacity in service provision and improvement.

The business community serves as a boost to the activities of residents associations due to their position of also being consumers of services that are not provided adequately by the LAs. However it is good for the business community to reach out to associations in low-income areas to provide funding and other forms of assistance such as training in managerial skills.

However partnership has its own disadvantages as Gray, 1989 (cited in Edralin, 2001) has noted that there are other issues such as the economic and social costs of partnership, coordinating systems of governance to avoid duplication, ensure sharing of resources and accountability and integrating organizational cultures. To realize the full potential of

partnership there is need for laid down regulations stipulating the roles played by each partner according to their resources and capacity. There also needs to develop trust between and amongst various actors and recognition of the roles played by each actor.

### *Working with the NCC*

Residents associations collaborate with the state actors in the planning and management of service delivery. Associations are in a better position to mobilize residents and identify the common problems faced by residents in a particular neighbourhood and seek for support from the relevant government authorities, though cooperation from these authorities is not always guaranteed.

KLDA was the first association in Kenya to take legal action against the NCC for lack of transparency and accountability. KLDA before going to court first asked the NCC to produce its accounts but it did not comply, this compelled the association to seek legal assistance and it was allowed to collect the members rates until the NCC proves that it can account for the public's funds.

According to the NCC, residents associations should only be involved in activities that improve the welfare of their members and not those that can make them clash with the law. An example was given of Buruburu Residents Welfare Association, which was sued for demolishing a structure on a plot that they claimed had been grabbed but that was not the case. They should also be involved in activities that help the needy and reduce poverty in their neighbourhoods for example Runda association that supports a home for the elderly in that area. Associations also have a role to play in service provision mainly because they mobilize resources from residents and should therefore use these resources to improve services such as water, garbage collection, security and roads to supplement what the government provides.

On K LDA, the NCC noted that, the association acts as a political party or a pressure group. The association has no mandate to collect rates from its members on behalf of the NCC. If justice were applied then the court would have compelled the NCC to produce its audited accounts and allocate more time for this to be done. K LDA still demands for

services from the NCC such as water, roads, support to demolish kiosks and other illegal structures in the area even though they are not paying rates to the NCC.

KLDA's Committee member's liaise with the residents in order to identify areas that need attention and then they inform the relevant authorities to take action. In addressing service provision KLDA identifies problems and mobilizes resources, while the government organs charged with the role of providing services gives the necessary support.

In order to ensure improved water supply in the area, members of KLDA contributed money towards the water project (purchase pipes and valves and repair the water tanks). In this project NCC provided the technical expertise/engineers who have the experience and skills in this field.

The association has been involving the Ministry of Roads and Public Works and NCC in projects funded by the members to improve the road system in the area.

Security in the area has been improved with the efforts from both the residents and the government (police and provincial administration). The members identify the areas that are insecure and inform the police who patrol using vehicles provided by the residents groups (Hardy and, Karen and Langata trusts).

KLDA raised funds to renovate the Hardy police station and the chief's camp. This was done in order to strengthen the partnership and as a sign of gratitude because of the cooperation shown by the police and the chief in maintaining security in the area.

In working with the NCC, KLDA has had to seek legal counsel. Through lobbying for accountability KLDA managed to stop the NCC from collecting rates from the members since it was not providing services and had not given any reason for not doing so. NCC also failed to produce the accounts/records to show how it spent money collected from the members in form of rates and revenue.

According to the former chairman of KLDA from 1994-2000,

It was in 1994 when multipartyism had effectively returned to Kenya that we decided to start demanding for the services for which we were paying for but never received. However, realising the authorities reaction to that would be to say you are getting your share of what is available, we decided that by going the service route was not practical instead we considered the best route to take would be to demand accountability.

After establishing that NCC did not produce audited accounts KLDA went to court asking to be allowed not to pay rates to city hall since it was not accounting for it. The court agreed that public money has to be accounted for and since NCC was not doing that KLDA was granted the permission to withhold payment of rates to city hall.

The association holds this money in trust on behalf of the members and city hall until it complies with the court orders and show that it is properly accountable. KLDA has been collecting rates since 1998 and is holding around Kshs. 60 million.

According to Mills

This is a mere drop in the ocean since not all people in the area support the idea due to the culture of fear among some residents that somebody might come and try to repossess their property or sell it under their feet because probably this is their major investment.

However, this has not made the association to loose out services provided by NCC and the association ensures that every member pays water bills. KLDA managed to get the sharp increase in postal rates in early 1996 held down. The association went to court within three days under the certificate of urgency.

The relationship between NCC and KLDA is still sour, meetings to have the money transferred to the accounts of NCC have been unsuccessful, as KLDA demands that the money should be used to start projects in the area. They suggested a water project where all the money collected will be spent. According to the officers this is not feasible since resources have to be distributed equitably to ensure that the people in the informal settlements have access to services. NCC is the only body that has been mandated to distribute resources in all areas.

The officers noted that the association has selfish motives by offering suggestions to the NCC that only suits the area. It concentrates more on issues that make it clash with the authorities than on issues that can help to improve the welfare of the members and the whole area.

NCC loses a lot of money in the area since people who are not even members of the association hide under the umbrella of the association, they neither pay their rates to KLDA nor pay to NCC. Of all the residents of Karen and Langata area, only a quarter are members of KLDA, of the three quarters who are not members, most of them do not pay their rates to NCC.

According to the officials of KLDA the relationship between the association and NCC is uneasy, complicated marked by hostility because the association pointed out to its inefficiencies and was granted permission not to pay council rates.

The officials of KLDA reported having a good relationship with the department of physical planning and the technical people/engineers in the department of water who are controlled by the policy makers and project implementers. The technical people cannot make any decision, the mayor and the town clerk inhibit the working relationship between the engineers and KLDA. The association is seen to be interfering with the system where citizens are not expected to demand for financial reports from the NCC or to be involved in formulation of policies regarding management and delivery of services.

According to Nick Evans

KLDA is like a consumer organisation for public goods and not a pressure group or a political party. The members demand for services they have paid for but not received. It is for this reason that the association decided to demand for accountability, to know how the NCC spends money collected from the citizens. The members are also interested in giving their views on how service delivery should be made more effective.

In the preparation of the LASDP for Nairobi, KLDA was not represented. In the LASDP for the financial year 2001/02 it was indicated "Fund allocation from Resource Envelope to Karen for LASDP activities was not justified since Karen/Langata residents do not remit rates to NCC".

The members interviewed noted that the NCC is ineffective, corrupt and as an organisation unable to manage and plan the city. They noted that KLDA does not have a good relationship with the NCC because the association filed a legal suit against it accusing it of lack of accountability. They suggested that the NCC needed to establish ways of involving the residents in planning for service delivery.

Early 2002, the association had a meeting with the then Minister for Local Government, Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta in order to help improve the relationship between the association and NCC. The Minister promised that he would work towards reforming LAs to ensure that they work with residents associations to improve service provision. He also promised that he would look into the issue of establishing boroughs in the city for effective service provision.

In the interviews conducted in other associations, NCC was cited as being unresponsive to resident's grievances. Inefficiency and corruption were also cited as some of the reasons that make NCC to provide inadequate services or no services at all despite collecting money from the residents.

Dialogue and partnership help to enhance the working relationship between two parties and ensures that there is no conflict or opposition. Partnership enhances service delivery because there is increased synergy, mobilization of resources (finance, skills, experience, labour among others). However this is not always easy to cultivate and maintain. This is because different parties have varying interests for example residents associations seek to address some of the problems faced by people living in the same neighbourhood and to protect the interests of the members, while some government officials seek to protect their own personal interests through corruption as noted by some members of KLDA.

This presents a situation where there are conflicting interests and establishing dialogue that can eventually lead to partnership is difficult. Associations may be forced to seek

legal support in such a case, though injurious, expensive and may not offer the best solution.

Apart from the working with the NCC, KLDA has also established partnership with the non-state actors with the aim of enhancing its capacity to serve its members. The CSOs and the business community were lauded as providing financial and human resource assistance to the association. A discussion on this is provided in the following section.

### *Working with the Civil Society*

Interviews conducted with KLDA members and leaders of other residents associations in Nairobi established that CSOs have played a central role in funding the operations of these associations. In order to play an important role in the welfare of the members, residents associations have got to have the capacity to handle the problems in a particular neighbourhood. This cannot be achieved without assistance from other non-state actors. NGOs both local and international have played an important role in assisting associations with funding, training, information and other materials for service provision.

As community participation becomes important in addressing various social and economic problems facing people in the cities, this has created space for CSOs to work with people's organisations. People form organisations in order to address aspects such as security, public transportation, water, roads and solid waste collection.

KLDA has benefited from donation given by Konrad Adeneur used to fund the KLDS project. This project is aimed at guiding development of the area both in terms of controlling unsuitable development, particularly those with a negative environmental impact, and encouraging those that bring economic opportunities to be suitably located and serviced.

Konrad Adeneur emphasises on the need for residents associations to take a leading role in urban governance. Residents should participate in formulation of urban policies, planning for urban development, management and delivery of basic services.

Similar to KLDA is NCBDA and We Can Do It. The two associations receive funding from Ford Foundation to facilitate their operations. We Can Do It started its activities by mobilizing people to form residents associations. This was done with funding from USAID and Konrad Adeneur.

USAID and Konrad Adeneur provided the start up funding for KARA. The USAID grant was channelled through KLDA since it was approved before KARA was registered. The money was used to set up an office and facilitate the visits made to the provinces to sell the ideas of KARA to provincial administrators and the police outside Nairobi.

Donations from the CSOs form an important part of the resources used to run operations of residents associations. Contribution by members in itself cannot support the various projects undertaken by associations to improve services in their areas. However, resident's interests should not be compromised in favour of the donor's interests, if they differ from those of the members. Again associations should be non-aligned, that is they should not be seen to take sides with those opposing the government or supporting it for no good reason, but have a rational position. They should only point out inefficiencies in service provision and keep away from politics that could lead to conflicts with the authorities.

### *Partnership with the Business Community*

Members of the business community form part of the membership base of residents associations concerned with improving areas where they reside as well as where they operate their businesses. Some of them offer their services freely to the associations, including their professional skills, advice and financial support.

KLDA organizes a social evening every month where members meet to share information and are informed about the activities of the association. The business community, funds these social evenings, organisations such as Standard Chartered, Barclays Bank, Ken cell and AAR Health Services are some of the corporate organisations that have funded these sessions. The business community also benefits through getting new contacts and clients.

In the project to improve the road system in the area, KLDA supported the paving of Karen shopping centre, the market and bus stage. Materials to do the work were provided by Bamburi Cement and Cabroworks, while the business community at the shopping centre provided money to hire labour.

KLDA approached KBS management in order to provide Metro Shuttles in the area since public transport in some areas is problematic. The management of KBS introduced its services to the area, and the problem eased.

The members interviewed were happy with the support given to the association by the business community. They noted that this is important because member's contribution is not enough to undertake all the projects organised by the association. There is need for more partnerships with the business community not just financial and materials but training in managerial and leadership skills.

Initiatives similar to those of KLDA have been adopted by KARA. The association has established partnership with the business community to assist members who cannot raise registration fee of Kshs. 40,000. In order to ensure that such members remain in the group. KARA has approached the business community to sponsor such associations as well as to provide management skills to enhance their capacity to mobilize resources and support themselves.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

The level of urban services has been declining at a tremendous rate due to poor planning and management of resources available to LAs. Increased urban populations have further stretched the services available hence worsening the situation. This has forced residents to come together and pool resources to improve service provision in their areas. KLDA plays an important role in improving services in the Karen and Langata area. The activities of the association are organised by leaders elected by the members. The leaders are accountable to the members.

The association has networks with the state and non-state actors to enhance its capacity in service provision. Together with the partners KLDA has contributed towards

improvement in water supply in the area, the road system, security and formulation of KLDS to guide development in the area.

KLDA can achieve more by having good working relations with the NCC, which is the main service provider in Nairobi. This would ensure that the residents are represented in policy-making processes that pertain to service provision. There is also need for a wider membership base in order to increase resources and to have more support in the area. A more comprehensive discussion on the recommendations is provided in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Based on the literature reviewed and analysis of the data collected on KLDA involvement in planning and management of service delivery, some general conclusions and recommendations can be drawn regarding the roles that residents associations play in improving the level of services in Nairobi. This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations.

The quality of service provision in urban areas in Kenya as indicated in this study is pathetically low compared to what is required for decent standards of living. Services are not adequately provided or are not provided at all. It is for this reason urban residents form associations to improve service provision in their areas. KLDA was formed in order to bring people with common interests together, so that resources are pooled for use in improving services in the area.

### **6.1 Conclusions**

Formation of associations and growth illustrate the limited capacity of the LAs to deliver quality basic services in the city. The response of the LAs has been one of alienating the residents in planning and formulation of policies intended to enhance service delivery. The residents have responded to these problems by mobilizing resources to improve their conditions and utilizing networks with the various actors in service provision to improve services in their areas. For the residents, the formation of associations represents hope in the provision of basic services in the face of an unresponsive and an unaccountable authority. Lobbying for efficiency and transparency in local government also supplements what the residents can do themselves. Developing strong organising capacity at the grassroots is a key to generating legitimacy and support.

Most associations have been formed as a way of reacting to crises such as illegal allocation of houses, unauthorised developments, poor services and lack of accountability of the authorities. In fighting some of these evils the associations have sought legal redress. KLDA managed to have the NCC stopped from collecting their rates since it was

not accountable. However there are many associations that cannot afford to institute legal suits against the NCC.

By instituting legal cases against the NCC for failure of service delivery and public office malpractices, there is a fear that the council will utilise the resident's funds in the court cases instead of improving service delivery. However if residents do not seek legal redress, the council and those implicated might feel secure in their actions and intensify the malpractice.

Lack of a citywide mediating structure within the NCC is an obstacle to creating partnerships and a negotiating mechanism. The system that operates now is an ad hoc system and depends on perceived strength of the associations' and the goodwill of the administrators and elected officials. Lack of citywide consultations and participatory planning is clearly an impediment to improving the living conditions of Nairobi residents.

Umbrella associations (KARA and We Can Do It) have been formed in order to coordinate and incorporate the activities of the various associations in order to improve service delivery. They are also formed to assist associations in poor neighbourhoods and others having problems with the authorities especially in registration and in accessing the relevant authorities to improve service delivery and donors to sponsor their activities.

The working relation between the provincial administration, NCC and the neighbourhood associations has not evolved into meaningful and effective partnerships and are working on ad-hoc basis. The local government, central government and the civil society relationships need to be improved and strengthened at their different levels if lasting and effective partnerships are to develop. The central concern for the institutions should be improved management of the city, which will offer opportunities to the residents for a better life.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

This study does not claim to have exhausted the issues related to the operations of residents associations and their relationship with the NCC. Therefore it isolates areas for further research. As indicated earlier, urban development space is negotiated and highly contested between different stakeholders. These stakeholders have different interests that need to be considered for effective urban policies to be formulated that result in efficient service delivery. It is therefore necessary to point out what each of the stakeholders needs to undertake to enhance the achievement of policies. Before this, recommendations for further research are outlined.

### **6.2.1 Policy Recommendations**

Policymaking is a process. For the process to be effective, it is important to include different groups to be involved especially those who are directly affected by policies. Urban policy deals with service provision to the residents, which means that they are central in formulation of urban policies. There are also other actors such as NGOs, CBOs, church and international donors who have continually played a central role in service provision in urban areas but with marginal recognition from the state. Their experience gives them an upper hand in providing views to be incorporated in urban policies. This study presents recommendations on the role that should be played by the state actors, residents associations and other non-state actors in improving service provision.

The Central government has always been accused of controlling the LAs therefore reducing their capacity to deliver services effectively. There is need to devolve power and authority as well as resources (commensurate with their responsibilities) to the local levels. The Local Government Act Cap 265 has always been cited as one that limits the capacity of the LAs to effectively perform their expected roles of providing services to the residents and mandates the Central Government to have control over LAs. The Act is currently under review and it should aim at devolving power to the local levels, adopting participatory approaches in management of service delivery and enhancing the capacity of LAs to handle their responsibilities as well as improve their revenue collection

processes. There is need to incorporate mechanisms to involve the non-state actors in planning and management of services. Institutions to work with the civil society should be designed for effective service delivery.

There is need to develop mechanisms that ensure participation of residents in the design of plans and policies for improving service delivery. The preparation of LASDP provides one way in which the government is supporting participatory approaches in identification and prioritisation of projects, however there is need to encourage residents to effectively participate in the process as well as proper publicity through the media.

For LATF to be more effective the government should change the criteria for issuing the money from population of the area to the needs, since the population of an area could be high at night and low during the day when most of the services are in use, such as water.

The government has a central role to play in streamlining the operations of LAs and other actors (voluntary sector and private sector); it should act as a regulator and enabler as well as a catalyst by providing incentives (infrastructure, accountable judicial system and generally a good macro economic environment) in order to attract the private sector in service provision. It should create an environment that fosters partnership among stakeholders.

As decentralization of responsibility for administration and finance from Central Government to Local Governments unfolds, LAs should capitalize on enhancing partnerships and adopt cooperation with the non-state actors that are leading in local development efforts. NGOs, people's organisations, the private sector and other stakeholders should be involved in planning, implementing and evaluating programmes and projects for improving neighbourhoods.

City hall should attempt to be more open in planning and involve citizens so as to avoid speculations and future opposition against policy decisions and plans. There is need for mutual trust between NCC and the citizens for whose benefit plans are prepared. This

would hopefully give citizens confidence in NCC and thus facilitate enthusiasm on the part of citizens to participate in planning decisions.

Resident's associations need to develop capacity and demonstrate the political credibility to take advantage of decentralisation. They should build up their membership base, ensure involvement of members in decision-making and build structures that can effectively handle roles such as lobbying, advocacy and demand making. The members interviewed were concerned that the membership of KLDA is too low compared to the population in the area and hence demand for services.

They should formulate, articulate their demands, strategies, organise and negotiate to obtain services and stakes in decision-making processes and control. They should build up and maintain their political strength so that they become a force to be reckoned with by the government and other stakeholders. This calls for skilful, accountable and transparent leaders.

They should develop mechanisms of building effective and lasting partnerships with other organisations, such as NGOs, the UN, the government organs dealing with service delivery (such as NCC, Telkom) to enhance their capacity in terms of finance, skills, expertise which translate into improved services to the members.

KLDA should strive to design ways to work with the NCC without necessarily filing court cases against it. It should take advantage of the reforms such as the LASDP process to present its case. KLDA was not represented in the preparation of the LASDP for Nairobi. This is a good opportunity for the association to suggest ways of improving service provision in the Karen and Langata area.

### **6.2.2 Areas for Further Research**

This study was limited to KLDA, it is important to carry out a study of all residents associations to establish their contribution to service provision in the country. Karen and Langata are areas occupied by middle and high income people, there is need for assessing

the operations of associations in low income areas to establish whether they differ from those in high income areas.

The Kenya government is currently undertaking constitutional and LAs reforms. It is of concern to urban researchers to look into details of these reforms and strategies to find out whether there are any significant differences with the former approaches which have limited peoples participation in decision making processes.

The leaders of KLDA cited low participation by members in the activities of the association. There is need to carry out studies to find out why members are reluctant to participate actively in the affairs of the association. There is also need to establish why the membership of KLDA has remained low despite being active in service provision.

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## Key Informant Guideline-KLDA Management Team

### Introduction

My Name is Margaret Wamuyu Muthee. I am a Postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a masters course in Development Studies. Currently I am writing a project paper on Urban Residents associations and Management of services in Nairobi: A study of KLDA. I would like to have a brief discussion at your appropriate time on the subject, specifically to answer questions of the role played by KLDA in management of services in this area, how you get involved in the activities of the association and a description of the relationship between the association and the NCC.

Thank you

Margaret Muthee.

Name of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Gender \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Position in the management team \_\_\_\_\_

1. How long have you been in the management?
2. Have you ever served in another position in the association?
3. When was the association registered?
4. How is it registered?
5. How many members does the association have currently? Please elaborate.
6. How does one qualify to be a member of KLDA?
7. What is the governance and organisational structure of KLDA?
8. What are the objectives of the association?
9. What obstacles does the association face in trying to achieve its objectives?
10. What is the mission/vision of the association?

11. What activities is the association involved in?
12. How do the members get involved in the activities of the association?
13. How has the association contributed to the member's welfare?
14. How would you describe the relationship between the association and the NCC?
15. Where does the association get resources?
16. Who is the association accountable to?
17. Describe the level of services in this area? Please elaborate.
18. Does the association work with other partners other than the NCC? Please elaborate.

## IN DEPTH INTERVIEW WITH MEMBERS OF KLDA

### Introduction

My name is Margaret Wamuyu Muthee. I am a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi, undertaking a masters course in Development studies. Currently I am writing a project paper on Urban Residents Associations and Management Services in Nairobi: A Case Study of KLDA. I would like to have a brief discussion at your appropriate time on the subject, specifically to answer questions of the role played by KLDA in management of services in this area, participation of residents and other actors in the activities of KLDA and the relationship between KLDA and NCC.

Thank you.

Margaret Muthee

Name or respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Gender \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

1. Are you satisfied with the services in Karen and Langata area? Please elaborate
2. When did you join KLDA?
3. Why did you join KLDA?
4. Please state the mission/vision of KLDA?
5. Please outline the objectives of the association?
6. Which activities does KLDA carry out?
7. Have you lived in any other area in Nairobi? 1) Yes 2) No (Specify)
8. Was there a residents association? 1) Yes 2) No (Describe its role and performance)
9. Specify the roles of KLDA that you feel have had a positive impact on your welfare, your family and the community?

10. Are you directly involved in any of these activities? If yes probe in what ways- elections, management and resources mobilization.
11. Have you participated in election of leaders? Explain the process and whether you have contested.
12. Do you feel that the officials handle your concerns well? Probe for governance.
13. Could you please describe the relationship between KLDA and the NCC?
14. What constraints does the association face?
15. Please give a general comment on the following issues-
  - Role of urban residents associations
  - Strategies used by residents associations in management of services
  - Participation of members in the activities of the association
  - The governance structure of residents associations
  - Relationship between associations and the NCC
16. What do you perceive to be the strengths and weaknesses of KLDA? Please explain
17. Could you please suggest ways in which these weaknesses can be overcome?

## Key Informant Guideline-NCC Officials

### Introduction

My Name is Margaret Wamuyu Muthee. I am a Postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a masters course in Development Studies. Currently I am writing a project paper on Urban Residents associations and Management of services in Nairobi: A study of KLDA. I would like to have a brief discussion at your appropriate time on the subject, specifically to answer questions of the role played by residents associations in service provision, the relationship between the association and the NCC and service provision strategies used by residents associations.

Thank you

Margaret Muthee.

Name of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Gender \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Department \_\_\_\_\_

1. What activities is the department involved in?
2. Are you aware of the activities of urban residents associations? 1) Yes 2) No
3. Does your department work with them? Please elaborate. (Probe for KLDA)
4. In what ways does your department work with KLDA?
5. Have you had problems working with KLDA?
6. How did you resolve them?
7. How would you rate the performance of KLDA? Very poor, Poor, Good, Very good.
8. What role do you think the association plays in the resident's welfare?

9. How would you describe the relationship between NCC and KLDA?
10. Do you think the association handles the residents concerns well? 1) Yes 2) No.  
(Please elaborate).

## Key Informant Guideline-Other associations

### Introduction

My Name is Margaret Wamuyu Muthee. I am a Postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a masters course in Development Studies. Currently I am writing a project paper on Urban Residents associations and Management of services in Nairobi: A study of KLDA. I would like to have a brief discussion at your appropriate time on the subject, specifically to answer questions of the role played by residents associations in service provision, the relationship between associations and the NCC and service provision strategies used by residents associations.

Thank you

Margaret Muthee. .

Name of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Gender \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Name of the association \_\_\_\_\_

Position in the management team \_\_\_\_\_

1. When was the association formed/registered?
2. How does one qualify to be a member of the association?
3. How many members does the association have currently? (Please elaborate).
4. What is the mission/vision/objectives of the association?
5. What obstacles does the association face in trying to achieve its objectives?
6. Are the residents satisfied with the services provided in the area?
7. If not what efforts do they make to improve services? (Please elaborate)
8. In which ways do residents get involved in the activities of the association?
9. What is the governance structure of the association?

10. Does the association have working relations with the NCC and other non-state actors involved in service provision?
11. Where does the association get resources?
12. Who is the association accountable to?

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