

Evaluation of the Institute of
Cultural Affairs Contribution
to Village Renewal Development
Program in Kenya with Particular
Emphasis on Machakos District.

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I. Introduction

At the time of independence for African States some twenty years ago, it was fervently believed that once independent majority ruled governments held power, the needs of Africans neglected by colonial governments would be better served. With considerable optimism buoyed by the general affluence of the 60's, governments set forth to provide services. Resources, experts and theories on development have poured into the continent in an attempt to assist African states in joining the modern economic world and to meet the basic needs of their citizens for shelter, health, food and education. In the twenty years at least two things are clear: For a variety of reasons, including scarcity of resources, governments cannot be the sole provider of services. Second, plans for development projects which emanate from the top with little regard for community conditions and attitudes have created obstacles to their own success. There is growing recognition of the need for communities to be engaged more fully in their own development, i.e. planning, acquisition of resources, and implementation.

With the conviction that new community based development efforts must be encouraged, the Ford Foundation's Nairobi office has sought out organisations engaging in such work. The Institute of Cultural Affairs is one such organisation. Its emphasis is on "the human component" of development and its method principally training of and planning with rural communities.

In April 1980 a grant of \$64,000 was made to ICA for support of training and research relating to ICA's work in village development.¹ One objective of the grant was to evaluate ICA's approach with respect to village development efforts. To do this a team began work in January 1981 consisting of Leopold Mureithi and Wilfred Mwangi of the University of Nairobi, and Janice Jiggins of the Ford Foundation. In October 1981, Hilary Feldstein replaced Janice Jiggins. The evaluation was valuably assisted by Robert Rafos and Richard Alton of ICA and we give them our thanks.

A. Terms of Reference

Specifically the terms of reference as established by the evaluation team were:

- 1) evaluation of the training of the Human Development Training Institute, its efficiency and effectiveness.

- 2) ICA's contribution to rural development.

B. How the evaluation was done:

- 1) Interviews of ICA staff, local and international, headquarters in Kawangware and Kamweleni;
- 2) Review of what records exist at Kawangware. Files at Kamweleni were destroyed in a fire in 1980. Other materials provided by ICA itself or in the Ford Foundation files were also reviewed.
- 3) Site visits to a Human Development Project at Kitandi and cluster projects at Ikulu, Mwanyani, Kilisa Kyume, and Kyaluni.
- 4) Observation of village "consults" at Kilisa Kyume, Wondeni and Kitulu and a Locational Officers meeting at Wamani, Maputi Location.
- 5) Interviews of government officials in Machakos offices, in Nairobi, and in Kilome (Divisional headquarters). Officials were from the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Social Services and Administration.
- 6) A review of the first draft of the evaluation with representations from ICA and other individuals familiar with ICA's operations.

II. Background and History of ICA

A. ICA General

The Institute of Cultural Affairs is a global not-for-profit organisation which emphasizes the human aspect of world development. According to their own description, "ICA concerns itself with the planning methods which are taught both at business management seminars and local leadership training institutes. Its demonstrations component concentrates on comprehensive community development; its research focusses on the human factor in world development. In all the programs, the emphasis is on effective methods relating to: (1) individual motivation, (2) tactical planning and (3) corporate effort". (ICA mimeo February 1979).

ICA began in 1954 as the program division of the Ecumenical Institute which was founded in Evanston, Illinois. In 1973, ICA was incorporated as a separate

body but it remains associated with the Ecumenical Institute. In the early seventies, building on its experience in inner-city community development, notably Fifth City, Chicago, ICA began to expand its global network of human development projects. Each country's project is intended as a demonstration model for its region or nation.

Though not the subject of the evaluation, the evaluators wish to comment on one aspect of ICA. From the beginning it has had a somewhat mysterious air. Its center in Chicago, its religious origins, a certain esoteric hierarchy of decision making, the taking of vows and an 'order' of committed persons at the top all add to this impression. Every question we asked ICA about things which appeared mysterious was answered readily in some fashion but the air of elusiveness remains.

B. ICA in Kenya

ICA started their first human development project in Kenya in November 1975 at Kawangware a peri-urban community in Nairobi. In 1978 ICA started their first replication at Kwamweleni in Maputi sub-location, Machakos District.

In April 1979 in Kawangware, ICA instituted its first Human Development Training course to train Kenyan staff, "auxiliaries", to take the lead in village community development. In 1980, supported by the Ford Foundation's grant, a permanent Human Development Training Institute was established in Kamweleni.

ICA's activities in Kenya can be roughly grouped into four phases. First, intensive inputs of personnel and resources in a project area, specifically Kawangware and Kamweleni, the latter changing from a scattering of poor houses to a village with a community center, stores, and increased economic activity. The second phase, beginning in 1979, was to send auxiliaries, trained young Kenyans, to live in selected villages and, following the ICA framework, to initiate and help implement village development. Such villages were called "Human Development Projects" (HDP). By January 1982, there were about 250 auxiliaries resident in 25 villages in 19 districts. Beginning with the second phase ICA has tried to emphasize self-help over the introduction of outside resources.

In 1980 a third phase began based on "replication clusters". The cluster is the grouping of villages around an original Human Development Project and falling within a sub-location. The sub-location is an

existing government-defined administrative unit headed by an appointed sub-chief. In the cluster villages, rather than full time resident auxiliaries, ICA's input to village development is based on week long village "consults" and monthly three day visits by ICA staff (circuit visits). This phase was centered in four places - one each in Machakos, Murang'a, Kilifi and Kakamega districts. Consults are also held at the sub-location and locational level, pulling together representatives from the villages for planning at these levels. At HDTI, training was expanded to include programs for village leaders and selected village health workers. In addition, in two of the cluster areas, government locational officers have had four-day Leadership Effectiveness and New Strategies (LENS) training to introduce ICA concepts and planning techniques.

A new, fourth, phase has just begun and is not included in this evaluation. Taking the central division of the Machakos District as the unit to be impacted (232 villages), one day meetings are held in each village (not before involved with ICA), culminating eventually in sub-location and locational meetings. In addition, village leaders are being given village leadership training at HDTI and are being included as part of the teams going to other villages and sub-locations.

This last phase is described to illustrate a trend in ICA which is to reduce the presence of ICA staff in village development, to use more village leaders and to expand as rapidly as possible throughout Kenya.

III. ICA Objectives and Methodology

A. Objectives

In order to evaluate ICA's replication efforts in an orderly manner we have attempted to come up with a statement of specific objectives. To do this we have gone through project documents and correspondence in file, notes from the discussions of the evaluation team in its various forms and have discussed this with ICA staff.

The overall objectives of ICA fall in two broad areas: training and community development.

1. Training objectives, applicable to auxiliaries, village leaders, and health caretakers:
 - (a) to teach participants to identify community problems;

- (b) to devise practical ways of dealing with problems and monitoring their own progress; and,
- (c) to utilize all resources available and appropriate technology to further development.

2. Community development objectives:

- (a) to involve local people in the planning and implementation of their own development i.e.,
 - (i) to energize individuals to see themselves as having control over their own destinies as a community,
 - (ii) to create local organisations or structures for planning and working together, and,
 - (iii) to improve the economic, social, and human development for the community; and,
- (b) to provide the linkage to necessary technical and commercial skills - to develop the community.

B. Methodology

The emphasis in ICA's work, and perhaps its testable hypothesis, is on "human development", i.e. by means of motivation and training to change the attitudes of poor rural people so that they accept that their own joint efforts will make a difference and will gain sufficient self-confidence to move forward on their own.

The heart of the ICA methodology, the primary content of its training and village development efforts, is its "planning process" best illustrated in their 5-day village "consults" when villagers meet together to set objectives and plan for implementation. Villagers first express their needs ("Vision" or "dreams and hopes") and identify the obstacles (contradictions" or "blocks") that hinder the achievement of those needs. ~~Appendix A is a chart of the "contradictions of the Gatoto Human Development Project"~~ ^{These are} a not bad assessment of the difficulties inherent in village rural development.

The next step is the development of "practical proposals". ICA states that the starting point for developing proposals is the contradictions, i.e. the removal of obstacles to development and that the focus, rather than on "visions" or needs is a unique contribution to planning and results in a more realistic plan of action. The proposals are generalized objectives, a little more down to earth, than the earlier "visions", e.g. livestock improvement (economic), village communication (community involvement), and adult classes (social unification). From the proposals "tactical events" are listed, ~~in Catute Village 250~~, such as introducing beekeeping (livestock improvement), improving interior pathways (village communication), and holding nutrition and child care classes (adult education). The tactical events are organized into a two year time line and "victories" (priorities) established.

The village consult is carried out with a great flourish of butcher paper, black boards, timeline and magic markers in ~~true modern management~~ planning style.

ICA considers this exercise the "program for the actualizing of a comprehensive human development project" in the village. Village objectives are arranged into three categories "economic", "social", and "human". The end product is a ~~highly~~ organized set of charts setting out goals and activities. See Appendix B.

During the village consult, "guilds" or work brigades, are formed in areas such as health, agriculture, and construction with responsibility for carrying out the priorities identified in the planning process.

C. Site Selection

The selection of villages for Human Development Projects follows consultation with district, locational and sub-locational government leaders, i.e. regular government machinery, and application of ICA criteria. ICA criteria include accessibility, "potential for rapid social change", well defined boundaries and village affirmation after a preliminary meeting with the village. Prior to a village consult, ICA undertakes a rudimentary community survey.

D. ~~There are two basic parts~~
Organisation

~~During the village consults~~, ^{See May,} the village is divided into ~~4 or~~ 5 "stakes", geographically defined units. Each stake has a stake leader and its own meetings. Structurally stakes and guilds send their

~~Recommendations to the Community Assembly Writing Plans And Other~~
~~leaders to village consults and meetings; stake~~
~~holders attend sub-local meetings; village~~
leaders and health caretakers to be trained are selected on the basis of stakes. The "stake" falls below the lowest official administrative unit and is ICA's primary unit of organisation. Underlying the use of stakes as the basic unit for village structure is ICA's belief that in the scattered residences of rural areas in which non-geographical family, clan and religious ties predominate, the concept of "village" is weak. Thus there is little structure for or practice of village co-operative activity. By establishing geographic, neighbourhood stakes with co-operative and representative functions, ICA intends to strengthen village structure and identification which, along with their motivational techniques and planning process, would lead to improved village development.

The stake is derived from ICA experience with neighbourhood associations in the Philippines. Akamba (the predominant tribe in Machakos) and Kikuyu have a similar concept "utumo" or "Rugongo" meaning "ridge". "Utumo" is a geographically defined unit, settled by people usually related to one another and who often work together, by invitation, on member or utomo projects (e.g. house construction). It may be new to use these units as the basis of village planning and the evaluators agree that the village as a unit for decision making and cooperative activity is relatively weak compared to other affiliations.

E. Implementation and Monitoring

What is to be accomplished, i.e. "victories" (in advance of the fact), is established during the consult.

1. Implementation:

Implementation necessarily has two components: acquisition of necessary resources (materials and technical assistance) and the actual physical labor required.

~~Physical work is usually done on specific~~
~~work days; there are work days and projects for~~
~~the stake, for the guild, and for the whole village.~~
Work includes clearing of pathways, building nursery schools, demonstration gardens, shared terrace building for soil conservation or tree planting. At their best these are a direct application of ICA's emphasis on cooperative self-help.

Acquisition of resources is more difficult. Though ICA emphasizes 'self-help' and states it does not itself provide resources, links to providers of materials or technical assistance are necessary. What is acquired appears to be a combination of what can be secured by ICA staff from government or other donors or what is raised within the village through Harambee. A considerable amount of assistance comes from government, such as measurements for terracing, agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and seeds, farmer training courses adult education classes, mobile clinics, etc. ICA has also provided the link between villages and the Catholic Relief Services and Christian Childrens Fund which have made promises of assistance which have not yet been delivered.

Before the short rains in November 1981, ICA persuaded district agricultural officials that a greater number of farmer training days could be held successfully in the district. In 1980, relying on subchiefs, 100 farmers came to the training. In 1981, ICA turned out over 600.

2. Monitoring

Built into ICA's planning process is the concept of continual monitoring by villagers of their own development. Stake leaders keep a book noting accomplishments. In weekly meetings in the HDP's or on the three day monthly visits to cluster projects, villagers and ICA staff, are meant to state what "victories" have actually been accomplished, the success of various "tactical events", assess the difficulties in implementation, and revise as necessary plans for further progress. Visually this is represented by a chart of the "victories" for the previous quarter which has been filled in with red for those completed, striped for those started, and remaining blank for those not yet begun.

F. Celebrations and Symbolism

A unique feature of ICA is their strong use of celebrations and symbolism to link villages with the rest of the world and to reinforce village identity. At HDTI the wall of the classroom holds the 8 x 10 poster of "moonrise". Maps of the world are hung at village meetings.

One element of auxiliary training is learning to help a village create a story, symbol, and songs about themselves. All consults, meetings and workdays open

with ICA songs; the completion of a task during a meeting, e.g. defining the vision, is celebrated by a ritual clap. Meetings close with a celebrating meal, drinks and songs. Every ICA village has a distinctive blue and white sign board on the main road, naming the village, identifying it as an HDP, Cluster or Impact project, including a map showing its position in the sub-location, often with a slogan, i.e. "Place of Creativity" in English. Finding small villages in rural areas is not easy. A series of these signs along roads which previously had unmarked tracks leading off into countryside is impressive.

Blue is a thematic color and all ICA staff wear blue while doing their work. Staff, who live together in communal "auxiliary houses" use ritual and group celebrations to cement relationships with ICA and with each other.

The use of ritual can be off putting to rationalist trained observers, seeming heavy handed. At a meeting of local government leaders trained by ICA it was used laconically, but used. Villagers found it different (content, melodies) but normal since women's groups, for instance, also use song and uniforms to express solidarity.

G. Training Programs

The Human Development Training Institute (HDTI) is the center of ICA's work; training is the main vehicle for transmitting techniques for problem identification and monitoring and community mobilization. At HDTI three types of training are provided:

- (1) 6 - 8 week training for ICA auxiliaries, "the gate";
- (2) advanced training are for auxiliaries after six months in the field, and
- (3) one week village leadership training for selected village leaders. Three week training for Village Health Caretakers (one in each stake) is conducted in the villages themselves.

Outside HDTI, ICA carries on training in Leadership Effectiveness and New Strategies (LENS) for local governmental leaders and non-government organisations such as Maendeleo ya Wanawake and private companies in Kenya, the Intercontinental Hotel, Firestone, Bata Shoe. There are a number of smaller training programs for women's advancement.

The training for auxiliaries is divided into nine modules of lectures and group discussions mixed with tours of "Kenya heritage," Nairobi, HDP villages and with workdays. The modules are organised around ICA's parallel tracks of social, economic and human development (Appendix C) and are intended to give auxiliaries the vocabulary with which to translate villagers expression of needs and obstacles into "objective" language and the techniques for community mobilization.

The HDTI classroom is filled with symbols of ICA and global awareness, the "moonrise" poster, map of Kenya pinpointing Machakos and Maputi, various charts reflecting ICA's program. The final day of classes for the tenth group was observed going through the identity system module in preparation for their own closing celebrations. The entire class of 55 (ages from 19 - 30, about half women) responded by filling in the instructor's chart on class identity i.e. origin of class "victories" (floors cemented in 3 dorms, the digging of an intensive garden), past events, future participation, struggles, etc. The class divided into work groups with assignments and a discussion outline for creating class symbols, story, song, etc. Students appeared at ease with the system, comfortable at leading and participating in group discussion.

Village leaders training is a short run-through of the ICA model, discussion of the qualities of village leaders such as integrity, care, courage, and "corporateness", and some discussion of agriculture and health. Health caretakers are instructed in nutrition (3 basic groups, need for protein), sanitation, child care, family planning, home remedies for simple illnesses and identification of seriously ill children needing treatment.

With the support of the Kenya government, LENS training has been given to locational officers (chief, sub-chiefs, district agricultural and livestock officers, community development officers) whose job is to provide services to people in the district. The intent is to increase their planning capacity through introducing planning techniques, and to establish a common vocabulary to ease links with ICA and the villages. This has taken place in the four locations where there are cluster projects.

H. Auxiliaries and their selection

The main staff for ICA are the "auxiliaries", trained at HDTI and sent out as residents in HD Projects or as circuit teams for cluster projects. Auxiliaries are predominantly young people (18 years or older) with primary

school and some with secondary school training. During their training ICA tries to assess whether they are motivated by ICA goals, have the capacity to share the difficult living conditions in villages and for a disciplined and corporate life.

At the end of the initial training, "the gate", auxiliaries sign on for 2 years, paid at 180 K.Shs./monthly (now 225) plus 49 K.Shs./week for food. Housing is provided by the host village. Every three months Project Directors send an assessment of staff performance and needs and an Assignments Commission of eight reviews these to make new assignments incorporating these assessments and the placement of new graduates of HDTI. Currently there are 252 Kenyan auxiliaries stationed in village (Human Development Projects) or as circuiters with cluster projects.

In addition to the Kenyan staff, there are 31 non-Kenyans, 40% of whom are American, the balance from other countries where ICA has worked. These are stationed at the 4 locational cluster projects, HDTI, in the Nairobi office, and as back-up to other training programs.

IV. Assessment

Kenya has had from the beginning a strong tradition of self-help. Its first President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta quickly recognized the limits of government and, building on the independent movements of the colonial period (Kikuyu Independent schools), called for "Harambee". Communities were told to pull together resources for their own improvement to be met halfway by government. In practice this has resulted in thousands of community buildings - schools, dispensaries, community centers - which are stretching to the limits government's capacity to provide operating funds and personnel. Harambee is not only self-help; it is frequently the occasion for gifts from local and national politicians. Thus an expectation donations of resources from outside has developed parallel to self-help.

Another condition favoring the work of ICA in Kenya is that it is a relatively open society. Freedom for individual entrepreneurs has meant room as well for a large variety of NGOs to undertake welfare projects in health, education and general rural development. Few NGO's are indigenous. ICA's avowed aim of encouraging village self help efforts falls on fertile ground.

A. Mobilization

Almost universally people interviewed in the course of the ICA evaluation spoke positively of ICA's impact in terms of "mobilising" villages, i.e. getting people to work together on particular projects (building of a nursery school) or to participate in government programs

(such as adult literacy classes and farmer training). This is in the face of what government officials characterize as apathetic response in non-ICA villages. Even critics, skeptical of ICA's origins and expatriate dominance, could agree.

To gather people together for farmer training, a locational meeting, or soil conservation should be the responsibility of the local chief or subchief. To some extent ICA staff are free bodies - with the time and knowledge to track down the right participants. Their very presence improves villages communication. Mobilization and meetings are a frequent response to outside energy. Visits to women groups not ICA organised also bring forth large numbers, opening and closing with singing and dancing and requiring regular participation in selected projects.

Group work projects are frequently based on pre-existing organisations such as "mwethiya" or women's cooperative efforts but extended to new activities and sometimes including men. Our conclusion is that ICA builds on much that is there, but has stepped up the pace.

B. Resources

ICA emphasizes it is not a provider but is a link to existing resources - technical and material. It is attempting to tap government assistance and has had some success in Machakos with the agricultural staff and community development. It has provided opportunities for Catholic Relief Services and Christian Children Fund to draw up programs. A few projects have received material support from private contributions solicited by ICA. ICA does not have and does not claim to have technical expertise outside the area of management and training.

Any visitor to a group project (ICA or otherwise) finds herself or himself assumed to be the bringer of resources (usually cash). When ICA is criticized by villagers, as it frequently is, for failing to bring resources it should be seen in the context of such expectations. ICA is caught somewhat in the middle: rhetorically stressing self-help, in fact accessing some resources through links to government and other donors, and sometimes not delivering on promises assumed to have been made.

The dilemma of self-help and access to resources remains. There is a danger that the general lack of and ICA's inability to tap technical expertise will lead eventually to disillusionment. It is an area that needs

omit

serious attention.

C. Links to Government

As indicated elsewhere links to government have been made primarily through ICA expatriate staff, not by villagers themselves. The political framework for government response comes initially from ICA's good connections with ministries. Like other projects in Kenya, connections at the national level to the right people facilitate the focus as delivery of resources and attention on specific areas. ICA has the support of the some highly placed government officials. In fact, the Director of Agriculture is on their advisory board and has written a letter of support to the District Agricultural Officers. However, some officials of various ministries at the district level give the impression that they are not happy with the imposition upon them of ICA from their national connections. This aspect of ICA's might ultimately frustrate their effort on the ground. *omit*

The LENS training for local government officials is another way of linking government to villages by providing a common framework around which ICA can solicit government assistance. Its effect is modest. A follow up evaluation and planning session with some locational officers was observed. A location wide list of accomplishments was presented - some due to work by locational officers, some not. Further discussion was aimed at establishing a regular schedule of farmer training with village agricultural guild representatives. One stake leader was present, no guild members. Planning and initiative were principally ICA's with open discussion and amendment by those present. The usefulness of a structured discussion was apparent but there was no evidence that ICA's planning strategies have yet been incorporated into government officers way of doing business. Likewise meetings are held without ICA knowing of them and ICA's meeting may be an additional load for officials to carry. At the local level the activities of ICA and in the villages loosely overlaps government sometimes with coordination and assistance, sometimes not.

D. Staffing

- (a) Most Kenyan staff are primary school graduates. ICA asks them only whether they are willing to volunteer for two years. In conversations with the evaluators, the reasons they gave for joining were mixed but for several unemployment was the key.

There is a growing number of post primary school leavers in this country with no schools or wage employment available. The choice had been one of working with ICA with its commitment to village improvement and despite its drawbacks (see below) versus a life with no job and temptation to shiftlessness or petty crime. ICA has provided a positive channel for unemployed group of people. Other trainees cited ICA's work in their home villages as a reason to join. *include*

- (b) There do not seem to be Kenyans in policy making positions, which are still dominated by expatriates. Kenyan staff in the field do not feel they are a part of decision making. For instance, when ICA says that the Assignment Commission of eight, of whom seven are Kenyan, make decisions about personnel on the basis of recommendations from the 25 project directors, Kenyan field staff perceive this as arbitrary or unexplained and controlled by expatriate staff.
- (c) In only one of many instances where we tried to determine who was making the links between villagers requests and government or NGO services was the link made by Kenyans. In all other instances it was the non-Kenyans who were the link. A typical conversation with government officials began with recognition of ICA, sometimes with skepticism, sometimes with enthusiasm. Their ability to bring people together to make use of government programs was acknowledged. When asked who asked for government assistance, the villagers themselves or ICA, the answer was "ICA". When asked who was ICA, expatriate or Kenyan, the answer, with the exception noted above, was "mzungu". *omit*

This raises questions of training and replicability, and of the future capability of the Kenyan staff to secure external resources should the non-Kenyan staff leave. This seems to be a contradiction to ICA's professed intent, but it may be a reflection of the system by which resources are allocated.

- (d) There are gripes about working conditions - the low pay and what is seen as an arbitrary frequent transfer policy. Correctly or not the Kenyan staff perceive the non-Kenyan staff as having more advantages in benefits, accrued pay etc.
- (e) Newer auxiliaries are so steeped in ICA language it is hard to see beyond that to their actual capacity (or lack of it) to assist rural development in a practical manner.

There is no doubt the work of auxiliaries is difficult. Some staff we met in the field were disgruntled or no longer highly motivated. ICA reports an increase in resignations now that emphasis has shifted to circuiting (which requires much walking) from residence in villages. The demands of ICA's work is a kind of filtering process, for various reasons some staff drop or are dropped, along the way having acquired some increased knowledge of the component of rural development. The more seasoned staff are genuinely committed to village development, eager to expand their knowledge and diligent in their work.

E. Training

Between June 1979 and January 1982 eight classes have been held at HDTI training 411 auxiliaries. As of January 1982, 178 or 43.5% of all graduates were with ICA. Of the 299 graduates between 12/79 and 12/80, 104 or 34.7% were still working for ICA; i.e. of those graduates with more than one year and less than two, about one third were finishing their original contract, others having filtered out.

What have the auxiliary trainees learned? They have learned techniques of leading group discussions, drawing out people's complaints, questions, needs and helping them to restate them in less personal more objective terms. This is done by means of such a highly structured application of ICA framework and rhetoric that visitors find it uncomfortable if not objectionable. They can mobilise, i.e. pull people together, for workdays or training opportunities. Villagers in cluster projects we spoke to appreciate the energy input of ICA and being brought together for planning and seemed to tolerate the "mumbo jumbo" of ICA's vocabulary.

The Kenyan staff we met in the field did not display technical skills (agriculture, water system, small enterprise development) as a result of their training or previous experience. The modules in technical areas equip them to recognize problem areas and possible solutions but not to carry out or teach villagers to carry out practical economic projects.

Health caretaker training shows more promise in delivering practical knowledge as well as management skills to its recipients. The health caretakers were favorably reported as raising villagers knowledge of health issues, and a new program, introducing intensive gardening for increased home food production, has just begun.

F. Costs

Of the grant made by the Ford Foundation for 471,512/- (\$64,000)*, 242,853/- has gone into the construction of HDTI in which 356 Kenyan Auxiliaries have been trained between May 1980 and June 1982. 175 were trained before HDTI was completed for a total of 531 trainees overall. 168,800/- has been used to subsidize training costs. For 1981, total expenditures on training were 302,653/- of which the Ford Foundation contribution was approximately 108,360/- or 36%. The balance has gone into research and evaluation including circuits and project meetings.

We have also tried to look at the costs of intervention in the Maputi sub-location cluster project, a system which includes training auxiliaries, health caretakers and village leaders and the conduct of one week village consults and monthly circuit visits. The approximate cost is 7,350/- per village for 34 villages in 1981, the year in which the project was established. (Appendix D) This is a very low cost per village. It is, however, difficult to measure cost-effectiveness because of the lack of reliable data on numbers served (and to what degree) and the difficulty of costing out resources which have been tapped, such as Extension Officers offering one day farmer training days and of measuring the value of increased self-help efforts. An in-depth observation of selected villages over time might provide an approximation of these benefits. There has been as yet no marked increase in economic activity. Ultimately, the intended benefits are intangible, changes in attitude and behaviour which are not really amenable to a cost-benefit analysis.

G. Accomplishments

There are two realms in which ICA should be considered - the success in developing the human component, i.e. increasing motivation and skills so villagers plan and work together, and in material improvements in village life.

ICA's claims seem inflated. Periodically ICA print charts listing the economic, social and human development accomplishment in their project (Appendix E). There are difficulties in checking these claims. There is no good baseline data. The original village surveys were mainly demographic and not always accurate and do not include information either on pre-existing political or social organisation or on such measureable variables as existing feet of terracing, number of pit latrines, etc.

* At the time of the grant the exchange rate was approximately
8 Kshs/- to \$US 1.00

In some instances the listed accomplishments were not there or difficult to find. When found, it was difficult to assess ICA's contribution. For instance, ICA's work on bench terracing for soil conservation coincided with a national campaign (as did recent tree planting projects); they may have made it more effective locally. Some things they cite as accomplishments are pre-existing groups which have been beefed up - e.g. women's groups, handicraft sales - or which have not yet materialized. Demonstration gardens were uninspiring or just not there. A community center in Kitandi had barely progressed in a year; the ICA auxiliaries were the only ones working on it except for a paid workman during the day we visited. The papers and charts overwhelm but they don't look so "neat" on the ground.

Where work has been done it has been in the area of welfare and community improvement - increasing the number of dish racks, pit latrines, cleared paths, primary schools (which so far have no guaranteed staff). There is no tangible evidence of improved economic activity.

The fact that there is little demonstrable progress on the economic side should not be surprising. Resources are limited, communication difficult, shifting attitudes from expectation of resources to more self-help takes time. Two years is not sufficient for a fair test of the usefulness of ICA's approach in this sphere. ~~It is a worrisome aspect of their program so far, but a more objective assessment should be made in two or three years time.~~

H. Summary

There is no gainsaying that intensive and responsive work at the community level coupled with development of village leadership capacity has frequently been the missing ingredient in implementing rural development programs. ICA avowedly focuses on such local leadership. It is fair to say they have made some headway.

~~Mobilization had not jelled in any instance that we saw, into new continuous or autonomous village structures for decision making or work; outside impetus is still necessary. Nor had new technical competence become a permanent part of any village either by means of a solid relationship with a relevant providing organisation or trained personnel within. It is too soon to tell whether their techniques will "turn people around" to plan and do for themselves and whether such "human development" attitude change with weak support in resources and technical knowhow will be the critical factor for furthering rural development.~~

I. Recommendations

ICA continues to be an interesting approach to community development. The situation in Kenya, an existing tradition of self-help and the relative freedom of NGO's, has been favorable to its expansion. *copy*

Based on the positive attitude for the most part by local officials and villagers (even if coupled with skepticism) to ICA's catalytic and mobilizing efforts, and recognizing the long time it takes for community development to catch, a further modest grant seems justified.

ICA and the Foundation should however address the following questions:

1. Is rapid expansion of current replication practices to new areas wise? There is an argument for the momentum of a "new village movement". The evaluators do not feel that ICA has yet demonstrated a substantial and sustained contribution to rural development and would argue that a deepening and further learning and evaluation of existing projects would be more useful.
2. A grant to improve health caretaker training and activities would meet several objectives:
 - (a) an area of concern to the Foundation, community based health activities directed principally to mothers and children;
 - (b) an improvement in village level technical competence in a critical area;
 - (c) possibility of a measurable evaluation.
3. Technical training has been fairly loose with ICA so far. Before making a grant we should feel reassured about the quality of the training health caretakers or others will receive.
4. The limits of this evaluation have already been stated. Spot visits and interviews have given a reliable impression of trends but are insufficient for verifying ICA's claims and for determining the actual level of village participation and the success of transferring planning skills and "incorporateness". This requires sustained observation of ICA's work in a number of villages and contexts, some with

more depth. Such an observer should be free to move around at will following leads, finding workdays when they happen, closely watching the self monitoring processes encouraged by ICA's circuit visits. Because of ICA's novel approach, we recommended such an evaluation be incorporated in any additional funding.

Appendix A: Chart of "Contradictions of Gatuto Human Development Project"

Gatuto HDP ICA		UNDERLYING CONTRADICTIONS CHART			October 1980 Consult
I	II	III	IV	V	
UNCLARITY OF COMMUNITY CONSENSUS	NARROW BASE OF PRACTICAL EDUCATION	UNFOCUSED DESIGN FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	LIMITED ACCESS TO CAPITAL RESOURCES	BREAKDOWN OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS	
building capital unavail- able	lack of methods limits product- ivity	unplanned community activities	scarce and expensive chemicals	middlemen profit from Nairobi sales	
disorganized community activities	poor farming methods	steering comm. unconsidered	pumping and pipes expenses	government permits blocked	
unconsidered village decisions	illiteracy blocks learning	unimplemented community plans	loans scarce	unexplored outside grants	
lack of good leadership	few attend adult classes	no community workdays	farmers fear loss of shamba	no irrigation scheme	
unplanned community meetings	youth obtain no marketable skills	limited community power	low harvest in past years	dukas more profitable elsewhere	
no fund raising	no experts available to teach skills	uncoordinated youth programme	families not pooling resrces	no trust- worthy lawyr's available	
destruction of dukas	parents not interested	most money spent on alcohol	inability to project loan payment	government made brewing illegal	
attitude: stealing is OK	low preschool attendance	misunderstanding between villagrs	water to shamba cost prohibit- ive	government rel not localized	
midyear school attendance is down	untrained leadership	no community celebrations	no available loan system	loans: unclearity re: where to seek	
meetings un announced	lack of early education	'wait for' leaders' self- story			
lack of unity	fear of change and risk				
no trust between villagrs	trained people leave				
breakdown of consensus					

Appendix A (Cont'd)

CONTRADICTIONS CHART				October 1980 Consult
VI DEMORALIZED STORY OF LOCAL COMMERCE	VII UNPLANNED SCHEME OF LAND USE	VIII UNAVAILABILITY OF ESSENTIAL SERVICES	IX LIMITED RANGE OF LOCAL MATERIALS	X INFLEXIBLE METHODS OF CASH CROPPING
unavailable second job	fear of using land for new crops	expensive transportation	sisal unavailable	fear of drought
uncultivated employment opp.	large rains needed for livestock	unconstructed interior roads	basket markets unknown	high feed prices
no community store	limited avail. cultivated land	long distance to hospital	baskets highly competitive	unpredictable seasons: low
shamba work takes all time	high population concentration	no police security	low local market prices	small profits beans/maize
shamba subsist- ence only	no public land	high-cost duka security	no village cooperative	high risk of crop failure
high theft rate	small plots, individual profit	small number of classrooms	only produce own baskets	low income harvests
stores robbed by thieves	sawmill land unavailable	no functional water system	basket makers unorganized	lack of new cash crops
no basket market methods knowlg.	grass shortage for cattle	unregistered nursery school	timber unavailable	
Gatuto market unimagined				

Appendix B: Two-year Timeline for Gatuto Human Development Project

Gatuto HDP
ICA

TWO YEAR SUB-TACTICS TIMELINE

October 1980
Consult

Q I R para tactic tactic		phases		Initiating			Expanding			Establishing			Completing	
		First		Second		Third			Fourth					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VI					
I A G R I C U L T U R A L D E V E L O P M E N T	Developing Intensive Farming Demonstratn	plant hybrid maize create dairy house	secure community tractor intensify irrigation	begin exper plots operate kitchen gardens	implement crop spraying	facilitate seasonal multi- cropping	demonstrate fertilizer usage		introduc fodder grass					
	Extending Varied Cash Crops	plant fruit trees start seed bed nursery	intensify fruit product- ion	increase tomato crops enlarge vegetable grown	expand coffee production	market transportat- ion design	recover sugar cane	investigate tobacco possibilit- ies	introduc cotton strain					
	Recovering Effective Land Management	stream clearng workday land master plan	dig irrigat canals complete land terracing	introduce crop rotation	invite irrigation experts/ creakside farming	introduce irrigation system	arrange livestock land	increase water storage	invest. water harves					
	Coordinat- ing Livestock Management Operating	expand poultry increase dairy feeds	require artificl. inseminat. regular vet. servc	improve cattle strains	introduce bee keeping	acquire modern bee hives	launch sheep improve- ments	investigate wool markets	constru cattle dip					
	Implementing Modern Farm Techniques	weekly livestock classes	acquire equipment pool demonstrate fertilizer	improve coffee techniques/ local storage	investigate sheep require- ments	learn milking techniques	initiate poultry training	expertise enlistment program	procure veterin instruc					

Appendix C: ICA's Nine Modules of Rural Development

PROGRAMMATIC CHART Toward the Actuation of Comprehensive Human Development Projects on the Local Level thirty-six programmes - nine structures - three dynamics - one project		
A ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT LOCAL PRODUCTIVITY -toward self-sustenance	B HUMAN DEVELOPMENT LOCAL MOTIVITY -toward self-confidence	C SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT LOCAL SOCIALITY -toward self-reliance
Enabling local- COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE 1 expanded cultivation 2 intensified production 3 water delivery 4 equipment pool	Reconstruction local- LIVING ENVIRONMENT 13 domestic housing 14 public facilities 15 village design 16 essential services	Creating local- PREVENTIVE CARE 25 intermediate sanitation 26 total nutrition 27 systematic immunization 28 primary treatment
Developing local- APPROPRIATE INDUSTRY 5 cottage production 6 agro-business 7 processing plants 8 ancillary industry	Catalyzing local- CORPORATE PATTERNS 17 total engagement 18 community commons 19 consensus assemblies 20 corporate workdays	Establishing local- FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION 29 early learning 30 formal schooling 31 youth training 32 adult education
Initiating local- COMMERCIAL SERVICES 9 common marketing 10 local merchandising 11 savings & loans 12 basic transport	Recovering local- IDENTITY SYSTEMS 21 community self-story 22 symbol systems 23 corporate rituals 24 village celebrations	Instituting local- COMMUNITY WELFARE 33 family development 34 women's advancement 35 youth task-force 36 elderly engagement

Appendix D Muputi Locations Cost Per Village 1981 Cont'd

In this case we would say the cost is approximately 7,350Kshs. per village.

In addition, it should be added that these are the costs for the initial set-up of the Location Project. The costs for the second or third year may vary depending on the special programme emphasis which is required. As you can see, the first year had costs related to set-up (i.e. surveys, village meetings, consultations).

The on-going programme costs in Section One are used to cover circuiting, travel and per diem, as well as authorisation travel.

Appendix E: Chart of Accomplishments of ICA Human Development Projects,
October, 1981.

PROJECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS			
	Programmatic Arenas		
Project	Economic	Human	Social
<u>Kamweleni</u> HDP Muputi Sub- Location Muputi Location Central Division	Agric. Guild formed Demo. Farm Plot Terracing introduced 30 water jars constr Water tank roof constructed First kiosk opened	Water catchmt systed started Water tank foundatn laid Com'ty kitchen built Stake leaders trained Pathways in stakes grated Reg'l workdays Road opened	Health Caretakers Training Nursery building Signs for every family Signs for cluster villages 67 register for adult classes
<u>Ulutya HDP</u> Kangonde : Sub-Locatn Masinga Location Yatta Division	Demo Farm begun by workday Basket-making indust begun Terracing begun 31/2 bags of sorghum Business Association Womens Group	Com'ty Centre constr- uction begun Demo toilet dug Water jug begun Pathway clearing begun Signboards in place Community song written Community meetings Community workdays Community working groups	Compost pits dug Adult/elder classes Youth Club Adult literacy classes 60 families register children for preschool Clinic roofing Health Caretakers training
<u>Kilisa-Kyamue</u> HDP Kakuswi Sub- Location Kiteta Location Eastern Division	Poultry-raising Guild Sewing industry Demo farm begun Cooking classes held Soil tested Cotton market secured Fertilizer use in shambas Agriculture seminar Basket making Village duka opened Oranges sold	Pathways cleared Trees planted for shade Harambee fund- raising Chicken shed constructed Demo house compound Regular stake work- days Guild meetings Community workdays Individual signboards Stake signs Village story	Health Care-takers programme Nutrition classes begun Compost pit dug Vaccinations given to pre-schoolers Adult classes 30 toilets dug Teaching health Nursery school land secured DOOP training Self-help group formation Registration of village guild
<u>Kyuluni-Kiv- ulusa</u> HDP Kamwala Sub- Location Mwala Location Northern Division	Demo Farm: maize/cab 18,000 bricks for nursery school 300 orange trees planted Baskets:237 made 25 terraces dug 29 banana holes dug 40 orange tree holes dug in demo farm	Village entrance signboard 30 in Womens group Youth football club: 35 School repairs Flowers and stones line pathways 2 pathways cleared Community meetings Youth club workdays	2 Health Caretakers trained Garbage/compost pits Community toilets Adult literacy classes Regular Fam. Plann- ing Visits 42 toilets dug 972 bricks for nursery

PROJECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

	Programmatic Arenas		
Project	Economic	Human	Social
Kyuluni-Kivulusa HDP (continued)	5 bee-hives in process 1,000 ropes made foundatn for poultry dug 20 bags of cement/10 iron sheet from CDA	Youth collect 400/= 20 member singing group Youth club register by CDA	Catholic Mission transports bricks Self-help group formed and registered
Kitandi HDP Kasunguni Sub-locat Kilungi Location Western Division	Demo Farm Soil Erosion Program Basket industry Basket Market 1/2 sack sunflowers harvested 1 sack maize harvest 20 villagers attend Agric. Seminar Seed promised by Sold artichokes worth 3,900/= Bank account 1,135/=	Pathways cleared Stake signboards 25 toilets Comm'ty Centre foundation Bridge repaired Road constructed to stakes 2,4,5 1,500/= donated by Miss Book Two lorries carry sand/stone for community centre Village celebration every Saturday	Health Module held Clinic revitalized 4 trained as health caretakers 90 in adult literacy class Mobile clinic every Thursday Cooking class every Friday Milk supply securd. for nursery school 100 women register as womens group
Muuni-Mwanyani HDP Matha Sub-Location Mbitini Location Makueni Division	New stores Agriculture seminars Basket Industry with market Market days announced 230 terraces dug Demo Farm started MIDP conducts 2 day seminar 10-acre area cultivat. in stake workday Individual veg'ble farms started Building tools secured Beehive site secured One kiosk opened Vegetables sold	Site/blocks for com. centre/nursery school Community Assemblies Stake/com'ty workday Village story/song Stake/home signs 10 pathways opened New school fndn dug 2 wells constructed Water jar completed Youth club harambee Soil conservation project gebun Brooke Bond site vis Regular corporate workdays	Over 100 toilets dug 2,nursery classes roofed Youth club started Womens Group Health seminars Adult literacy classes Compost pits each stake 1-day seminar on Nutrition Adult literacy celebration Football match by youth Locational womens meeting
Maikuu-Muthengue HDP Thange Sub-Location Ngwata Location Kibwezi Division	Bee-keeping Demo farm: 4 acres Agriculture classes Kalela growers increased 42 women handicraft Carpentry guild Dug water dam Clear Demo Farm Vegetable booth constructed	10 open wells dug Pathways cleared to homes Road graded Com'ty centre foundt dug Temporary School Building Demo Toilet dug Water dam	Elders handicrafts 6 Health Caretakers trained 206 toilets dug Compost pits almost every house 100 nursery school children Clinic roofing Health Caretakers training

Ford

Egypt: Gerhardt

Just gave us \$20,000 last mo

Gave us 20,000 last yr

One for water project

It's written up in their awards

2nd is for cluster work

He's a strong supporter

He's the head of the office

We had him & Hyden in Kenya

Both Gerhardt + " were like #2 & 3

were very positive

Hyden took the initiative. He came

to the house. Still enthusiastic

He said Ford would do something to assist

Byamba Kenya

Call Brian. They were to go back see Gerhardt. He gave us the analysis who liked us / who didn't

Chen was neutral

Doodman is positive

Hessing in Indonesia is negative

But Clements 33 page letter.

David Wendorf, Mexico, is a colleague. Will know in another mo. Proposal working IERD

We've had some OS with Peru

We want link up to domestic.

Ask Parker if they've done anything
Clements letter

in deep trouble trying to recover
cost ineffective waste of \$
using IERD

were pro estab. Don't represent
radical left wing

No freeze out

Very autonomous. Don't have internet yet

General Briefing to Pres.

Who we are

U.S

World

Exposition

Questions on Committee

Carmichael seen & work around world
18 mo ago

" seen by Sunday
Look up notes.

Beresford went on site visit to
Kabini.

Our focus

Self-sustaining

1. Comprehensive approach (5th C)

2. Involve locals plan + action
consult etc

3. Coalition involve 4 sectors

Madhokots : Lens

Link up govt / locals

4. replication system (Vittachi

Lateral - horizontal message

structure them to work
other villages