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FINAL ASSESSMENT OF THE PROPOSED
ICA KENYA VILLAGE TRAINING AND PLANNING
PROJECT

submitted to SIDA

by

Apollo L. Njonjo

with the assistance

of

Margareta Edgren.

Nairobi, 28th January, 1985.

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Mr. D. Skoog,
SIDA, Nairobi.

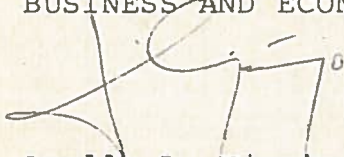
Dear Mr. Skoog:

RE: ICA Report

We have the pleasure of submitting our final assessment of the ICA Kenya Village Training and Planning Project. The comments made and the elaborations suggested at the meeting held on 24th January, 1985 at SIDA have been incorporated in this final submission.

We are grateful to have been afforded a chance to work with you and SIDA.

Yours Sincerely
BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH CO. LTD.



Apollo L. Njonjo
Director of Research

INTRODUCTION

1. SIDA has received, through the Kenyan Ministry of Finance and Planning a funding request for Shs. 16.879 million, from the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA). The request is to enable the Institute to implement the proposed Kenya Village Training and Planning Project during the period 1984-1988.
2. Ms. Margareta Edgren and Dr. Apollo Njonjo were appointed by SIDA to provide an assessment of the proposed project and make recommendations. Annex I contains the Terms of Reference for the assignment.
3. The following preliminary report contains the views and recommendations of the consultants. Information on the work of ICA was generated from
 - (a) readings of the considerable self-description material provided by the ICA,
 - (b) readings of various evaluation reports on the ICA,
 - (c) field visits to ICA Houses in Kakamega, Muranga and Machakos,
 - (d) intensive discussions with ICA field staff at the three houses,
 - (e) discussions with village leaders and with leaders of projects associated with the ICA during site visits,
 - (f) interviews with officials of some of the donor agencies which have supported or continue to support ICA.
4. We wish to thank the many ICA staff members who have assisted us in this assignment. Special thanks go to Mr. Richard Alton and Mr. Donald Kiilu for the help they have extended to us.

I. THE PROPOSED KENYA VILLAGE TRAINING AND PLANNING PROJECT, 1984-1988.

1. The proposed project aims at expanding ICA's work from 900 to 4,000 villages in 24 districts in Kenya. Two basic activities are envisaged. Namely,
 - (a) assisting local communities to prepare development plans at the level of
 - (i) villages,
 - (ii) the administrative sub-location, and
 - (iii) the administrative location
 - (b) training a cadre of rural development workers comprising
 - (i) 10,000 village leaders,
 - (ii) 5,000 government locational level officers, and
 - (iii) an undetermined number of ICA staff.
2. The proposal seeks Shs. 16,879,800 for the four-year period as follows

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount (shs)</u>
1984-85	4,019,000
1985-86	4,019,000
1986-87	4,420,900
1987-88	4,420,900
3. To enable the consultants to effectively assess the proposal it has been necessary, as required by the Terms of Reference, to review ICA's past work.

II. THE ICA- the Organization

1. Many of the commentaries on the ICA refer to the organization's origins as mysterious and its activities as unclear. We believe this not to be the case. The ICA, formally incorporated in the US in 1973, is one of the two branches of the Ecumenical Institute of Chicago, the other branch being the Institute of Religious Studies. The Ecumenical Institute arose out of two older religious movements in the United States - The Christian Faith-and-Life Community based at Austin, Texas and the Evanston Institute of Ecumenical Studies at Evanston, Illinois. The Ecumenical Institute is a religious order committed to serving the Christian church and society. While much of the early community work of the Ecumenical Institute was concentrated in the US, principally through the ICA, this religious order has expanded its activities to many Countries. In 1983, the ICA had offices in 34 countries of which 9 were in the Americas (including Canada and the United States), 10 were in Europe, 5 in Africa, 8 in Asia and 2 in Australia and the Pacific.
2. The ICA appear to be the development wing of the Ecumenical Order. These religious origins of the ICA and the "mysterious" language and imagery of its staff seem to baffle many commentators. ICA is a religious-inspired organization providing an Order for development work.
 - 2.1 As an Order of Development, ICA globally is dependent on its cadre of staff in providing free service. The organization's structure of income for 1983 may illustrate this observation. Reported total income in 1983 was US \$ 14,075,000 of which only
 - 27% was in form of cash income predominantly comprising grants and contributions,
 - 2.9% was in grants in the form of goods and services, and
 - 70.1% was in the form of donated time and labour

from staff and volunteers.

2.2 ICA- Kenya is registered under the Societies Act as a non-profit making organization and has been involved in development work since 1968. Formal and informal links to the Chicago base and to other branches of ICA in the world exist and are cemented by staff transfers, common methodologies, conferences and movement of resources.

2.3 The religious Order Character of the ICA explains its apparently unorthodox organizational structure and

- (a) dependence on a cadre of Volunteers,
- (b) modest living standards of its staff,
- (c) establishment of "Houses" in various parts of the country which provide communal living quarters for the members of this Order of development as well as offices and training centres,
- (d) the creation of a highly structured and formalized method of approaching community development, a method set out in attractive charts and which serves as the "bible of development" for its cadre of staff.

2.3.1 Formally ICA-Kenya is organized in four geographical sections, each with a House as the staging point for ICA activities in the region. The four main Houses are in Kilifi, Machakos, Muranga and Kakamega districts. ICA's headquarters are located at Kawanware, Nairobi. In October, 1984 ICA had a total of 282 staff, 259 of whom were Kenyans. Volunteers from other countries, mainly North America and Europe, also assist ICA during short tours of service. ICA personnel live in the various Houses communally sharing an intense personal interaction as befits an Order.

3. Annex II provides information on financial income and expenditure of ICA- Kenya as provided in audited accounts for the years 1980- 1983. For the large number of staff it has and the wide range of development activities it is involved in, the accounts confirm that ICA is a very modest organization in its expenditures. Annual income and

expenditures for the period were as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
1980	Shs. 2.45 million	Shs. 2.06 million
1981	Shs. 1.99 million	Shs. 2.55 million
1982	Shs. 3.82 million	Shs. 3.09 million
1983	Shs. 3.78 million	Shs. 4.01 million

While income rose by 54% during the period, expenditures rose at an even higher rate and were in 1983 about 94% over the 1980 level. Contributions and grants constitute the main sources of income, contributing about 88% of total income for the organization. Financial transfers from other ICA offices contributed only 7% of the income, suggesting that the Kenyan branch is financially relatively independent of the global ICA.

- 3.1 Implementation of programmes accounts for the bulk of expenditure, taking, for the period as a whole, about 83% of the expenses. General administration accounted for only 7% of the expenditure. The proportion of expenditure taken by stipends to staff members rose from 9% in 1980 to 23% in 1983 while food and travel costs accounted for 20 and 15%, respectively.
- 3.2 Six major donors have contributed Shs. 7.2 million in support of ICA's work during the period 1981 to 1984 as described in Annex III. NORAD, Family International Assistance, Ford Foundation and the Swedish Cooperative Centre have been the most important.
 - 3.2.1 Ford Foundation strongly supports ICA and is satisfied with its work. Family Planning International Assistance is satisfied by ICA's administration of its restricted Family Planning Clinic at Kawangware, but has advised against geographical expansion of these services or widening the scope of the services. While the Swedish Cooperative

Centre has a few grave misgivings on the ICA and its effectiveness, they are apparently willing to utilize the organization in the training of committee members within the cooperative movement. NORAD is non-committal and awaits results.

3.2.2. Relations between USAID mission in Nairobi and ICA deteriorated and finally snapped following a USAID Evaluation of the activities of ICA. It has been reported that a similar snap occurred in Indonesia. USAID has stopped funding ICA world-wide although, it has been reported that ICA in America has received a grant from USAID Washington for an education programme.

3.2.3 As shall become apparent later, donors even those highly supportive of ICA are increasingly concerned about documentation and assessment of ICA's impact and effectiveness.

III.

ASSESSMENT OF THE PROJECT PROPOSAL

4. The Terms of Reference for this assignment calls upon the consultants to study the proposed project carefully and to assess ICA's capacity to implement it. Such an assessment can only be suitably done after an evaluation of the past performance of ICA and after a careful determination of the implications of the proposal.

4.1 The Objectives and Development Methodologies of the ICA

The principal objective of the ICA is, like that of many other development agencies, to facilitate and to contribute towards development. However, what marks off ICA from other organizations and this marks its distinctive character is in its approach and methods.

- 4.1.1 Unlike many organizations which pay homage to popular participation in development work, ICA's approach to development is based wholly on the widest possible level of popular participation. Its premise of this approach is aptly summarized by the title of one of its publications: "Dèveloppement by the people". ICA believes that the only meaningful development possible is one in which the people to be developed cease to be objects or subjects of planning but become the masters and planner of their own destiny. In its own words "people power is the one asset the rural has". ICA's objective, is to catalyse the development of this potential power as it is "the only alternative to dependence and victimization of poor people.

- 4.1.2 To realize this basic and fundamental objective ICA has developed a methodology designed to enable poor people to take their lives into their hands and to plan and realize their destinies. This approach has the following crucial components:

- (a) creating confidence among poor people that they can develop themselves,
- (b) developing meaningful grass-root level institutions controlled by the participant peoples themselves through which they can act in a concerted, disciplined and goal-directed manner,
- (c) developing and refining the concept of self-help as the basis for escaping from dependence.

These components presuppose the mobilization of the people to act on their own behalf and in support of their own interests. The actual process by which ICA as a catalyst initiates this process may be briefly described.

- 4 1.3 Through consultations and clearance from local government officials ICA selects a village for participation. An intensive series of consultations with the village population follows at public barazas through which a set of broad development goals, constraints and means of realizing the goals are arrived at. Through this consultation the broad goals are scaled down to a set of projects which can be realistically actualized within a two year period. The village is then divided into 4-5 geographical units - Stakes-ensuring that all the villagers are provided with an organizational structure within which they can participate. Leaders of the Stakes are selected by stake members for ICA training in general leadership. Each stake draws up its own two-year development plan. A consultation of all the Stakes in a village results in a Village-wide two year development plan. Guilds are also formed as the implementing instruments for the different sets of projects identified in the plans. Similarly, villagers select a number of volunteers for training in health care. The task of the Cadre of ICA

- (g) 1,873 Community Assemblies with 39335 participants
- (h) 2,909 Guild meetings with 30,881 participants
- (i) 6,018 Leaders meetings involving 26,631 participants
- (j) 43,682 Workdays with 446,392 participants

But with what results?

- 4.2.2 The issue of ICA's impact has been raised in virtually all the evaluation reports the consultants have come across. Except in the case of FPIA's evaluation of the specialized family planning project at Kawangware, all the other reports raise questions and doubts on impact and effectiveness. ICA's method of lumping projects in an area of its operation as the result of its activities has been rejected as exaggerated. ICA staff agree that many of the project achievements under its "Actuation" heading are exaggerations by villagers.
- 4.2.3 Recent attempts by the ICA to assess its impact through the Health Survey which compares 1982 baseline with 1984 data on villagers' perception on certain health issues are judged by these consultants to be unsuccessful. Selection of samples, administration of questionnaires, substitution of areas, etc, nullify any validity which would have been expected. (See Annex Iv)
- 4.2.4 In our view, ICA's attempt to document achievements by reference to specific projects, misses and sidesteps the crucial arena by which ICA should be assessed. In its own words "for the ICA, the process is the product." Only an assessment of the process can allow us to judge the ICA on the basis of its goals and objectives. Projects are only a manifestation of the process and, in our view, while suggestive, do not provide a proper basis for evaluating the ICA.

4.2.5 The process initiated by ICA in the villages, as described in par. 4.1.3 above, comprise the following basic elements

- (a) mobilization of the village community, and participation in village community life
- (b) channelling and directing the energies and resources so mobilized towards purposive and planned developmental activities.
- (c) consultations and democratic participation of all members of the village community through such organs as the Stake and the Village Assembly,
- (d) strengthening of self-reliance and creation of an attitude which looks first internally for solutions to problems within the village community and resources before seeking outside assistance, and
- (e) building strong community links among the members
- (f) creating an acceptable and democratic village leadership strongly rooted in village community life, and a leadership willing to volunteer itself for the development of all.

To the consultants, an assessment of the impact of the ICA needs to focus on these six elements establishing the extent to which they have taken roots in ICA supported villages. Further, the assessment needs to judge the extent to which these elements have become self-driven and self-regenerating.

4.2.6 The consultants did not, during the three field visits to Kakamega, Muranga and Machakos, have the time to assess the process or to establish firmly the degree or extent to which the ICA village development process has taken roots in the villages. Some indicators can, however, be gleaned from the data provided by ICA.

(a) while statistics on participation appear impressive, a closer scrutiny reveals a different situation. For example the 3705 Stake meetings reported for the year 1982/83 suggest an average of one Stake meeting per group for the year, since the total number of stakes in the 744 Cluster projects had an estimated 3,720 Stakes. Further the number of participants in stake meetings suggest that only 5% (maximum) of the population participated. Similarly, apparently less than 5% of the population attended Guild meetings. The Stake and the Guild are critical operational and participation units for the ICA process.

(b) Similarly, participation during the 43,682 workdays reported at 446,392 participants is not as impressive as it appears at first sight. It suggests an average of 11 workdays per Stake per year. But since some Stakes were reported to be devoting as many as 3 workdays per week, it indicates that the incidence of community workdays for the Cluster Projects, as a whole, was indeed very low.

(c) Information on the retention and active participation of trained village leadership is unavailable. However, the experience of the health caretakers at Mugomoini may provide some indication. Of the 40 trained health caretakers in the Village only 6, all illiterate, were reported to be in active service. Similarly, after an initial great interest

in the work of the ICA was shown by villagers in Mugumoini, interest waned rapidly leaving the village committee with only six health caretakers and three male volunteers. To what extent this experience is generalized we are unable to estimate.

- (d) Performance of ICA-supported projects may be expected to stand out in contrast to projects not supported by the ICA. This does not appear to be the case. The three women's projects we visited were disappointing. Two of the projects- a pig project and a block-making projects- were poorly managed and cared for although they were sited on the same compound as the ICA House. In spite of planning and ICA support some construction projects had stood unfinished for long periods of time. It was evident also that ICA staff are generalists and that the organization has little to offer in skills; even relatively simple skills are lacking.
- (e) It was also apparent that the entire structure of trained village leadership and that of health care-takers faced a serious threat from the feeling that the leaders and the health care-takers spent an inordinate amount of time without compensation or without the provision of resources, eg. travel allowances, to make them effective. Since even as an Order, the ICA was itself faced by a significant dropout in its trained staff, one would expect higher dropout among villagers.

These observations, casual as they necessarily are, suggest that the ICA initiated process has hardly taken roots in the areas of present operations. Unquestionably, some segment of the village population has embarked on the "journey", but only the very first and tentative steps have been taken.

4.2.7 It appears to the consultants that the ICA process in a village represents an additional set of organs for participation creating new " Spheres" of village community activities. It does not lead to the destruction of pre-exisiting group structures, nor, in our view, does it seem to alter the way pre-exisiting groups carried on their business. This explains the dominance of women contribution to village community work in ICA villages as in non-ICA villages. Rural women are more organized and participate much more in development work than men.

4.2.8 One most striking observation need to be mentioned, however ICA's support in the villages, as well as the social strata it seems to attract is largely drawn from the poor peasantry. The middle and rich peasantry as well as the professional classes appear to have little interest in ICA's work or methodologies.

5. The Implications of the Project Proposal

5.1 Currently ICA is working in about 900 villages. The project proposal envisages increasing this number to 4000 by 1988, an increase equivalent to a 344% expansion. The implications behind this proposed expansion have not, in our view, been adequately studied within the ICA itself. Some indications of the magnitude of the project may be provided.

- (a) Staffing. Given an average retention rate of 43% of trained Kenyan staff, ICA needs to train about 2630 persons to retain its current village/staff ratio.
- (b) Health Caretakers. To provide an average of 6 health care-takers per village and given the reported retention rate among trained caretakers, ICA needs to train about 160,000 persons for this role.
- (c) Cost. Assuming no other increase in average cost incurred by ICA but that occasioned by inflation at 15% annually, and assuming current average costs per village are sustained, then the annual cost of servicing 4,000 villages in 1988 would be Shs. 52.3 million and not the requested Shs. 4.42 million. ICA's request implies spending an average of Shs. 1,105 in 1988 in serving the 4,000 villages. Taking account of inflation this means an equivalent of spending Shs. 490 per village in 1983 when the average cost per village was Shs. 6,500, i.e. spending at an effective rate of 7.5% of the 1983 cost. ICA could rightly argue that it intends to cut costs under the expanded cluster project. The consultants are of a different opinion. The experience gained from clustering has as yet not been evaluated. ICA field staff are of the view that they are already taxed to the extreme limits and their contribution has been declining. It would, therefore, be suicidal for ICA to reduce its contribution and participation by the levels implied in the budget.

5.2 The proposed expansion which is part of a wider 16 year vision to have "the whole nation" as the arena for ICA's Village Development Programme appears to the consultants to be ill advised and has the distinct certainty of lowering the already overstretched ICA contribution to the process of village development. ICA is running the risk of destroying its distinctive and unique contribution to development methodologies. We, therefore, recommend that SIDA does not fund this project.

5.3 Given, however, the significance and interest of the ICA approach, the consultants suggest that

(a) ICA prepares an alternative project proposal which aims at

- (i) consolidation of its process in selected areas
- (ii) training of its staff members in some technical skills crucial for effective advisory services to villagers,
- (iii) creating a viable monitoring and evaluation capacity within its organization.

Should ICA request funding for any one of these areas, we recommend that SIDA consider the request sympathetically.

(b) We suggest, further, that ICA be considered to be one of the implementing agency for the proposed Joint Nordic Rural Development Project through Primary Groups for Kakamega.

5.4 We appreciate that this report augurs badly for the scores of highly dedicated ICA workers. But we believe that it is the interests of the ICA to consolidate before launching such a major expansion programme. The words of one of the ICA village leaders summarize our position

" ICA could easily spread like a bushfire without the coals for permanent kindling".

Nairobi, 21 September, 1984

D. Skoog/yk

INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS

A. Assessment of ICA as an organization

Provide answers to:

- what type of organization, objectives, registration,
- direct connections to other daughter or mother organizations
- what staff do they have
- what financiers
- what are the contributions and experience of other financiers
- what is their relationship to USAID

B. Assessment of ICA's capacity to implement proposed project

- study carefully the proposed project
- study the organizations' mode of operation
- find out from donors or clients how well and punctual they have performed their duties in the past
- how likely is it that the proposed program can be fulfilled within given time and budget frames.

C. Collect all available evaluation reports on ICA activities. Both internal and external.

1980-1983 ICA Income & Expenditure Accounts

INCOME & EXPENDITURE	YEAR			
	1980	1981	1982	1983
<u>Income:</u>	Shs.	Shs.	Shs.	Shs.
Contributions	909,516	909,237	1,151,666	1,205,790
Grants	1,162,703	924,419	1,979,433	2,330,420
Programme revenue	91,230	29,215	71,854	235,590
Miscellaneous income	5,713	24,812	46,953	8,940
International transfer from ICA offices	278,294	27,262	570,979	-
TOTAL	2,447,456	1,995,945	3,820,885	3,780,740
<u>EXPENDITURES:</u>				
Programme Services				
Training	302,653	205,121	263,808	365,759
Human Dev. project imple.	495,836	751,955	460,844	707,864
National expansion progr.	218,994	270,313	478,937	647,614
Muputi Replication Scheme	-	107,192	-	-
Village auxilliary support	486,073	770,235	1,147,596	1,671,049
International programmes	50,592	62,658	252,321	189,791
Sub-total	1,554,148	2,167,474	2,603,506	3,582,077
Support Services				
Fund Raising	34,723	39,464	134,245	37,842
Administrative/General	243,622	144,314	207,996	210,815
Audit fees	-	15,000	16,500	16,500
Sub-total	278,345	198,778	358,741	265,157
Provision for doubtful debts	-	28,000	-	-
Loss on Disposal of Assets / Fireloss	118,692	18,921	3,615	54,774
Depreciation	109,745	76,256	122,545	111,205
Exchange Loss	-	59,005	-	-
Sub-total	228,437	182,182	126,160	165,979
TOTAL	2,060,930	2,548,434	3,088,407	4,013,213
DEFICIT/SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR	386,526	(552,489)	732,478	(232,473)

ANNEX III MAJOR DONORS TO ICA- KENYA ACTIVITIES, 1981-1984

Year	Organization	Amount (shs)	Purpose of Grant
1981	Ford Foundation	97,000	For Training Seminars
	Swedish Cooperative Centre	420,000	For expansion work in Machakos and consultancy with KNFC
	Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA)	400,000	Family Planning work at Kawangware
1982	Ford Foundation	80,000	For Training Government staff
	NORAD	650,000	For village work
	EEC	850,000	For work in Machakos
	FPIA	400,000	Family Planning at Kawangware
1983	Ford Foundation	1,200,000	For expansion
	NORAD	1,400,000	For expansion
	OXFARM	250,000	For work at Kawangware
	FPIA	400,000	Family Planning at Kawangware
1984	Swedish Cooperative Centre	650,000	Anticipated for training in cooperatives
	FPIA	400,000	Family Planning at Kawangware

ANNEX IV: Comments on the Impact Study on ICA activities

1. ICA provided the consultants with the results of the Ford Foundation supported study, An Impact Study of the Effects of Grassroots Development Planning and Training on Rural Agriculture and Health: An Evaluation of the Work of the Institute of Cultural Affairs. This study "was conducted to determine and document the impact of community methods in (ICA's) Agriculture and Health Care Programmes in Kenya" and has been expected to answer many of the issues on ICA's impact on villages which have been raised in a number of evaluation reports.
 - 1.1 The specific purpose of the study was to observe changes in villagers' attitudes and behaviour, overtime, in respect to
 - (a) agricultural practices,
 - (b) health knowledge
 - (c) nutrition and sanitation,
 - (d) family planning , and,
 - (e) social participationas a result of the application of ICA methodologies. Standard social survey methods were used in the generation of data for analysis and measurement of ICA impact: Towards these ends the survey collected baselines data in 1982 on
 - (a) a sample of respondents in 9 sublocations in which ICA methodologies were to be applied, (experimental areas), and
 - (b) on a sample of respondents in 3 sublocations in which ICA methodologies were not to be applied for comparative purposes, (control areas).
 - 1.2 ICA methodologies, comprising the introduction of village planning, training of village leaders and health caretakers, creation of organs for community participation - the Stake, the Guild and the Village Consult (assembly) - and circuiting

by ICA personnel and the trained village leadership, were then intensively applied in the experimental areas for 18 months. A similar survey to the 1982 survey (using the same questionnaire) was conducted in the experimental and control areas providing comparative data on the distribution and dispersion of villagers' attitudes and behaviour in respect to the five selected behavioural areas identified above. This data was expected to provide comparative measurements on ICA impact by

- (a) showing changes in the distribution of attitudes and behaviour in the experimental areas arising from the application of ICA methodologies between 1982 and 1984,
- (b) providing comparative data on changes in the distribution of attitudes and behaviour in the control areas.

Presumably, comparisons between changes in the distribution of attitudes and behaviour between experimental areas and control areas would provide an indication of the ICA impact over the 18 months' period.

2.1

The conclusions of the survey may be briefly summarized. ICA methodologies are shown to have had a marked and positive impact on villagers' awareness and knowledge relative to better agricultural practices, improved health, nutrition and sanitation, and have contributed significantly to villagers' participation in social organization. ICA's inputs are also shown to have created a more positive attitude towards family planning. This positive impact is shown to have occurred within the 9 Experimental sublocations by comparing distribution of the studied attributes in 1982 (before ICA intervention) with the distribution of the same attributes in 1984 after 18 months of sustained application of ICA methods. Contrasting data from 3 control sublocations is provided to illustrate what happened to the distribution of the same attributes in areas not receiving ICA inputs.

- 2.2 Much hope has been placed on the Impact Study by the ICA. The Ford Foundation and SIDA have eagerly awaited the results of this study. It is, therefore, unfortunate that, in the opinion of the consultants, the results of the study are invalid and unacceptable as a determination and documentation of the impact of ICA's methods.
- 2.3 Rather than address ourselves to the specific conclusions and findings of the study we deal with the methodological inadequacies of the study, which, in our view fatally affect the study making the conclusions invalid.

3. Unsatisfactory Samples and Methods in Sampling

- 3.1 The samples created were unrepresentative of the populations in the experimental and control areas, biasing responses in the direction of providing positive impact on ICA's work. We illustrate this bias with the Muranga data provided.
- 3.2 Table 1 describes the sample size in each of the five sublocations in Muranga in which the survey was conducted in relation to the estimated 1982 and 1984 adult population, ie persons 18 years or older. 1979 Population Census figures for the five sublocations have been projected at an annual growth rate of 3.5% to arrive at the 1982 and 1984 estimates, while Muranga district's population age structure in 1979 has been assumed not to have changed between 1979 and 1984.

Table 1 : Sample size in Survey Sublocations in relation to
Adult Population

Sublocation	1982 population	1982 Sample size	Sample as %1982 population	1984 population	1984 Sample size	Sample as%1984 population
Githembe	1647	39	2.4	1765	18	1.0
Munguini	1152	55	4.8	1234	35	2.8
Muthithi	1822	63	3.4	1951	22	1.1
* Kaharo	2706	73	2.7	not surveyed	0	0
* Mariani	not surveyed	0	0	1885	75	4

NB:* Control areas

3.2.1 Given the extremely small size of the sample, averaging 1.5% of the adult population in the Experimental areas in 1984, it was imperative that sample selection be carefully done to ensure that the selected sample was as representative of the population as possible. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Information provided to the consultants by ICA participants in the enumeration process revealed the following sampling methods:

- (a) Members of organized women groups were in some cases summoned to the ICA House in the area and interviewed,
- (b) In other cases the sub-chiefs directed enumerators as to which persons to interview,
- (c) While in other cases enumerators were provided with sampling frames-to interview every fifth homestead in a spatial setting.

The consequences of these unsatisfactory sampling procedures resulted in the creation of a highly unrepresentative sample as we illustrate.

3.2.2 Female Over-representation in the Sample

The study report reveals that 79.7% of Muranga's sample comprised women. Yet women in Muranga make up only 56% of the adult population 18 years or older. The writers of the report do not seem to appreciate the significance of this over-representation in a sample which was expected to be randomly selected and, therefore, representative. Indeed they draw all other conclusions except the one vital for statistical analysis, viz, that the sample is unrepresentative. As noted, the process of sampling was heavily biased in favour of women, and even more significant in favour of already organized and mobilized women in women groups. Studies on women groups in rural areas have clearly shown that, by and large, membership in such groups is drawn largely from a relatively well-informed and literate middle peasantry. [See, for instance, SIDA's Marketing Study on Women Groups' Products, NORAD's

Study on the Organization of Women Groups in Kenya etc].

Women groups have been the target of all kinds of "development propaganda" on family planning, nutrition, health, agricultural practices, etc, such that their membership may be expected to stand a step apart in their awareness (though not necessarily in their practice) of virtually all the issues raised in the administered questionnaire from the general population.

3.2.3 Over-representation of the Younger Population

The reported age structure of the sample in the experimental sublocations in Muranga was

18-35 years	= 82.5%
36-55 years	= 16.6%
Over 55 years	= 0.6%

The age distribution of the adult population in Muranga (18 years and older) in 1979 was reported to be.

18- 35 years	= 52%
36 -55 years	= 28%
Over 55 years	= 20%

This illustrates the extent to which the sample was biased towards the younger population. Given this over-representation of the younger population, distribution of literacy and education in the sample was bound to be much higher than would have been the case if the sample had been representative of the age structure. For instance, the proportion of females in Muranga district who had never attended school by age group in 1979 was as follows:

Age bracket	% never attended school
20 -34 years	27%
35- 54 years	57.7%
55 years and older	88.7%

The consequences of the over-representation of the younger population and, therefore, over-representation of education are not appreciated in the study report. Awareness of health

issues, sanitation practices, family planning and better agricultural practices are intimately intertwined with education. Biased over-representation of education and literacy was bound to bias the sample responses in favour of the presence of the positive attributes sought by the survey.

- 3.2.4 The net effect of unsuitable sampling procedures, over-representation of women and of the younger population was to bias the respondent sample population towards the already mobilized and relatively better informed segments of the rural population. Such segments were bound to score much higher on virtually all knowledge and attitudes questions relating to better health and agricultural practices than would have been the case from a representative sample. Since documentation and measurement of changes in attitudes and knowledge formed the central task for the survey, these flaws are fatal for the acceptance of the study.

4. Substitution of Control Areas and Reduction in Sample Size

- 4.1 The methodological role set for control areas was a vital one for those areas were expected to be contrasted with the experimental areas, thus reducing to a minimum other effects which could arise from unexpected inputs. Control areas, therefore, were expected to allow for a closer isolation and examination of the ICA impact uninfluenced by other forces. It was unfortunate, therefore, that at Kaharo in Muranga and in Mawezo in Kilifi substitution of the 1982 selected control areas was necessary^{*1}. Although the documentation of ICA's impact rests squarely on the comparative changes in attitudes between experimental and control, 2 of the 3 control areas in the study have been substituted. Therefore, any attempts to document changes in attitudes in the control areas must be

NB*1 : The consultants are unable to explain how 12% of the respondents interviewed in 1984 at Mariani sub-location in Muranga could have been interviewed in 1982 as Kaharo and not Mariani was the area from which control respondents were selected in 1982 (See Table 1, page 7 of the Impact Study Report).

rejected as invalid except for Kakamega. The 1982 and the 1984 data for Muranga and Kilifi Control areas is simply not comparable. Any attempt to provide comparative measurements in changes in attitudes between 1982 and 1984 for experimental and control areas is invalid as data is incomparable. Such a comparison is only valid for Kakamega and nowhere else.

- 4.2 Another matter may be raised. The consultants are disturbed by the reduction in the sample size in the experimental areas from 412 respondents to 226, a 45% cut in the number of respondents. This reduced the sample representation of the adult population from 3% in 1982 to 1.5% in 1984. No explanations are offered for this drastic reduction further strengthening doubts on the validity of sampling.

5. Incomplete Analysis of Collected Data

- 5.1 The questionnaire administered had 275 variables, yet only 28% of the variables are reported on in the study report. The remaining 198 variables should have been analysed and reported on, or at least, explanations should have been provided why such a large number of variables were not reported on. An earlier partial analysis of Muranga data submitted to the consultants had suggested that the sample of respondents from experimental areas was drawn from the relatively better off social strata in the rural areas to the surprise of both ICA and the consultants. (See Preliminary Report: Ford Foundation Impact Study, dated 9th November 1984). The final version of the report has excluded the variables which had provided such indications and no explanations have been given for this exclusion.

6. Conclusion

- 6.1 The problems described under Sections 3 and 4 of this commentary show that the ~~impact~~ study is ~~flawed~~ fatally making it unnecessary for us to pursue the specific findings and conclusions.

Our knowledge of the impact of ICA on villagers has not been advanced at all by the Impact Study and we recommend to SIDA to reject the study's findings and/or implied conclusions on the impact of ICA.