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RESERVE

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS:
LOCAL CAPACITY BUILDING AND COMMUNITY
MOBILIZATION

A Research Proposal

By: NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS: LOCAL CAPACITY BUILDING
AND COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION

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ABSTRACT

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Despite this, there is a need to provide empirical data on the role of NGOs to National Development. This research attempts to fill this research gap by looking at how NGOs facilitate local initiatives which could lead to self-sustaining development in the long run. In this respect, some issues relating to projects supported by NGOs are proposed for exploration. These are: needs assessment; project initiation; project management; training; resource mobilization; institutional set-up and over-all community participation.

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ABSTRACT

This research proposal highlights some pertinent issues relating to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) development activities in Kenya. Whereas NGOs have been actively involved in a number of development activities, their development approaches have not been adequately and sufficiently researched and documented.

Despite this, there has been, little attempt at providing empirical data on the contributions of NGOs to National Development. This research attempts to fill this research gap by looking at how NGOs facilitate local initiatives which could lead to self sustaining development in the long run. In this respect, some issues relating to projects supported by NGOs are proposed for exploration. These are: needs assessment; project initiation; project management; training; resource mobilization; institutional set-up and over-all community participation.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have become important development agents in the developing countries since the 70s. Prior to the eighties many Governments did not pay much attention to their role, although they were supporting various programmes in different sectors of the economy. To some extent the lack of recognition was due to the very hibernative nature of NGOs.

NGOs have been alleged to operate in isolation without coordination either among themselves or with relevant government offices, and/or respective communities. This has been coupled with lack of any formal communication channels which may lead to dissemination of information on NGO activities. The outcome of this has therefore been lack of relevant information and hence suspicion on both the Government and NGOs.

It is appreciated that the above trend is changing. The current Kenya Government Development Plan (Republic of Kenya, 1989-93) recognizes the role of NGOs as partners in development. This appreciation of NGOs as development partners was anticipated in Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 which appreciated and indeed recognized the informal sector, a sector in which many NGOs are actively involved. It is in view of this recognition among others that the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) University of Nairobi has been studying the role of NGOs in development. However, up to now most of the studies have confined themselves to a review of issues and to establishing a research agenda.

(see for example most of the studies in Kinyanjui K. (ed.) Non-Governmental Organizations: contributions to Development, 1985). Few, if any, have attempted to provide empirical data on the contribution of NGOs to development.

This research, therefore, will attempt to fill this empirical gap. However, though some general issues are highlighted in this proposal the empirical investigation will confine itself to the how NGOs go about creating or building local

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capacities within the communities in which they operate.

1.1 The Origin, Growth and Proliferation of NGOs

The NGO phenomenon has its roots in the missionary/charity tradition of the West. Over the years, Missionary work involved both preaching and providing technical help and relief to the needy. Among the earliest examples of such relief sent to the US was in 1647? (Robert Berg: 1987, p.3). This phenomenon was to, however, move from its missionary origin and became 'secularized' leading to the formation of such non-sectarian societies as the Red Cross. But it was after the two World Wars that the NGO phenomenon started to record a significant proliferation. Thus, private voluntary organizations, for example, responded to famine in Russia, health disasters in China and refugee problems in the middle East, a phenomenon which after the First World War had also taken place when the American government and NGOs had provided food supplies to Europe amounting to about a quarter of a billion dollars a year (Berg 1987 p.3).

In the post World War II era, emphasis shifted from relief to the recovery of Europe but once Europe had attained a certain measure of recovery, NGOs moved to the newly created states in Asia, Latin America and Africa. David Korten (1987) has argued that these NGOs have since grown in three generations. In the first generation, NGO activities amounted to no more than the delivery of relief and welfare services to the unfortunate poor of the world. Focus in this generation was on meeting immediate needs through direct action such as the distribution of food, material assistance, child and family sponsorship and emergency relief. In the late 1970 however, the relief and welfare approach began to be challenged on the grounds that, it offered no more than alleviation of symptoms of poverty (Korten 1987, p. 148). Hence many NGOs changed their area of activities to what Korten has called small-scale self reliant local development. In this second generation, emphasis was on community development based on the concept of self-reliance with the hope that benefits commensurate therein would be sustained even after the exit of an

NGO (Semmer: 1977). This approach, however, was not without its own problems and critics. A major criticism of this approach was that NGO activities benefited only a small vicinity and without necessarily establishing permanent development "roots" in these communities, i.e. creating local capacity.

The emergence of a third generation NGOs was partly in response to the above criticism. NGOs of this generation attempted to shift their objectives in favour of long term development, emphasizing small, self-sustained development, appropriate technology and efforts to organize and animate local communities in order to strengthen local capacities for self-reliance (Broadhead: 1988, p.7).

In Africa, it is not so easy to trace the evolution of the NGO phenomenon. One reason why this is so is that the phenomenon is rather complex for in many cases, there has always existed heritages of communal self-help groups which local leaders and community organizers have been able to draw from. For instance, one finds local savings clubs build out of a tradition of communal, tribal, or clan self help in Africa, (Berg: 1986, p.4, Salole: 1986). Thus, when NGOs emerged in Africa depends on where one starts from and on what type of organization one has in mind. This notwithstanding, it is quite obvious that there has been a proliferation* of NGOs in Africa, especially in the last 20 years. Further, it is generally agreed, though by no means fully established empirically, that NGOs are playing a very significant role in development.

The proliferation of NGOs in Africa has been explained in various ways. It has for example been argued that most donor agencies are cutting down on official aid in favour of non-official aid because aid given through governments rarely reaches the poor.

* The Environmental Liason Centre in Nairobi estimates that there are between 8,000 and 9,000 NGOs operating in Africa. This, in our view seems to be an underestimation as it does not seem to fully account for all indigenous NGOs, let alone the so-called traditional associations.

Hence non-official aid, is now channelled through NGOs thus raising their numbers. (Kobia 1985: pp. 35-36; Korten 1987). In fact in some instances, it is becoming important to form new NGOs to 'spend money that must be given out without delay' (Kobia: 1985, p.37). In this respect, it should be noted that one estimate has it that in 1986 there were well over 2,000 NGOs in the industrialised North channelling resources to some 10,000 - 20,000 NGOs in the South. (P. Campbell, 1986). These resources have been estimated at US\$ 4 billion a year to the Third World. (Campbell: 1986).

NGO proliferation can also be explained by the very frequent cases of natural calamities in Africa. NGOs are said to come in to provide relief in such cases and in fact some governments from the North have discovered that food relief in particular can also be a useful foreign policy 'weapon' (H. Miller: 1985, p.45). But there is that tendency for NGOs to linger on after they have provided the "emergency" relief and the crisis is over, thus swelling the number of NGOs engaged in "development". (Kobia: 1985, p. 37). Given the availability of funds such NGOs end up re-arranging their priorities from relief to development thus becoming 'fully entrenched'.

Data available on Kenya probably best illustrates the magnitude of this proliferation. In 1974, there were about 125 secular NGOs operating in Kenya (Bratton: 1978) but by 1988, this number had risen by 229% from 125 to 400 NGOs (Fowler: 1989; Bratton: 1987). If all church related development activities and registered self-help groups were included in such an analysis, these figures would certainly be much higher. According to Fowler, for example, registered women's groups which are community-based organizations were as many as 23,000 in 1988 (Fowler: 1989). This means that if such organizations were also counted among the 400 NGOs, we would have upto 23,400 NGOs operating in Kenya not to mention many traditional cum cultural organizations whose numbers are not known and which are rarely regarded as NGOs due to definitional biases. On the other hand, the Economic Survey (1989) indicates that there is a total of 25,727 registered women groups in 1988.

1.2 Categorization of NGOs

NGOs have been variously categorized. In fact, it is quite difficult to exhaust the various categories offered in the literature. However, the most common form of categorization is by function (e.g. emergency, community, development, health, education etc.), group emphasis (e.g. women, disabled, refugees etc.) and geographical distribution (e.g. Africa, Asia, Latin America etc.). This form of categorization can be found in the Kenya National Council of Social Services' directory on Kenyan NGOs or the directory on NGOs operating in the East African region edited by Florence M. Lowenstein and Roger B. McClanahan (1984) or that by Chalse B. Deull and L.A. Dutcher (1987) covering the whole of Africa.

A further categorization of NGOs has been made by David Korten (1987). Using a historical analysis, Korten has divided NGOs operating in the Third World into the three generations already mentioned. The first generation which includes such old organizations as Red Cross, CARE, Catholic Relief, etc. as it is argued is generally concerned with social welfare and relief. The second generation of NGOs is basically engaged in small scale self reliant activities of local development, while the third generation's emphasis is on sustainable systematic development. However, Korten has rightly pointed out that this division is fluid and relative as activities in the three generations may overlap in one NGO. Indeed they do as an NGO like the NCKK demonstrates.

Roberts (1984) also provides three categories of NGOs. The first category consists of questionable NGOs with local offices labelled 'NGO' but whose purpose is to draw funds from donors for personal development. For example, the Daily Nation issue of 25th October, 1988 reported of a case involving the Associated Christian Churches of Kenya whose missionaries were found in 1986 importing high power radios, weapons and related equipment to support their work. Another example, of such NGOs is to be found in a report in the Daily Nation

of 14th August 1988. This case involves the full Salvation Ministry which tried to import over one hundred prestigious motor vehicles for resale in order to fight 'demons of poverty'.

The second category of NGOs is supposed to emphasize 'development service' and encourage participation from the target group at the same time minimizing as much as possible conflict with the central government. However, in spite of attempts to encourage participation this type of NGO has no grassroots links. The third category of NGOs is that with an active and solid link with grassroots movements. This category is emphatic on empathy with the target group especially with regard to cultural values and development priorities. The NGO therefore aims at developing an approach that is commensurate with grassroots needs. Examples of such NGOs in our setting would include; the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), CARE Kenya and ACTION AID.

According to Sam Kobia, (1985) NGOs can be divided into two; the 'old' and the 'new'. Those NGOs that operated until mid 1970s are what he terms as the 'old NGOs' while those that operated in the years after mid-1970s and especially in the 1980s he has categorized as the 'new' NGOs. The new NGOs have however, not been able to establish a network of their own probably because of their pre-occupation with establishing a raison d'etre.

Alan Fowler has probably provided one of the most elaborate categorizations of NGOs in Africa. The first category- he singles out is the Donor Local Organization (DLO) which usually comprise of local branches of International donor agencies. Such include CARE, ACTION AID, OXFAM, etc. The second category is what he calls Induced Local Organizations (ILO). In this category the NGO is fully dependent on the donors for funds although the management and entire staff are locally appointed. Such organizations include Voluntary Agencies Development Assistance (VADA). Partnership for Productivity (PFP) etc. The Induced People Organizations (IPO) is the third category given by

Fowler. In this category which is set up along western lines and relying heavily on external sources, '.....the beneficiaries form part of the accountability structure of the NGO. (Fowler:1985, p. 25). While there is no such organization in Kenya yet, Fowler reckons that Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) is evolving into an IPO.

Fowler offers a fourth category of NGOs as the Local Development Organization (LDO). In this category, resources are locally generated, and controlled and the management is local. Such organizations include the NCKK, the different Dioceses of the CPK and the Catholic Church, involved in community development, etc. The Local Peoples' Organizations (LPOs) which is the fifth category, is also the most prevalent in Kenya. The existence of this kind of NGOs is fully dependent on local resources and usually operates at a very small scale. Examples of such include registered women's groups in the country, and other self-help small groups.

The last category of NGOs singled out by Fowler is the indigenous Community Organizations (ICOs). It is very difficult to know what the role of these organizations in the development process is and even their number is hard to determine. According to Fowler, most features of this category of NGOs are still armorphous, we might add that this category often overlaps with local peoples' organizations (LPO).

For the purposes of this paper, we shall use the function categorization mentioned earlier in this section. This categorization will include, health, water and sanitation; Promotion of appropriate technology and small scale enterprises; Education and training; Environment and energy conservation; Agriculture; Relief and welfare; and Religious activities.

There are several reasons why function as a basis of categorization of NGOs will be applied in this research. The reasons are as follows:-

- (a) Function as a basis of categorization is broad-based and hence encompasses all of the aforementioned categorizations of NGOs. Function is neither limited by geographical boundaries nor by types of projects in which NGOs are involved. Function as a category is able to cross-cut what otherwise might be labelled artificial theoretical boundaries.
- (b) Function is not restricted by the financial source or the amount of NGO project funding and maintenance. The function categorization subsumes

all NGOs regardless of their monetary source and value. Instead, the function categorization focus is on the activities and outcomes of NGO projects and programs.

(c) Function as a basis of categorization does not look for the perceived motives of NGOs outside of its immediate programmes and activities.

(d) The function as a basis of categorization is not shaped by subjective and value laden discretion. Hence, all NGOs by virtue of their particular activities and functions, represent valid cases for research.

1.3 NGOs as Actors in Development

Until recently, the development agenda in Africa has been the prerogative of the government and to a little extent, the private sector. But in the face of the African economic crisis, natural calamities, famine and a deteriorating environment, what has acquired the name 'big government' has found it increasingly difficult to meet all the development needs of its people. Hence, need has arisen for other actors to participate in development. And it is in this connection that the NGOs have emerged as development actors. In Kenya, NGOs' role in development has for long been viewed as merely complimentary to that of Government. However, in the 6th Development Plan (1989-1993), NGOs have been singled out along side the public and private sectors, as central actors in achieving the objectives of the plan. This is still within the overall context of complimenting government activities, though this time with added recognition.

The issue now is therefore not whether NGOs play and will continue to play a role in development. Rather, the issue is the nature of this role. In this respect several basic questions about this role must be raised by students of development, especially students of local level development. Such questions include, first and foremost, what is the NGOs' working concept of development, and to what extent does their involvement in development elicit the participation of the target beneficiaries, create awareness in them, and ensure that in the long run they can sustain the development by themselves. Secondly, given the nature of state development activities, to what extent can NGO activities be said to be either in conflict or in harmony with state development activities. That is, does the role of NGOs in development conflict with or compliment that of government?

Several arguments about the role of NGOs in development have been posited. It has been argued for example, that the capacity of African governments to raise standards of living especially of the poorest among their people, has been rather limited and in the event of a natural calamity, they have exhibited alot of helplessness. (Bratton 1987:2).

But in contrast to this, it has been observed that due to a highly motivated and innovative staff, organizational flexibility and competence, compounded by an easy access to funds, NGOs' involvement in micro-development has been more effective and efficient than that of governments (see Hyden 1983; Bratton 82). Further, NGOs are also said to work very closely with the target beneficiaries thus empathizing with and reaching even the most marginalized people. With this sort of grassroot connection, they are able to articulate grassroot reality much better than the government with its macro-development approach.

Another argument posited in favour of NGOs in development is that, unlike central governments which use the 'blue-print' strategy in their development approach, NGOs use the 'bottom-up' strategy which also allows for empathy with the target group and hence takes into consideration the cultural, religious and other values that might be called to play in the implementation of a project. This kind of participation has however provoked a lot of debate among students of the NGO phenomenon in Africa. The basic question raised here is; does participation only entail the supply of labour, or does it also incorporate all the other stages of the project cycle e.g. Project formulation, implementation, sharing of costs/ benefits, project evaluation etc? (Uphoff, et. al.: 1979, p.307). According to Judith Teddlar (1982) participation could mean anything ranging, on the continuum, from local mobilization to local elite decision making. But participation is complete only when it encompasses all the stages involved in a project, ensuring a local capacity building for the sustainance of such a project in the event of an NGO's withdrawal. Lack of this 'holistic' nature in community participation provides rationale for G.C. Mutiso's (1985: p.65) conclusion that participation as elicited by NGOs is mythical.

Although NGOs have been said to be flexible as opposed to governments' organizational rigidity, (Hyden 1983: 121) and ready to experiment with unorthodox ideas (Esman and Uphoff, 1984: p.275), they have also been accused of being uneconomical and at times acting

which the District Focus For Rural Development is trying to get away from. How are NGOs accomodating themselves to this strategy?

While one appreciates the role of NGOs in development, it is sometimes not easy to grasp their methods of conceptualization, identification and implementation of projects in which they are involved. More so their linkages with the communities who are their target beneficiaries. John Turner argues that contemporary work of NGOs and the various roles they play in relation to people in their own communities reflect:

"an evolution from directive to non-directive approaches, from authoritarian management of projects for the poor, through participatory but still paternalistic community development. From this to communit -organising and mediating between self managing community-based organization and the corporate power with which they have to negotiate". (1987, p.4).

One can further observe that there is no standard approach that may apply across NGOs. Each NGO tends to have its own approach, whereas in some cases combination of more than one approach is applied depending on the circumstances.

Brodhead T. et al. (1988) have also discussed the way NGOs differ in their involvement of communities. He notes that in a sample of 51 projects from developing countries undertaken by Canadian NGOs the level of local participation was as follows: In 22% of cases there was essentially no participation of beneficiaries; 24% of the sample had low level of participation whereas 36% had moderate level and only 18% had high level participation. As indicated above a high percentage of the sample had minimal or no community participation. Teddler (1982) argues in her work that what is usually referred to as participation by NGOs consists of a variety of operational strategies ranging along a spectrum from genuine representative participation of beneficiary-population through top-down but sensitive decision making by local or foreign NGOs to local elite decision making.

The above suggests that NGOs have different perceptions of community participation, which in many cases does not comprehensively integrate grassroot level beneficiaries. To many NGOs grassroot level participation is often seen in terms of labour supply. This results in communities perceiving their contribution merely as donation to a project which is not their own. Such perceptions in many cases affects negatively self-sustenance of the project.

As early as 1973, before the enormous proliferation of NGOs Oyugi (1973) noted that popular participation does not only involve the ability of the people themselves to participate but also depends on a positive orientation to it by the political leadership and political system and the existence of formal and institutionalized provision for it. These last two aspects have been very-difficult to achieve in a developing country such as Kenya. This may be associated with the sensitivity of both the Government and the NGOs on the concept of community-participation which places final decision-making power in the hands of the grassroots, usually in the form of community based organizations. This type of approach makes a NGO or the Government assume the role of a facilitator or adviser in the processes designed to lead to proposals that give concrete expressions to the beneficiaries needs and desires.

The above model in theory, should be most acceptable to NGOs. This is because, the model represents community participation in its most complete form. However, at the same time it implies sharing of power or transfer of authority from planners to "planned and this poses a power threat to professional control by experts. This notwithstanding the current Kenya Government Development Plan (1989 - 1993) has, "participation for progress" as its theme, which of necessity- implies empowerment of the planners. Are the NGOs situated to be full partners in the implementation of the Development Plan as the plan anticipates?

To a large extent, neither the Government nor the NGOs are specialized in collective discussions of development plans with the intended beneficiaries. Instead, some have argued that many of the NGOs have their own development priority agenda which leads them to respective communities as opposed to the communities coming to them with development priorities (Mutiso, 1987). As stated earlier, in attempt to move away from this approach, the Government has designed the strategy of focussing on district planning as opposed to centralized planning. Whether this approach inculcates adequate and sufficient community-participation should be of major concern to NGOs.

3.0 NGOs ACTIVITIES IN NAIROBI AND MACHAKOS

As noted in the introduction, NGOs started off mainly as relief/emergency agents but have since then, moved to provision of basic services as well as over-all development of given areas. This transient nature of NGOs has mainly been facilitated by their flexibility and quest to capture areas of development which are perceived as unattended to.

In Kenya like most other developing countries the flexibility of NGOs has been reflected in their move from relief services to the provision of basic services (social services) such as schools, health facilities and homes for cripples and destitutes. When their presence in the above areas were threatened by calls for self-reliance and at times power struggle with government officers responsible for such services they changed their emphasis to other uncaptured areas. According to Mutiso (1985), such areas in NGO perspectives include development awareness training, community organization, and bottom-up development. Most NGOs have tended therefore, so the argument goes, to concentrate on these three areas but with specific projects or programmes as spring boards. A good example is in the area of health where NGOs have been involved in creating health awareness through training as well as mobilising communities at grassroot levels towards health issues which affect them.

When discussing NGOs activities in Machakos and Nairobi, it is worth pointing out the linkages which the two areas have. The two areas happen to have the highest number of NGOs, estimated at twenty two (NCSS, 1987) in Machakos and about one hundred in Nairobi*. Machakos of course benefits from being near Nairobi, a fact which leads many NGOs, which are mainly based in Nairobi to support or run programmes in the district. The ecology of Machakos characterised as it is by low potential semi arid conditions in some areas has led to many NGOs involving themselves in areas of environment, health, energy, agriculture and relief in the district.

To a large extent NGO activities in Machakos overlap and in some cases appear to be a duplication. Perhaps this is not peculiar to Machakos. However, the actual activities apparently to reflect the development needs of the district, if not the local people as per our preliminary survey whether they do is a central issue in this study. These activities include:

- health, water and sanitation.
- promotion of appropriate technology and small scale enterprises.
- education and training
- environment and energy conservation
- agriculture
- relief and welfare
- religious activities.

The area of health, water and sanitation seems to be especially popular with NGOs. Thus by 1987, for example, the area of population and health had attracted over sixty NGOs in Kenya

*The number quoted refers to the NGOs with actual projects/programmes, otherwise over four hundred NGOs have their offices in Nairobi.

alone (World Bank, 1987). The high number of NGOs in this area could be explained by the fact that population and health issues directly affect the well being of communities. This therefore is a "good" sector for partnership between Government, donors and NGOs. This concern has often driven international organizations such as UNICEF, WHO, and international NGOs to finance programmes which are health related. In other words it has not proved difficult for NGOs to justify their activities in this area.

Nairobi, by virtue of being the capital city hosts many international organizations including many NGOs. Like most large cities around the world, Nairobi has its share of unplanned settlements. This gives rise to a number of health related issues which many of the NGOs have been trying to address. Of particular interest to a number of them has been community based primary health care. In this area NGOs such as AMREF, Church of the Province of Kenya, Catholic Diocese of Nairobi among others have been very active. Some NGOs have been active especially in the area of health, for example, Crescent Medical Aid (CMA) an NGO which is religious backed has been running six clinics within low income/slum areas (Kibera, Pumwani, Eastleigh, Biafra, Pangani and City Centre) of the City. This service has been aimed at supplementing City Council Services. There are also other NGOs running clinics but not on the extensive scale of CMA. How, why and to what extent NGOs are involved in these projects in Nairobi is a major focus of this study.

As in Nairobi, there are many organizations working in the area of health, water and sanitation in Machakos. Among these NGOs the Catholic Diocese of Machakos, NCKK, Kanu Maendeleo ya Wanawake, AMREF, Salvation Army, Christian Children's Fund and KWAHO are predominant. Generally these organizations and others are involved in promoting Primary Health Care (PHC), family planning and small scale water projects especially of the type dealing with rain harvesting and the subsequent storage of water.

In the area of education and training the NGOs in both Nairobi and Machakos are running various programmes. In fact nearly all NGOs claim to offer some dossier of education and training to their target beneficiaries. Education and training are crucial inputs if development is to become self-sustaining. This issue is therefore of central concern to us. In the past the tendency has been to define education and training as child sponsorship, construction of education facilities as well as provision of equipment. Is this definition still prevalent or is it changing? We would like to believe that this definition is changing except perhaps among "marginal groups" in, for example, slums and arid areas. If it is changing, for example to functional education and training relevant to actual management of development programmes, then this is a very important aspect of, and step towards community mobilisation and local capacity creation.

In Nairobi and Machakos education and training is offered by mostly Church and/or church oriented organizations. Among some of the most active NGOs in the two areas are the Catholic Church, Church of the Province of Kenya, Salvation Army, National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), Christian Children's Fund and African Inland Church (AIC) among others. A few examples of non-church related organizations are KWAHO, Institute of Cultural affairs and Undugu Society of Kenya.

The areas of appropriate technology and small scale enterprises are not yet flooded with NGOs. The few NGOs working on appropriate technology have concerned themselves, for example, with promotion of building materials especially fibre concrete tiles, energy saving stoves, and water storage tanks. All these require appropriate skills.

An important aspect of locally sustainable development is the promotion of income generating activities. This is what has led some NGOs to engage themselves in promotion of small scale business

among their target populations, and especial women. This has been justified on the grounds that women are the keepers and promoters of family health and overall family development. Therefore, they should play a key role in small-scale family based income-generating activities. Whether women do indeed, play a key role in these activities is of course an empirical question. We simply note here that most of the activities supported by NGOs in this area include service activities (selling water, posho milling) trading activities as well as production and marketing activities. In them some of these activities have the potential of becoming models in future grassroots entrepreneurship geared towards improvement of low income groups. However these activities are often faced with a number of problems, including poor management and/or lack of finance. NGOs such as Partnership in Productivity, Daraja Trust, and Undugu Society of Kenya have come up with packages of extension services such as training in management and business skills, which are meant to alleviate some of the more serious problems facing these micro enterprises. Are the packages succeeding in doing what they are meant to do? This clearly is also an empirical issue worthy of investigation.

Agriculture is self-evidently a rural activity, in this case in Machakos the Undugu Society of Kenya has a pilot project on urban agriculture Machakos being a semi/arid area has had a number of NGOs assisting communities in improvement of agriculture through promotion of crops which can survive the ecological conditions of the area. This has often been coupled with the promotion of seed banks, and small irrigation agricultural projects. Perhaps more interesting here is the question of agricultural skills available within the NGO community. We assume that there is no shortage of agricultural skills within local communities.

Relief and welfare which had been the mandate of many NGOs has ceased to be a single area of focus except in certain cases. In both Machakos and Nairobi NGOs are mostly Church/Church oriented, what kind of focus do they give to welfare and relief per se? This is in light of the new development thinking which seeks to encourage enabling communities to cater for

themselves as opposed to being given charity which creates dependence. In this respect, NGOs have been claiming to focus only on the most needy areas. For example, relief is supposed to be given in form of food and clothing in cases of disaster such as fire outbreaks in slums in the case of Nairobi and famine in the case of Machakos. In isolated occasions some NGOs assist such communities to resettle, by providing rehabilitation services. Undugu Society of Kenya has been undertaking such services with slum dwellers in Nairobi especially during fire outbreaks. Elsewhere NGOs have always availed necessary assistance, especially during natural calamities.

A good example of NGO activities in the provision of welfare services is the work of NGOs with disabled (physical and mental), abandoned and street children as well as with the aged. In the past, the practice was to isolate the above groups from respective communities. However, it is claimed by some NGOs that current philosophy emphasises using social workers to create the awareness of the need for community based programmes in welfare services. Even in cases where the disabled/aged are put in institutions so the argument goes, the contact is maintained with community where possible. The small homes programmes for the disabled children in Machakos is a case in point. In these homes boarding facilities are provided within a primary school where the physically disabled children are accommodated as they attend school with other normal children. Minimal fee is paid for boarding facility since the parents provide foods except during crop failures when the NGO (Catholic Diocese of Machakos) provides a subsidy. It would be interesting to see whether this philosophy is widespread in the NGO community.

Environment and Energy Conservation seems to be a very specialized area. Consequently, it has been the domain of international NGOs and/or local NGOs with international linkages combined with Government backing. Major NGOs in this area include ICRAF, CARE, KENGO, Green Belt Movement, and the Kenya Woodfuel Organization. All these organizations have projects in Machakos with Nairobi as their headquarters. In nearly all cases NGOs are promoting the use of new and renewable sources of energy technologies, while at the same time promoting agro-forestry and afforestation as conservation measures.

RESEARCH ISSUES

The more specific thrust and focus of this study is to assess the degree to which NGOs have created local development momentum which could lead to self sustaining development in the long run, if not in the short-term. This in our view entails exploring five sets of issues. These are needs assessment, project initiation, project management, training and the overall community participation.

4.1 Needs Assessment

In theory a good community based programme, should seek to satisfy specific needs of respective communities. How such needs, have been assessed and prioritized therefore is a legitimate area of inquiry. With respect to NGO projects the degree of community involvement in needs assessment in order to ascertain that the proposed project meets a basic need of the community has increasingly become an issue of concern to students of development. What are the key development problems within the area where the project is located? Did the NGO first identify these problems and if so how? How does the community perceive the project especially as it relates to overall development of the area and more so with other projects within the area? In summary the major research questions will be:

- To what extent are local needs taken into consideration in the projects, where NGOs are involved, and who does the prioritization of needs?
- Whether or not research was done in the assessment of community needs. And if any, what type?

4.2 Project Initiation

As discussed earlier, it has been alleged that NGOs have their own development agenda and therefore concentrate on priorities which are not necessarily that of their target beneficiaries. If this allegation has some validity then NGO activities may not differ substantially from top-down approaches adopted by most governments and in use in this country before the introduction of the District Focus for Rural Development. Prior to this there was a ratified centralized planning where the government determined what was suitable for specific communities. This approach often led to poor uncoordinated planning which ended up in initiation of inappropriate programmes.

In view of the above the important questions become who actually initiates projects in which the NGOs are actively involved? Are projects initiated by the local communities who then invite the NGOs or the other way round. What is the extent of government involvement at this stage of initiation?

4.3.0 Project Management

A key component of local capacity development is project management. Self evidently, both initiation and needs assessment have an interplay in it. Failure to adopt a proper approach for the above in many cases affects project management. Project management will here refer to two things namely;

- i) Institutional set-up
- ii) Project implementation.

4.3.1 Institutional Set-up

The central issue here is to investigate what type of institution(s) has been set up to manage community projects under study. We want to know whether such projects are managed by NGO personnel, members of the

community or local committees. If managed by committees, we want to further ask whether these committees are representative of the community.

We further want to assess how these Management Institutions have been set-up. That is, to what extent were the local communities involved in the creation of these Institutions? Were there open elections in setting up committees for instance, or were such committees just nominated?

We also want to find out at what point in the project cycle the community was involved in the setting-up of these management institutions.

4.3.2. Project Implementation.

Implementation here covers the whole project cycle. It involves mainly two components which include the designing of a schedule of activities to be undertaken, and the day-to-day management of the project.

By schedule of activities, we refer to an outline of specific activities to be undertaken within a particular time span. That is, how does the management target the activities of the project? Do financial resources in anyway determine the planning involved in such projects.

Under schedule of activities we also refer to how the activities in the schedule are to be performed and by who.

The actual day-to-day management will here entail the question of re-planning, resource mobilization, monitoring and evaluation. On the whole, we want to assess the extent of community involvement in all the above stages of project implementation.

4.4 Training

It is of course not enough to have local people as project managers or project committee office bearers. Perhaps even more important is the degree to which systematic training is built into the project. Issues to be raised will include: what skills are required

to run the project, type of training requirement, number of target beneficiaries who have benefited from training and relevance of training administered. In summary the major research questions here will be:

To assess the extent to which the NGOs tap, and improve on the locally available skills and technology.

4.5 RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

Our concern in resource mobilization is to find out what relevant resources are available for utilization in the community based project(s). We hope to find out who finances such projects and whether such finances are adequate. If not, how are the other required financial resources mobilized for the project's use. Further, we want to inquire how NGOs mobilize local resources relevant to the project.

It should be made clear that resources as inferred here includes the following:-

- (a) People - i.e.:- in terms of both skills and labour
- (b) Materials e.g.:- tools, building materials e.t.c.
- (c) Financial resources
- (d) Local technology

Under resource mobilization, we also want to assess the institutional linkages between community based projects and other development agencies and community activities in the project area.

4.6 Summary:

Community Participation

Effective community participation is the backbone of any community based programme. NGOs have been said to be good at working with grassroot communities. The extent to which this entails effective

community involvement is the essence of this study. As indicated, questions will therefore be raised related to effectiveness of community participation at the levels of: project initiation, defining objectives, scheduling activities, management, monitoring and evaluation and, of critical importance the degree to which NGOs strive to mobilise local resources. These resources include labour, materials, leadership and overall community support. Our central hypothesis is that the more the projects cater for basic needs, the greater the community mobilization. Consequently, the more likely that the project will be self-sustaining after the external agent (in this case the NGO) has withdrawn.

5.0 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Data Sources

The study will mainly rely on primary data, which will be collected by use of questionnaires and discussions. This will be supplemented with secondary data, mainly from official Government records, relevant NGO documents and other documents/materials from various organizations which interact with NGOs.

5.2 Sampling

In order to answer most of the questions raised in this study, it will be necessary to cover a number of NGO activities. This way it will be possible to compare different types of NGOs and different types of NGO activities. The NGOs projects, and target beneficiaries, analysis - We therefore shall proceed as follows.

1. Establish actual NGOs with projects in Nairobi and Machakos.
2. Establish their main areas of Activity.
3. Classify them into main areas of activity
4. Select a 20% sample of NGOs stratified on the basis of activity type. This gives us 18 NGOs in Nairobi and 10 NGOs in Machakos.

5. Establish the actual projects the sampled NGOs are involved in.
(We estimated that each NGO has upto 4 projects in average. Hence in Nairobi we will look at 72 projects and 28 in Machakos. This gives us a total of 100 projects in both Nairobi and Machakos.

5.3 Interviewing

Questionnaires will be administered to two types of people.

1. NGO Personnel

A questionnaire will be administered to NGO Programme directors at the headquarters with adequate information about the specific projects under study. An additional questionnaire will be administered to Programmes Project Officers in the field. In total, we hope to interview one hundred respondents in both types

2. Target Beneficiaries

In this type, two categories of beneficiaries are to be interviewed.

- a) One project official
- b) a 2% sample of the rank and file beneficiaries stratified on the basis of project type will be taken.

A total of three hundred questionnaires in this two categories will be administered.

5.4. Sample

From our sampling frame, 25 NGOs with projects both in Nairobi and Machakos have been sampled. These NGOs and details of the sampled projects they are involved in are as contained in Appendix I of this paper.

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APPENDIX I

SAMPLED NGOs: TYPE OF PROJECTS AND LOCATION

NAIROBI.

NAME	TYPE OF PROJECT	LOCATION
1. ST. JOHN'S COMMUNITY CENTRE	Training of School leavers)	Pumwani
	School of tailoring and	
	dress making.	
	School of Secretarial	
2, Y.M.C.A.	Vocational Training)	Laini Saba, Shauri-Moyo Nairobi Central
	Commercial Studies	
	Sewing Project	
	Handcrafts	
3. EASTLEIGH COMMUNITY CENTRE	Weaving project)	Mathare
	Portery project	
	Production Unit	
	Primary School	
4. BAPTIST MISSION	Nursery School)	Shauri Moyo " " Thika Road
	Commercial School	
	Vocational training	
	Thika Road Christian School)	
5. UNDUGU SOCIETY OF KENYA	Basic Education,	Kibera, Pumwani, Mathare Laini Saba Makina and Kitui Villages
	Urban Business	
	Advisory Services	
	Low Cost Housing	
6. PROJECT REACH	Health Clinic)	Kibera
	Vocational Training	
	Nursery School	

NAME	TYPE OF PROJECT	LOCATION
7. FAITH HOMES OF KENYA	Nursery School)	Mathare and
	Primary School)	Huruma
	Vocational training)	
8. SALVATION ARMY	<u>RELIEF</u>)	
	Training of girls in)	Pumwani
	Basic Home Economic)	
	Feeding Programme)	Quarry Road
	Home for the aged)	Kiambu Road
9. FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY	Child Sponsorship)	Soweto Village
	Food and Nutrition)	Ruai
	Water and Agricultural)	
	Development)	
10. LIONS CLUB OF KENYA	Health)	
	Education)	
	Welfare)	
11. NAIROBI FAMILY SUPPORT	Welfare Programme)	Makina - Kibera
12. KENYA FREEDOM FROM HUNGER	Fund Raising)	
	Tree Planting)	

NAME	TYPE OF PROJECT	LOCATION
13. CRESENT MEDICAL AID	HEALTH Health Clinics Community based Health Care Family Planning	Biafra, Pangani, Kibera, City Centre Makina, Makina
14. OUR LADY OF MERCY/ VISITATION	Health Child Sponsorship	Bahati
15. INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS	Education Health	Kwangware
16. C.P.K.	Child Sponsorship Primary Health Care Adult Education Youth Programmes	Embakasi and Njiru Makina - Kibera
17. FAMILY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF KENYA	Health Education Youth guidance and Counselling	
18. KENGO	<u>OTHERS</u> Environment Approp. tech. Training	

NAME	TYPE OF PROJECT	LOCATION
1. CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND	. Children's Home	) Machakos Town
	. Family Planning Programme)
	. School for the Disabled	) Syuuni, Mwala,
	. Family Planning Health Programme	) Muputi, Mbiuni,) Wamunyu, Kithyoko,) Emaka
2. CHRISTIAN FOUNDATION OF KENYA	. Dress making	) Machakos Town
	<u>ENVIRONMENT</u>)
3. CARE - KENYA	. Agro-forestry	) Katangi
	. Education Support	) Kibwezi
4. MAZINGIRA INSTITUTE	. Community based Agro-forestry	) Kaewa
)
5. SALVATION ARMY	. CHILD SURVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT programme	) Makueni) veti) Wote
	. Goat Project	) Kilungu
	. Goat Project	) Matuu) Kagundo) Kilungu
)
)
		) Kibwezi
6. AMREF	. Community Health	) Kibwezi
7. C.P.K.	. Rural Development (Water Supply)	) Ngaamba
	. Extention Services	) Mua hills/) Machakos
	. Youth Polytechnics	) Machakos Town
	. Health Care	) Mua hills.

LOCATION	TYPE OF PROJECT	NAME
Machakos Town	Children's Home	1. CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND
Machakos Town	Family Planning Programme	
Machakos Town	School for the Disabled	
Machakos Town	Family Planning Health Programme	
Machakos Town	Mass mailing	2. CHRISTIAN FOUNDATION OF KENYA
Machakos Town	Agro-forestry	3. CARE - KENYA
Machakos Town	Educational Support	
Machakos Town	Community based Agri-forestry	4. WASHINGTON INSTITUTE
Machakos Town	CHILD SURVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME	5. SALVATION ARMY
Machakos Town	Cost Project	
Machakos Town	Cost Project	
Machakos Town	Community health	6. AMSET
Machakos Town	Rural Development (Water supply)	7. C.P.K.
Machakos Town	Extension Services	
Machakos Town	Youth Polytechnic	
Machakos Town	Health Care	