FACTORS INFLUENCING THE COHESIVENESS OF COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF INCOME GENERATING COMMUNITY GROUPS IN KIBERA INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

By

Sapenzie Ojiambo

Project Report submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Project Planning and Management of the University of Nairobi

2013

DECLARATION

This project report is my original work and has never been presented for an award in any other University.

..... Date.....

Sapenzie Ojiambo

L50/P/7175/06

This project report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor

..... Date.....

Dr. Peter K. Nzuki

Lecturer, Department of Educational Studies

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Petronila and Aloys Ojiambo with love and admiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Peter Nzuki for his advice and valuable guidance throughout this study. His insightful questions have been instrumental in shaping this research. This report would not have come together in the manner it stands without his participation.

I acknowledge the role played by all staff at the department of extra-mural studies of the University of Nairobi in providing an enabling environment for the completion of this work. In particular, I would like to extend my thanks to the academic staff for their useful critiques of this research work.

My deepest appreciation goes to Emmaculate Musya, the chairlady of Kenya Slums Women Network for making time out of her busy schedule to support me in my cause. I am eternally grateful to her for openly sharing her wealth of knowledge, experiences and expertise in working with Community-Based Organizations. This work would not have been possible without her tireless participation and useful connections.

I am greatly indebted to the members of the numerous CBOs that took the time off their busy schedules and their businesses to partake in the data collection phase of this study. Words are inadequate in offering my thanks for their whole hearted cooperation.

Many thanks to Lisa Amai for the help provided during the data analysis phase of this study. Her useful recommendations went a long way in making this work a success.

Last but not least, heartfelt thanks to my long-time friend Patricia Murie who generously shared her knowledge and views on various aspects of the project with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBO	Community-Based Organization
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
HIV&AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IGAs	Income Generating Activities
KCMA	Kenya Collective Marketing Association
KISUA	Kibera Silanga Ushirika Association
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOU	Memorandums of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UCOMNET	Uganda Collective Marketing Network

ABSTRACT

Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) are useful conduits for donor funded grassroots development. However their high tendency to disintegrate puts the sustainability of such efforts at risk thus wasting valuable resources. Noteworthy, this situation seems to be exacerbated by external assistance. In light of this challenge, this study sought to find ways of enhancing the cohesiveness of CBOs by exploring the influence of selected internal factors on their cohesiveness. The objectives of the study were to examine the relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness, evaluate the association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs, assess the influence of the nature of project on the cohesiveness of CBOs, analyze how the nature of leadership affects the cohesiveness of CBOs and review the effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs. A cross-sectional survey was carried out targeting income generating CBOs in Kibera Informal Settlements. A total of 47 CBOs completed group questionnaires and had demographic data on their members collected through individual questionnaires. Chi-square technique and Spearman's rank correlation were used to test for relationships between the selected factors and the cohesiveness of the CBOs. The study found significant relationships between four of the factors studied and the cohesiveness of CBOs. The composition of CBOs including their size and membership diversity was found to significantly influence their cohesiveness. Contrary to previous studies on cohesion of groups, larger sized CBOs were found to be more cohesive than smaller sized ones. Gender and age homogeneity were also linked with higher levels of cohesiveness. Moreover, charismatic, inclusive and decisive leadership was associated with more cohesive CBOs. Specifically, CBOs that elected their leaders based on their social skills rather than fund raising skills, in which delegation of decision-making to members was common and penalties were more severe showed higher tendencies to be cohesive. Decentralized communication networks were also related to more cohesive CBOs. Very frequent interaction by members was on the other hand was found to have a negative effect on the cohesiveness of CBOs. Based on its findings, this study encourages the formation of gender and age homogeneous CBOs. The study also recommends educating CBO leaders on the benefits of delegated decision-making and decisive penalties on cohesion of CBOs. Moreover, CBO members are encouraged to choose their leaders based on their social skills rather than perceived mastery of the task at hand. Decentralized communication between CBO members is encouraged especially for complex tasks. While members of CBOs are encouraged to meet regularly, very frequent informal interaction is discouraged. If such frequent interaction cannot be avoided then a constant flow of accurate and clear information should be ensured to counteract gossip and rumors. Finally, further investigation into the relationship between the size and cohesiveness of CBOs is suggested. These findings will be useful in enlightening members, leaders and development workers on how the cohesiveness of CBOs can be enhanced, thus contributing to more sustainable CBOs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

Even though many national and international agencies are committed to using Community Based Organizations (CBOs) as vehicles for poverty alleviation, it has become increasingly difficult to establish and sustain successful CBOs. For instance, a participatory assessment conducted by Concern (an international Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)), on a rural development project in Bangladesh two years after phase out, revealed that only 30% of the CBOs supported were still active. The rest were either malfunctioning or had dissolved and even those that were still active had financial problems (Datta, 2007). Similarly, a study conducted by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Zimbabwe reported that in the preceding years, there had been an increasing number of failed community irrigation schemes resulting from minor technical problems that CBOs could have solved (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2002).

Various explanations have been advanced for this situation. Uganda Collective Marketing Network (UCOMNET) and the Kenya Collective Marketing Association (KCMA) (2010) blamed a rush to form CBOs for the sole purpose of accessing services, often disregarding the need to build the capacities of their members to run them effectively. Hanyani-Mlambo (2002), Lyon (2003) and Datta (2007) alluded to a dependency mentality on the part of the CBOs. Datta (2007) and Lyon (2003) also observed that a major contributing factor is internal issues such as poor leadership, poor project designs and lack of trust within the CBOs. Mansuri and Rao (2003) attributed the trend to poorly executed jobs by project implementers who they claim are often inadequately trained and inexperienced. On the other hand, Hoggett and Miller (2000) asserted that the neglect of the CBOs' social aspects and "adoption of approaches that under-emphasize the complexity of social systems and over-emphasize the malleability of human groups" by development workers is what ails CBOs.

CBOs are essential instruments for poverty alleviation and empowerment of the poor. They facilitate mobilization of resources for meaningful economic projects and provide their members with a platform for articulating their demands on the broader political and economic

systems (Korten, 1980; Opare 2007). For this reason, development donors have adopted policies that promote poverty alleviation activities carried out through CBOs (Kanyinga & Mitullah, 2007; Mansuri and Rao, 2003). In turn Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been increasingly engaged with CBOs as entry points for their development work. Improving the success rate of CBOs is therefore of utmost importance as they are at the core of the participatory development agenda which is instrumental in the pursuit of millennium development goals (MDGs) (Karl, 2000; Narayan, 1999).

1.2. Evolution of Community-Based Organizations

Cooperative practices are an integral part of many cultures all over the world and have existed for centuries (Parnell, 2001). Forms of cooperation can be traced back to the early humankind who moved in groups during hunting and gathering. Individuals had to cooperate with others for their own security and survival. There is evidence that forms of modern-day CBOs date back to the mid-eighteenth century during the American Civil War when charity groups were formed to assist individuals that had been displaced, disabled, or impoverished by the war (Fisher, 2002).

For traditional African societies, cooperation revolved around collective land ownership and use (Gakou, 1987). African communities are believed to have engaged in collective food production for their subsistence in the precolonial era (Ndege, 2009). In the subsequent period, colonial governments allowed the formation of informal community organizations as long as they did not engage in politics (Ochieng, 2007). Such community-based organizing efforts were however amorphous and poorly documented.

It was in the 1960s during the post-colonial period that the concept of community organizing flourished in Kenya having been incorporated in the national planning. The ‘Harambee’ motto promoted by the post-independence government played a huge role in entrenching them (Wanyama, 2003). ‘Harambee’ meaning pulling together encouraged collective actions at grass root level to improve communities' welfare rather than relying solely on the government.

Community organizing efforts all over the world received a major boost in 1990s when development actors made the decision to shift from top down development approaches to community based and community driven development (Mansuri & Rao, 2003). At the same time, citing poor economic management and governance by governments of developing countries, donors shifted their attention increasing funding to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Increased donor disbursements through NGOs in turn led to the mushrooming of CBOs as which were used as their entry point for development work at the grassroots (Kanyinga & Mitullah, 2007).

According to Wanyama (2006) there were 300,000 CBOs registered at the Ministry of Gender, Sports and Culture's Department of Social Services in Kenya a decade ago. Due to the nature of records, the number of CBOs registered with the Ministry of Gender and Social Development at the time of the study could not be retrieved. Although a large number of formal CBOs are registered with the Ministry of Gender and Social Development, the vast majority of community level organizations are in fact self-help groups that rely on cultural practice and peer pressure to govern their functions (Parnell, 2001). CBOs in Kenya are involved in a wide range of activities including income generation, asset building, commodity marketing, and social/cultural functions and are often dominated by women. (Cappock, D. L., Desta, S., Wako, A., Aden, I., Gebru, G., Tereza, T., et al., 2005).

1.3. Statement of the Problem

NGOs often work through CBOs in delivering development interventions. CBOs are then left to manage common assets after project closure. This means that the longevity of the CBOs is crucial to the sustainability of the project outcomes. However, while many examples of CBOs that have continued to be successful exist, a significant number appear to collapse once external assistance is withdrawn (Korten 1980; Naryan, 1999; Lyon, 2003; Datta, 2007). This inevitably leads to wastage of resources and discourages participation in these kinds of associations.

According to Emmaculate Musya (personal communication, March 11, 2012), residents of Kibera informal settlements blame the high incidence of failure among externally funded CBOs on poor guidance by development workers as a result of poor understanding of group

dynamics. This assertion is corroborated by De Feyter (2011) who based on a case study of CBOs in Kibera Informal settlements, concluded that lack of contextual knowledge among development actors caused demotivation and conflict in CBOs.

Hope of Action HIV&AIDs Group is an example of a potentially well performing CBO that was on the verge of collapse as a result of the inappropriate approach of their funders. The 35 member CBO involved in modeling of clay flower pots blames their situation on two reasons. Firstly, poor choice of a leader (because she was perceived to possess fund mobilization skills) and secondly, poor communication by their funders who only discussed proposals with their leaders and a few members leading to lack of transparency and eventually fraud by some members. Kibera Silanga Ushirika Association (KISUA) which is largely recognized as successful on the other hand attributes its success to several factors including trust and transparency, visionary leadership, clear group rules, operation as a joint enterprise in which all members have equal shares, and a limited size of 33 members.

The above mentioned views imply that some key attributes emanating from CBOs' structures and processes are important for their sustainability. For CBOs to be sustainable, they must be both productive and cohesive (Hoggett & Miller, 2000). The issue of productivity has been extensively researched and is often the focus of most NGO capacity building programs. On the other hand, a similar level of attention has not been given to the cohesion issue (Hoggett & Miller, 2000). In line with the views expressed above, available literature on cohesiveness of groups points towards some internal factors that can be considered to contribute to cohesiveness of CBOs or lack thereof. However, the studies have been conceptualized in many different ways and refer to diverse forms of groups making it difficult to apply the findings to practical CBO situations.

Focusing on CBOs involved in income generating activities (IGAs) in Kibera informal settlements, this study sought to answer the question, to what extent do internal factors influence the cohesiveness of CBOs?

1.4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which internal factors influence the cohesiveness of Community Based Organizations in Kibera Informal Settlements.

1.5. Objectives

The objectives of the study were;

i. To examine the relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness
ii. To evaluate the association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs
iii. To assess the influence of the nature of project on the cohesiveness of CBOs
iv. To analyse how the nature of leadership affect the cohesiveness of CBOs
v. To review the effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs

1.6. Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions;

i. What is the relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness?
ii. Is membership diversity associated with the cohesiveness of CBOs?
iii. Does the nature of project influence the cohesiveness of CBOs?
iv. How does the nature of leadership affect the cohesiveness of CBOs?
v. What is the effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs?

1.7. Significance of the Study

The results of this study have both theoretical and practical implications for the future of funded CBOs. The study sought to contribute to the discussion on the social issues that should be considered by development actors during design and implementation of projects

among CBOs. As a result, it was expected to equip development actors with the relevant knowledge to foster cohesion of the supported CBOs, particularly in the Kenyan informal settlements. Besides, it was anticipated that armed with the findings of this study, development actors would be equipped to identify the CBOs with higher potential for sustainability for support. In return, it was hoped that such efforts would increasingly result in stronger, more vibrant and sustainable CBOs working to improve their livelihoods.

Theoretically, the study was expected to serve as a source of information to researchers in the field of project management.

1.8. Delimitation of the Study

This study focused on Kibera Informal Settlements where unemployment is high particularly in the slum areas and reports indicate daily struggle for survival by the majority of residents. For this reason, CBOs are an important lifeline for those wishing to improve their living conditions. This also makes Kibera a common destination for both governmental and non-governmental organizations with poverty alleviation goals which channel their funds through CBOs (either existing or newly formed).

Secondly, while CBOs may take on different agendas ranging from advocacy to political to social welfare; this study limited itself to CBOs formed for the purposes of generating income from collective projects.

Finally, this study limited itself to only those CBOs registered with the Ministry of Gender and Social Development at the time of the study.

1.9. Limitations of the Study

Data collection was done through group and individual questionnaires administered in a group setting. As the knowledge of English among the respondents was expected to be poor, questions were in some cases translated to Kiswahili. It is possible that the loss of meaning arising from the translation may have led to bias.

While it would have been most desirable to establish the cause-effect relationship between both internal and external factors and the cohesiveness of CBOs, this was not possible given the limited timeframe and the cost of carrying out such a study. This study was therefore limited to investigating the associations between selected internal factors and the cohesiveness of CBOs.

1.10. Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that respondents provided reliable responses regarding their knowledge and opinions on the CBOs they belonged to.

1.11. Definitions of Significant Terms

a) Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)

The term Community-Based Organizations denotes local level groups of individuals emerging from the grassroots and rooted in local communities that aim at improving their living conditions and economic welfare combining their efforts in order to benefit from the economies of scale. By pooling their capital, labour, and other resources, members are able to carry out profitable activities, which, if undertaken by the individual, would involve greater risk and effort. Unlike self-help groups, the term CBOs refers to community groups that have been formalized through registration with relevant bodies. For the purpose of this study, only CBOs that are registered with the Ministry of Gender and Social Development were considered.

b) Cohesiveness

Cohesiveness refers to the degree of gelling of members in a group. That is, the extent to which a group operates as a single unit as well as the likelihood that members will continue to be part of the group in future.

1.12. Organisation of the study

Chapter one of this study introduced the subject by providing the background and describing the specific problem to be addressed. The purpose of the study, research objectives and research questions were outlined and the scope of the study clarified. Significant terms used in the study were also defined.

This section is followed by chapter two in which relevant literature associated with the research problem and objectives is presented. The chapter includes firstly, an overview of Kibera Informal Settlements where the study took place. Secondly, the linkage between external funding and reduced sustainability of CBOs is expounded to support the problem statement. Thirdly, secondary data review of selected factors whose influence on cohesiveness of CBOs is to be studied is presented and lastly empirical studies on the subject are presented.

In Chapter three, the methodology and procedures used for data collection and analysis are presented. The chapter begins with the research design which is followed by a description of the target population and the sampling design. The data collection instruments and procedures are then presented. Then the data analysis procedure and measurement scales for variables. The chapter ends with the operational definitions of variables.

Chapter four comprises of the presentation and interpretation of results. In the chapter, the response rate is first discussed then study findings on each variable are presented and interpreted.

Lastly, Chapter five contains a summary and discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations made. Findings are summarized then discussed for each objective. Conclusions are then presented and recommendations made are listed. Finally, areas for further research are suggested.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is organized into eight sections. The first section is a description Kibera Informal Settlements. This is followed by evidence linking external assistance to the sustainability of CBOs. Third is an analysis of the construct of group cohesion. Fourth, a review of existing studies on the influence of internal factors on the cohesiveness of groups in general. Gaps in literature on factors influencing the cohesiveness of CBOs and existing studies linking selected internal factors to the performance and/or sustainability of CBOs are then examined. Finally, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are presented.

2.2. Kibera Informal Settlements

Kibera is one of the largest clusters of informal settlements in Kenya. The settlements are situated 5 km from the Nairobi central business district and comprise of 14 widely recognized villages namely: Kianda, Olympic, Soweto West, Gatwekera, Raila, Karanja, Kisumu Ndogo, Makina, Kambi Muru, Mashimoni, Lindi, Laini Saba, Silanga and Soweto East (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011). The area covered by Kibera Informal Settlements is illustrated in Appendix D.

The population of Kibera cannot be said with certainty. Researchers have come up with various figures ranging from 200,000 to 950,000 based on different methodologies (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011; Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011). There is however general consensus that the settlements spanning an area of 250 ha are considerably densely populated (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011; Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011; Omambia, 2010).

Kibera is multi-ethnic community with most settlements being heterogeneous, although some few areas are inhabited by people from one ethnic group (Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011). Table 2.1 below shows the estimated distribution of ethnic groups in Kibera.

Table 2.1

Population of Kibera Informal Settlements by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Proportion
Luo	30%
Kikuyu	20%
Kamba	19%
Luhya	14%
Kalenjin	6%
Others	11%

Umande Trust, 2007.

The age distribution of Kibera residents is rather youthful with majority of the population falling below 40 years of age and at least half of the population below 20 years. There are more or less equal proportions of males and females within the population. (Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011; Omambia, 2010). Appendix E shows the age- gender distribution of Kibera.

There are few government funded schools in Kibera as well as informal schools set up by CBOs (De Feyter, 2011). About 55% of the residents of Kibera have only basic education while 10% are illiterate. Table 2.2 shows the level of education reached by the most educated member of the household.

Table 2.2

Level of education reached by households in Kibera Informal Settlements

Level of Education	Percentage
Primary school	55%
Secondary school	25%
College education	10%
Illiterate	10%

Omambia, 2010.

The informal settlements are characterized by a general lack of basic infrastructure and social amenities. The most significant problems include poor sanitation, poor drainage and lack of access to clean water. (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011; Amnesty International, 2009). Most residents of Kibera are in informal employment, with about 45% being self employed or working for wages (Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011).

There is a wide range of economic activities pursued by residents that are self employed including selling of vegetables, clothes, food, water, and shop merchandise. Majority of the residents in informal employment are shopkeepers, drycleaners, watchmen and security guards (Ondieki & Mbegera, 2009). The average income is estimated to be Kshs 3,977 per person per month (Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011). Moreover, Kagiri's (2008) report focusing on one of the settlements states that nearly half (47%) of those with regular monthly income earn between Kshs 5,000 and Kshs 9,999 while 13% earned between Kshs 10,000 and Kshs 14,999. Only about 8% earned more than Ksh. 15,000.

A huge presence of self-help groups exists in Kibera, most of them unregistered. The actual number of registered CBOs however could not be retrieved as the method of documentation at the Ministry of Gender and Social Development does not allow for querying to retrieve those found in specific areas or working in specific activities. The records however showed that 1,523 CBOs are found in Langata District in which Kibera Informal Settlements are found. Majority of these CBOs were in fact found in Kibera.

At least 60% of the residents of Kibera Informal Settlements belong to one or more CBOs (Kangaroo and Karaoke 1996). CBOs range from those concerned with access to social services to those involved in income generation. A number of NGOs work with the CBOs in projects aimed at providing social services and economic empowerment. (De Feyter, 2011). However, a thin line separates the two as CBOs involved in social services provision often also make some income from them. For example, toilets or water kiosks constructed with the support of NGOs may be managed by CBOs which charge a fee for their use (Zamberia, 2006). Some of the CBOs however, pursue purely entrepreneurial goals such as those involved in the production and selling of bead work and pottery. Noteworthy, CBOs are often engaged in more than one activity (De Feyter, 2011).

2.3. External Funding and Sustainability of Community-Based Organizations

There is a high propensity of CBOs assisted by NGOs to collapse soon after withdrawal of aid. This pattern suggests that that external funding impacts on the sustainability of CBOs. The trend is not new. More than three decades ago, the late Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Wangari Maathai had cautioned that financial support to self-help groups often destroyed their 'positive elements' rather than promoting them (Wipper, 1975).

Empirical studies suggest that external assistance is often not successful in improving the institutional capacity of CBOs but has the potential to interfere with their structure, processes and level of cooperation. For example, Molinas (1998) found the relationship between cooperation in CBOs and level of external assistance to be inverted - U shaped meaning that cooperation increases with the increase in external assistance until an optimum following which it deteriorates. Casey, Glennerster, & Miguel (2011) found that although external assistance improved CBOs' economic welfare, it was not effective in improving their norms or collective performance. These corroborate Gugerty & Kremer's (2008) conclusion that outside funding has very limited effects on the strength, internal activity and external outreach of CBOs, but changed memberships and leaderships of CBOs.

Changes in membership may be such as increase in size and or composition created by a pull factor due to the secured external assistance or the presence of new players (aid workers) influencing decision-making within the groups. Changes in size and composition complicate

the management of groups as larger heterogeneous groups are more difficult to manage (Salifu, Francesconi, & Shashidhara, 2010). As mentioned by De Feyter (2011) the presence of new players may erode cohesion by complicating internal mechanisms of the CBOs for enforcing agreements, commitments and formal rules for governing relationships.

External assistance can also impact negatively on the CBOs processes such as leadership. Naturally forming CBOs often have natural leaders who are usually the mobilizers and visionaries. While they may be motivated and influential, they often lack the necessary skills to move the CBO beyond the initial phases into more efficient cooperatives envisioned by development actors (Parnell, 2001; Salifu et al., 2010). Scholars have found evidence that groups were more likely to change leadership opting to elect men and better educated women to leadership roles after securing external assistance (Gugerty & Kremer, 2008; Datta, 2007). The new leaders may lack the charisma to keep the group together. In some cases, they may be motivated by the potential benefits accruing from the external assistance and may not have the willingness to continue devoting their time to group activities without compensation beyond the project period (Datta, 2007).

Moreover, capital injection and technology support offered as part of external assistance to boost the CBOs' activities often requires more exertion on the part of their members thus placing new demands on them. In addition, because of their high value, capital inputs almost always require sharing by CBO members. Property and control rights thus becomes a thorny issue with the potential to fuel internal conflicts (Karantininis & Zago, 2001). CBOs may be transformed into joint enterprises either to solve this problem or by design (Lyon, 2003). This situation also complicates the CBO's functioning as when 'equity principles' prevail, there is a high likelihood of free rider problems with the potential to stir up 'social tensions' (Salifu et al., 2010).

Furthermore, external assistance enables growth of CBOs by facilitating growth and expansion of existing undertakings; or supporting the establishment of new ones. As a result, where basic business skills were previously adequate, more sophisticated business skills will be required. Hence, the skills of members need to grow with the business if it is to succeed. In some cases, where the enterprise grows beyond the capacity of CBO members, they employ managers who provide the required business skills (Parnell, 2001). This new arrangement may present another problem as group members may not have the requisite

skills to oversee and direct the managers once the aid workers leave the scene. This has been found to create problems. ‘Sometimes, member-leaders misunderstand the the nature of democratic control and retain functions that should be handed over to professional managers resulting in confusion of roles’ (Parnell, 2001).

Access to increased inputs and subsidies also has the potential to perpetuate corruption and conflicts and thus eroding cohesion. An evaluation commissioned by Concern for their project in Bangladesh found that corruption and malpractice by both members and leaders contributed to disbanding of CBOs following the phase out of the project (Datta, 2007). Besides, CBOs draw populations from the same neighbourhoods meaning that their group persona is not clearly detached from their private lives. As a consequence, ‘any disagreement about a rule or a decision is bound to spill over into the sphere of private relations and to generate personal antagonisms’ (Platteau, 2006). This makes CBOs more susceptible to disintegration due to personal conflicts.

2.4. The Construct of Group Cohesion

The construct of group cohesion is a subject that has captured the attention of numerous scholars from diverse fields of study concerned with small groups (Brawley & Carron, 2000). This interest has resulted in a wealth of research on the subject. In management practice, group cohesiveness has increasingly gained importance as it is believed to promote harmony within teams (Shermerhorn, 2002). Previous studies have linked cohesion with better performance, effectiveness and productivity of work groups making it an area of interest for project managers (Langfield & Shanley, 1997; Casey-Campbell & Martens, 2009).

However, despite the extensive research on the subject of group cohesiveness, there is still no consensus among scholars on how to conceptualize and measure it (Carless & De Paola, 2000; Casey-Campbell & Martens, 2009; Friedkin, 2004). Numerous definitions of cohesiveness adopted by researchers over time are believed to have influenced the diverse ways in which cohesion has been conceptualized (Casey-Campbell & Martens, 2009). In the past, cohesiveness was generally operationalized as attraction to the group and was assessed by asking members how much they liked one another or how long they wanted to stay in the group (Carless & De Paola, 2000). Scholars now agree that cohesion is not a unitary

construct, although there is still no agreement on how it should be measured (Carless & De Paola). In a review of research on cohesion over the last decades Casey-Campbell & Martens (2009) concurred with Friedkin (2004) in stating that researchers may adopt any definition for cohesion, providing it is clear and accompanied by a logical analysis. They also agreed with Dion (2000) in noting that emphasis should be put on ensuring that measurement and treatment of cohesion data matched the theoretical definition of cohesion adopted rather than how it was defined.

As previously stated, earlier research on cohesiveness of groups treated it as a one-dimensional construct. Over the past decades, this view has been traded for a multidimensional view of cohesion with researchers increasingly making distinction between various forms of cohesion (Carless & De Paola, 2000). This differentiation is important because some studies indicate that the different dimensions of cohesion may not be correlated and that the different constructs of cohesion have different implications for groups (Carless & De Paola, 2000; Brawley & Carron, 2000). Most recently, simplified two-dimensional models have been used by researchers to operationalize group cohesion (Casey-Campbell & Martens, 2009).

Carless & De Paola (2000) outlines the two key distinctions to be made when defining group cohesiveness in the two dimensional model. First, there is the distinction between the individual and the group. The individual aspect of cohesion refers to the individual's attraction to the group, that is, the extent to which the individual wants to be accepted by group members and remains in the group. The group aspect on the other hand, refers to group integration which is the degree of closeness, similarity, and unity within the group. Second is the distinction between task cohesion and social cohesion. Task cohesion which may be operationalized as members' commitment to the task is related to the members' motivation towards achieving the organization's goals and objectives. In contrast, social cohesion which is related to interpersonal attraction is related to the motivation to develop and maintain social relationships within the group. Four different variants of cohesion may therefore be delineated as follows:

a) Individual – Task
b) Individual – Social
c) Group – Task
d) Group – Social

This project is primarily concerned with the individual – social construct which is related to the inclination of the individual to remain in the group and to develop and maintain social relationships within the group.

2.5. Factors that Influence the Cohesiveness of Groups

Every group has certain features that define it. These features characterize the operational context which sets stage for the group's performance. The cohesiveness of a group is more likely a function of many of its features and as with many social science concepts, the variables are fluid and difficult to grasp. While it is obvious that there are many more contributing factors beyond the scope of this study, the following have been considered due to their frequent mention in literature related to the subject.

a) Group size

Scholars generally agree that varying the number of people in a group directly impacts on the group's cohesion. A study conducted by Wheelan (2009) concluded that dissatisfaction increased as group size increased implying that cohesion reduced with increase in size. This finding corroborated Mullen and Copper's (1994) study conducted on a wide cross-section of groups which concluded that cohesiveness was greater in smaller groups. Mullen and Copper (1994) further attributed the trend to the notion of social loafing which refers to the tendency of individuals to exert less effort when working in a group. Similarly, Liden, Wayne, Jaworsky & Bennett (2004) found larger group sizes to be related to increase in social loafing and therefore decreased cohesiveness.

While social loafing obviously leads to decreased group level and task cohesion, it has also been found to be a key contributor to reduced individual level and social cohesion. If an individual perceives social loafing by another group member, he or she may either react by exerting more effort, if he/she perceives the objective to be of utmost importance (Liden et al., 2004), or by withholding effort as an act of protest (Gary, 1996). Both reactions have negative implications for individual level and social cohesiveness as individuals may

experience a reduced sense of group unity or get tired of exerting for the sake of the group and leave.

Larger groups have also been associated with the tendency to form cliques (Cook & Keith, 2003). While formation of cliques is actually thought to be a sign of cohesion, destructive cliques can lead to alienation of outsiders thus eroding inter-clique cohesion. Moreover, both task and relationship conflict have been found to be higher in larger groups than in smaller ones (Doherty, Harman, & Kerwin, 2011). According to Levine and Moreland (1990), members of larger groups were less satisfied with group membership, participated less often in group activities, and were less likely to cooperate with one another. Misconduct was believed to proliferate in larger groups, which was attributed to increased feelings of anonymity and decreased self-awareness as the group enlarged. This could explain the increased occurrence of conflict. The feeling of anonymity may also increase the perception of dispensability resulting in reduced motivation (Kerr & Bruun, 1983). Communication patterns in larger groups were also thought to reduce the feeling of being heard thus giving rise to the perception of dispensability (Fay, Garrod, & Carletta, 2000). Noteworthy, where every individual's output counts, group size was found to have reduced effect on the perception of dispensability (Kerr & Bruun, 1983).

While there is an abundance of literature concerned with the link between group size and cohesiveness of groups. Most of the studies vaguely make use of the terms large and small without defining what might be considered a large or small group. Few studies have attempted to define the small, medium or large groups but this is limited to their specific context. For example, Wheelan, (2009) focused on employee work groups and thus classified groups with three to six members as small and those with eleven or more members are classified as large. In another instance, Bonacich, Shure, Kahan, & Meeker (1976) used temporary groups of three, six and nine students to prove the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between group size and cooperation implying that groups of three were considered small while groups of nine were considered to be large. Fay et al. (2000) on the other hand, compared communication differences in groups of five and ten people. These studies certainly shed some light on the relevance of the group size to group cohesion. However, the possibility to apply the categories used to decide on the optimal group size of CBOs whose significance relies heavily on the number that contributed to them is limited. It was therefore thought that context specific studies focusing on CBOs would further enrich

this theory. As part of this study the relationship between group size and cohesiveness was sought with a view to infer the optimum size of a CBO in Kibera.

b) Membership Diversity

In the words of Varughese & Ostrom (2001), members of groups can differ along a diversity of dimensions including their socio-cultural backgrounds, interests and endowments; and each dimension may operate differently under a variety of circumstances. While this diversity may be beneficial by bringing in an assortment of knowledge, skills and ideas, it may also reduce team cohesion, complicate team interactions, and thereby, frustrate or alienate team members (Gevers & Peeters, 2009).

Previous findings in favor of homogeneity of groups were best summed up by Bandiera, Barankay & Rasul (2005) who concluded that heterogeneity along caste, religious or ethnic lines is correlated with lower contributions, higher extraction levels and poorer maintenance of common resources. On socio-economic heterogeneity, they found that the effect was similar to the extent to which inequality generated distinct group identities. Similar views were held by Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls (1997) and Portney & Berry (1997) in their findings that the more effective neighborhood associations were the ones that are less stratified. The level of income was particularly pointed out by Sampson et al. as one such form of stratification. Sampson et al.'s views were supported by Shanmugaratnam (1996) who found that that sustainable management of common resources was more difficult to achieve in a community with highly uneven wealth distribution than in one with a relatively even distribution of wealth. These findings imply that social loafing and free riding are likely to be more pronounced in heterogeneous groups than in homogeneous ones.

Several reasons have been advanced to support these findings. Miguel & Gurgerty (2005) suggested that social heterogeneity might make it harder to develop institutional frameworks to effectively govern across the different strata. According to Esteban & Ray (2001) heterogeneous groups may find it difficult to define common interests due to their different wants which may affect cooperation. Vigdor (2002) and Banerjee, Iyer & Somathan (2004) offered that members of heterogeneous groups may fail to agree on operational issues such as how to share proceeds, or some members may undermine the needs of their fellow members.

Furthermore, Levine & Moreland (1990) reported that variability in age and sex also had the potential to undermine cohesion. They went on to explain that age diversity was thought to increase conflict in work groups because of differences in training and experience. On the other hand, sex diversity was thought to emphasize sex roles. This was believed to lead to members adopting those roles either through personal choice or the process of behavior conformation resulting in feelings of social isolation, role entrapment and powerlessness thus eroding cohesion.

Divergent views were however held by Varughese & Ostrom (2001) who asserted that heterogeneities did not determine the success of collective action; but only affected the 'structure of constitutional and collective choices' available to the members. They went on to say that successful groups were those that overcame stressful heterogeneities through appropriate institutional arrangements. Similarly, Bandiera et al. (2005) found that in instances where members invested assets in the group project, the effect of membership diversity depended on the shareholding arrangement. That is to say, where returns were proportional to the capital invested by the individual socio-economic heterogeneity could be beneficial.

While there is a range of literature that elucidate the strain caused by heterogeneity on relationships in a group setting, it refers to diverse forms of groups in diverse settings. The applicability of these findings to voluntary CBOs concerned with income generation can be argued. A few scholars have observed the effect of heterogeneity may vary depending on the nature of benefit being sought and the way in which the group is organized. This was believed to be more likely the case for CBOs. Moreover, based on findings, Stolle (1998, as cited in Krishna & Shrader, 1999) appreciated that composition of membership may be more valuable in some areas communities than others. This called for context specific research on the attribute prior to embracing or shunning it.

c) Nature of Task

Even when groups pursue similar goals, the tasks performed to achieve them may differ in a variety of aspects including autonomy, required skills, structure, demands in terms of time, difficulty, and work schedule among others (Srivastava & Sinha, 2011). This variation has consequences for group outcomes. For instance, changes in critical task attributes have been

found to influence group productivity (Levine and Moreland, 1990). Existing literature on the nature of task however, tends to focus on its consequence for group performance rather than group cohesiveness. For the purpose of this study, task structure, task difficulty and skills variety are examined in relation to group cohesiveness as they are most applicable to a CBO setting.

Group tasks may be designed to be highly interdependent so that they have to be executed jointly or with low interdependence such that the group outcome is basically the sum of individual contributions (Aube & Rousseau, 2005; Kim & Soergel, 2005). According to Wageman (1995) groups were found to perform best when their tasks and outcomes were either purely interdependent or purely independent. Hybrid groups were found to perform poorly and had low member satisfaction. In contrast, Liden et al. (2004) associated high task interdependence with increased social loafing due to the perception that personal contributions are likely to go unrecognized in such cases. Given that when task interdependence is high, the performance of one member impacts more on fellow group members (Liden et al.), social loafing is also more noticeable when there is high task interdependence. A relationship between task interdependence and cohesion can therefore be expected although this appears not to have been frequently pursued by scholars.

With regard to task difficulty, existing literature suggests that more complex tasks are associated increased cohesiveness (Man & Lam, 2003). This is attributed to increased communication and interaction required to pull off the complex task. Besides, motivation and satisfaction have been reported to be higher when individuals are performing complex and challenging tasks (Srivastava & Sinha, 2011; Abbott, Boyd, & Miles, 2006). As found by Baron, Brunsman, & Vandello (1996) individuals are more likely to look to other group members' opinions for information and guidance the more difficult the decision to be made was. In addition, the group members (including the leader) were found to be more likely to conform to other members' opinions when they lacked a clear answer, and would also feel more confident in their choice if there was group consensus. All of the above suggest that a positively cooperative group environment can be associated with complex group tasks.

In an ideal task oriented group, the members are selected based on the task characteristics such that their combined skills can cover the required skill profile (Lusk, Sperber, & Wolff, 2004). This serves to facilitate role division thus promoting the effectiveness of the group.

However, spontaneously formed groups do not have this advantage. In such groups, members can be expected to adopt specific roles through mutual self-discovery and understanding to see who is most suited to each of the roles (Suff & Reilly, 2006). When a group's set of skills is inadequate for the task at hand there is need to seek for support externally (Austin, 2003). This has the potential to introduce new dynamics given that there is some loss of control and the external relationship has to be managed.

Although the above findings shed some light on the relationship between the nature of task and cohesiveness, their corresponding studies were predominantly conducted in the office environment and therefore mostly relate to employee teams. Due to the differences in the expected benefits, the factors that motivate employees are different from those that motivate entrepreneurial groups. Consequently, the extent to which these findings can be generalized to other forms of groups remains unclear. Besides, studies on the effect of task interdependency on cohesion are rare; and there is lack of consistency between Wageman (1995) and Liden et al. (2004) as regards how performance varies with task interdependency.

d) Nature of Leadership

The leadership of a group has been found to be of great consequence to members drive and its cohesiveness (Ho & Raman, 1991). As a matter of fact Carron (1982) and Parnell (2001) identified leadership as one most important determinant of cohesion. This was not unexpected as earlier studies had found the mere presence of a leader to be associated with greater cohesiveness (Shelley, 1960). Still, the perceived legitimacy of the leader has the potential to greatly affect the leaders' authority (Lucas & Lovaglia, 1998) and perceptions of competence (Kane, Zaccaro, Tremble & Masuda, 2002) and thus his or her level of influence on the group. Legitimate leaders are often elected or appointed however, leaders emerging naturally due to factors like perceived contribution, participation rate or seniority may also be accepted as legitimate (Shelley, 1960). While the common advice is to provide frequent opportunities for change of leadership such as regular elections, evidence linking frequent change of leadership to performance or cohesiveness of groups could not be found.

Further, the nature of the group leader is associated with varying degrees of cohesiveness. Available literature makes a distinction between transformational leadership and transactional leadership. Transformational leadership is associated with charismatic leaders. These are

inspirational leaders that are able to motivate their followers to work hard towards a shared vision. Given that transformational leaders influence individual perceptions of group potency they are believed to inspire higher levels of goal commitment and thus cohesion (Whiteoak, 2007). In contrast, transactional leadership directs the efforts of members through allocation of tasks, provision of rewards and establishment of structures to achieve the organization's objectives (Schermerhorn, 2002).

Despite the fact that most literature on the subject strongly favors transformational leadership, this study considers that it may be possible for transactional leadership that is focused in achieving the goals of the group to generate increased cohesion as a result of good task performance. This proposition is based on previous findings indicating the existence of a causal relationship between performance and cohesiveness. These are best summed up by Casey-Campbell (2008) who explained that a cohesive spiral may exist when changes in performance and cohesion consistently build upon each other in either a positive or negative direction. Besides, the possibility that leaders considered as charismatic could be less effective in pursuing the organization's goal and thus harmful to the CBO cannot be ignored (Howell & Avolio, 1992). Although such charismatic leaders may start out with very cohesive groups, these are likely to disintegrate once the members realize that the gains promised are not forthcoming.

The impact of leadership styles on cohesion may also result from the decision making procedures. Noteworthy, Gardner, Shields, Light, Bredemeier & Bostrom (1997) found democratic behavior and avoidance of autocratic decision-making to be associated with task cohesiveness but their findings on its relationship with social cohesiveness were less conclusive. According to Ho & Raman (1991), consultative leadership would only yield more satisfaction if its members were highly committed to the group and its goals. Besides, other than being of better quality having been based on a variety information sources, decisions made with the participation of members have been found to have higher acceptance as participants understand them better and therefore become more committed to the process (Schermerhorn, 2002). The above imply that a participatory approach to decision making is likely to be associated with social cohesiveness in CBOs. Further investigation is therefore required to ascertain the relationship.

Finally, the ability to generate feelings of trust in the leadership also has the potential to impact on a group's outcome (Fine & Holyfield, 1996; Hassan & Ahmed, 2011). Although little attention has been given to role of trust in influencing the members' behavior (Hassan & Ahmed, 2011), it has been found that members are likely to put more effort towards a collective objective when they trust the leader and his or her intentions (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). On the other hand, a lower level of trust was associated with reduced inclination to accept the leader's visions and values (Grojean, Resick, Dickson & Smith, 2004). According to Hassan & Ahmed (2011), leadership is considered trustworthy based on leadership's conduct, integrity, use of control, ability to communicate, and ability to express interest in members.

e) Communication Patterns

Pavitt & Curtis (1998) indicated that constructive communication and interaction is one of the ways to increase the cohesiveness of a group. Few other studies link communication directly to development or maintenance of cohesion in a group (Frey, Gouran, & Poole, 1999). The amount of communication among members of a group has nevertheless been found to have a positive effect on the level of cooperation and trust among its members (Jensen, Farnham, Drucker, & Kollock, 2000; Balliet, 2010). Moreover, the folk theorem suggests that repeated interaction between the same individuals might increase the likelihood of sustained cooperation in equilibrium (Riley & Wakely, 2003). Given that cooperation and trust have been found to be antecedents of cohesion in groups (Anshel & Kipper, 1988) it can be assumed that an association between the amount of communication and group cohesiveness is implied.

Other than the quantity, communication in group settings may also differ in quality. Effective group communication processes are believed to lead to higher levels of member satisfaction which has implications for cohesiveness (Oetzel, 2001). One of the ways of defining the communication processes of a group is by its communication network. The type of communication network adopted has been consistently found to impact on the performance of groups (Katz, Lazer, Arrow, & Contractor, 2004). Researchers generally agree that for groups pursuing complex tasks, performance is better when communication is decentralized, while for those pursuing simple tasks centralized communication leads to better performance (Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, & Tsai, 2004; Schermerhorn, 2002; Katz et al., 2004). Despite

the fact that the link between communication networks and task performance has received a lot of attention by researchers, studies linking communication networks to group cohesion could not be found. Jensen (2003) however indicated that morale and motivation was higher in groups where communication was decentralized because members did not feel left out. This can be taken to suggest a positive relationship between decentralized communication patterns and the cohesiveness of groups. However, given that most of the research on communication networks was carried out with temporary groups in laboratory conditions and characterization of complexity varied from study to study, the application of this finding to practical situations is challenging.

Like most group attributes, communication in groups can be either task related or relational (Frey, Gouran, & Poole, 1999). In a group setting, both task communication and relational communication exist to varying degrees of quantity and quality (Frey et al.). While task communication was discussed above, it is the relational communication that has the higher potential to affect a groups' cohesiveness (Oetzel, 2001). Yet most literature has focused on task communication and not sufficiently on relational communication. Frey et al. (1999) recommended follow up studies on relational aspects of communication.

Furthermore, both task and relational communication existing in a group can either be formal or informal. With regard to formal communication, groups that interact openly and in which members ask questions or are free to disagree have been found to be more cohesive (Bormann, 1990). This is because such opportunities to share information and express feelings about groups' tasks and performance with other members enhance feelings of cooperation (Elias, Johnson, & Fortman, 1989). Moreover, when communication is open, arguments are common. On the positive side, these have been found to contribute to a higher level of satisfaction and sense of group cohesion by the argumentative members (Anderson, & Martin, 1999). On the other hand, members that are not skilled in presenting their arguments may take on verbal aggressiveness which may have negative implications for the sense of cohesiveness (Ibid.). The communication culture of the members of the group therefore greatly influences the approach that would be most effective if cohesiveness is to be promoted. Jehn (1997) argued that groups with open group norms around communication were less likely to experience explosive conflict. He also noted that even task related conflict has the potential to transform to relational conflict with damaging effects on social bonds. For instance, when group members cannot agree on task related issues they may begin to dislike

each other and personalize the conflict (Jehn). The implication of increase in conflict of non-explosive intensity on group cohesion was however not discussed.

Informal communication has been found to be particularly useful in supporting the social functions of a group (Kraut, Fish, Root, & Chalfonte 2002; Oh, Chung, & Labiaca, 2004). According to Oh, Chung, & Labiaca (2004), information exchange by members outside the formal setting has the potential to increase the level of trust between them and provide more time, opportunity, and motivation to strengthen and broaden their relationships. This may translate to closer ties between group members and thus increased cohesiveness. On the other hand, informal communication often includes rumors and gossip which may create interpersonal conflict through exchange of inaccurate information and innuendo (Michelson & Mouly, 2002). As previously mentioned, problems arising from informal interaction can easily spill over to influence the functioning of the groups (Platteau 2006). Oh, Chung, & Labiaca (2004) suggested that it was actually counterproductive for the functioning of a group when all its members often congregate informally outside the organization. However, none of the studies defined the optimum level of informal interaction.

2.6. Gaps in Literature

In spite of extensive research on the concept of cohesiveness of groups, different forms of groups have been used as subjects of the research. These range from sports teams, to students, to work groups in organizations. Given the numerous criteria for group differentiation such as size, intimacy, intensity and duration of interaction, complexity of the organizational structure and strength of the psychological bonds among group members (Gross & Martin, 1952), the findings may not apply to all groups but only to those with characteristics similar to the groups studied.

In light of this shortcoming, it was noted that few specific studies exist on factors affecting the cohesiveness of CBOs. As a matter of fact, none could be retrieved during this literature review. However, some studies on factors affecting the sustainability and performance of CBOs were encountered. Given that cohesiveness is an antecedent of sustainability, and that a cyclical relationship exists between cohesiveness and performance, four studies linking

internal factors of CBOs to their performance and/or sustainability were reviewed. These are discussed below.

Lyon (2003) analyzed the factors that allow CBOs to be sustained by looking at a range of CBOs with the intention to deduce implications for NGOs and governmental bodies attempting to support their activities. This was done through a survey carried out in off road communities in central and Brong Ahafo regions of central Ghana. The survey was carried out in villages using semi-structured interviews and participatory research methods covering 100 CBO members. CBOs interviewed were involved in various activities including joint food trading, community crop storage, micro-credit, improvement of market infrastructure and transport. The study observed that for CBOs to work there must be strong incentives and individuals must be convinced that they would benefit individually. Secondly, there should be reduced risk of cheating which can be achieved by ensuring transparency and through monitoring each other. This may include watching work being carried out or transactions taking place, establishing accounting procedures and member education. The study also concluded that management of CBOs becomes more complex when they act as joint enterprises rather than membership associations offering services to their members. The former arrangement was not found to be taking place except in donor funded projects that required CBO ownership of resources. The quality of leadership and their willingness to sacrifice time and effort for the CBO's survival was another factor. Leaders had to be trusted to represent the CBO and to act as intermediaries between members especially in the event of disputes for CBOs to be sustainable. Models of leadership drawn from traditional institutions were found to be more effective as leaders could use the behavior and dispute settling strategies understood and known by all members. Lastly the ability to punish was found to be important in enforcement of rules especially in bigger CBOs. The role of chiefs, peer pressure and shaming of people were found to be vital.

Datta (2007) also identified some lessons on sustainability by evaluating CBOs from Concern's rural development projects in Bangladesh. A participatory assessment of the CBOs that had been supported in the projects was conducted two years following the closure of the program. Members of both the CBOs that were still active and those that had disintegrated were interviewed. Only 32% of the CBOs were still active. Additionally, those that were still functioning faced a funding crisis. The study attributed the failure of CBOs mainly to lack of trust and poor leadership with members citing corruption and malpractice by both leaders and

members. In addition, poor management of financial accounts had led to loss of funds and created mistrust. There were also perceptions of favoritism due to lack of transparency. Most CBOs exhibited high dependency on external funding – to the extent that some members had defected to join other projects after discontinuation of Concern's support – and on the presence of Concern staff to moderate their activities. Group think was evident with members reluctant to oppose their leaders' views and some CBOs are reported to have collapsed following defection of their leaders. Women were reported to have been marginalized by men who took over running of the CBOs despite being fewer in number, and went ahead to make decisions in the absence of the women who were often tied up by various reproductive responsibilities. Positive attributes associated with successful CBOs included strong, trustworthy and competent leadership; transparent information sharing and decision making; ownership of CBO activities and willingness to take full control of their savings fund which meant that they had bank accounts, written policies and maintained written accounts.

With regard to the effect of internal factors on the performance of CBOs, Place et al., (2002) examined the factors behind the success and failure of rural CBOs in the highlands of Kenya. As part of the research, the team considered performance of collective action; structural, procedural and otherwise among other objectives. The methodology consisted of two exercises. In the first exercise, 40 CBOs that were involved in *calliandra* tree nursery production as part of their activities were assessed. The assessment was done through monitoring of seedling production and distribution over time as well as by administering a questionnaire on CBO characteristics. In addition, 151 household level interviews were carried out. The interviews were supplemented by 4 case-studies. Stratified sampling was used to identify study sites as it was believed that the focus collective action differed from site to site based on agricultural potential, and that areas with higher agricultural potential focused more on income generation while those prone to agricultural failures focused on coping strategies. Areas that had been covered by development actions in the past were avoided as it was thought that these may have influenced the performance of the local CBOs. 87 group level interviews and 442 household interviews were conducted. Group level information was collected on all CBO activities over the previous five years. CBOs were asked to rate whether the completed activities were successful or unsuccessful. An empirical test carried out on the CBO's structure and performance found some evidence that the size of CBO matters. Performance was found to be highest for middle sized CBOs as opposed to the smallest or largest ones. The study did not find any evidence that performance was linked to

diversity or age of CBO. There were also no clear patterns identified for all other characteristics considered in the study. The study did not assess the CBOs processes such as leadership qualities, decision making processes or contribution of members but recommended investigations into these aspects by future studies.

Finally, the work of Matthews-Njoku, Angba, & Nwakwasi (2009) who evaluated the factors influencing the performance of CBOs in agricultural development in Imo State, Nigeria was reviewed. The data used for the study was collected with the aid of structured questionnaires administered to 72 randomly selected respondents in the study area. Data analysis was done using frequencies, percentages and ordinary least square multiple regressions. In this study, income, experience, type of agricultural activity, quality of leadership and membership size were found to influence the performance of the CBOs. Richer the CBOs were found to have higher levels of involvement in agricultural development activities and therefore had higher productivity. Experience was related to age of the CBO, the higher the age of the CBO the better it performed. Better performance was also observed in CBOs that were involved in enterprises that were less risky or had a combination of enterprises. The quality of leadership was thought to play a key role in the level of CBOs' involvement in agricultural development activities and therefore their performance. Moreover, CBOs with more members were found to be more productive. Based on these findings, the study recommended that agricultural policy makers should take into consideration the identified socio-economic characteristics of CBOs that influence their performance.

2.7. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study is based on the premise that external assistance impacts on the cohesiveness of CBOs by altering their structures and processes and thus exacerbating existing weaknesses.

The false paradigm model which blames "faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed, biased, and ethnocentric international expert advisers from developed-country assistance agencies and multinational donor organizations" (Smith & Todaro, 1995) informs the underpinnings of this study. According to this theory, complex solutions offered by experts are often times not appropriate for developing countries. This

shortcoming is attributed to poor understanding of institutional factors such as the role of traditional social structures (tribe, caste, class, and so on.), the highly unequal ownership of land and other property rights, the disproportionate control by local elites over domestic and international financial assets, and the very unequal access to credit (Smith & Tadaro). While this radically Marxist thinking may not apply to all development efforts, a compelling similarity to the case of social workers with limited contextual knowledge working with CBOs cannot be denied. Aid workers often adopt approaches which, despite making business sense may impact negatively on the social aspect of the CBOs (De Feyter, 2011).

The structural-functional theory is applied to show that external interactions in the form of external assistance impact on the internal environment of the CBOs. Structural functionalism assumes that society is a system of interdependent parts that is in equilibrium or balance. Over time, society has evolved from a simple to complex system with highly specialized parts. The parts of a society fulfill different needs or functions of a social system. A basic consensus on values or a value system holds society together (Britha, 2005). Interference with this balance results in disorganization of society and adjustments to return to equilibrium are necessary to resume stability. Thus is the process of social change. While functionalists acknowledge that change is sometimes necessary to correct social dysfunctions, they caution that it must occur slowly so that people and institutions have time adapt to the changes.

This study is based on the above premise and holds that the way in which external assistance is administered affects the internal balance of CBOs. Development partners should therefore be careful not to offset the ‘equilibrium’ of assisted CBOs by the way in which they deliver aid. Existing mechanisms of co-existence must be studied carefully and understood prior to intervention. While capital injection may be necessary to boost income generation investments, external assistance to CBOs should be more concerned with improving internal conditions (O'Keilly, 1973) and more so the social aspect (Hoggett & Miller, 2000).

2.8. Conceptual Framework

This study will be guided by the conceptual framework presented in figure 1.

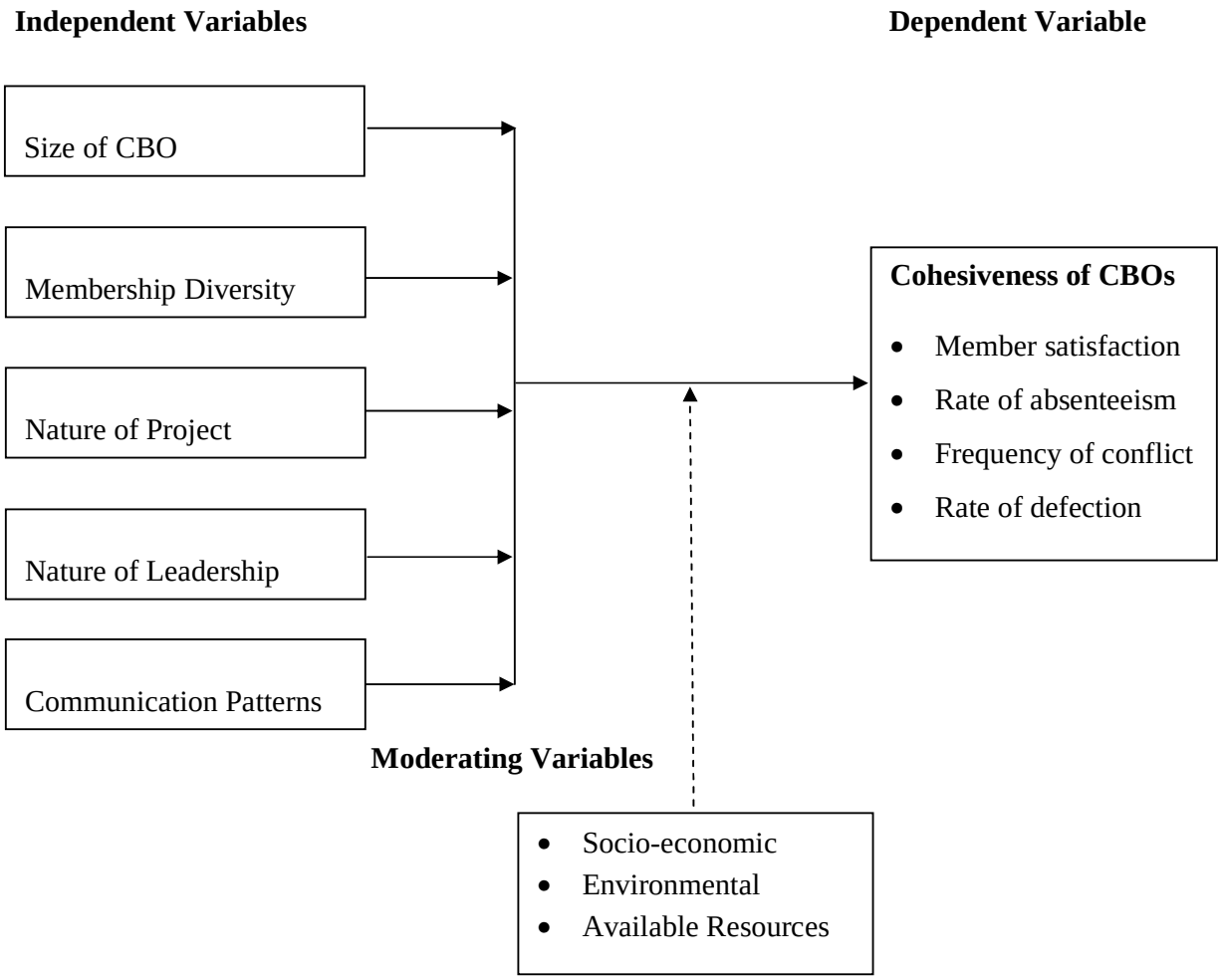


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

This study is based on the premise that the cohesiveness of a CBO is the net result of various factors both structural and process related. Each of the factors plays a role in providing the conditions necessary for the CBOs to gel. For the purpose of this study, three structural factors namely size of CBO, membership diversity and nature of project were picked to demonstrate this relationship as illustrated in the conceptual framework above. In addition, two process factors namely the nature of leadership and communication patterns were

selected. These factors constituted the independent variables. The internal factors were believed to continuously interact with extraneous and mediating factors, such as socio-economic, environmental, resource availability to influence the level of cohesion of a CBO. The extraneous and mediating factors were regarded as the moderating variables. The cohesiveness of CBOs was treated as the dependent variable. A cohesive CBO was considered to be one that achieves high levels of membership satisfaction, and maintains low levels of absenteeism, conflict and defections.

2.9. Summary of Literature Review

Researchers have found that external assistance has limited effect in improving the institutional capacity of CBOs but has the potential to affect their structure, process and level of cooperation. This suggests that one way in which external assistance could undermine the sustainability of CBOs is by changing their structure and process and hence their cohesiveness. The false paradigm model and the structural-functionalism theory are used to support this argument. The key to enhancing cohesiveness of CBOs would therefore lie in promoting suitable structures and processes. This would require an understanding of the type of changes that would affect cohesion of the CBO. However, very few studies inform on this association. Existing literature related to the influence of internal factors on the cohesiveness of groups in general sheds some light on the subject. The problem is that these refer to diverse forms of groups in diverse settings. For instance, in some of the studies on group size (Wheelan, 2009; Fay et al., 2000; Bonacich et al., 1976), the methodologies do not enable application of findings to practical situations. Context specific studies have been advised.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter has six sections. First, the research design is explained. This is followed by a description of the target population and then the sampling design. Next is a description of the data collection instruments and procedures after which the data analysis process is outlined. Lastly, the variables of the study are defined.

3.2. Research Design

The cross-sectional survey research design was used. This design was preferred due to time and resource limitations which necessitated that data collection takes place only once. The aim of the study was to establish the patterns of relationships between selected internal factors and the cohesiveness of the CBOs.

3.3. Target Population

The study targeted CBOs involved in IGAs in Kibera Informal Settlements. According to the records at the Ministry of Gender and Social Development (2012) there are 1,523 CBOs in Langata District in which Kibera Informal Settlements are found. A random sample of 100 CBOs from the 1,523 registered for Langata District indicated that 87% of the CBOs in Langata District were located in Kibera, and that 21% were involved in IGAs. These proportions were used to estimate the number of CBOs involved in IGAs in Kibera as follows.

N = 1,523 * 21% *87% = 278 CBOs

Where N is the estimated number of CBOs involved in IGAs in Kibera

The study therefore employed 278 CBOs involved in income generating activities in Kibera Informal Settlements.

3.4. Sampling Design

A non-probability sampling technique known as purposive sampling was utilized. While the initial plan was to use two-stage cluster sampling based on selected IGAs and administrative units of Kibera, this idea was discarded because the range of IGAs was so wide that limiting the study to a few would have reduced the sample size to an unrealistic level. Moreover, the records provided by the Ministry of Gender and Social Development were inadequate to inform on the proportions of distribution of the IGAs by administrative units.

An estimated 278 CBOs were involved in IGAs in Kibera. If a 10% margin error was permitted then, using the formula;

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(s)^2}$$

Where: s^2 = sample variance

n = sample size

N = total number of CBOs involved in IGAs

Then;

$$n = \frac{278}{1 + 278\ (0.1)^2} = 75$$

Members from 75 CBOs were therefore targeted as the sample for the study.

3.5. Data Collection Instruments

Questionnaires (Appendix A) were used to collect group level information. The questionnaires consisted of both closed and open ended questions. Questions asked were aimed at establishing the characteristics of the CBOs based on the identified factors as well as the extent of the CBOs cohesiveness based on the degree of member satisfaction, rate of absenteeism, rate of defection and frequency of conflict.

In addition, members of participating CBOs were requested to complete individual questionnaires (Appendix B). The individual questionnaires collected personal data that was used to inform on their membership diversity.

3.6. Data Collection Procedure

Respondents completed questionnaires with the help of trained research assistants. Members that did not hold any posts in the CBOs were requested to complete the group questionnaires on behalf of their CBOs. These members were picked randomly by the research assistants. The research assistants read out the questions to the respondents and recorded the answers according to the instructions provided. In most cases, the members asked to complete the group questionnaire sought the support of other group members to identify the correct response. This was allowed and even encouraged by the research assistants.

3.6.1 Instrument Validity

Pilot testing of questionnaires was done with two CBOs in Kibera Informal Settlements to minimize misinterpretation. The questionnaires were revised based on the feedback received to ensure that the intended information was captured and that the options provided were suitable for the target population.

3.6.2 Instrument Reliability

Pilot tested questionnaires were subjected to the Cronbach alpha reliability test using the Statistical Package for Data Analysis (SPSS). The correlation coefficient was found to be 0.7. Based on this value, the questionnaire was considered to be reliable.

3.7. Data Analysis

The SPSS software was used to analyze the data. Analysis included descriptive statistics comprising of modes and percentages. Cross tabulations comparing the CBOs responses to questions on the independent variables with their responses to questions related to cohesion were then generated. From the output, the Spearman's rank correlation was used to determine the existence of a linear relationship whereas the chi-square technique was used to establish associations between the dependent and independent variables. Frequency distributions were used to compare the proportion of CBOs that gave each response that had been classified as cohesive with that classified as non-cohesive. Data analysis was carried out at 95% confidence interval. Significant findings relating to each variable are presented and interpreted in the subsequent sections. Data analysis also included use of simple modes and percentages.

3.8. Operational Definition of Variables

The indicators, measurement scales for the variables and methods of data collection and analysis are summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3.1

Operational Definition of Variables

Objective	Variable	Indicators	Measurement Scale	Data Collection Method	Tools of Data Analysis	Descriptive Statistics	Inferential Statistics
To examine the relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness	Size of CBO	Number of members	Ordinal	Group Questionnaire	Cross tabulations	Mode, Percentage	Spearman's rank correlation, Chi-square test
To evaluate the association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs	Membership Diversity	Presence of members from different education levels, socio-economic groups, genders, age groups and ethnic groups	Nominal	Individual Questionnaire	Cross tabulations	Mode, Percentage	Spearman's rank correlation, Chi-square test

To assess the influence of the nature of project on the cohesiveness of CBOs	Nature of Project	Investment model Shareholding model Presence of a hired manager	Nominal	Group Questionnaire	Cross tabulations	Mode, Percentage	Spearman's rank correlation, Chi-square test
To analyse how the nature of leadership affects the cohesiveness of CBOs	Nature of Leadership	Leadership style (based on behavioral theories of leadership) Decision-making process (based on Hersey-Blanchard situational leadership model) Transparency Conflict resolution mechanisms Level of trust	Nominal	Group Questionnaire	Cross tabulations	Mode, Percentage	Spearman's rank correlation, Chi-square test

To review the effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs	Communication Patterns	Type of communication network Amount of interaction Perceived quality of communication	Nominal	Group Questionnaire	Cross tabulations	Mode	Spearman's rank correlation, Chi-square test
	Cohesiveness of CBOs	Degree of member satisfaction Rate of absenteeism Rate of defection Frequency of conflict	Ordinal	Group Questionnaire	Cross tabulations	Mode, Percentage	Spearman's rank correlation, Chi-square test

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses data collected from 47 CBOs in Kibera Informal Settlements. The purpose of the study was to explore the extent to which internal factors influence the cohesiveness of CBOs. The research objectives include;

i. To examine the relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness
ii. To evaluate the association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs
iii. To assess the influence of the nature of project on the cohesiveness of CBOs
iv. To analyse how the nature of leadership affects the cohesiveness of CBOs
v. To review the effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs

The chapter is organized in two sections. First the sample is described, and then the analyzed data is presented and interpreted against the independent and dependent variables.

4.2. Response rate

The sample was drawn from CBOs that were involved in IGAs in Kibera Informal Settlements at the time of the survey. Only CBOs with proof of registration with the Ministry of Gender and Social Development were targeted. Representatives of 47 CBOs completed the group questionnaire. These were 63% of the targeted sample size of 75 CBOs.

4.3. Cohesiveness of CBOs

The CBOs' responses to the questions linked to cohesiveness were categorized as either cohesive or non-cohesive. Table 4.1 shows a summary of the CBOs responses to the four questions that were related to indicators of cohesion.

Table 4.1

Distribution of CBO Responses to Questions based on the Indicators of Cohesiveness

	Level of Satisfaction	Rate of Absenteeism	Frequency of Disputes	Rate of Defection
1 / Option a	14	23	19	13
	29.8%	48.9%	41.3%	28.3%
2 / Option b	32	20	20	27
	68.1%	42.6%	43.5%	58.7%
3 / Option c	1	3	6	5
	2.1%	6.4%	13.0%	10.9%
4 / Option d	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	2.2%	2.2%
5 / Option e	0	1	0	0
	0%	2.1%	0%	0%
Total	47	47	46	46
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.1 shows that at almost all the 47 CBOs that participated picked only first three options out of the five provided for each question related to cohesiveness. The five options provided for each question were based on ordinal scales so that option a corresponded to high cohesiveness and option e to low cohesiveness. Therefore description of cohesiveness or non-cohesiveness in the analysis was based on relativity.

The interviewed CBOs were classified as either cohesive or non-cohesive based on their responses to the questions relating to the indicators of cohesion. Different combinations of responses were used to classify the CBOs as either cohesive or non-cohesive. Classification was done on the basis of values of one to five which were allocated to the options a to e as shown in Table 4.1. For instance in one case CBOs that selected options a and /or b, which means that they had a value of ≤ 2 for all the four questions that informed on CBO cohesiveness, were considered to be cohesive otherwise the remaining CBOs were classified

as non-cohesive. The combinations that showed the most significant correlation and/or association were used.

4.4. Size of CBOs

This study intended to establish the nature of relationship between the size of CBOs in Kibera Informal Settlements and their level of cohesiveness. The data collected showed that CBO sizes ranged from 9 to 100 members. The modal CBO size was 12 members while the mean was 32 members. Of the CBOs that participated, 55% had less or equal to 28 members while 45% had more than 28 members.

Spearman's rank correlation was computed to establish whether there was a relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness. The results are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Correlation between Size of CBO and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	0.310	0.036
No. of Valid Cases	46	

Table 4.2 shows that a two tailed significance value of 0.036 was obtained. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. It was therefore established that there was a significant linear relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness.

Moreover, a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of 0.31 was obtained as seen in Table 4.2. This value is positive meaning that the linear relationship between the size of the CBOs and cohesiveness was positive. That is an increase in the size of CBO was correlated with increase in cohesiveness. The value is also greater than 0.3 but less than 0.7 which means that the relationship was moderate. The relationship between cohesiveness and the size of the

CBO was therefore found to be moderate and positively linear, with Spearman's R = 0.310 and p-value = 0.036.

Furthermore, the frequency distribution of the size of CBO on the basis of cohesiveness was generated. CBOs were classified as small (0 to 25 members), medium (26 to 34 members) or large (more than 35 members). Larger CBOs were found to be more cohesive than smaller ones as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Frequency Distribution of the Size of CBO on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Size of the group			
	Small	Medium	Large	Total
Non-Cohesive	9	3	2	14
	64.3%	21.4%	14.3%	100.0%
Cohesive	11	7	14	32
	34.4%	21.9%	43.8%	100.0%
Total	20	10	16	46
	43.5%	21.7%	34.8%	100.0%

Table 4.3 shows that 64% of the CBOs classified as non-cohesive were small in size while 14% were large. On the other hand, 34% of the CBOs classified as cohesive were small while 44% were large. Smaller CBOs were therefore found to be less cohesive than larger CBOs.

4.5. Membership Diversity

The study also evaluated the association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs. Membership diversity was based on gender, education level, socio-economic status and the ethnic group of the members. Significant findings were only obtained when membership diversity was related to gender and age. Findings on diversity in terms of education level and socio-economic status were not statistically significant. With regard to ethnicity, the data collected did not allow for comparisons on this account because the vast majority of CBOs were heterogeneous in this aspect. The findings relating to age and gender diversity are presented and interpreted in this section.

a) Gender Diversity

Participating CBOs were classified into homogeneous ones which were those whose members belonged to only one gender, and heterogeneous ones which were those whose members belonged to both genders. 16 CBOs were homogeneous whereas 31 were heterogeneous. The chi-square test was performed to determine whether cohesiveness of CBOs was independent of gender diversity. The findings are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Association between Gender Diversity and Cohesiveness

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.810	1	0.009
No. of Valid Cases	47		

The test yielded a chi-square value of 6.81 and a p-value of 0.009 at one degree of freedom as shown in Table 4.4. The p-value was lower than the critical value of 0.05 at 95% confidence interval. These results indicate that there was a significant association between gender diversity and cohesiveness of the CBOs.

Besides, Spearman's rank correlation was used to determine the existence of a relationship between gender diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs. The results are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Correlation between Gender Diversity and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	0.381	0.008
No. of Valid Cases	47	

A two tailed significance value of 0.008 was obtained as seen in Table 4.5. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. Thus, a significant linear relationship was found to exist between gender diversity and cohesiveness of the CBOs.

The Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was 0.381 as seen in Table 4.5. This value is positive meaning that the linear relationship between gender diversity and the cohesiveness was positive. That is change in diversity was matched with a similar change in cohesiveness. The value is also greater than 0.3 but less than 0.7 meaning that the relationship was moderate. The relationship between gender diversity and cohesiveness was therefore found to be moderate and positively linear, with Spearman's R= 0.381 and p-value = 0.008.

Lastly, a frequency distribution of gender diversity on the basis of cohesiveness was generated. The results are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Frequency Distribution of Gender Diversity on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Gender Diversity		
	Heterogeneous	Homogeneous	Total
Non-Cohesive	22	5	27
	81.5%	18.5%	100.0%
Cohesive	9	11	20
	45.0%	55.0%	100.0%
Total	31	16	47
	66.0%	34.0%	100.0%

Table 4.6 shows that 82% of the CBOs that were classified as non-cohesive were gender heterogeneous compared to 19% that were gender homogeneous. In contrast, 55% of CBOs classified as cohesive were gender homogeneous while 45% were gender heterogeneous. Gender homogeneous CBOs were therefore found to be more cohesive than heterogeneous ones.

b) Age Diversity

CBOs were classified as homogeneous or heterogeneous based on age diversity. Age homogeneous CBOs were those whose members fell in the same age group while age heterogeneous CBOs were those whose members fell in more than one age group. There were 11 age homogeneous CBOs and 36 age heterogeneous CBOs.

The chi-square test was performed to establish whether cohesiveness of CBOs was associated with age diversity. The results of the chi-square test are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

Association between Age Diversity and Cohesiveness

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.582	1	0.001
No. of Valid Cases	47		

The test showed a chi-square value of 10.582 and a p-value of 0.001 at one degree of freedom as seen in Table 4.7. The p-value was lower than the critical value of 0.05 at 95% confidence interval. It was therefore concluded that there was a significant association between age diversity and the cohesiveness of CBOs.

Spearman's rank correlation was also used to determine whether there was correlation between age diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs. The results are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Correlation between Age Diversity and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	-0.474	0.001
No. of Valid Cases	47	

Table 4.8 shows that a two tailed significance value of 0.001 was obtained. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. A significant linear relationship was therefore found to exist between age diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs.

Moreover, a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.474 was obtained as seen in Table 4.8. This value is negative implying that the linear relationship between age diversity and cohesiveness was negative. That is an increase in heterogeneity was correlated with a reduction in cohesiveness. The value is also greater than 0.3 but less than 0.7 which means that the relationship was moderate. The relationship between age diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs was therefore found to be moderate and negatively linear, with Spearman's R = -0.474 and p-value = 0.001.

A frequency distribution of age diversity on the basis of cohesiveness was also generated. The results are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9

Frequency Distribution of Age Diversity on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Age diversity		
	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous	Total
Non-cohesive	6	34	40
	15.0%	85.0%	100%
Cohesive	5	2	7
	71.4%	28.6%	100%
Total	11	36	47
	23.4%	76.6%	100%

Table 4.9 shows that only 15% of the CBOs classified as non-cohesive were age homogeneous while 85% were age heterogeneous. Likewise, 71% of the CBOs classified as cohesive were age homogeneous compared to 29% that were age heterogeneous. CBOs in which members belonged to the same age group were therefore found to be more cohesive than those CBOs whose members were of mixed ages.

4.6. Nature of leadership

The nature of leadership was characterized by several indicators including the leadership style, decision making process, conflict resolution mechanisms, level of trust, and leader selection process. Significant findings were obtained with regard to the decision making process, conflict resolution mechanisms and the leader selection process. Below is a summary of the findings.

a) Decision-making based on Hersey-Blanchard situational leadership model.

Of the CBOs that participated in the survey, 70% predominantly used participatory decision-making while 19% had delegation as the predominant styles of decision-making. 'Selling' and 'telling' decision-making styles were practiced by seven percent and four percent of the CBOs respectively. Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was computed to find out whether a relationship existed between the decision making process and cohesiveness of CBOs. The results are presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10

Correlation between the Decision-Making Process and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	0.296	0.043
No. of Valid Cases	47	

A two tailed significance value of 0.043 was obtained as shown in table 4.10. The value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. This means that there was a significant linear relationship between the decision-making process adopted and the cohesiveness of the CBOs.

The Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was 0.296 as seen in Table 4.10. This value is positive meaning that the linear relationship between the decision-making process and the cohesiveness of CBOs was positive. The value is lower than 0.3 implying that the relationship was weak. The relationship between the decision-making process and cohesiveness was therefore found to be weak and positively linear, with Spearman's R = 0.296 and p-value = 0.043.

A frequency distribution table of the decision-making process on the basis of cohesiveness was also generated. The results are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11

Frequency Distribution of the Decision Making Process on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Decision-making Process				
	Participating	Selling	Telling	Delegating	Total
Non-Cohesive	22	2	0	3	27
	66.7%	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	57.4%
Cohesive	11	1	2	6	20
	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%	66.7%	42.6%
Total	33	3	2	9	47
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.11 shows that 67% of the CBOs in which the predominant decision-making style was 'delegating' were classified as cohesive while 33% were classified as non-cohesive. 'Participating' and 'selling' decision-making styles exhibited similar levels of cohesiveness with 67% of the CBOs that often used these decision-making styles being classified as non-cohesive and 33% as cohesive. Only two CBOs indicated that they mostly employed 'telling' decision-making style. These were considered insufficient, to make any deductions regarding these decision-making styles. CBOs that frequently employed delegation as their predominant decision making style were therefore found to be the most cohesive followed by those that frequently employed participatory or selling decision making styles.

b) Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

A total of 45 CBOs responded to the question on conflict resolution. Of these, 44% reported that paying a fine was the worst penalty ever given to their members while 40% of the CBOs indicated that the worst penalty was expulsion. Eleven percent indicated the worst penalty to have been reporting members to authorities. To find out whether there was correlation between the worst penalty ever given to members and the cohesiveness of CBOs, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was used. The results are presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12

Correlation between the Worst Penalty and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	0.295	0.049
No. of Valid Cases	45	

A two tailed significance value of 0.049 was obtained as presented in Table 16. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. It was therefore established that a significant linear relationship existed between the worst penalty ever given and the cohesiveness of the CBOs.

Moreover, a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of 0.295 was obtained as seen in Table 4.12. This value is positive meaning that the linear relationship between the worst penalty and the cohesiveness of CBOs was positive. Moreover, the value is less than 0.3 implying a weak relationship. The relationship between the worst penalty and cohesiveness was therefore found to be weak and positively linear with Spearman's R = 0.295 and p-value = 0.049.

Furthermore, the frequency distribution of the worst penalty on the basis of cohesiveness was generated. The results are presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13

Frequency Distribution of the Worst Penalty the basis of Cohesiveness

	Worst Penalty					Total
	Fined	Reported to Authorities	Reported to Police	Shamed	Expelled from CBO	
Non-Cohesive	9	1	0	0	3	13
	45.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	28.9%
Cohesive	11	4	1	1	15	32
	55.0%	80.0%	100.0%	100.0%	83.3%	71.1%
Total	20	5	1	1	18	45
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As shown in Table 4.13, higher proportions of CBOs in which the worst penalty ever given was being reported to authorities or expulsion from the CBO were found to be cohesive. Of the CBOs in which the worst penalty was expulsion from the CBO, 83% were classified as cohesive while 17% were classified as non-cohesive. Similarly, 80% of CBOs in which the worst penalty was to be reported to authorities were classified as cohesive and 20% as non-cohesive. A lower proportion of CBOs in which the worst penalty was to be fined were classified as cohesive at 55% while a relatively higher proportion was classified as non-cohesive at 45%.

Only one CBO indicated the worst penalty to have been reporting to the police. One other CBO reported the worst penalty to have been shaming of the member. These responses were considered too few to make any deductions regarding the two forms of punishment. CBOs with a history of more severe penalties were therefore found to be more cohesiveness.

c) Reason for choosing the leader

Responses from 41 CBOs were analyzed in this regard. Of the 41 CBOs, 71% had chosen their leaders because they believed that they had good ideas for them. The rest had other reasons for choosing their leaders. Spearman's rank correlation was used to determine whether the reason for choosing the leader was correlated with the cohesiveness of CBOs. The findings are presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14

Correlation between the Reason for Choosing the Current Leader and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	-0.330	0.035
No. of Valid Cases	41	

A two tailed significance value of 0.035 was obtained as per Table 4.14. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. Therefore, it was deduced that there was a significant linear relationship between the reason for choosing the leader and the cohesiveness of the CBOs.

In addition, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was -0.330 as seen in Table 4.14. This value is negative meaning that the linear relationship between the decision-making process and the cohesiveness of CBOs was negative. The value is also higher than 0.3 but lower than 0.7 indicating a moderate relationship. The relationship between the reason for choosing the leader and cohesiveness of CBOs was therefore found to be moderate and negatively linear with Spearman's R = -0.330 and p-value = 0.035.

The frequency distribution of the reason for choosing the on the basis of cohesiveness is presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15

Frequency Distribution of the Reason for Choosing Current Leader on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Why the leader was chosen					
	Founder	Vocal	Good ideas	Can negotiate funding	Other	Total
Non-cohesive	0	0	2	2	1	5
	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%	33.3%	33.3%	12.2%
Cohesive	1	2	27	4	2	36
	100.0%	100.0%	93.1%	66.7%	66.7%	87.8%
Total	1	2	29	6	3	41
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.15 shows that 93% of the CBOs in which the leader was chosen because he or she was perceived to have good ideas for the CBO were classified as cohesive while only 7% were classified as non-cohesive. On the other hand, a lower proportion of 67% of the CBOs that chose leaders because they were perceived to be able to negotiate for funding were classified as cohesive and 33% as non-cohesive. Only one CBO indicated choosing their leader because he or she was the founder. Two others indicated choosing their leaders because they were vocal. All the mentioned above three CBOs were classified as cohesive. This implies CBOs that chose their leaders based on the fact that they could negotiate funding for the group were less cohesive in comparison to those that chose their leaders on the basis that they were the founders, vocal or had good ideas.

d) Influence of External Assistance on Leadership

Of the 45 CBOs that answered the question on change of leadership due to external assistance, 18% had changed their leader following receipt of external assistance while 78% had maintained the same leadership. Spearman's rank correlation was used to determine whether correlation existed between change of leadership following external assistance and cohesiveness of CBOs. The findings are presented in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16

Correlation between Change of Leadership following External Assistance and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	-0.335	0.025
No. of Valid Cases	45	

A two tailed significance value of 0.025 was obtained as seen in Table 4.16. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. Hence it was established that there was a significant linear relationship existed between change of leadership following external assistance and cohesiveness of CBOs.

Besides, a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.335 was obtained as seen in Table 4.16. This value is negative meaning that the linear relationship between change of leadership following external assistance and the cohesiveness of CBOs was negative. The value is also greater than 0.3 but less than 0.7 implying means that the relationship was moderate. The relationship between change of leadership following external assistance and cohesiveness was therefore found to be moderate and positively linear, with the Spearman's R = 0.335 and p-value = 0.025.

Further, a frequency distribution of leadership change following external assistance on the basis of cohesiveness was generated. The findings are presented in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17

Frequency Distribution of Leadership change following External Assistance on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Change of leadership following external assistance			
	No	Yes	Not sure	Total
Non- Cohesive	2	2	1	5
	5.7%	25.0%	50.0%	11.1%
Cohesive	33	6	1	40
	94.3%	75.0%	50.0%	88.9%
Total	35	8	2	45
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.17 shows that out of the CBOs that did not change leadership following external assistance 94% were classified as cohesive compared to 6% classified as non-cohesive. In contrast, 75% of the CBOs that changed leadership following external assistance were classified as cohesive while 25% were classified as non-cohesive. CBOs in which the leader was changed following receipt of external assistance were therefore found to be less cohesive than CBOs in which there was no leadership change following external assistance.

4.7. Communication Patterns

The study sought to establish the association between communication patterns and cohesiveness of CBOs. There were significant findings on three indicators of communication patterns. That is the communication network, the amount of interaction and the frequency of interaction. These are discussed in this section. The findings are presented and interpreted below.

a) Type of Communication Network

All 47 CBOs responded to the question on the communication network. Of these, 57% had a decentralized communication network during complex tasks while 43% had a centralized system of communication even during complex tasks. Spearman's rank correlation was used to determine whether there was a relationship between the type of communication network and cohesiveness. The findings are presented in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18

Correlation between Pattern of Information Flow during Complex Tasks and cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	-0.327	0.025
No. of Valid Cases	47	

A two tailed significance value of 0.025 was obtained with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.327 as presented in Table 4.18. The significance value was lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. This indicates that there was a significant linear relationship between the communication network and cohesiveness of the CBOs.

The Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (-0.327) was negative meaning that the linear relationship between the communication pattern and cohesiveness of the CBOs was negative. The value was also greater than 0.3 but less than 0.7 meaning that the relationship was moderate. The relationship between the communication network and cohesiveness was therefore found to be moderate and negatively linear, with the Spearman's R = -0.327 and p-value = 0.025.

The frequency distribution of the communication pattern on the basis of cohesiveness is presented in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19

Frequency Distribution of Information Flow during Complex Task on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Information Flow if Complex Task			
	Decentralized	Centralized	Other	Total
Non- Cohesive	12	12	3	27
	44.4%	70.6%	100.0%	57.4%
Cohesive	15	5	0	20
	55.6%	29.4%	0.0%	42.6%
Total	27	17	3	47
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.19 shows that 56% of the CBOs that had decentralized communication networks were classified as cohesive while 44% were classified as non-cohesive. Likewise, 71% of the CBOs that had a centralized communication pattern were classified as non-cohesive compared to 29% that were classified as cohesive. CBOs in which communication during complex tasks was decentralized were therefore found to be more cohesive than CBOs in which communication was centralized even during complex tasks.

b) Informal Discussion of CBO Issues

Of the 46 CBOs that responded to the relevant question 65% discussed their issues informally outside the group setting, the remaining 35% did not. The chi-square test was performed to determine whether cohesiveness of CBOs was independent of discussion of CBOs issues outside the group setting. The findings are presented in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20

Association between Discussion of CBO Issues Informally and Cohesiveness

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.436	1	0.035
No. of Valid Cases	46		

The test yielded a chi-square value of 4.436 and a p-value of 0.035 at one degree of freedom as seen in Table 4.20. The p-value was lower than the critical value of 0.05 at 95% confidence interval. It was therefore established that a significant association existed between discussion of CBO issues outside the group setting and the cohesiveness of CBOs.

Furthermore, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was computed to establish whether discussion of CBO issues outside the group setting was correlated with their cohesiveness. The findings are presented in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21

Correlation between Discussion of CBO Issues Informally and Cohesiveness

	Value	Approx. Sig. (2-sided)
Spearman Correlation	-0.311	0.036
No. of Valid Cases	46	

Table 4.21 shows that a two tailed significance value of 0.036 was obtained. This value is lower than 0.05 which is the critical value at 95% confidence interval. This finding indicates a significant linear relationship between the communication network and cohesiveness of the CBOs.

A Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.311 was obtained. The value is negative meaning that the linear relationship between the communication pattern and the cohesiveness of CBOs was negative. The value is also greater than 0.3 but less than 0.7 which indicates that the relationship was moderate. Therefore, relationship between discussion of CBO issues

outside the group setting and cohesiveness was found to be moderate and negatively linear, with the Spearman's R = -0.311 and p-value = 0.36.

A frequency distribution of whether members discussed issues informally outside group setting on the basis of cohesiveness was also generated. Table 4.22 shows the findings.

Table 4.22

Frequency Distribution of Discussion of CBO Issues Informally on the basis of Cohesiveness

	Members Discuss CBO issues Outside Group Setting		
	No	Yes	Total
Non-Cohesive	6	8	14
	20.0%	50.0%	30.4%
Cohesive	24	8	32
	80.0%	50.0%	69.6%
Total	30	16	46
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.22 shows that 80% of the CBOs that did not discuss group issues informally outside the group setting were classified as cohesive whereas 20% were classified as non-cohesive. Correspondingly, 50% of the CBOs that discussed their issues informally were classified as cohesive and the other 50% as non-cohesive. Members of CBOs that discussed their issues informally outside the group setting were therefore found to be less cohesive than those that did not.

c) Frequency of interaction

All 47 CBOs responded to the question regarding the frequency of interaction. There was a relatively even distribution of the frequency of interaction. The modal frequency was monthly with 13 CBOs, followed by daily and weekly with 11 CBOs and 10 CBOs respectively. The chi-square test was performed to determine whether cohesiveness of the CBOs was independent of the frequency of interaction. The results are shown in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23

Association between Frequency of Interaction and Cohesiveness

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.58	7	0.042
No. of Valid Cases	47		

A chi-square value of 0.42 and a p-value of 14.58 at 7 degree of freedom were obtained as shown in Table 4.23. The p-value was lower than the critical value of 0.05 at 95% confidence interval. This indicated that there was a significant association between the frequency of interaction and the cohesiveness of CBOs.

The frequency distribution of the frequency of interaction on the basis of cohesiveness is presented as Table 4.24.

Table 4.24

Frequency Distribution of the frequency of interaction on the basis Cohesiveness

	Frequency of Interaction with other Members at Personal Level								
	Several times Daily	Daily	Twice a week	Weekly	Bi-weekly	Monthly	Annually	Never	Total
Non-Cohesive	4	10	3	6	2	13	0	2	40
	80.0%	90.9%	100.0%	60.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	85.1%
Cohesive	1	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	7
	20.0%	9.1%	0.0%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	14.9%
Total	5	11	3	10	2	13	1	2	47
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.24 shows that 20% of the CBOs that interacted several times a day were classified as cohesive and 80% as non-cohesive, 9% of the CBOs that interacted daily were classified as cohesive and 91% as non-cohesive, and 40% of the CBOs that interacted weekly were classified as cohesive and 60% as non-cohesive. All the CBOs that interacted twice a week, bi-weekly or monthly were classified as non-cohesive. The only CBO that interacted annually was however classified as cohesive and CBOs that never interacted on a personal level classified as non-cohesive. CBOs that interacted frequently were therefore found to be more cohesive than CBOs that interacted less frequently. However, the likelihood to be cohesive decreased when CBO members interacted too frequently. CBOs that interacted weekly were the most cohesive.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the findings of the study are discussed, conclusions are presented and recommendations made. Finally, areas for further research are suggested.

5.1. Summary of Findings

The purpose of the study was to explore the extent to which internal factors influence the cohesiveness of CBOs found in Kibera Informal Settlements. Five internal factors were considered namely; the size of CBO, membership diversity, nature of project, nature of leadership and communication patterns. All the factors that were considered in this study were found to be significantly correlated to the cohesiveness of CBOs, with the exception of the nature of project. The findings are summarized below.

5.1.1 The relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness

The size of CBOs was found to be significantly correlated with their cohesiveness. Larger CBOs (with more than 35 members) were found to be more cohesive than smaller ones (with less than 25 members). For CBOs classified as non-cohesive 64% were large while 14% were small. In contrast, 34% of CBOs classified as cohesive were small while 43% were large. The relationship was moderately linear with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of 0.310 and a two tailed significance value of 0.036.

5.1.2 The association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs

Findings on the association between membership diversity and cohesiveness were only significant as far as diversity was in terms of gender and age. Of the CBOs that were classified as non-cohesive 82% were gender heterogeneous while only 19% were gender homogeneous. On the other hand, 55% of CBOs classified as cohesive were gender homogeneous compared to the 45% that were gender heterogeneous. The relationship was found to be moderately linear using Spearman's rank correlation with Spearman's R of 0.381

and two tailed significance value of 0.008. In addition, the chi-square test indicated a significant relationship between gender diversity and cohesiveness with a chi-square value of 6.810 and a p-value of 0.009. Therefore, gender diversity was found to be significantly associated with cohesiveness of CBOs with gender homogeneous CBOs exhibiting more cohesiveness than gender heterogeneous ones.

Similarly, age heterogeneity was associated with less cohesive CBOs. Out of the CBOs classified as non-cohesive 15% were age homogeneous against 85% that were age heterogeneous. On the other hand, 71% of the CBOs classified as cohesive were age homogeneous compared to 29% that were age heterogeneous. The Spearman's rank correlation indicated a moderately linear relationship between age diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs with Spearman's R of -0.474 and a p-value of 0.001. The chi-square test also showed the presence of a significant association between age diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs with a chi-square value of 10.582 and a p-value of 0.001.

From the findings, the relationships between heterogeneity arising from the level of education and socio-economic grouping and cohesiveness were not significant, while the existence of a relationship between cohesiveness and heterogeneity along ethnicity could not be established since majority of the CBOs were heterogeneous in this aspect.

5.1.3 How the nature of leadership affects the cohesiveness of CBOs

A moderate linear relationship was found between the choice of leader and cohesiveness of the CBOs with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of 0.330 and a p-value of 0.035. CBOs that chose their leader based on the perception that he or she was better placed to negotiate for funding were found to be less cohesive compared to those that had other reasons for choosing their leaders. Of the CBOs whose leader was chosen because he or she was perceived to have good ideas for the CBO 93% were classified as cohesive while only 7% were classified as non-cohesive. In comparison, a lower proportion of 67% of the CBOs that chose leaders because they were perceived to be able to negotiate for funding were classified as cohesive and 33% were classified as non-cohesive. Only one CBO indicated choosing their leader because he or she was the founder of the CBO. Two other CBOs indicated that they chose their leaders because they were vocal. All the above three CBOs were classified as cohesive.

Change of leadership following receipt of external assistance was also correlated with cohesiveness of CBOs. The relationship was moderately linear with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.335 and a p-value of 0.025. Out of the CBOs that had changed leadership following external assistance 94% were classified as cohesive compared to 6% that were classified as non-cohesive. Likewise, 75% of the CBOs that changed leadership following external assistance were classified as cohesive while 25% were classified as non-cohesive. These results indicate that CBOs which changed their leader following receipt of external assistance were found to be less cohesive than CBOs which did not undergo leadership change following external assistance.

In addition, the relationship between decision making and cohesiveness was found to be weak but significantly linear with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of 0.296 and a p-value of 0.043. CBOs whose predominant decision-making style was through delegation were found to be more cohesive in comparison to CBOs whose predominant decision-making style was 'participatory' or 'selling'. Of the CBOs whose predominant decision-making style was 'delegating' 67% were classified as cohesive while 33% were classified as non-cohesive. 'Participatory' and 'selling' decision-making styles exhibited a similar level of cohesiveness with 67% of the CBOs that often used these decision-making styles being classified as non-cohesive and 33% as cohesive.

Lastly, the relationship between severity of punishment and cohesiveness was found to be weak but significantly linear with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of 0.295 and a p-value of 0.049. CBOs whose punishment was lenient such that the worst penalty given was to pay a fine were found to be less cohesive compared to CBOs which had employed more severe forms of punishment.. Specifically, 83% of the CBOs which had used expulsion of members as the worst penalty were classified as cohesive against 17% classified as non-cohesive. Similarly, 80% of CBOs which had reported members to authorities were classified as cohesive and 20% as non-cohesive. In contrast, a lower proportion (50%) of CBOs in which paying fines was the worst penalty were classified as cohesive while a relatively higher proportion (45%) were classified as non-cohesive.

5.1.4 The effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs

Communication patterns were also found to contribute significantly to cohesiveness. Of the CBOs that had decentralized communication networks 56% were classified as cohesive while 44% were classified as non-cohesive. On the other hand 71% of the CBOs that had centralized communication networks were classified as non-cohesive compared to 29% classified as cohesive. CBOs in which communication during complex tasks was centralized were therefore found to be less cohesive than those in which information flow during complex tasks was decentralized. The relationship was moderately linear with a Spearman's rank order coefficient of -0.327 and a p-value of 0.025.

Informal discussion of CBO issues was found to be associated with reduction in cohesiveness with a chi-square value of 4.436 and p-value of 0.035 at 1 degree of freedom. Moreover, there was a significant linear relationship between informal discussion of CBO issues and cohesiveness with a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.311 and p-value of 0.036. The frequency distribution showed that 80% of the CBOs that did not discuss group issues informally outside the group setting were classified as cohesive whereas 20% were classified as non-cohesive. In contrast, 50% of the CBOs that frequently held informal discussions about their issues were classified as cohesive whereas the other 50% were classified as non-cohesive.

Finally, frequent interaction at an informal level was also found to be associated with reduced cohesiveness with a chi-square value of 14.58 and a p-value of 0.042. Of the CBOs that interacted several times a day, 20% were classified as cohesive and 80% as non-cohesive, 9% of the CBOs that interacted daily were classified as cohesive against 91% classified as non-cohesive, and 40% of the CBOs that interacted weekly were classified as cohesive while 60% classified as non-cohesive. All the CBOs that interacted twice a week, bi-weekly or monthly were classified as non-cohesive. The only CBO that interacted annually was however classified as cohesive and CBOs that never interacted on a personal level classified as non-cohesive.

5.2. Discussion of Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which internal factors influence the cohesiveness of CBOs. The study was able to link most of the selected internal factors namely the size of CBO, membership diversity, nature of leadership and communication patterns to the cohesiveness of community-based organizations and identify nature of the relationships. The findings are discussed in this section in light of existing works against the objectives of the study.

5.2.1 The relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness

The study found that larger sized CBOs with more than 35 members were more cohesive than smaller sized CBOs with less than 25 members. This contradicts previous findings on the relationship between group size and cohesiveness by other scholars such as Wheelan (2009), Mullen and Copper (1994) and Liden et al. (2004). On the other hand, a study conducted with CBOs by Kariuki, Wangila, Kristjanson, Makauki & Ndubi (2002) found performance to be highest in medium sized CBOs as compared to the largest or smallest CBOs. Mathews-Njoku et al. (2009) also found larger sized CBOs to be more productive than smaller ones. These findings can be extended to imply similar patterns of relationship between the size of CBOs and cohesiveness given that performance is both a precursor and product of cohesiveness (Langfield & Shanley, 1997; Casey-Campbell & Martens, 2009). This would mean that a different more complex pattern of relationship exists between the size of CBO and their cohesiveness compared to that found in simple groups. This warrants further investigation.

Noteworthy, previous scholars of the subject used very small artificial groups to investigate the relationship between size and cohesiveness, and other similar relationships. In most studies, groups of more than six members were considered to be large. This means that the terms small and large were used relative to other groups in the study. In most cases, the groups were created for the purpose of the study meaning that other important aspects that come into play in a CBO setting such as resource mobilization capacity, transaction costs and time aspects were also not taken into consideration. It is therefore possible that the influence of these elements is such that slightly larger CBOs perform better that smaller ones. For

instance, slightly larger CBOs may perform better since they are able to mobilize more resources, which may lead to increased cohesiveness of the CBO. As mentioned above, the relationship between performance and cohesiveness has been found to be cyclic (Casey Campbell & Martens, 2009).

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2001) for instance, recommends small sized farmer groups (a form of CBO) which it defines as comprising of 8 to 15 members. This emphasizes the issue of relativity when it comes to defining the size of a group or CBO. The resource book goes on to mention that while such small groups are excellent for skills acquisition and small enterprise management, they often do not have the resources to pursue broader objectives necessitating the formation of networks and associations which benefit small farmer groups by increasing knowhow, economies of scale and bargaining power. This implies that a larger size may actually be beneficial for some CBOs and that in the absence of networks and associations larger sized CBOs may be able provide these benefits thus making them work better than smaller ones. It is worth noting that this study did not investigate the existence of associations and networks among the CBOs that participated in the study. However, it was noted that some of the larger CBOs were made up of several units mostly split by geographical locations.

Larger CBOs may also gel over a period of time making them as cohesive as smaller ones. According to Keith & Cook (2003) found that larger groups have the tendency to form cliques which may be a precursor for cohesion. Based on this assertion, the findings of this study and the aforementioned arguments, it is theorized that the relationship between cohesiveness and size of CBOs is actually inverted U-shaped so that CBOs with the highest number of members in this study actually fall towards the optimal CBO size. This hypothesis should be investigated further by other scholars.

5.2.2 The association between membership diversity and cohesiveness of CBOs

A significant association was found between homogeneity and cohesiveness of CBOs as far as it related to gender and age differences. There were no significant findings on cohesiveness on the basis of ethnicity, education levels and income levels. Single sex groups were found to be more cohesive than mixed sex ones. Similarly CBOs whose members

belonged to the same age group were found to be more cohesive than those with mixed age groups.

These findings are in line with the assertions of Levin and Moreland (1990) who noted that age diversity increased conflict because of differences in experience and training. This situation is believed to have a higher likelihood of being amplified in African societies where the young are not expected to question the opinions of older people. Such a condition may lead to feelings of disenfranchisement especially where the younger people feel that their ideas are not taken into account. With regard to gender diversity, Levin and Moreland considered that heterogeneity could emphasize sex roles and lead to role entrapment and powerlessness which have the effect of eroding cohesion. For example men may naturally be expected to or expect to assume on leadership roles even when they do not have the relevant skills; whereas the opinions of women may be overlooked or go unexpressed in mixed sex groups than in single sex groups. This explanation is found to be applicable to the CBOs that participated in this study.

The relationships between cohesiveness and diversity in terms of education and income levels were found to be insignificant. It is supposed that this was because the differences in education and income levels failed to generate distinct identities as suggested by Bandiera et al. (2005). This may also be attributed to the levels of stratification as far as the education and income levels were concerned which were much lower compared to those of age and gender. The low stratification of education and income levels may have prompted the CBOs to behave more or less as if they were homogeneous in these aspects. The existence of low stratification of education and income levels within the participating CBOs could be attributed to the fact that education and income levels are interconnected and also influence settlement patterns.

These findings may also be seen to oppose Ostrom and Varughese (2001) view that heterogeneities only impacted on the success of collective action if the groups did not have in place suitable institutional arrangements. Also, it may be that most of CBOs that participated in the study had not mastered their situations well enough to make diversity work in their favor as far as differences in income and education levels were concerned; but had done better as far as gender and age diversity was concerned. Further investigation would be

warranted to establish if this was the case with a view to detecting the existence or lack thereof of suitable institutional arrangements.

5.2.3 How the nature of leadership affects the cohesiveness of CBOs

The process of choosing the leader, the predominant decision-making style and the ability to reprimand errant members were found to be correlated to cohesiveness of the CBOs. The findings on these indicators of leadership and their relationship to cohesiveness of CBOs are discussed below.

On the choice of leadership, this study found a significant correlation between the reason for choosing the leader and the cohesiveness of CBOs. CBOs that chose their leaders based on the perception that they were well placed to mobilize funding for the organization were found to be less cohesive compared to the other reasons such as because they were the founders, vocal or had good ideas for the group's development. This finding may be linked to previous arguments on legitimacy of leadership. According to Shelley (1960), factors such as perceived contribution, participation rate and seniority also contributed to perception of legitimacy of the leader besides being elected or appointed. These qualities impacted the leaders influence on his or her subjects by determining his authority and perceptions of competence (Lucas & Lovaglia, 1998; Kane et al. 2002). The above qualities are comparable to the three reasons (founder, vocal and good ideas) that were correlated with the more cohesive CBOs. While fund mobilization skills may be considered a form of contribution, the leader has to fulfil this expectation to be considered legitimate which may not have been the case. It is also possible that once funding was acquired, other factors requiring leadership competencies beyond fund mobilization skills came into play and thus the legitimacy of the leader waned. Another argument could be that being transactional leaders, leaders chosen on the basis of perceived ability to mobilize funds lacked in other important social skills that contributed to gelling of the CBO. This supports previous studies (Whiteoak, 2007; Schermerhorn, 2002) which concluded in favor of transformational leadership where cohesion of groups was concerned.

On the same subject, CBOs that had changed leadership following external assistance were found to be less cohesive than those that had not. This along with the previous finding can be taken to mean that groups driven by the need to acquire external assistance are less likely to

be cohesive. This explanation is in agreement with Gugerty & Kremer's (2008) and Datta's (2007) assertions that CBOs were more likely to change leadership opting to elect men and better educated women to leadership roles after securing external assistance. This trend was thought to impact negatively on cohesiveness of CBOs as the new leaders may be motivated by what they stand to gain from the external assistance rather than the continuity of the CBO. Noteworthy, this study did not find any evidence linking the frequency of change of leadership to cohesiveness.

The decision making style employed by the CBO's leadership was also found to influence its cohesiveness. CBOs in which members were allowed to make decisions and take responsibility for the decisions even in the leader's absence (delegating) were found to be more cohesive than CBOs whose decision-making was predominantly made democratically (participatory) or those in which the leader made decisions and then explained to members why the decisions were taken (selling). The effectiveness of delegation can be attributed to a higher level of ownership in such CBOs. Surprisingly, 'participatory' and 'selling' decision-making styles were found to yield a similar level of cohesion. This may be explained by the words of Ho and Raman (1991) that consultative leadership would only yield more satisfaction if its members were highly committed to the group and its goals. The delegating decision-making style can be seen as involving a higher level of participation requiring more commitment on the part of the members.

Moreover, the ability to implement effective punishment against those breaking the by-laws was associated with more cohesive CBOs. CBOs whose penalties were lenient such that the worst punishment ever given was to pay a fine were found to be less cohesive compared to those which employed more severe forms of punishment. Severity of punishment was taken to indicate the leader's ability to exercise control, which is thought to contribute to the feelings of trust or lack thereof (Hassan & Ahmed, 2011) or proliferation of free riding by some members (Karantininis & Zago, 2001). Worse still, as pointed out by Datta (2007) corruption and conflicts may arise as the CBOs net worth increases thus eroding cohesion. The ability to punish wayward members thus becomes instrumental in maintaining members' trust in the CBO since inability to punish would be associated with higher risk.

5.2.4 The effect of communication patterns on the cohesiveness of CBOs

The pattern of communication including the communication network and level of informal interaction were found to influence on the cohesiveness of CBOs. A moderate relationship was found between the type of communication network and cohesiveness of CBOs. CBOs whose communication was centralized during complex tasks were found to be less cohesive than those in which communication during complex tasks was decentralized. While Brass et al. (2004), Schermerhorn (2002) and Katz et al. (2004) linked decentralized communication to better task performance, the study did not come across any literature linking the type of communication network to cohesion. The findings of this study however confirm that the effect of the communication network on the cohesiveness of CBOs is similar to its effect on performance. That is, a decentralized communication network promotes cohesiveness within the CBO. The positive effect of a decentralized communication network on cohesion may be attributed to higher morale and motivation as members do not feel left out (Jensen, 2003).

Moreover a higher amount of informal interaction was found to hinder cohesion. CBOs that interacted more frequently at a personal level were found to be less cohesive than CBOs that interacted less frequently in informal settings. This appears to contradict the folk theorem and the findings of various other scholars (Oh, Chung & Labianca, 2004; Parvitt & Curtis, 1998). However, it could be that the benefit of a higher amount of interaction was diluted by the content of communication during these meetings. It could be that these informal meetings were characterized by negative communication such as gossip and rumours which have the potential to create conflict within the CBO (Michelson & Mouly, 2002). Notably, members of CBOs that discussed group issues outside the group setting were found to be less cohesive that those that did not.

It should however not be lost in the shuffle that CBOs that interacted weekly were found to be the most cohesive. This suggests that a degree of informal communication and interaction is healthy although this should not be too frequent. This suggestion is comparable to Oh Chung and Labianca's (2004) assertion that while informal communication is useful in supporting the social functions of a group, habitual congregation of members outside the organization is in fact detrimental for its social bond.

5.3. Conclusions

The main conclusion of the study was that internal factors such as size, membership diversity, nature of leadership and communication patterns influence the cohesiveness of CBOs.

The results show that the composition of the CBOs including their size and membership diversity is an important determinant of cohesiveness. Homogeneous CBOs have a higher potential to be cohesive than heterogeneous ones. This is particularly so when homogeneity is in terms of gender and age.

On the other hand, the relationship between the size of CBOs and their cohesiveness is more complicated than it appears. The presence of other important benefits that would arise from a larger or smaller CBO size such as economies of scale, bargaining power and transaction costs or lack thereof may be important in determining the extent to which size affects cohesiveness. This calls for further investigation.

Group processes such as leadership and communication also have significant potential to influence the cohesiveness of a CBO. For instance more socially adept leaders have greater potential to enhance cohesiveness, compared to those that have superior task related skills such as fund mobilization. Moreover, CBOs that prioritize fund mobilization above other functions are likely to be less cohesive. The decision-making style of the leader is also an important contributor to cohesiveness. Where democratic decision-making is sought, this can be enhanced by taking it a step further to delegation. That is by empowering the members to make the decision rather than just seeking their participation. CBOs may also enhance their cohesiveness by ensuring that appropriate penalties are in place for wrong doers and that they are implemented. Letting offenders go unpunished or get off lightly is likely to erode the cohesiveness of CBOs.

Finally, decentralized communication remains the best form of communication network when dealing with complex tasks. Leadership that attempts to control all communication is likely to stifle cohesion. Similarly, too frequent interaction of CBO members outside the group setting has the potential to erode cohesion.

5.4. Recommendations

1. The formation of gender and age homogeneous CBOs should be encouraged. This may involve defining these characteristics from the outset in the CBOs constitution. This does not mean that CBOs with heterogeneous membership should be dismissed as non-cohesive. However, such CBOs would need to direct more effort towards discovering and putting in in place mechanisms that address threats to their cohesion brought about by their heterogeneity.

2. Care should be exercised by CBOs when choosing their leaders if they are to enhance or sustain the cohesiveness of their CBOs. Charismatic leaders should be favored over task oriented leaders. The tendency to choose leaders because they represent better funding prospects has a high likelihood to be detrimental to the CBO's cohesion and should be avoided.

3. Aid workers should not overlook the importance of personalities in providing leadership to CBOs. Aid workers funding CBOs should avoid creating the perception that they prefer to work with individuals with certain skills but ensure the involvement of the entire group and focus on developing the skills of the personalities already in leadership positions.

4. CBO leaders should completely involve members in their decision-making so that they are empowered to make decisions on issues affecting the CBO even in their absence. Training of CBO leaders should not only encourage participatory decision-making but also delegation of leadership roles to members.

5. In line with the above, decentralized communication should be encouraged not only for the purposes of performance but also to promote cohesiveness by enhancing feelings of inclusion.

6. In cases where CBO members interact frequently outside the group setting, it is very important to ensure there is constant flow of accurate and clear information to

counteract gossip and rumors which may bring about conflicts and erode their cohesiveness.

7. With regard to member misconduct, CBOs should not refrain from employing appropriate punishment to involved members for the fear of eroding cohesion since this is more likely to impact positively rather than negatively on their cohesiveness.

5.5. Areas for further research

1. The relationship between the size of CBO and cohesiveness should be investigated further. There may not be a one size fits all solution but the optimum size may likely vary from CBO to CBO based on other attributes such as the type of business and capital requirements.

2. Due to time and cost limitations this study was limited to investigating associations between selected internal factors and the cohesiveness of CBOs. However, it would have been more desirable to establish the existence of cause-effect relationships as well as consider the external and moderating factors. Further research taking these aspects into account is recommended.

REFERENCES

Abbott, J. B., Boyd, N. G., & Miles, G. (2006). Does type of team matter? An investigation of the relationships between job characteristics and outcomes within a team-based environment. *The Journal of Social Psychology , 146* (4), 485-507.

Amnesty International. (2009). *The unseen majority: Nairobi's two million slum dwellers.* London: Author.

Anderson, C. M., & Martin M. M. (1999). The relationship of argumentativeness and verbal aggressiveness to cohesion, consensus, and satisfaction in small groups. *Communication Reports , 12* (1), 21-31.

Anshel, A., & Kipper, D. (1988). The influence of group singing on trust and cooperation. *Journal of Music Therapy , 25* (3), 145-155.

Aube, C., & Rousseau, V. (2005). Team goal commitment and team effectiveness: The role of task interdependence and supportive behaviors. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 9* (3), 189-204.

Austin, J. R. (2003). Transactive memory in organizational groups: The effects of content, consensus, specialization, and accuracy on group performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology , 88* (5), 866-875.

Balliet, D. (2010). Communication and cooperation in social dilemmas: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Conflict Resolution , 54* (1), 39-57.

Bandiera, O., Barankay, I., & Rasul, I. (2005). *Cooperation in collective action.* London : London School of Economics, Department of Economics. Retrieved from http://econ.lse.ac.uk/staff/bandiera/collective.pdf

Banerjee, A., Iyer, L., & Somathan, R. (2004). *History of social divisions and public goods in rural India.* Retrieved from http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/BanerjeeEtAl2004.pdf

Baron, R. S., Brunsman, B., & Vandello, J. A. (1996). The Forgotten Variable in Conformity Research: Impact of Task Importance on Social Influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology , 71* (5), 915-927.

Bonacich, P., Shure, G. H., Kahan, J. P., & Meeker, R. J. (1976). Cooperation and group size in the N-person prisoners' dilemma. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution , 20* (4), 687-706.

Bormann, E. G. (1990). *Small group communication: Theory & practice* (3rd ed.). New York: Harper and Row.

Brass, D. J., Galaskiewicz, J., Greve, H., & Tsai, W. (2004). Taking stock of networks and organizations: A multilevel perspective. *Academy of Management Journal , 47* (6), 795-817.

Brawley, L. P., & Carron, A. V. (2000). Cohesion: Conceptual and measurement issues. *Small Group Research , 31* (1), 89-109.

Cappock, D. L., Desta, S., Wako, A., Aden, I., Gebru, G., Tereza, T., et al. (2005). *Women's Groups in Arid Northern Kenya: Origins, Governance, and Roles in Poverty Reduction.* Retrieved June 2, 2011, from http://www.ilri.org/Link/Publications/Publications/Theme%201/Pastoral%20conference/Papers/Kenya%20Womens%20Groups%20Coppock%20et%20al%202006.pdf

Carless, S. A., & De Paola, C. (2000). The measurement of cohesion in work teams. *Small Group Research , 31* (1), 71-88.

Carron, A. V. (1982). Cohesiveness in sport groups: Interpretations and considerations. *Journal of Sports Psychology , 4* (2), 123-128.

Casey, K., Glennerster, R., & Miguel, E. (2011). *Reshaping institutions: Evidence on external aid and local collective action.* Retrieved from http://www.theigc.org/sites/default/files/11_0266_policy_brief_sierra_leone_final3.pdf.

Casey-Campbell, M., & Martens, M. L. (2009). Sticking it all together: A critical assessment of the group cohesion - performance literature. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 11* (1), 223-246.

Cook, D., & Keith, H. (2003). Working with professional basketball players. In K. Henschen, & R. Lidor (Eds.), *The psychology of team Sports* (pp. 143-160). Morgantown, West Virginia: Fitness Information Technology, Incoporated.

Datta, D. (2007). Sustainability of community -based organizations of the rural poor: Learning from Concern's rural development projects , Bangaladesh. *Community Development Journal , 42* (1), 47-62.

De Feyter, S. (2011). Impact of international donors' new policy agenda on project collaboration between community-based women organizations and NGOs in the Kibera slums of Nairobi, Kenya. *Afrika Focus, 24* (1), 33-50.

Desgroppes, A., & Taupin, S. (2011). Kibera: The biggest slum in Africa? *Slum Upgrading Programmes in Nairobi: Challenges in Implementation. 44*, pp. 23-33. Nairobi: French Institute for Research Africa.

Dion, K. L. (2000). Group cohesion: From "field of forces" to multidimensional construct. *Group Dynamics:Theory, Research, and Practice , 4* (1), 7-26.

Dirks, K. T., & Ferrin, D. L. (2002). Trust in leadership: Meta-analytic findings and implications for research and practice. *Journal of Applied Psychology , 87* (4), 611-628.

Doherty, A., Harman, A., & Kerwin, S. (2011). “It’s not conflict, It’s differences of opinion”: An in-depth examination of conflict in nonprofit boards. *Small Group Research , 42* (5), 562-594.

Elias, F. G., Johnson, M. E., & Fortman, J. B. (1989). Task focused self disclosure : Effects on group cohesiveness, commitment to task and productivity. *Small Group research , 20* (1), 87-96.

Esteban, J., & Ray, D. (2001). Collective action and the group size paradox. *American Political Science Review , 95* (3), 663-671.

Fay, N., Garrod S.G., & Carletta J. (2000). Group discussion as interactive dialogue or as serial monologue: The influence of group size. *Psychological Science , 11* (6), 481-486.

Fine, G. A., & Holyfield, L. (1996). Secrecy, trust, and dangerous leisure: Generating group cohesion in voluntary organizations. *Social Psychology Quarterly , 59* (1), 22-38.

Fisher, R. (2002, March 20-23). *Bridging Social Movement and Community Organization Activism: Rethinking Theoretical and Organizational Barriers.* Paper presented at the 32nd Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association. Boston, Massachusetts.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). (2001). *The inter-group resource book: A guide to building small farmer group associations and networks.* Rome: Author

Frey, L. R., Gouran, D. S., & Poole, M. S. (Eds.). (1999). *The handbook of group communication theory and research.* Carlifornia: Sage Publications Inc.

Friedkin, N. E. (2004). Social cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology , 30* (1), 409-425.

Gakou, M. L. (1987). *The crisis in African agriculture - Studies in African political economy.* (S. Amir, Ed.) London and New Jersey: The United Nations University.

Gardner, D. E., Shields, D. L., Light, D.L., Bredemeier, B. J. & Bostrom, A. (1997). The relationship between leadership behaviors and group cohesion in team sports. *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied , 131* (2), 196-21

Gary, J. (1996). *Organizational behaviour: Understanding and managing life at work.* New York: Harper Collins College Publishers.

Gevers, J. M., & Peeters, M. A. (2009). A pleasure working together? The effects of dissimilarity in team member conscientiousness on team temporal processes and individual satisfaction. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* , 30 (3), 379-400.

Grojean, M. W., Resick, C. J., Dickson, M. W., & Smith, B. D. (2004). Leaders, values, and organizational climate: Examining leadership strategies for establishing an organizational climate regarding ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics , 55* (3), 223-241.

Gross, N., & Martin, W. E. (1952). On group cohesion. *American Journal of Sociology , 57* (6), 546-564.

Gugerty, M. K., & Kremer, M. (2008). Outside funding and the dynamics of participation. *American Journal of Political Science , 52* (3), 585-602.

Hanyani-Mlambo, B. T. (2002). *Strengthening the pluralistic agricultural extension system: a Zimbabwean case study.* Zimbabwe: Agricultural Research Council (ARC).

Hassan, A., & Ahmed, F. (2011). Authentic leadership, trust and work engagement. *International Journal of Human and Social Sciences , 6* (3), 164-170.

Ho, T. H., & Raman, K. S. (1991). The effect of GDSS and elected leadership on small group meetings. *Journal of Management Information Systems , 8* (2), 109-133.

Hoggett, P., & Miller, C. (2000). Working with emotions in community organizations. *Community Development Journal , 35* (4), 352-364.

Howell, J. & Avolio, B. J., (1992). The ethics of charismatic leadership: Submission or liberation?. *The Executive , 6* (2), 43-54.

IFRA-Keyobs Field Survey, 2009, as cited in Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011

Jehn, K. A. (1997). A qualitative analysis of conflict types and dimensions in organizational groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly , 42* (3), 530-557.

Jensen, C., Farnham, S. D., Drucker, S. M.,& Kollock, P. (2000). The effect of communication modality on cooperation in online environments. *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 470-477). New York: CHI 2000.

Jensen, M. T. (2003). *Organizational communication: A review* (Research and Development report no. 1/2003). Kristiansand: Agderforskning.

Kagiri, E. M. (2008). *Using sustainable technology to upgrade sanitation. Case study: Soweto East Kibera.* Unpublished master's thesis. University of Jyväskylä. Jyväskylä, Finland.

Kane, T. D., Zaccaro, S. J., Tremble, T. R., & Masuda, A. D. (2002). An examination of the leader's regulation of groups. *Small Group Research , 33* (1), 65-120.

Kanyinga, K., & Mitullah, W. (2007). *The non-profit sector in Kenya: What we know and what we dont know.* Nairobi, Kenya: Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi.

Karantininis, K., & Zago, A. (2001). Endogenous membership in mixed duopsonies. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics , 83* (5), 1266-1272.

Karl, M. (2000). Monitoring and evaluating stakeholder participation in agriculture and rural development projects: A literature review. *SDdimensions* . Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Katz, N., Lazer, D., Arrow, H., & Contractor, N. (2004). Network theory and small groups. *Small Group Research , 35* (3), 307-332.

Kerr, N. L. & Bruun, S. E., (1983). Dispensability of member effort and group motivation losses: Free-rider effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol 44(1), Jan 1983, 78-94. , 44* (1), 78-94.

Kim, S., & Soergel, D. (2005). Selecting and Measuring Task Characteristics as Independent Variables. *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology , 42* (1).

Korten, D. C. (1980). Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach. *Public Administration Review , 40* (5), 480-511.

Kraut, R. E., Fish, R. S., Root, R. W. & Chalfonte, B. L., (1990). Informal communication in organizations: Form, function, and technology. In S. Oskamp & S. Spacapan (Eds.), *Human reactions to technology: Claremont symposium on applied social psychology* (pp. 145-199). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Krishna, A., & Shrader, E. *Social capital assessment tool.* Paper presented at the Conference on Social Capital and Poverty Reduction, Washington, D.C, United States.

Langfield, C., & Shanley, M. (1997). The importance of organizational context: A conceptual model for cohesiveness and effectiveness in work Groups. *Public Administration Quarterly , 21* (3), 349-369.

Levine, J. M., & Moreland, R. L. (1990). Progress in small group research. *Annual Review of Psychology, 41,* 585-634.

Liden, R. C., Wayne, S. J., Jaworski, R. A., & Bennett, N. (2004). Social loafing: A field investigation. *Journal of Management , 30* (2), 285-304.

Lucas, J. W. & Lovaglia, M. J. (1998). Leadership status, gender, group size, and emotion in face-to-face groups. *Sociological Perspectves , 41* (3), 617-637.

Lyon, F. (2003). Community groups and livelihoods in remote rural areas of Ghana: How small-scale farmers sustain collective action. *Community Development Journal , 38* (4), 323-331.

Man, D. C., & Lam, S. S. (2003). The effects of job complexity and autonomy on cohesiveness in collectivistic and individualistic work groups: a cross-cultural analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior , 24* (1), 979-1001.

Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2003). *Community based (and driven) development: A critical review.* Development Research Group and The World Bank.

Matthews-Njoku, E. C., Angba, A. O., & Nwakwasi, R. N. (2009). Factors influencing role performance of community based organisations in agricultural development. *International NGO Journal , 4* (6), 313-317.

Michelson, G., & Mouly, S. V. (2002). 'You didn't hear it from us but…': Towards an understanding of rumour and gossip in organisation. *The Australian Journal of Management , 27* (Special Issue), 57-65.

Miguel, E., & Gurgerty, M. K. (2005). Ethnic diversity, social sanctions and public goods in Kenya. *Journal of Public Economics , 89* (11-12), 2325-2368.

Mikkelsen, B. (2005). *Methods for development work and research* (2nd ed.). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Molinas, J. R. (1998). The impact of inequality, gender, external assistance and social capital on local-level cooperation. *World Development , 26* (3), 413-431.

Mullen, B., & Copper, C. (1994). The relation between group cohesiveness and performance: An integration. *Psychological Bulletin , 115* (2), 210-227.

Mutisya, E., & Yarime, M. (2011). Understanding the grassroots dynamics of slums in Nairobi: The dilemma of Kibera informal settlements. *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, & Applied Sciences & Technologies , 2,* 197-213.

Narayan, D. (1999). Can anyone hear us? Voices from 47 countries. *Voices of the poor , 1*.

Ndege, P. O. (2009, July 5th). *Colonialism and its Legacies in Kenya.* Unpublished lecture notes, Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya.

Ochieng, Z. (2007, January 10). Kenya's long road to independence. In *Features*. Retrieved October 28, 2011, from http://www.newsfromafrica.org/newsfromafrica/articles/art_10816.html

Oetzel, J. G. (2001). Self-construals, communication processes, and group outcomes in homogeneous and heterogeneous groups. *Small Group Research , 32* (1), 19-54.

Oh, H., Chung, M., & Labiaca, G. (2004). Group social capital and group effectiveness: The role of informal socializing ties. *The Academy of Management Journal , 47* (6), 860-975.

O'Keilly, E. (1973). *Aid and self help: A general guide to overseas aid.* London: Charles Knight and Co. Ltd.

Omambia, A. N. (2010). Sanitation in urban slums: Perception, attitude and behavior: The case of Kibera, Nairobi - Kenya. *Journal of Environmental Science and Engineering , 4* (3), 70-80.

Ondieki, T., & Mbegera, M. (2009). *Impact assessment report on the peepoo bag, Silanga village, Kibera, Nairobi-Kenya.* Nairobi: Unpublished Impact Assessment.

Opare, S. (2007). Strengthening community-based organizations for the challenges of rural development. *Community Development Journal , 42* (2), 251-264.

Parnell, E. (2001). *The Role of cooperatives and other self-help organizations in crisis resolution and socio-economic recovery.* Geneva: International Labour Organization. Retrieved from http://www.microfinancegateway.org/gm/document-1.9.28895/22561_crisis_resolution.pdf

Pavitt, C., & Curtis, E. (1998). Cohesiveness. In *Small Group Communication: A Theoretical Approach* (3rd ed.). Retrieved from http://www.udel.edu/communication/COMM356/pavitt/pavittbooktoc.html

Place, F, Kariuki, G., Wangila, J, Kristjanson, P., Makauki, A., & Ndubi, J. (2002, October). *Assessing the factors underlying Differences in group performance: Methodological issues and empirical findings from the highlands of central Kenya* (CAPRi Working Paper No. 25). Nairobi, Kenya: CGIAR Systemwide Program on Collective Action and Property Rights (CAPRi)

Platteau, J.P. (2006). Solidarity norms and institutions in village societies: Static and dynamic considerations. In S. Kolm, & M. J. Ythier (Eds.), *Handbook on gift giving, reprocity and altruism,* pp. 819-886.

Portney, K. E., & Berry, J. E. (1997). Mobilizing minority communities: Social capital and participation in urban neighbourhoods. *American Behavioural Scientist , 49* (5), 632-644.

Riley, E., & Wakely, P. (2003). *Communication for sustainable urban livelihoods (CSUL)*(Report No. R7879). London: Development Planning Unit University College. Retrieved from www.kutokanet.com/issues/eco/0309sustainableurblivelihoods.doc

Salifu, A., Francesconi, G. N., & Shashidhara, A. K. (2010). *A review of collective action in rural Ghana.* (IFPRI Discussion Paper 00998). Ghana: International food Policy research institute (IFPRI).

Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighbourhoods and violent crimes: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science , 277,* 918-924.

Schermerhon, J. R. (2002). *Management* (7th ed.). (l. J. Marshal, & P. McFadden, Eds.) New York, United States of America: John Wiley and Sons.

Shanmugaratnam, N. (1996). Nationalisation, privatisation and dilemmas of common property management in Western Rajasthan. *Journal of Development Studies, 33* (2), 163-187.

Shelley, H. P. (1960). Focused leadership and cohesiveness in small groups. *Sociometry , 23* (2), 209-216.

Sperber, S., Wolff, B. & Lusk, E. J., (2004). The effects of task characteristics on the performance of multicultural teams: Connecting economic theory and empirical evidence. *The journal of the organization, Intercultural Communication Studies (ICS) , 13* (1), 153-169.

Srivastava, M. & Sinha, A. K. (2011). Task characteristics & group effectiveness in Indian Organizations. *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations , 46* (4).

Suff, P. & Reilly, P. (2006). *Pulling together: Getting the most out of teams* (HR Network Paper MP70). Brighton: Institute of Employment Studies. Retrieved from http://www.employment-studies.co.uk/pdflibrary/mp70.pdf

Todaro, M. P., & Smith, S. C. (2009). *Economic Development*. London: Pearson Addison Wesley.

Uganda Collective Marketing Network (UCOMNET) and the Kenya Collective Marketing Association (KCMA). (2010). Policy brief on enhancing producer organization empowerment in collective action (Empowerment Policy Brief 12/2010). *Facilitating Collective Marketing Best Practices in Kenya and Uganda* .

Umande Trust, 2007, as cited in Mutisya & Yarime, 2011.

Varughese, G. & Ostrom, E. (2001). The contested Role of heterogeneity in collective action: Some evidence from community forestry in Nepal. *World Development, 29* (5), 747-765.

Vigdor, J. L. (2002). Interpreting ethnic fragmentation effects. *Economic Letters, 75* (2), 271-276.

Wageman, R. (1995). Interdependence and group effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly , 40* (1), 145-180.

Wanyama, F.O. (2006). Interfacing the State andthe Voluntary Sector for African Development: Lessons from Kenya. *Africa Development*, 31, (4) 73–103

Wheelan, S. A. (2009). Group size, group gevelopment, and group productivity. *Small Group Research , 40* (2), 247-262.

Whiteoak, J. W. (2007). The relationship among group process perceptions, goal commitment and turnover intention in small committee groups. *Journal of Business and Psychology , 22* (1), 11-20.

Wipper, A. (1975). The Maendeleo ya Wanawake organization: The co-optation of leadership. *African Studies Review , 18* (3), 99-120.

Zamberia, A. M. (2006). State-civil society partnerships and sustainable urban development: Lessons from Kibera, Nairobi. *LWATI: A Journal of Contemporary Research , 3*, 251-265.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Letter of Transmittal

Sapenzie Ojiambo,
P.O. Box 65703 – 00607,
Nairobi, Kenya.

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted by a student of Project Planning and management at the University of Nairobi. The purpose of the research is to determine the extent to which structural and process factors influence the cohesiveness of Community-Based Organizations such as yours.

If your organization agrees to participate in the project, you will be required to answer questions relating its composition and functioning. All members of your organization will also be required to complete a questionnaire (s) designed to collect their demographic data. Please complete the questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. It should take approximately five minutes to complete an individual questionnaire and about 20 minutes to complete the group questionnaire.

Approximately, 75 CBOs within Kibera Informal Settlements are expected to participate. Your responses will be kept confidential and will not be used for any other purposes other than to inform the research. Data from the research will be reported only as a collective combined total. If you have any questions about the project, feel free to contact the researcher Sapenzie Ojiambo on 020 2972000.

Thank you for your assistance in this important endeavor,

Sincerely,

Sapenzie Ojiambo

Appendix II: Group Questionnaire

Factors Influencing the Cohesiveness of Community-Based Organizations – The Case of Community Groups in Kibera Informal Settlements.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather data on the characteristics of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) involved in income generating activities to inform a Masters Degree research on Factors Influencing the Cohesiveness of CBOs. The research explores the association between certain internal factors of CBOs and their cohesiveness. This questionnaire is designed to collect information on the CBOs' structure and processes as well as their cohesiveness. All information provided will be kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this research.

Instructions*: For each of the following question please circle the option that comes closest to your answer or insert your answer in the space provided. Where choices are provided, you may pick more than one option. If you have additional comments to make on any specific question, please indicate these beside the answer. In case you have additional general remarks, please include them at the end of the questionnaire.*

General Information

Name of CBO:					
Number of group members:		No. Male:		No. Female	
Number of years in operation:					
Gender of Chairperson					
Criteria for joining the group:					
Income Generating Activities:					

Nature of Project

1. Which of the following statements best describes the way your group operates?
   a) Joint investment and management of proceeds
   b) Joint investment but no joint management of proceeds
   c) Individual investment and individual management of proceeds
   d) Other, Please specify …….

2. Which of the following best describes shareholding in your group?
   a) Members receive benefits based on level of investment in the group's activities
   b) All members have equal shares and receive equal benefits from group activities
   c) Other, please specify …….

3. Has your group employed a manager to run your daily activities?
   a) Yes
   b) No

4. If yes, why was a manager employed?
   a) Group members did not have the time to manage all the required activities
   b) Group members did not have the expertise required to run the activities as required
   c) It was recommended by the organization funding the group
   c) Other, please specify……
   d) Not sure

Nature of Leadership

5. How often does your CBO hold elections?
   a) Twice a year
   b) Annually
   c) Every two years
   d) Never
   e) Other, please specify……..

6. Did you choose a new member for the leadership post in the last elections?
   a) Yes
   b) No
   c) Not sure
   d) The group does not hold elections

7. In your opinion, why was your current leader chosen for the post?
   a) He/she was the founder of the group
   b) He/she is vocal
   c) He/she has good ideas for the group
   d) He/she is well placed to negotiate funding for the group
   e) He /she has most investment in the group
   f) Other, Please specify …….

8. If your CBO has received external funding, was there a change of leadership when funding was received?
   a)Yes
   b) No
   c) Not sure

9. Different leaders have been known to exhibit different leadership styles. Which of the following managerial styles best describes your leader?
   a) Focuses individual needs and building relationships
   b) Focuses on enhancing the team spirit
   c) Focuses on running tasks and operations efficiently
   d) Focuses on using minimum effort to get the work done
   e) Focuses on balancing work output and members morale

10. Which of the following statements best describes decision making is most commonly done in your group?

    a) Participating - All decisions are made democratically

    b) Selling - Leaders make decision and explain to members why that decision was taken

    c) Telling - Leaders make decision and gives instructions to group members

    d) Delegating - Leaders allow the group members to make decisions and take responsibility for the decisions even in their absence

    e) Other (Please specify) ……..

11. How do you promote transparency in your group?

    a) Regular members (not just leaders) monitor work being carried out

    b) Regular members (not just leaders) watch transactions taking place

    c) Clear accounting procedures

    d) Accounts are made public

    e) None of the above

    e) Other (Please specify) ……..

12. Has your group ever experienced cases of malpractice or corruption?

    a) Yes

    b) No

    c) Not sure

13. If yes, how was the case dealt with?

    a) Nothing was done

    b) Through negotiation

    c) Group leadership was changed

    e) Group rules were changed

    f) Those involved were punished

    g) Those involved were expelled from the group

    h) Other (Please specify) ……..

14. If you and another member of your group were involved in a dispute. Would you trust your leader to act as an intermediary?
    a) Yes
    b) Yes, but only if there are other people present
    c) No
    d) Not Sure

15. What is the most common punishment given to a wayward group member?
    a) They are asked to pay a fine
    d) They are sanctioned by the leaders
    b) Peer pressure by other group members
    c) Shaming by other group members
    d) Expulsion from the group
    e) Nothing is done
    h) Other (Please specify) ……..

16. What is the worst punishment that has ever been given to a wayward group member?
    a) They were asked to pay a fine
    b) They were taken to the chief /local authorities
    c) They were reported to the police
    d) They were shamed
    e) They were expelled from the group
    f) Other (Please specify) ……..

17. Do you think the forms of punishments given to group members are effective?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) No opinion

18. Does your group own a bank account?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not sure

19. Do you think your group's accounts are well kept?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) No written accounts
    d) I have never seen the accounting documents
    e) Not sure

Communication Patterns

20. Which of the following describes how information flows in your group when you are faced with a complex task?
    a) Members communicate directly with one another as they work on the tasks
    b) Members work separately on tasks allocated to them and inform the leader of developments who then passes the information to other members
    c) Other (Please specify)……

21. In the event that a member is not present when a decision is made, which is the most common way in which they get to know about the decision?
    a) Through their friends
    b) Through any of the other group members
    c) The leader informs them personally
    d) They get to know at the next meeting
    d) Other (Please specify)……

22. How often does the group hold formal meetings?
    b) Daily
    c) Twice a week
    d) Weekly
    e) Bi-weekly
    f) Monthly
    d) Annually
    e) Never

23. Do you always understand information provided on your group's plans and/or performance?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not sure

24. How frequently would you say you interact with other group members at personal level?
    a) Several times a day
    b) Daily
    c) Twice a week
    d) Weekly
    e) Bi-weekly
    f) Monthly
    d) Annually
    e) Never

25. Do you discuss group issues with members when you meet outside the group?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not sure

26. If yes, can you trust information about the group that is received informally?
    a) Yes
    b) No
    c) Not sure

Cohesiveness

27. How satisfied are you with the performance of your CBO?
    a) Extremely satisfied
    b) Satisfied
    c) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
    d) Dissatisfied
    e) Extremely dissatisfied

28. On average, how many members do not show up for meetings or group activities on any given day?
    a) 0 – 2 members
    b) 3 – 5 members
    c) 6 – 8 members
    d) 9 – 11 members
    e) 12 or more members

29. How many times did disputes and complaints occur in your group over the last one year?
    a) 0 – 2 times
    b) 3 – 5 times
    c) 6 – 8 times
    d) 9 – 11 times
    e) 12 or more times

30. How many members have left the group over the last 1 year?
    a) None
    b) 1 – 3 members
    c) 4 - 6 members
    d) 7 – 9 members
    e) 10 or more members

----------END----------

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix III: Individual Questionnaire

Factors Influencing the Cohesiveness of Community-Based Organizations – The Case of Community Groups in Kibera Informal Settlements

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather data on the characteristics of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) involved in income generating activities to inform a Masters Degree research on Factors Influencing the Cohesiveness of CBOs. The research explores the association between certain internal factors of CBOs and their cohesiveness. This questionnaire is designed to collect information on the CBOs' membership diversity. All information provided will be kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this research.

***Instructions**: Please circle the appropriate answer to the following questions.*

1. Which gender do you belong to?
   a) Female
   b) Male

2. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?
   a) 18-24 years
   b) 25-34 years
   c) 35-44 years
   d) 45-54 years
   e) 55-64 years
   f) 65 years and above

3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   a) No formal schooling
   b) Did not complete primary school
   c) KCPE
   d) KCSE
   e) Tertiary
   f) Other, Please specify

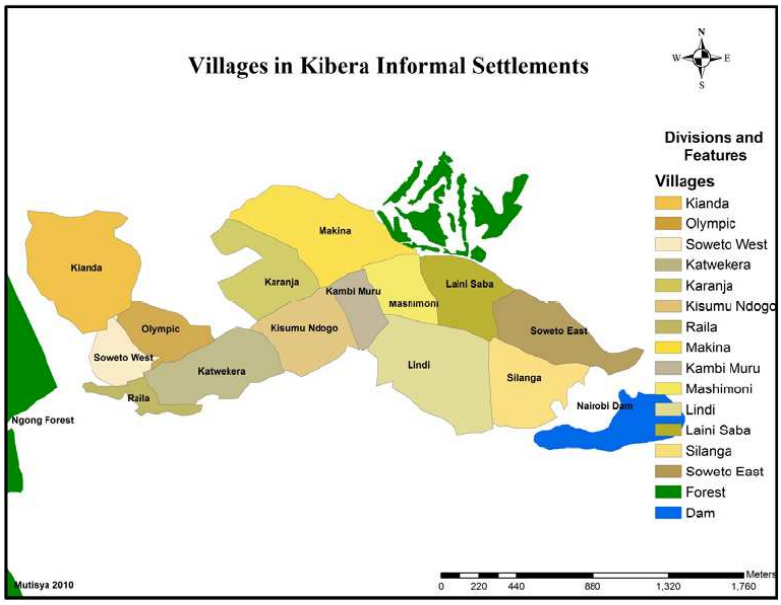
4. On average, in which range does your total monthly income fall?
   a) Less than Ksh 4,999
   b) Ksh 5,000 – 9,999
   c) Ksh 10,000 – 14,999
   d) Ksh 15,000 – 19,999
   e) Ksh 20,000 – 24,999
   f) Ksh 25,000 – 29,999
   g) Ksh 30,000 and above

5. Which ethnic community do you belong to?
   a) Kamba
   b) Kikuyu
   c) Luhya
   d) Luo
   e) Kisii
   f) Kalenjin
   Other, please specify……..

----------END----------

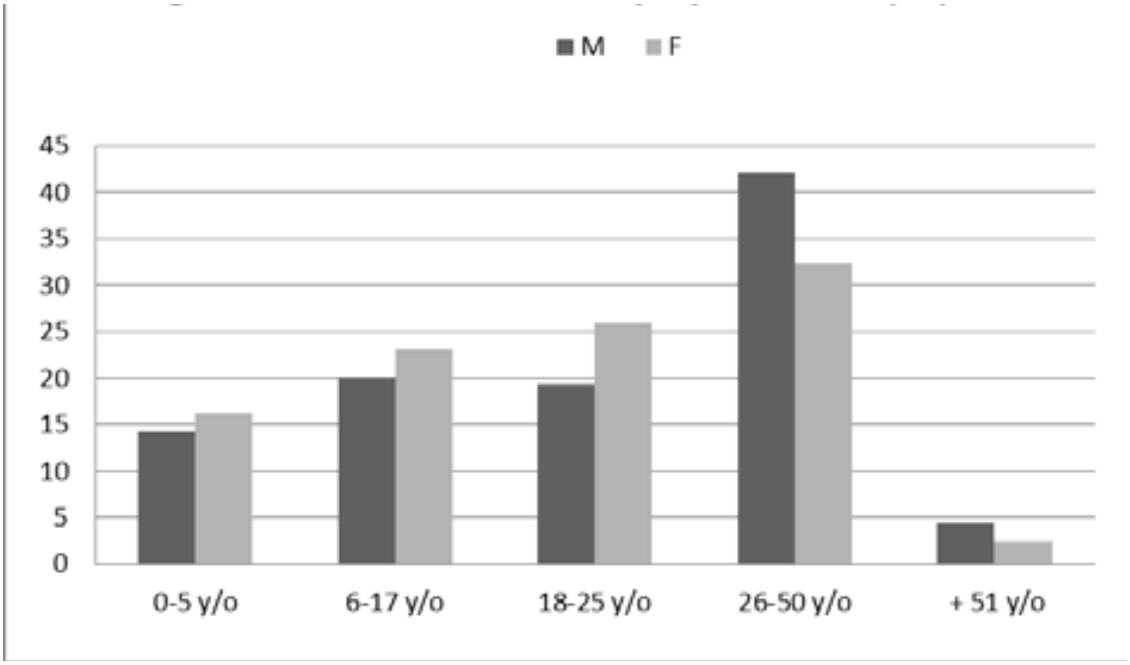
Thank you for your participation.

Appendix IV: A map of villages that constitute Kibera Informal Settlements



Note. Source: Mutisya and Yarime, 2011

Appendix V: Age Distribution of Kibera Informal Settlements by Population (%)



Note. Adapted from IFRA-Keyobs Field Survey, 2009.