

**PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE
URBAN POOR: THE CASE OF LILONGWE CITY**

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In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts in Development Studies**

By

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SEPTEMBER 2007

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the text of this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any award at this or other University. Other people's work used in this study has been acknowledged.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis first to my son Tikondwere for his understanding and encouragment that propeled me to read more and more. When I was idle and tired, he would always remind me “a dad, katulutseni ntchito yanu muziwerenga” (Dad get your computer and study). Secondly, to my Wife Yamikani, Mum Mrs. Harriet Chilinde and my in-law Florida for their support.

To my God, in the words of Paul:

“For I am already being poured out like a drink offering, and the time has come for my departure. I have fought a good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith” (2 Timothy 4: 6-7). Amen.

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ABSTRACT

The Malawi Social Action Fund (MASAF) introduced Community Driven Development (CDD) approach in the implementation of community projects in urban areas in 2003. This was aimed at alleviating urban poverty by allowing communities to demand projects that address their priority needs. This study examined the nature of participation in CDD and its contributions to improving accessibility of services among the urban poor in Lilongwe City. Both qualitative and quantitative data from three purposively sampled neighborhoods revealed that participation was low and passive. The study also found that participation is determined by socio-economic characteristics of the urban poor. These include: period of residence, ownership of a house, ethnicity, politics, age and source of income, level of education and gender. It was also found that agents of development like Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Community Development Committees (CDCs), Water Users Associations (WUAs), community and political leaders initiate and mobilize resources for community projects. However, some agents misappropriate public funds meant to benefit vulnerable groups and personalize projects upon receipt of funding. The study also established that community projects in poor urban neighborhoods are implemented without following physical development plans. This causes land use conflicts that affect sustainability and accessibility of public services. Besides, the requirement to pay for services under the veil of decentralization makes them inaccessible to the urban poor. The study recommends promotion of public awareness on decentralization and CDD among the urban poor; promoting group learning by networking urban community organizations; financing community projects that benefit the poor; building capacity for monitoring transparency and accountability in managing community projects and integrating CDD in urban planning to encourage community participation in urban development planning and implementation processes.

Keywords: Urbanization; urban poverty; development; decentralization; community; participation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACB	Anti Corruption Bureau
ADMARC	Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation
ADC	Area Development Committee
AFORD	Alliance for Democracy
APL	Adaptable Loan Programme
CDD	Community Driven Development
CBD	Community Based Development
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CDC	Community Development Committee or Councils
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSR	Center for Social Research
CSP	Community Sub-Project
CDO	Community Development Officer
CDP	Community Development Project
CCODE	Center for Community Development
CDSAI	Community Development Service for All Initiative
CEDP	Community Empowerment and Development Programme
CMP	Community Managed Projects
COMSIP	Community Savings and Investment Promotion Programme
CVM	Civic Voluntarism Model
CWUA	Chinsapo Water Users Association
DC	District Commissioner
Devpol	Statement of Development Policies
DHS	Demographic and Household Survey
DPF	Decentralization Policy Framework
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
ECDC	Early Childhood Development Centre
EU	European Union
FBO	Faith Based Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIM	General Incentives Model
GNI	Gross National Income
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HDR	Human Development Report
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IBF	Internet Banking Facility
IDC	Illegal Development Committee
IHS	Integrated Household Survey
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
KMU	Kiosk Management Unit
LAMP	Local Authority Managed Project
LCA	Lilongwe City Assembly

LWB	Lilongwe Water Board
MASAF	Malawi Social Action Fund
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MHC	Malawi Housing Cooperation
MM	Mobilization Model
MP	Member of Parliament
MPRSP	Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
MIPP	Malawi Institute of Physical Planners
MSCE	Malawi School Certificate of Education
NLP	National Land Policy
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
NEC	National Economic Council of Malawi
NPDP	National Physical Development Plan
NSO	National Statistical Office
OD	Operation Dongosolo
PAC	Poverty Alleviation Committee
PAP	Poverty Alleviation Programme
PHC	Population and Housing Census
PMC	Project Management Committee
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PPM	Peoples Progressive Party of Malawi
PWP	Public Works Programme
PETRA	Peoples Transformation Party
RCM	Rational Choice Model
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SDTV	Seventh Day True Vision
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SPM	Social-Psychological Model
SSP	Social Support Programme
SVC	Street Vending Committee
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act
THA	Traditional Housing Area
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UDF	United Democratic Front
UFPE	Universal Free Primary Education
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNCHS (UN-Habitat)	United Nations Center for Human Settlements
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
USP	Urban Structure Plan
VIP	Ventilated Improved Pit
WKA	Water Kiosk Administrator
WUA	Water Users Association

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Community Driven Development (CDD) is a relatively new concept in Malawi. Implementation of projects at the urban level using the CDD approach is new particularly in Phase 3 of the Malawi Social Action Fund (MASAF). MASAF is mandated to lead implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAP) both in rural and urban areas. While attention may have been given to the application of CDD in the rural set up, its implementation in the urban setting remains yet to be academically and thoroughly examined. This study examined the nature of urban community participation in CDD and its contribution to improving accessibility of public goods and services for the poor with a focus on Lilongwe City.

1.1. Urbanization trends in Malawi

The last 1998 Population and Housing Census (PHC) showed that the population of Malawi was 9.9 million with a density of 105 persons per square kilometre of arable land¹. Between 1987 and 1998, the national population growth rate was 2% and the urban rate was 6.5%. Approximately 86% of the population was living in rural areas while 14% lived in urban areas. In 1977 and 1987, 8.5% and 11% were living in urban areas respectively compared to 6.4% in 1966. According to the National Statistical Office (NSO), three quarters of the urban population in Malawi live in the four urban areas namely the cities of Lilongwe, Blantyre, Mzuzu and the Municipality of Zomba (NSO, 2000).

Studies indicate that the population of Lilongwe City, a national centre in Malawi's urban hierarchy² grew by more than 400% between 1966 and 1977, 137% between 1977 and 1987 and more than 88% between 1987 and 1998. These increases were attributed to natural population growth; increasing rural-urban and urban-urban migration from densely populated districts particularly from the Southern Region. It has been observed

¹ The figure was widely contested as Barahona and Levy cited in Chambers (2005, p.112) found that in the 1998 census, rural population was undercounted by 35% and a figure of 12 million was thought more ideal.

² The six tiers of urban hierarchy in Malawi are the National, Regional, Sub-regional, District/main market and Rural service centres in that order (National Physical Development Plan, 1987).

that in the Central and Northern regions, tobacco estates encourage rural-rural migration than in the Southern Region where opportunities for agricultural wage labour are comparatively rare (NSO, 2000; National Economic Council (NEC), 2000; Englund, 2002).

In addition, construction of the capital city in the early 70s, subsequent shift of government functions from Zomba and opening of new industries in the same period created job and business opportunities that encouraged migration to the city. These are compounded by shifting of city boundaries that enclose peripheral villages into the city, the 2004 post-election presidential declaration of the New State House in Lilongwe as the official residence for the Head of State; Lilongwe City as the base for all government ministries and the current construction activities including new parliament and high court buildings among others. Migration to the city in anticipation of employment opportunities is therefore one of the major contributing factors for rapid urbanization in Lilongwe.

According to the National Physical Development Plan (NPDP), a policy document of 1987, urbanization is the process where the functions of a rural settlement or village increasingly become oriented towards non-farm activities. These include production of goods, marketing, commercial and professional services with a concomitant increase in non-agricultural population among others. Because of rapid urbanization, the population for Lilongwe City has continued to increase creating subsequent pressure on public goods and services particularly in poor urban neighbourhoods. Studies indicate that education; health and market infrastructures among others are in short supply (Kawonga, 1996; Shaba, 1997; Chipeta and Chamgomo, 2000; NSO, 2005a & b).

However, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) said urbanization is associated with economic and social progress including greater access to social services and that urban areas are engines of economic growth (UNCHS, 1996). Analysts say while this is true for the developed world and some of the cities in the developing world, in most African countries including Malawi, the situations are different as

economic growth has not accompanied the rapid rates of urbanization and population growth (Gugler, 1992; Kawonga, 1996; Munthali et al, 2006).

The Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) of 2004 found that 74% of urban population in Malawi had access to piped water while 16% were using water from unprotected sources. According to the World Bank, 65% of the population in Lilongwe City had access to portable water in 1998 and 35% were using water from unprotected sources (World Bank, 2002). The majority of the latter were in informal settlements. This is an indication that the poor in the neighbourhoods of the four major urban areas still continue to depend on unprotected water sources. This could be attributed to the increased urban population that it has led to deteriorating provision of basic services by urban authorities.

In addition, the Integrated Household Survey (IHS) of 2005 found that 52.4% of the population in Malawi was living below the poverty line of less than a dollar per day while urban poverty was rated at 25.4%. A disaggregated analysis per district revealed that Lilongwe City was home to 24.6% of the poor. Studies show that the prevalence of urban poverty is due to dominance of top-down development in the past decades that failed to satisfy demand for services for an ever-increasing urban population (Kawonga and Chilowa 1993; Harrigan, 2003; Munthali et al, 2006). Therefore, participatory approaches are continually being seen as a strategy in the management and implementation of community development projects both in rural and urban areas in a bid to reduce the prevalence of poverty. MASAF was one of the stakeholders that implemented the strategy.

1.2. Malawi Social Action Fund (MASAF)

MASAF is a government-operating agency for poverty reduction, which was established in 1996. The fund was established to cushion effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that were implemented since the 1980s. The poor in urban areas were adversely affected as SAPs resulted in reduced government spending after subsidies on social and welfare services were removed to enable government make budgetary savings to pay external debt (Kawonga and Chilowa, 1993; Ellis et al 2003). This caused

a rise in prices of basic services due to decreased government expenditure on health, education, electricity, water and sanitation, transport and housing infrastructures. Those who were in the low-income threshold in urban areas could not afford basic services as an upward salary adjustment was also suspended as a budgetary savings measure among others.

Therefore, MASAF 3 also known as the Community Empowerment and Development Programme (CEDP) was launched in 2003. It was designed to provide social interventions in education, health, water, transport, communication, environment and household food security in both rural and urban areas³ as its primary development objective. Anecdotal and official reports indicate that the World Bank funded MASAF3 through an Adaptable Programme Loan (APL) facility of USD \$240 Million. The design of the loan was that it should be released in three tranches in the period 2003-2015 subject to successful implementation of the first phase (MASAF, 2003 & 2005). The first and second MASAF programmes implemented in the period 1996-2002 had two major components namely Community Sub-Project (CSP) and Public Works Programme (PWP). CSP was designed to fund projects requested by poor communities while PWP was designed to benefit the poor by offering cash wages in return for labour in community infrastructure projects (Kishindo, 2001; MASAF, 2003).

MASAF 3 had four operational components: the Community Development Projects (CDP), Social Support Programme (SSP), Community Savings and Investment Promotion Programme (COMSIP) and the Transparency and Accountability Programme (TAP). This study focuses on the CDP⁴ and the SSP. The CDP was composed of Community Managed Projects (CMP) and Local Authority Managed Projects (LAMP). CMP was aimed at improving community access and accessibility to socio-economic services while LAMP was aimed at raising incomes for poor households through cash transfers to participants in both urban and rural areas (MASAF, 2003). In essence LAMP

³ See MASAF 3 Community Development Programme (CDP) Handbook, 2004.

⁴ This component comprises the Local Authority Managed Projects (LAMP) and Community Managed Projects (CMP).

was similar to PWP and was funded 100% while CMP was reflecting CSP requiring communities to contribute 20% of project cost upfront in cash or kind.

The SSP component was a safety net designed to reduce vulnerability⁵ and assist the disadvantaged and marginalized. The SSP was targeted at improving beneficiary⁶ living standards by strengthening capacities of vulnerable people and communities to reduce and/or help them to cope with social risks. Both CDP and SSP were operating under almost similar guiding principles (see Appendix 1.0).

1.3. Conceptual framework

MASAF 3 was implemented using a participatory approach called Community Driven Development (CDD). The Decentralization Policy of 1998, the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRSP) of 2002 and the National Safety-Nets Strategy (NSNS) of 2001 provided the policy framework for implementing demand-driven projects. Dongier et al, (2002) defined CDD as a way of providing social and infrastructure services, organizing economic activity and resource management, empowering poor people, improving governance, and enhancement of security for the poor. CDD falls under the umbrella of Community Based Development (CBD), which refers to projects that actively involve and demand participation of beneficiaries in the project cycle (Dongier et al, 2002; Rao and Ibanez, 2003; Mansuri and Rao, 2004; Kuper, 2004).

CDD promotes five dimensions of CBD namely community empowerment, capacity building of local governments, re-aligning the centre, accountability and learning by doing (see Mozammel and Schechter, 2003). This study falls within the community empowerment dimension⁷. The term ‘empowering’ is used here to mean actions that make people cease to be passive recipients of services delivered by government and

⁵ Vulnerability in Malawi is caused by many factors including age, deprivation and limited access to resources, illiteracy, HIV/AIDS and weak institutional structures to support poverty reduction interventions for the marginalized.

⁶ See MASAF (2003) Social Support Project Component Handbook p.2.

⁷ According to Chambers (2005, p. 73) three approaches, which can empower are: minimum rules; non-negotiable principles and downward accountability.

others. Empowered communities demand to be responsible especially in determining the type, quality, quantity, place and focus of such services and take part in both decision-making processes and determining delivery mechanisms (Mozammel and Schecter, 2003).

CDD is perceived as an effective mechanism for poverty reduction for it complements market and public sector activities and enhances sustainability of community projects. It is also believed that CDD improves efficiency and effectiveness of CBD and allows poverty reduction to be taken to scale. It is further said that CDD makes development more inclusive and addresses interests of vulnerable groups, builds social capital of the poor and strengthen local governance (Dongier et al, 2002).

In addition, studies have shown that decentralization empowers the grassroots to participate and lead in initiating development and decisions that affect them (Kruse, 2005a & b; Chinsinga, 2005). In Malawi, decentralization is locally known as *mphamvu ku anthu* (power to the people). According to Rondinelli cited in Parker, (2001), decentralization takes the forms of de-concentration, delegation, devolution and privatization. In this study, decentralization refers to devolution, defined as the transfer of political, fiscal and institutional authority to local governments and further down to the grassroots where the central planner is not expected to influence local decisions (Parker, 2001; Kuper, 2004).

Empirical evidence suggests that a combination of CDD and decentralization ensures sustainability of socio-economic development and reduces pressure on central government in terms of providing goods and services. It is argued that decentralization allows better matching of local preferences to service delivery and has greater potential for improving accountability and accessibility of services (Hinchliffe, 1982; Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983; Ebel, 1998; Faguet, 2000; Parker, 2001; Hung Hong, 2004; Kuper, 2004; Chinsinga, 2005). In this case CDD and decentralization are perceived to have an important mutually reinforcing tendency to community development since the success of both requires meaningful grassroots participation.

1.4. Statement of the problem

For a long time, participation in community development in Malawi was perceived as a rural phenomenon according to Kishindo (2001). In recent years, policy shifts have led participatory development to be extended to and emphasized in urban communities in order to complement top down planning of development provided in the Town and Country Planning Act (TCPA) of 1988 (see Chapter 23:01 of the Laws of Malawi). The aim is to improve participation and accessibility of basic services to communities that lack them. However, observations in poor urban neighbourhoods do not show significant improvement to the situation.

Studies show that urban communities are heterogeneous in many ways, have diverse interests and objectives and keep internally shifting residences making it relatively difficult for them to act collectively in community matters (Hoben et al, 1998; Canel, 2001). This makes facilitating participation in CDD a complex task since little is known on how heterogeneous urban poor communities in Lilongwe City mobilize to access development assistance. In phase one of MASAF 3; the Lilongwe City Assembly (LCA) had problems in accessing project funds as compared to rural assemblies having failed to submit any project proposal⁸. The LCA attributed the failure to lack of community participation in the project process as is expected in CDD. This necessitated a search for definitive evidence on participation in CDD among the urban poor in Lilongwe City.

In addition, decentralization structures at the district level have been tested and their weaknesses as well as strengths in implementation of demand-driven projects have been well documented (Chiweza, 1998; Mbeye, 1998; Chirwa et al 2002 & 2004; Bloom et al 2005; Chinsinga, 2005). Conversely, implementation of projects at the urban level using the CDD approach was a new approach in MASAF 3. As such, very little was known regarding the efficiency of urban⁹ decentralization structures. This necessitated examining the operational efficiency of the structures.

⁸ See Mwafulirwa, S. (2004) "Nkhotakota, Lilongwe left out of MASAF 3" in *The Daily Times* October 21, 2004 and MASAF 3 Quarter I Submission of Sub Projects for NTAC Review. pp. 6-9.

⁹ See Handbook for Urban District Assembly, 2003, pp.37-44.

1.5. Objectives of the study

The overall objective of the study was to examine the nature of participation in urban community demand driven development and its contribution to improving accessibility of public goods and services for the poor. Specific objectives were to:

1. Identify determinants of participation among the urban poor in demand-driven projects;
2. Establish agents who initiate community projects in poor urban neighbourhoods and how support is mobilized;
3. Find out how demand-driven projects are integrated in urban physical development planning;
4. Examine effectiveness of demand driven development in the provision of basic services to poor urban neighbourhoods.

1.6. Study assumptions

The study assumptions were:

1. The urban poor are passive participants in community projects such that participation is low because development is not demand driven.
2. The urban poor are active participants in community projects such that participation is high because development is demand driven.

The anticipation was that most households in poor urban neighborhoods do not participate in community development activities as such the findings may indicate that participation is low and passive.

1.7. Organization of the thesis

Chapter 1 is an introduction that states the problem, provides background, conceptual framework and spells out objectives of the study. Chapter 2 describes the review of theoretical and empirical literature while Chapter 3 describes the methodology for the study. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the findings and Chapter 5 draws conclusion from the findings and outlines appropriate recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

The literature on participation in community development as a strategy to reduce and possibly attempt to end poverty in developing countries is vast but remains incomplete as humanity continues face new challenges. Rapid population growth, civil conflicts coupled with environmental problems amid stagnating economies seem to bring about social underdevelopment. Although participation has led to some countries south of the Sahara to graduate from the so called low income into medium and high income countries (e.g. Botswana and South Africa), poverty remains a problem for the majority in some communities. Selected theoretical and empirical studies on urban participatory development reviewed in this chapter indicate that poverty is not only a rural problem as many communities in urban Africa, Asia and Latin America including Lilongwe City (among others) in Malawi live in poverty.

2.1. Urban poverty in Africa

The concept of “poverty” is subjective, complex and multidimensional hence difficult to define. In general, poverty is understood as a condition characterized by deprivation of basic needs like food, water, health, shelter, education and opportunities to fulfill such needs. Universally, households that do not meet minimum nutritional and essential non-food requirements or those whose daily income is equivalent to US\$1 or less are classified as living in poverty (World Bank, 2005).

Ray (1998) argued that the use of universal poverty lines creates real poverty in some countries or regions and too little poverty in others. Although poverty is a problem for all regions of the world, it is deep-rooted and most severe in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) having more than 70% of the world’s poor (World Bank 2002 cited in Doward et al, 2004). It has been found that since the 1990’s, global poverty reduction in SSA is less than half the rate needed to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of halving poverty by 2015 (Hanmer, Healey and Naschhold 2001 cited in Doward et al 2004). In

SSA, the forecast was six times lower suggesting that poverty remains a biggest challenge for the region (*Commission for Africa Report*, 2005).

However, the popular view has been that in Africa and the rest of the developing world, poverty is a rural phenomenon (Woldemariam, 1999; Kishindo, 2001). Estimates suggest that between 62% and 75% of the poor in Africa live in rural areas (Doward, 2004). As such, accelerated urbanization is viewed as a way of sustaining rapid reduction in overall poverty (World Bank 1995 cited in Ray, 1998). Empirical studies have shown that urban poverty in developing countries contributes a significant proportion of the poor and that in Africa; the rate has been increasing over time. Estimates indicate that 72% of the urban population in SSA (e.g. Ghana, 70%; Kenya, 71% and Malawi, 91%) lives in slum settlements where basic services are not adequate and accessible (UN-Habitat, 2003; Kimani, 2006).

Similarly, urbanization prospects indicate that Africa's population will cease to be predominantly rural by 2030 despite the inadequacy of services for the urban population (Hove, 2005). Africa is perceived as one of the fastest urbanizing continents in the world at the rate twice as fast as Latin America and Asia. Hove projected that since urban population is increasing at above three per cent, within a decade, 40% of Africans will live in urban areas, most condemned to slums. Other studies have also shown that between 1970 and 1995, urban population in Africa grew by 4.7% per year yet Gross Domestic Product (GDP) dropped by 0.7% per year indicating that urban population in Africa is growing amidst increasing poverty (*World Development Report* 1999/2000).

According to Woldemariam (1999) man-made calamities such as civil wars in Africa displace many rural families forcing them to migrate to urban centres within and across borders seeking refuge. Population growth is also causing landlessness, fragmentation and unproductiveness of rural agricultural land hence pushing many to seek opportunities in urban areas (NEC, 2000). Thus, the number of the urban poor in SSA is growing, because of rural-urban migration changing the status of the migrant rural poor to urban poor. Englund (2002) described this as 'urbanizing poverty'. The implication for rapid

urbanization in African cities is the prevalence of urban poverty reflected by high unemployment, poor housing conditions, poor communication and transport infrastructure, poor social services and rising insecurity (Canel, 2001; UN-Habitat, 2003; Kimani, 2006).

Empirical studies indicate that many migrants to urban areas do not possess the required training or skills to compete for opportunities in the urban environment. Even those with some qualifications find formal sector employment highly competitive and end up doing petty jobs that pay less (Ray, 1998). Losers in this competition trek to low-income areas where they can afford shelter. This has encouraged development of new slums where basic services are in short supply. The inadequacy of services in slums is attributed to the dwindling supply capacity of urban authorities because of over dependence on top-down approaches to urban development in the past decades (Kruse, 2005 a & b). The state of poverty in slum and squatter areas pose a special problem of physical and social development. Promotion of bottom up urban development is therefore perceived as a lasting solution to reduction of urban poverty (Canel, 2001, Kuper, 2004).

2.2. Urban poverty in Malawi

Malawi is among the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa. With a per capita Gross National Income (GNI) in 2000 of US\$170, it ranks 6th from the bottom of the World Bank listings based on that measure (World Bank 2002 cited in Ellis et al, 2003). In 2004, Malawi remained among 36 poorest countries in the World according to the *Human Development Report* (HDR) of that year. GDP growth rates remained very unstable affecting both rural and urban residents (Harrigan, 2003). In 1992, GDP growth rate was 10.7% but declined to -12.28% in 1993 before recovering to 9.96% in 1994 and slipped again to - 4.20% in 2000 (Chirwa and Chilowa 1999 and NEC 2002 cited in Munthali et al 2006). Fluctuation of GDP growth rates between 1992 and 2004 was attributed to low agricultural production, due to landlessness and rising cost of farm inputs, bad macro-economic policies in the Muluzi government between 1994 and 2004 and erratic rains which largely feed the country's agriculture.

According to NSO cited in the National Land Policy (NLP) of 2002, 55% of smallholder farmers have less than 1 hectare of cultivable land, which does not meet basic food needs. The IHS of 2005 indicated that 52.4% of the population lives below the poverty line of MK16165 per capita income annually. It is also a fact that poverty in Malawi is prevalent in rural areas due to dependence on agriculture of which production per hectare has been dwindling over the years pushing many households into poverty. As a result, the rural poor migrate to urban areas to seek a better life. This increases the number of the poor in urban areas, adding pressure on supply capacity for basic services.

The DHS of 2004 reported deteriorating household conditions as compared to DHS 2000. 14.1% of the urban population in 2004 had piped water supplied into dwelling units, which was 3% less in 2000. A large proportion of the urban population was using water from unprotected sources such as open wells and surface water. Many households had no access to clean water and this was attributed to long distances to safe water sources, erratic supply, proximity to unsafe water sources and the high cost of water from private Kiosks (Munthali et al 2006). This reveals the depth and severity of urban poverty in Malawi as most basic services are not accessible to most poor households. Participation of the urban poor in community development is therefore emphasized as more ideal to improve accessibility of basic services (Canel, 2001).

2.3. Participatory development: theory and practice

There are a number of competing definitions for participatory development such that different organizations define it differently. It is argued that what organizations do, not what they say they do, reveals the core meaning they associate with participation (Hoben et al, 1998; Chambers, 2005). The United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) defined participatory development as a situation within which sustainable development results from responsible actions of politically mature citizens, demonstrating solidarity and acting within the framework of a democratic society (Lazarev, 1994). In a democracy, participation in development is not expected to be coercive as was the case in the Banda regime that ruled Malawi from independence in 1964 to 1994 but voluntary, hence the choice of the definition.

In theory according to Whiteley and Seyd (2002), participation can also be explained within the five theoretical models of participation namely the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM), the Rational Choice Model (RCM), Social Psychological Model (SPM), Mobilization Model (MM), and the General Incentives Model (GIC)¹⁰. In this study, participation is mainly explained within the RCM as proposed by Downs (1957) and was further explained by Olson (1965) as cited in Whiteley and Seyd (2002).

Downs proposed that ‘rational actors would not participate in collective action to achieve common goals because the products of such collective action are public goods’. He described a rational man as one who always makes a decision when confronted with a range of alternatives; ranks all the alternatives facing him in the order of his preferences in such a way that each is either preferred to, indifferent to, or inferior to each other; whose preference ranking is transitive; always chooses from among the possible alternatives that which ranks highest in his preference ordering; and one who always makes the same decision each time he is confronted with the same alternatives.

In addition, Samuelson (1954) cited in Whiteley and Seyd (2002) argued that public goods have two properties namely joint ness of supply and impossibility of exclusion. On the one hand, joint ness of supply implies that one person’s consumption does not reduce the amount available to anyone else. On the other hand, impossibility of exclusion means that an individual cannot be prevented from consuming the good once it is provided even if he did not contribute to its provision in the first place. The latter is referred to as “free riding”¹¹ because an individual cannot be excluded from consuming a public good.

The RCM is used in this study because education, health transport and communication infrastructures that were implemented in poor urban neighbourhoods in Lilongwe City through the CDD approach are public goods. The assumption in this case is that the urban poor avoid participating in demand driven projects that provide public goods to the community knowing that it is impossible to be denied access to the services.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the competing theoretical models indicated above visit Whiteley and Seyd (2002) on www.press.umich.edu (Accessed on 14/12/06).

¹¹ Freedom to enjoy use of a public good even if one did not contribute to its provision.

In practice participation in CDD is associated with what Hoben et al (1998) described as stakeholder participation that is aimed at reducing the free riding problem. They argue that stakeholder participation provides the poor with both benefits and risks in solving community development problems as outlined in **Box 2.1** below.

Box 2.1 Benefits and risks of stakeholder participation

Benefits of participation

- It can bring more information and broader experience into decision-making, contributing to the elaboration of more realistic and effective projects, policies, laws, and regulations.
- It can help ground new initiatives in existing and legitimate local institutions and in cultural values.
- It can help build political support for and reduce opposition to policy proposals, projects, and other decisions by building in stakeholder concerns and taking account of their interests.
- It can help build local capacity that assists in implementation and future development planning and actions.
- It can enhance the prospects that those responsible will be held accountable.

Risks of participation

- It may entail more time, require modifications of program schedules, and raise up-front planning costs because of bureaucratic delays. (These costs are often outweighed in the long run, however by faster implementation once stakeholders have agreed on what is to be done).
- It may provide a forum for articulating definitive opposition from stakeholders negatively affected by the project.
- It may raise expectations that are difficult to meet.
- It may trigger latent social or inter-ethnic conflicts.
- It may lead to policies and programs that respond to the short-term interests of participating groups at the expense of long-term sustainability objectives.
- It can help make the dialogue hostage to special interests that do not necessarily represent a cross-section of the stakeholders.

Source: Adapted from Hoben et al (1998: 116)

It has been shown that stakeholder participation results from activist participatory research an arm of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1994). PRA stipulates that poor people are creative and capable, can and should do much of their own investigation, analysis and planning. Outsider development activists have roles as conveners, catalysts and facilitators and that the weak and marginalized should be empowered. Participation in this regard is perceived, as a key factor to poverty reduction both in rural and urban areas because of the empowerment component hence is both a means and an end (Lazarev, 1994; Ntata, 2003).

However, empowerment may not necessarily result in increased participation because expected participants can decide to withdrawal participation in view of anticipated service costs. This is associated with demand for water and electricity. Urban slum dwellers may have the power to demand these services but anticipate failure to pay in view of their low incomes (Ntata, 2003). As a result, some may even deliberately relocate to areas where they can access services at no cost even if they are substandard.

Despite this view, studies have shown that CDD and decentralization enhances participation by enabling urban communities to demand, decide and prioritize their development needs and preferences. Faguet (2000) found that decentralization changed local and national investment patterns in Bolivian municipalities. The poorest and newly created municipalities were able to invest devolved public funds in their own highest priority projects. Urban infrastructure and basic services were improved because there was adequate stakeholder participation leading to improved accessibility of basic services to the urban poor.

It was found that reducing problems of urban poverty in Cities of Libreville, Port-Gentil and France Ville in Gabon hinged on increasing access of the poor to employment opportunities. This was achieved by improving infrastructure, which included establishing water and sanitation systems, as well as creating roads, safe walkways, and transport services. Local contractors carried out the work; hence the local poor were given a chance of accessing not only services but also employment opportunities by participating in actual planning and implementation of projects (Canel, 2001).

However, studies have shown that implementation of projects to upgrade poor urban environments lack effective co-ordination due to serious shortage of trained personnel; centralized delivery of public services; a weak resource base of urban local governments; and limited public participation in planning and implementing local projects (Rondinelli 1988; Cheema 1988). Despite these challenges other studies have shown that devolution and CDD enhances the spirit of self-help which can be achieved through active

leadership hence improve the delivery of services to the urban poor (Canel, 2001; Yeung and McGee 1986).

2.4. Participation and leadership

Empirical studies have shown that active community leadership is important in the delivery of services to the urban poor as it creates a high propensity to foster a sense of community among members. It has been shown that active leadership encourages more favourable assessment of service provision, offers greater awareness about effectiveness of collective action and influences the poor to participate in community matters (Ramos and Roman, 1986). However, low levels of specialization in skills make it difficult for leaders to work or deal with government officials to facilitate community development.

In addition, it has been shown that lack of professional knowledge and familiarization with administrative procedures affect levels of community participation in urban development (Siu-kai et al, 1986). Despite these problems, it has been shown that active community leaders in heterogeneous urban communities play a role of helping residents to demand services in a more effective and organized way (Yeung and McGee, 1986; Russel and Vidler, 2000; Moctezuma, 2001; Weru, 2004).

2.5. Ethnicity and community participation

Ethnicity refers to aspects of relationships between groups that consider themselves and by others to be culturally distinctive. Participatory development is about integrating those distinctive individuals and groups in a community (Mompoti and Prinsen, 2003). As an entity composed of different ethnic groups, a community has the capability to decide for its own advancement in development.

However, the social role of ethnicity in an urban community is complex as it can increase or decrease social cooperation and polarize or strengthen group identity within the community (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). It has also been shown that ethnicity among urban dwellers takes the form of “kin and home people” relationships. These could be migrants from the same village, district, region or ethnic group, which form residential clusters or

neighbourhoods and associations to maintain close ties even when residentially dispersed (Gugler, 1992). Success of CDD is therefore affected by how well such differences are managed. Resources and strategies used in demand-driven projects can bring communities together and help to manage ethnic differences and/or destroy the relationships (Mansuri and Rao, 2004).

Studies have shown that ethnicity can bring exclusion and antagonism in heterogeneous communities particularly if it causes insider-outsider tensions¹² which affects participation. The excluded and the antagonized tend to look for strategies that could derail community development programmes. In a Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Binga along the Zambezi Valley in Zimbabwe, the Ndebele were denied benefits from CAMPFIRE by the Tonga. This contributed to the reversal of the programme. The Ndebele enlisted services and support of powerful politicians and started to kill wildlife, and reclaiming land it occupied to further economic enterprises that were benefiting them. As a result of the tension the existence of wildlife in the area was threatened. This gave way to commercial agricultural establishments in favour of the outsider wealthy Ndebele at the expense of the insider Tonga (Murombezi, 1999; Dzingirai, 2003).

On the other hand, it has been argued that ethnic relationships enrich the social capital of the poor and influence participation by reversing power relations, creating agency and voice for the voiceless through their elected leaders. The inhabitants of San Miguel Teotongo in Mexico City became influential in urban development planning and contributed to accessibility of basic services in their community because they came from one ethnic group (Moctezuma, 2001). It has been shown that ethnic relationships give the poor more control over development assistance and become responsive to allocation of development funds to local needs (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). As such locally determined projects have the potential of improving accessibility of services and strengthen capabilities of the poor to undertake self-initiated development activities.

¹² Situations where expanding cities enclose villages into the urban fabric and original villagers consider themselves as insiders and any other new comers become outsiders to be excluded in some community activities. This may cause tension in the community between the two groups.

It is also argued that small ethnic groups may dominate CDD and that motivated leaders may influence the choice and location of projects in the community (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). However, if CDD has potential to provide a community with a school constructed and managed by a group of educated and motivated individuals but remains accessible to everybody, it may not be a bad thing. One community in Jamaican capital, Kingston rated an essentially top-down community stadium project as the most preferred and successful because it addressed a priority need for the community and reduced violence among the youth (Rao and Ibanez, 2003).

To ensure success of demand-driven projects, studies have shown that what is important is to distinguish *de jure*¹³ from *de facto*¹⁴ participation (Hoddinott, 2002). By allowing *de jure* and not *de facto* participation, beneficiaries become reluctant to act because of concerns that they would be subsequently overruled and their projects captured. It is suggested that demand-driven schemes should be accompanied by measures, which enhance the capacity of the poor to formulate and present sensible project proposals. Using selection procedures, which discriminate against the elite, projects of the poor stand a good chance of benefiting from social funds thereby enhancing community participation (Reddy, 1998; Hoddinott, 2002). Although the process is laborious, Canel (2001) argued that CDD enables poor urban communities to become involved in common concerns that encourage a sense of community project ownership.

2.6. Community participation in Lilongwe City

Empirical studies in Lilongwe City revealed that many households fail to participate in demand-driven projects because households allocate more time to small-scale family businesses or *ganyu* (casual labour) compared to community development activities (Fatch et al, 1998). The studies show that many business people prefer to contribute cash or engaging casual labourers to work for them in community projects leaving the ultra poor particularly women to contribute actual labor.

¹³ “Whose name is on the contract?” (See Hoddinott, 2002, p.163).

¹⁴ “Who has actual responsibility for planning and implementation?” (See Hoddinott, 2002, p.163).

In addition, low participation of women in MASAF projects was attributed to gender differences in skills because most projects use skills possessed by men. The few that possess such skills were not given a chance to participate and this was seen as an influence of gender blind policies that demean capabilities of women (Chipeta, 2005; Fatch et al, 1998). Similarly, inadequate institutional participation to develop urban poor communities was attributed to social exclusion in urban development policies. During the one party era, the Lilongwe City Assembly was justifying underdevelopment of squatter areas on the basis of their illegal status hence denied urban poor neighborhoods portable water supply and sanitation services (Englund, 2002).

Underdevelopment of some communities was also attributed to lack of commitment on the part of community members due to political interferences (Kawonga, 1996). In 1995, the LCA established Poverty Alleviation Committee (PAC) to develop policies on city poverty issues; Illegal Development Committee (IDC) to address issues of squatter settlements and upgrading; and Street Vending Committee (SVC) to handle matters of uncontrolled vending. However, all committees could not function as they were failing to form a quorum for scheduled meetings.

Similarly, Community Development Committees (CDCs) in Kauma and Chilinde were political. This was contrary to the guidelines for such committees to be apolitical to enhance community trust to encourage participation (Shaba, 1997; Chipeta, 2005). As a result communities were not participating as expected in community projects due to poor leadership. It has been argued that communities with leaders who have the ability to initiate development ideas that gain acceptance by relevant development committees are likely to prosper over those that lack such leaders. Communities who lack development conscious leadership may be the very communities in greatest need of social infrastructure such as schools and health units (Kishindo, 2001). This aspect is also perceived as critical to increase participation in demand-driven development among the urban poor. Failure to promote participation encourages an attitude of over dependence on central government and City authorities (Fatch et al, 1998; Chipeta and Chamgomo,

2000; Chipeta and Binauli, 2005) and generates a ‘government-knows better attitude’(Kishindo, 2001).

2.7 Chapter summary

Selected theoretical and empirical literature reviewed tackled participation in community development in poor urban neighborhoods. The few studies that were conducted in Lilongwe City (e.g. Kawonga and Chilowa,1993; Kawonga, 1996, 1998 & 2005; Shaba, 1997; Fatch et al, 1998; Englund, 2002; Chipeta and Binauli 2005; Kruise 2005a and b and Mumba 2005) among others did not address issues of participation using the CDD concept.

In general, the studies have revealed that participation in community projects in poor urban neighborhoods was low due to policies that were allowing the community to participate at project implementation level only. Secondly, it has been shown that differences in skills between men and women, ethnic differences, politics, leadership qualities and income sources or livelihood activities among others determine participation in community projects. Thirdly, prior to adoption of decentralization policy in 1998, community projects were initiated from the top through government departments and Lilongwe City Council (now Assembly) who were deciding projects to be implemented in poor urban neighborhoods. This is evidence that community participation in urban development projects was passive.

With regard to integration of demand driven projects in urban planning processes, literature reviewed has shown that implementation of community projects in poor urban neighborhoods was adhoc. This was caused by the city’s rapid population growth such that the excess population started to squat on vacant land that was reserved for other uses in the City. Temporary public infrastructures were being provided in adhoc communal points in the squatted areas with the aim of addressing mainly water and sanitation problems without due regard to proper planning. As a result some pockets in the poor urban neighborhoods in Lilongwe City were not accessing the facilities. The methodology for this study is described in the next chapter.

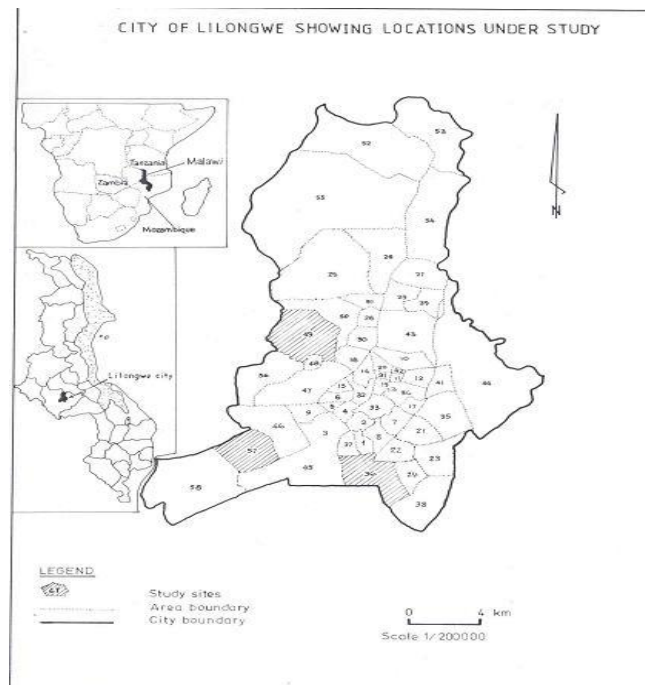
CHAPTER 3

STUDY METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study sites

Lilongwe City was chosen because it topped the list of urban Assemblies that failed to access funding for community projects in the first phase of MASAF 3 in 2003. The study was conducted in Area 36 (Phwetekere), Area 49 (“Dubai”)¹⁵ and Area 57 (Chinsapo)¹⁶ as shown in **Figure 3.1**. The sites were purposively selected based on geographical distribution and their location on the edges of the City.

Figure 3.1 Map of Lilongwe City



Selection of the sites was also influenced by the low socio-economic status for the majority of households although medium and high-income people continue to buy land from the poor and are building own houses, a move which seems to shift the poor to

¹⁵ The name “Dubai” was adopted from Area 25C where Limbe Leaf Tobacco Company constructed staff houses. The houses resembled those, which business people saw in Dubai in United Arab Emirates (UAE), and were called “Dubai” Lines.

¹⁶ Chinsapo has two sections, Chinsapo 1 also known as Chinsapo *Chamafaiti* due to occurrences of ethnic conflicts. A *gule wankulu* dancer also known as *Nyau* (mask) or *chilombo* (animal) was killed in 2002 purportedly by the Yao and buried on roadside to Likuni Mission. Chinsapo 2 is also known as Chinsapo *Chambuzi* because of too many goats, which roam around the community.

further edges of the city. In addition, the sites had a mixture of THA and squatter status implying that the poor and non-poor were living together, record of success and failure of MASAF sponsored community projects, high population densities as these are areas where the poor can rent relatively cheaply, inadequate infrastructure and social amenities such as roads, piped water, healthy facilities, schools, and poor sanitation.

3.2. Research design and sampling methods

Qualitative and quantitative approaches were utilized and the following methods were used to sample household respondents for the survey; participants for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informants for in-depth interviews.

3.2.1. Snowball sampling

Key Informants were identified using snowball sampling. This is a technique in which the respondents are chosen according to information supplied by already studied subjects. In most cases, the method is used if one needs to gain entry into a little known phenomenon or where the researcher wants to secure an interview on sensitive matters that need an introduction of a most trusted person.

As such, the method was used because the study was done at a time when the media had reported cases of corruption involving politicians and community leaders. Huge sums of money for public development projects were misappropriated in the period 1994-2004 such that the government anti-graft watchdog, the Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) was prosecuting the culprits. A number of contractors misappropriated funds amounting to MK187 million for in building public schools. This case is popularly known as the “education scam”. The director for Jeff Wa Jeff Building Contractors, one of the major suspects in the case was residing in Area 36 where part of the sample for this study was drawn. Snowball sampling was therefore chosen because many people were suspicious that the researcher and assistants were ACB investigators. This was discovered during a reconnaissance study of the sites. Since the key informants were only those who had played a role in MASAF sponsored projects and community block leaders, the method was found to be more appropriate to find respondents because the study was perceived as sensitive.

3.2.2. Systematic sampling and transect walk

Systematic sampling, a method in which selection of sample units is dependent on the selection of a previous one was used to select a sample of 200 households for questionnaire interviews. Enumeration maps for Phwetekere, “Dubai” and Chinsapo from NSO were used to locate the sites. Household lists for the IHS of 2005 from NSO were used as a sampling frame for Phwetekere and Chinsapo and transect walk was used in “Dubai” because this site was not sampled in the IHS. Proportional sample sizes were utilized based on population projections for the sites from the 1998 census projected to 2006 using annual population growth rates (see NSO, 2003). Samples of 106 respondents were drawn from Chinsapo, 50 from Phwetekere and 44 from “Dubai”.

3.3. Data collection methods

3.3.1. Focus group discussions (FGDs)

FGDs were used to gain a deeper understanding of participation in demand driven projects in poor urban neighbourhoods. Seven FGDS (one with men and women in each site and one with the youth¹⁷) were conducted. Within the FDGs participants ranked public services, which they perceived as inaccessible and could be made accessible using the CDD approach. A matrix of priorities was developed (see Appendix 3.0) and the FGD guide is also attached (see Appendix 5.0B).

3.3.2. Key informant interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with community leaders, officials from Lilongwe Water Board, LCA, MASAF and CBOs. A snowball method was used to identify the informants. Twelve interviews were conducted in total and the interview guide is attached (see Appendix 5.0A).

3.3.3 Observations

Observations on community situations were done and clarifications were sought mainly from water Kiosk Attendants, women that were found drawing water in Kiosks or wells,

¹⁷ The National Youth Policy for Malawi says the youth are all young people, female and male from the age of 14 to 25 years or less than 14 and above 25 depending on their social and economic circumstances.

City Street sweepers and other senior members of the community. Photographs were also taken to authenticate field observations.

3.3.4. Survey

Quantitative data were collected using a pre-coded questionnaire (see Appendix 5.0C). This was administered to a member of a household aged 18 and above. This data was collected to substantiate qualitative data and to obtain socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the households. It was also designed to assess perceptions on accessibility of public goods and services, operations of CDD and quality of community leadership. Opinions on determinants of participation in community projects were also sought using this method.

3.4. Data collection

Data were collected for a period of 28 days in the month of June. Two Research Assistants' were trained and translation of questions was agreed upon before pre-testing. The instruments were pre-tested in Mwendakale location in Zomba Municipality. Ten questionnaires were pre-tested. As part of pre-testing, three FGDs each for men, women and the youth were conducted and two Key Informants were interviewed. Samples were analyzed and then minor adjustments to the instruments were done before the questionnaire and interview checklists were printed for the actual data collection exercise.

3.5. Data analysis

Quantitative data were analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 11.0. Inferences were drawn from descriptive cross tabulations and frequencies. Some data were imported into Microsoft Excel because it was easy to make good graphs than in the former. Content analysis¹⁸ was used to analyze qualitative data.

3.6. Quality assurance mechanisms

Data collection tools were discussed and corrected with Research Assistants after briefing them on objectives of the study and were pre-tested before mass printing. This process

¹⁸ Content analysis is a method of studying the content of documents in order to establish their meaning.

was repeated in the field particularly to take care of language and understanding of respondents. Since I was personally involved in the exercise, regular discussions were conducted every evening to enhance validity and reliability of the instruments.

Experienced and well-qualified assistants were engaged in the data collection. One assistant had a Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) and more than 3 years of experience in both qualitative and quantitative data collection at Centre for Social Research (CSR). The second assistant was a student on the Master of Education programme. Data entry was done by one of the assistants and I personally checked entries against each questionnaire and cleaned the data to eliminate discrepancies.

3.7. Ethical considerations

Community leaders were briefed on the objectives of the study and in all sites leaders welcomed the data collection team. Respondents and participants were briefed about the study before a questionnaire or interview guide was administered to them such that their participation in the study was voluntary. All completed questionnaires and interview reports were kept confidentially. At the end of every interview, respondents were given a chance to ask questions and these were adequately addressed before leaving the place.

3.8. Problems and limitations of the study

It was difficult to organize FGDs in two of the three sites. Participants were not turning up at the agreed time presumably because the study was mostly done during working days. The limitation of the study is that findings may not be generalized to all urban areas in Malawi or even the whole Lilongwe City due to the small size of the sample, which was drawn from only 3 out of 26 poor neighbourhoods in Lilongwe City. However, results as presented and discussed provide reliable empirical insights on the nature of participation in Community Driven Development among the urban poor.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0. Introduction

The aim of the study was to examine the nature of participation in demand driven development and its contributions to improving accessibility of services to the urban poor. Members of the community in Chinsapo, Phwetekere and “Dubai” in Lilongwe City acknowledged that participation in demand driven projects in these poor neighborhoods was low. The study reveals several factors that determine community participation in demand driven projects. The chapter discusses the findings.

4.1. Household composition and characteristics of the sample

Out of 200 respondents, 45% were males and 55% were females. The total number of persons in the households was 1040 giving an average of 5.2 persons per household. The largest household had 13 members and the mode was 5. This finding was close to the 1998 PHC which reported that the average number of persons per household in Lilongwe City was 4.3 (NSO, 2000; NSO and IFPRI 2002). More females were sampled in the study because they were the eldest household members that were found at home since the study was done during working hours when most men were not at home.

However, 53.8% of household members were male and 46.2% were female. It was found that 10.5% of the households in the sample had no female member while a male member was found in each. This trend is similar to the 1998 PHC finding that more males than females were living in each of the four major urban centres in Malawi (NSO, 2000; NSO and IFPRI 2002). In total, 272 people participated in the study.

4.1.1. Relationship of respondents to household head

As can be seen from **Table 4.1** below, 40% of respondents were household heads and 45% were spouses of the household head. It can further be noted that 85% of the household heads were male while 15% were female. There were many males than females in other categories as shown. It was further observed that more women participated in FGDs where as more men participated in the interviews.

Table 4.1 Relationship of respondents to household head by sex (%)

Relationship of Respondent to household head	Sex of Respondent		Total (N=200)
	Male	Female	
Household head (n=80)	85.0	15.0	40.0
Spouse (n= 90)		100.0	45.0
Daughter/Son (n= 16)	68.8	31.2	8.0
Grandchild (n=6)	66.7	33.3	3.0
Brother/Sister (n= 8)	87.5	12.5	4.0

Source: Field Data

Similarly, the 1998 PHC indicated that men were heading about 69% of the households as compared to 31% that were headed by women (NSO and IFPRI, 2002). This implies that the probability of having males participating in demand driven projects in poor urban neighborhoods could be high. More females could also participate since most of them spend more time at home than males as reported earlier in this chapter and in Fatch et al (1998) and Chipeta and Chamgomo (2000).

4.1.2 Relationship of marital status and age group of respondents

Table 4.2 below shows that 20.5% of respondents had never married, 42.5% were married and had a marriage certificate.

Table 4.2 Relationship of marital status and age group of respondents (%)

Marital status of respondents	N	Age group of respondents					Percentage of Total N= 200
		< 20 n= 12	20-29 n=106	30-39 n=38	40-49 n= 26	50+ n= 18	
Never married	41	19.5	75.6	-	4.9	-	20.5
Married with certificate	85	-	47.1	30.6	11.8	10.6	42.5
Married traditional	46	4.3	56.5	23.9	10.9	4.3	23.0
Consensual union	12	16.7	41.7	8.3	33.3	-	6.0
Divorced/separated	7	-	57.1	-	14.3	28.6	3.5
Widowed	9	-	-	-	44.4	55.6	4.5
Total	200						100

Source: Field Data

Besides, 23% were married traditionally with approval of *Ankhoswe* (Marriage councillors), 6% were in a consensual union while 3.5% and 4.5% were divorced or separated and widowed respectively. It can further be noted from Table 4.2 that out of the 20.5% that reported to have never married, 19.5% were aged less than 20 while 75.6% and 4.9% were in the 20-29 and 40-49 age groups respectively. It can also be calculated from Table 4.2 that 53% of respondents were in the 20-29 seconded by 19% in 30-39 age groups respectively. In total 71.5% of respondents were married while 28.5% were never married, divorced or separated and widowed. The trend in Table 4.2 above shows that most of the respondents who were married were aged 20 years or more. According to the 1998 PHC, the median age of the population in Malawi was 21.9 years and that the mean ages at first marriage for women and men were 18.9 and 23.2 years respectively. The 1998 PHC found that men and women in urban centres like Lilongwe City delay their first marriage (NSO, 2000; NSO and IFPRI, 2002).

This finding is therefore in tandem with the PHC as it has shown that there were less married people in the less than 20 age group as compared to the other groups in the sample. Further than that the 1998 PHC showed that 3.9% of the population in the central region were divorced or separated which is almost similar to 3.5% as shown in **Table 4.2** above. This is important as it will be shown later in the chapter how marital status and age group of neighborhood members affect participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor.

4.1.3 Level of education

Considering that ‘knowledge is power’, level of education for community members can have a bearing on participation in community development. As **Table 4.3** below reveals, 48% of respondents attended primary education, 11% had never been to school, while 36%, 3% and 2% attended secondary, post secondary and adult (*Yakwacha*) education respectively.

Table 4.3 Highest education levels attended by sex

Sex of Respondent (N= 200)	Highest educational level attended (N= 200)					Total (%)
	Never been to school (n= 22)	Primary (n= 97)	Secondary (n= 72)	Post secondary (n= 5)	Adult education (Yakwacha) (n= 4)	
Male (n= 90)	10	47	42	2		45
Female (n= 110)	12	50	30	3	4	55
Total (%)	11	48	36	3	2	100

Source: Field Data

Similar trends were reported in the IHS of 2005 that 9.7% of the population in Lilongwe City had never attended school although education is a key determinant for the lifestyle and status an individual enjoys in society (NSO, 2005a).

Reasons such as lack of money for fees and uniform (49.6%); being orphaned (25.6%); disability or illness (9.8%); not interested or parents did not allow (5.3%) and having no school nearby (9.8%) were cited as being the cause for never attending school. In total, it was also found in the IHS that 10.8% of household heads had no educational qualification while (48.3%) had primary education and 40.8% attended secondary education (NSO, 2005a).

Table 4.3 above shows further that only females and no male respondents had attended adult education representing 3.6% of female respondents or 2% of the total sample. Overall, the study shows that 89% of respondents had some form of education. The 1998 PHC revealed that 79% of the population aged 5 years or over in urban areas had an education. Similarly, social statistical maps based on the 1998 PHC indicate that the mean maximum educational level for households in Phwetekere was 5.57-7.0 years, 7.0-9.0 in Chinsapo and more than 9.0 years in “Dubai” surpassing the National rate of 5.0-5.57 years (NSO and IFPRI 2002). Such more than average educational attendance by the respondents as shown could be attributed to Universal Free Primary Education (UFPE) policy which was declared in 1994 among other factors that resulted in increased primary school enrolment.

4.1.4 Ethnic background

Table 4.4 below shows distribution of ethnic groups in the sites sampled.

Table 4.4 Distribution of ethnic groups by area visited

Ethnic group Of respondent	Areas visited						Total	
	Phwetekere		“Dubai”		Chinsapo			
	N	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Chewa	20	40	14	31.8	38	35.8	72	36.0
Ngoni	12	24	10	22.7	27	25.5	49	24.5
Yao	11	22	7	15.9	19	18.0	37	18.5
Lomwe	3	6	3	6.8	10	9.4	16	8.0
Tumbuka			5	11.4	7	6.6	12	6.0
Nyanja	4	8	1	2.3	5	4.7	10	5.0
Sena			3	6.8			3	1.5
Tonga			1	2.3			1	.5
Total	50		44		106		200	100

Source: Field Data

It can be seen that 36% of respondents in Phwetekere, “Dubai” and Chinsapo were the Chewa and 24.5% were the Ngoni. Ethnic groups for other respondents were as shown in **Table 4.4**. This testifies to study reports that urban areas are ethnically heterogeneous (Smith, 1996; Hoben et al, 1998; Canel, 2001; Mompoti and Prinsen, 2003). Ethnic groups as listed in **Table 4.4** above were also evident in FGDs and interviews such that participants were from all the four¹⁹ political regions of the country. Another form of heterogeneity among the urban poor in Lilongwe City is religion and this is discussed in the following section.

4.1.5 Religious affiliation

It was found that 80% of the sample were Christians seconded by Muslims (17%) and 3% were Traditional or Aaron (*Nyau* or *gule wankulu* cult) followers. Similar trends were noted in the 1998 PHC that 80% of the population in Malawi were Christians, 13% were Muslim, 3.1% represented other religions and 4.3% had no religion (NSO, 2000, NSO and IFPRI, 2002). In terms of spatial distribution in the study sites, crosstabulations revealed that out of the Christian denominations, Pentecostals were dominant in all sites representing 22% of the sample of which 63.6% were in Chinsapo and 18.2% were found in “Dubai” and Phwetekere respectively. Muslims, SDAs and Jehovah’s Witnesses were most dominant in Phwetekere (22%, 12% and 6%) respectively and 21% of the sample were Catholics.

¹⁹ Politicians have divided Malawi into four regions (North, Central, East and South) instead of the traditional three administrative regions (North, Central and South).

Such varied religious affiliations in Lilongwe City testifies to the heterogeneity of urban neighborhoods as indicated in Smith, 1996; Hoben et al, 1998; Canel, 2001 and Mompati and Prinsen, 2003. Religion has found an important place in participatory development discourse in Malawi and the World over in recent years and it can encourage or discourage participation in demand driven projects in poor urban neighborhoods.

However, as argued in Mansuri and Rao (2004), factors discussed above can increase or decrease the social capital of the urban poor. Since people of various ethnic backgrounds, educational levels and religious affiliations live together, the period of residence in a community plays a role in cementing relations thereby increasing the social capital of the urban poor. In the following section, period of residence is discussed as a characteristic of the sample and its effect on participation is discussed later in the chapter.

4.1.6 Period of residence

Table 4.5 shows period of residence for respondents in the areas visited.

Table 4.5 Period of residence for respondents in areas visited

Period of residence for the Respondent in the Community	Areas visited						Total	
	Phwetekere		“Dubai”		Chinsapo			
	n	%	n	%	N	%	N	%
1 Year or Less	9	18	4	9.1	12	11.3	25	12.5
2-5 years	22	44	22	50.0	37	34.9	81	40.5
6-9 Years	9	18	9	20.5	19	17.9	37	18.5
10-13 Years	4	8	3	6.8	5	4.7	12	6.0
More than 14 Years	6	12	6	13.6	33	31.1	45	22.5
Total	50		44		106		200	100

Source: Field Data

It is evident from **Table 4.5** above that 40.5% of respondents had lived in the study sites for a period of 2-5 years, 6% for 10-13 years and 22.5% for more than 14 years. Similarly, 50% of respondents had lived in “Dubai” for 2-5 years and 18%, 9.1% and 11.3% for Phwetekere, “Dubai” and Chinsapo respectively lived in these areas for 1 year or less. The mean period of residence in all sampled sites was 2.8years. This shows that many residents migrated to the study sites in less than 5 years.

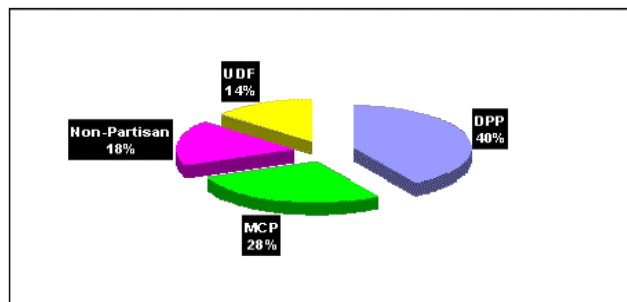
The majority of participants in FGDs and interviews in all study sites also reported to have lived in the neighborhoods for not less than 5 years. This testifies to the assertion

that there is rapid urbanization in Lilongwe City due to urban-urban as well as rural-urban migration (Englund 2002). It is this migration which also pulls people of different political affiliations into one community making it an important factor worth considering in demand driven projects and is discussed next.

4.1.7 Political affiliation

Respondents in the survey were asked about their political party affiliation since in Malawi, politics has an affect on participation in demand driven projects. Fatch et al (1998) noted that politics was a major cause of disputes which were affecting mobilization of participation in community projects. **Figure 4.1** therefore shows political party preferences for respondents as of June 2006.

Figure 4.1 Political party preferences for respondents



Source: Field Data

Notably from **Figure 4.1** above, 18% of respondents were non-partisan. They argued that their trust in party politics had deteriorated due to disappointing political events since 1994 when the first multiparty government was ushered into power. The large support for the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was attributed to the construction of Likuni Road passing through Chinsapo, which was underway at the time of the study. Forty percent (40%) of respondents described the DPP as a “development conscious” party.

Although the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) had been enjoying a large following among the Chewa, the study reveals that such support is on the decline as only 28% of respondents expressed preference for the party. Similarly, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was mentioned by 14% of respondents indicating that support was declining. This

can be attributed to the party's bad record on corruption and the withdrawal of the incumbent State President (Dr Bingu Wa Mutharika) from the party in February 2005. It was found that UDF was popular among the Muslim community who were common in Phwetekere and Chinsapo. Other parties represented in parliament like Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), People's Transformation Party (PETRA) and Peoples Progressive Party (PPM) were not mentioned indicating that they were not popular in the study sites.

4.1.8 Sources of income for participants and households

Respondents were asked about the main source of income for the household 12 months prior to the study. Participants in FGDs and Key Informants were asked about livelihood activities. It was found that 42% of households in the survey were depending on small-scale family businesses, 41% on salary of the household head, 12.5% on wages from *ganyu* and 4.5% were practicing smallholder urban agriculture. This was also reflected in FGDs as shown in **Table 4.6**.

Table 4.6 Livelihood activities for FGD participants (%)

Livelihood Activity	Area Visited							
	Phwetekere		"Dubai"		Chinsapo			Total
	M (n=7)	F (n= 7)	M (n=7)	F (n=6)	M (n=10)	F (n= 10)	Y (n= 7)	N=54
Family Business	42.8	57.1	57.1	33.6	50.0	30.0	14.3	40.7
Salaried Worker	28.6	0.0	28.6	0.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	18.5
Ganyu	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	0.0	7.4
Farming	0.0	14.3	14.3	16.7	0.0	10.0	0.0	7.4
Housewife	0.0	28.6	0.0	50.0	0.0	30.0	0.0	14.8
Student	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	85.7	11.1
M= Male F= Female Y= Youth n= FGD Participants N= Total number of FGD Participants								

Source: Field FGD Data

The majority of participants in FGDs and interviews were retired public servants whose livelihood activities were farming and small-scale family businesses. Some were serving officers in the public service, CBOs, housewives and students. Findings as reported in **Table 4.6** above were also reported in the IHS of 2005. It was found in the IHS that the highest source of income for households in Lilongwe City was from salaries and wages

followed by income from enterprises and other income sources and lastly from agricultural activities (NSO, 2005a). Similar trends in income sources were also reported in Blantyre City informal settlements (Munthali et al, 2006). The study has shown that source of income is a determinant of participation in demand driven projects and is discussed in the following sections.

4.2. Forms of community participation

Regarding the nature of participation in demand driven projects, **Table 4.7** below shows the frequency and rankings for forms of participation as suggested by participants in FGDs. It is evident from **Table 4.7** that contributing labour was ranked highly (1) with a frequency score of 7 having been mentioned in all FGDs. Attending community development meetings was mentioned in two and others were mentioned in one FGD ranking them at 4th and 5th respectively.

Table 4.7 Ranking of forms of community participation in FGDs

No	Perceived Forms of Participation	Frequency	Rank
1	Contributing Labour or physically working on the project	7	1
2	Contributing Materials (sand, stones, water, bricks)	5	2
3	Taking part in needs assessment	4	3
4	Attending Community Development meetings	2	4
5	Being a member of the PMC	1	5
6	Contributing Funds	1	5
7	Taking part in selecting projects for implementation	1	5
8	Initiating Projects	1	5
9	Showing willingness and concern to solve community problem	1	5

Source: Field Data

As can be seen from **Table 4.7** above, aspects of community participation such as participating in needs assessment, attending community meetings, initiating community projects and willingness to participate were ranked lowly. This could be attributed to a hangover of the old urban development perception of involving the community at project implementation level as indicated in earlier studies (see Fatch et al, 1998; Chirwa et al, 2002 and Dulani, 2003). This explains the LCAs' failure to secure funding for projects in the first phase of MASAF 3 because of low or absence of community participation as was reported in the minutes of a National technical project appraisal meeting of 2004.

Participants in FGDs complained that community leaders and project officials make community decisions in private. Information on how communal water Kiosks are managed was the preserve for CDC executive members and information on pending projects was not shared with the community. Such practices were affecting participation mobilization in demand driven projects in Lilongwe City. The youth from Chinsapo complained that they had never been involved at any stage of the project cycle. It was learnt that when announcing community meetings they just invite household heads such that the youth attend in a representative capacity. It should be noted that failure to involve the youth in community projects implies leaving out a large proportion of participants in demand driven projects especially when studies have shown that Malawi's urban population is relatively young (NSO, 2000; NSO and IFPRI, 2002).

According to Key Informants in Chinsapo, participation in demand driven projects in poor urban neighbourhoods was inadequate. They gave an example of digging trenches for piped water and moulding bricks for a clinic. They said the community is not informed accordingly about the need to participate as described by the informant:

Five years ago MASAF and the Councillor brought a water project. They said they had no money for digging trenches and the community dug from here to Chimphangu. They said the money was not enough to buy pipes and pay people who were building water Kiosks. The first to supply us with water was UNICEF but the community was not involved (Key Informant, Chinsapo).

The emphasis on money not being enough to pay participants indicates that communities, including leaders, are not well informed on why they should participate in community projects even in the absence of wages. In Chinsapo and "Dubai" it was learnt that a Councillor warned that anybody who will not participate would neither enjoy free usage of water nor be allowed to tap water from the main supply line to individual plots. This points to the general view of the community that participation can only be achieved if people work together as a unit and are involved at all stages of any project (Fatch et al, 1998). Failure to involve the community reflects top-down as compared to bottom-up voluntary participation in community initiatives expected in real demand driven development as discussed in the next section.

4.2.1 Participation in demand-driven projects

Respondents in the survey were asked if they had ever participated in any demand driven project in the period they lived in the community. As **Table 4.8** below shows, 57% of respondents had never participated and 43% had participated. Analysis of participation per study site revealed that many respondents had never participated indicating that participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor was low.

Table 4.8 Participation in demand-driven project

Ever Participated in A Demand- driven project	Areas Visited						Total	
	Phwetekere		“Dubai”		Chinsapo			
	N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%
Yes	10	20.0	31	70.5	45	42.5	86	43
No	40	80.0	13	29.5	61	57.5	114	57
Total	50		44		106		200	100

Source: Field Data

This was with an exception in “Dubai”, where the data revealed that 70.5% (n= 31) had ever participated. It was learnt that residents in “Dubai” came in as squatters after re-locating from a nearby location called Area 25. Establishment of communal basic services like piped water in the neighbourhood was therefore perceived that the LCA was legalizing their settlement by facilitating installation of piped water. As such community leaders made sure that all inhabitants in “Dubai” had to participate and many complied. This shows that people can participate only if they can calculate individual benefits from a communal project. In this case, the benefits were access to a plot of land which is serviced with piped water. This is the rationality emphasized in the RCM (Downs, 1957).

4.3. Determinants of participation in demand-driven projects

In order to identify determinants of participation among the urban poor, the variable “ever participated in demand driven project” was cross-tabled with characteristics of respondents. This was to find out whether socio-economic characteristics of respondents influence participation. The findings are discussed in the sections that follow:

4.3.1 Period of residence vs. participation

As can be noted from **Table 4.9** below, 84% of respondents who had lived in the study communities for one year or less had never participated in community projects and 16% had participated representing 12.5% of the total sample. It can also be seen that level of participation in demand-driven projects is increasing with an increase in period of residence in community.

Table 4.9 Period of residence as a determinant of participation

Period of Residence In the community	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No		N	%
	N	%	n	%		
1 Year or Less	4	16.0	21	84.0	25	12.5
2-5 Years	28	34.6	53	65.4	81	40.5
6-9Years	20	54.1	17	45.9	37	18.5
10-13 Years	6	50.0	6	50.0	12	6.0
More than 14 Years	28	62.2	17	37.8	45	22.5
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

Sixty two percent (62.2%) of respondents who had lived in study communities for more than 14 years had ever-participated and 37.8% had never participated representing 22.5% of the total sample. Some participants in FGDs had the view that internally shifting residences among the urban poor as reported in (Hoben et al, 1998; Canel, 2001) affect participation as described below:

When some people are told to participate in community development work they argue that they are mobile. When development work starts they come for one day and the next day you hear they have moved to another location. If their new location is about to start community work they also move to another (FGD with women, Chinsapo).

This shows that among the urban poor, period of residence in the neighborhood is a determinant of participation in demand driven projects. It also implies that the longer the period of residence, the more the residents become socially attached to the neighbourhood and begin to consider it as their real village. Studies have shown that it is easy to mobilize participation if people are socially attached to the community. It is that feeling of homeliness that influences their decision to participate in projects that will upgrade their community environment since nobody likes living in slum conditions (Moctezuma, 2001; Weru, 2004; Cabbanes, 2004).

4.3.2 Residential status vs. participation

Participants in FGDs and interviews pointed out that some people do not participate in demand-driven projects because they are living in a rented house hence perceive their residential status as temporary. According to Key Informants in “Dubai”, house renters argue that they cannot participate in a project, which would not benefit them for long since they anticipate moving to another house in a different location anytime. A participant in an FGD with women in Chinsapo described staying in town as *pa Kachere* (a tree associated with a temporary rest of birds).

On the one hand, this indicates that living in a rented house in a poor urban community is associated with temporary residence and movement to a different location is determined by personal preferences. Most house renters were arguing that demand driven projects in poor urban neighborhoods are for those who own houses in the community since they stand a good chance to benefit from higher rents. The urban poor including house renters are aware that availability of public services in a community increase landed property values such that higher rents can be asked if let out or sold. As such participating to have services nearby implies inviting higher rents and utility bills thereby adding more demands on their low incomes. As Ntata (2003) indicated, majority of the urban poor would rather cop with the situation than inviting more expenses through rents and utility bills.

On the other hand, absentee landlords were interested to participate in the projects as was revealed in the interview excerpt below:

We insist that landlords be informed about the community project so that they can participate. Oftentimes landlords send their workers. This was happening when we were digging trenches for water pipes on a project sponsored by MASAF (Key Informant, “Dubai”).

A question was asked to find out house ownership rate in the community. It was found that 56.5% of respondents were living in own houses while 43.5% were renting. An analysis of house ownership against participation revealed that 51.3% who owned houses had ever participated in a demand driven project and 48.7% who were renting had never participated. This implies that house ownership in a community is a determinant of

participation in demand driven projects in Lilongwe City. It also shows that both house owners and renters among the urban poor act rationally by considering the costs and benefits of their participation. House renters in poor urban neighborhoods consider free riding on public services beneficial by remaining reluctant to participate in demand driven projects but insist on claiming public service user rights as indicated in Rondinnelli (1988).

4.3.3 Age Group vs. participation

It can be noted from **Table 4.10** below that out of 6% of respondents aged 20 or less 33.3% had participated in community driven projects and 66.7% had never participated.

Table 4.10 Age group as a determinant of participation

Age Group of respondent	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No			
	N	%	n	%	N	%
< 20 years	4	33.3	8	66.7	12	6
21-29 Years	36	34.0	70	66.0	106	53
30-39Years	20	52.6	18	47.4	38	19
40-49Years	16	61.5	10	38.5	26	13
More than 50 years	10	55.6	8	44.4	18	9
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

A similar trend can be seen in the 21-29 age group but more respondents in older groups had participated (52.6%, 61.5% and 55.6%) respectively. This means that participation in demand driven projects in poor urban neighbourhoods is perceived as the responsibility of the elderly. Key Informants in Chinsapo observed that some youths are irresponsible and reluctant to participate in community projects. It was argued that most of the youth think life is about chasing women, drinking beer, smoking and fighting for the simplest of reasons. Such activities were described as time and energy consuming, which the youth could have used in community development activities.

This perception could also be explained by a cultural belief where elders are expected to lead in decision-making for the community. For the elderly participation in demand driven projects is a pastime activity considering their actions as preparing a future for the

youth. While the youth get busy participating in income generating activities in the informal sector, the little income is spent largely on food, beer and buying sex.

The end result for the latter is contracting and spreading sexually transmitted infections adding more health problems in poor urban neighbourhoods. Munthali et al, (2006) indicated that there are high levels of prostitution in poor urban neighbourhoods as an income generating activity. Consequently, poor urban neighbourhoods have become a source of pressure on government health facilities that are already faced with shortage of medicines and health staff (NSO and ORC Macro, 2001& 2005; Munthali et al, 2006).

4.3.4 Source of household income vs. participation

Participants in FGDs pointed out that many people migrate to town *kukazisaka* (going about hunting money). As such they have no time to work for free at the expense of their families. A female Key Informant in “Dubai” said it is inhuman to ask poor people who migrated to town to seek better ways of dealing with their poverty to work for free. Participants in FGDs and interviews also expressed disappointment that despite participating in demand driven projects, they still have to pay for services just like the rich as shown in the following excerpt:

Ku tawuni kuno chili chonse ndi chogula kuyambila madzi ndi zina zonse, ndiye kuyika nthawi yako yambiri ku ntchito ya m'mudzi yopanda chilichonse pamapeto pake ndiye kuti utuwa (Here in town nothing is free, not even water. Therefore dedicating your time to work for free in community projects, you may end up “dusty” (starving the family), (Female Key Informant, Phwetekere).

The sentiments above are also reflected in the question “*Ndinalakwa Chani?*” (What did I do wrong?), a local tune done by Gresham Nyambo reproduced in the following excerpt:

Iwe, iwe, iwe, iwe, iwe; Ndinalakwa chani kuti uzindida? x2; Sandiike mawu mkamwa mwanga; Pa tawuni pano ndinabwera ndekha; Chifukwa chamavuto anga ine; Sindinabwere kuzalimbana ndi munthu; Ndinabwera kuno kuzadzisaka. (You x5, what wrong did I do for you to hate me? Don't put words in my mouth; I came alone to town because of my problems. I did not come to quarrel with anybody; I came here to look for money).

The drive for money as a motive for rural-urban migration as captured in the song, indicates a pervasive attitude that many people could participate in demand driven projects that pay wages. This also explains the high demand to participate in projects under LAMP than SSP and CMP. Participants were receiving a wage for working in projects under LAMP while in SSP and CMP communities were participating for free (MASAF, 2003).

Analysis of the survey data verified that source of income is a determinant for participation. As can be seen from **Table 4.11** below the source of income for 41% of households was employment while 42% were depending on family businesses. Participation in each category represented 36.6% and 40.5% respectively against 63.4% and 59.5% who had never participated.

Table 4.11 Source of income as a determinant of participation

Source of income For the household	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No		N	%
	N	%	n	%		
Salaried Employee	30	36.6	52	63.4	82	41.0
Family Business	34	40.5	50	59.5	84	42.0
Ganyu	18	72.0	7	28.0	25	12.5
Smallholder farming	4	44.4	5	55.6	9	4.5
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

However, it can also be noted from **Table 4.11** above that 72% out of 12.5% of the sample whose source of income was *ganyu* had ever participated against 28% who had never participated. This is an indication that source of income for the household is a determinant of participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor.

It was also learnt from FGDs that the employed and business people use *ganyu* workers to do community work on their behalf if compulsory for everybody to do so. This practice influenced 36.6% of salaried employees and 40.5% who were running family businesses as shown in **Table 4.11** to register, as having participated otherwise participation in those categories would have been less. Fatch et al (1998) predicted the practice of contracting out participation using *ganyu* workers that it could result into only the poor contributing in actual labour work.

Some participants in FGDs observed that even though engaging *ganyu* workers may encourage participation, it has a problem of selectivity. Some people were uncomfortable to work for free yet someone next to them was to be paid. This shows that the preference of some households to use *ganyu* workers may not necessarily lead to increased participation in demand driven projects. As was found in the IHS, (NSO, 2005a) those who were depending on *ganyu* in Lilongwe City were spending the least average time per week on the activity indicating that it was also allocated to other income generating activities e.g. vending.

4.3.5 Level of education vs. participation

Key Informants in Phwetekere observed that level of education is may not be a determining factor for participation in demand driven projects. It was reported that a CBO leader in Phwetekere was perceiving community leaders and their people as uneducated and this influenced leaders and the community to withdrawal participation.

The contractor feels that since he is educated than us, we do not know the importance of participating in collecting sand, moulding bricks and contributing labor in community projects. Since the LCA seems to condone the behaviour of this contractor we withdrew our participation (Male Key Informant, Phwetekere).

The community were perceiving a CBO leader as a contractor yet the project was to be done with and not for the community. The withdrawal of participation was not influenced by the less education on the part of the community but the behaviour of the CBO leader posing as exceptionally knowledgeable in a public community project. The Jamaican study (Rao and Ibanez, 2003) found that better networked and eudcated individuals (like the CBO leader in this case) dominate decision making in demand driven projects.

Table 4.12 below shows the results from the survey data for level of education as a determinant of participation.

Table 4.12 Level of education as a determinant of participation

Highest Level of Education	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No		N	%
	n	%	n	%		
Never been to school	12	54.5	10	45.5	22	11.0
Primary	45	46.4	52	53.6	97	48.5
Secondary	24	33.3	48	66.7	72	36.0
Post-secondary	2	40.0	3	60.0	5	2.5
Adult Education (Yakwacha)	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	2.0
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

It can be noted that 54.5% (n= 12) of respondents who had never been to school from 11% (N= 22) had ever participated in a community project and 45.5% (n= 10) had never participated. Besides, only 40% of respondents who had attended post secondary education had ever participated.

This shows that level of education is a determinant of participation as it can be seen from **Table 4.12** that participation in community projects is declining when level of education increases. In other ways the less educated the households, the higher the level of participation in community demand driven projects. It is clear that those who participate in community projects are mostly those who have never been to school or the less educated as was indicated in Fatch et al, (1998).

4.3.6 Gender vs. participation

Participants in an FGD with women in “Dubai” pointed out that with exception of skills, gender does not determine participation in community projects. It was learnt that during the implementation of piped water projects both men and women worked very hard in hauling sand, stones and bricks. Women were being allocated two meters to dig a trench just like men. **Table 4.13** below shows a crosstabulation of gender as a determinant of participation in demand driven projects.

Table 4.13 Gender as a determinant of participation

Gender	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No			
	N	%	n	%	N	%
Male	41	45.6	49	54.4	90	45
Female	45	40.9	65	59.1	110	55
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

It can be noted that 45.6% and 40.9% of men and women respectively had ever participated in CDD against 54.4% and 59.1% who had never participated. It has been argued that women participate more at implementation stage than other stages in the project cycle (Beall, 1996; Chipeta and Chamgomo, 2000). This study finds that a balance in male and female participation is being achieved. Gender awareness campaigns that have resulted in more people being well informed about gender issues and the need to level the field to encourage gender balanced participation in development. Fatch et al (1998) found that low participation of women in most MASAF projects in peri urban areas resulted from using skills possessed by men thereby excluding women from participating. Therefore, demand driven projects to be implemented in poor urban neighborhoods must be considered along skills possessed by both men and women.

4.3.7 Marital status vs. participation

It was found that all participants in an FGD with the youth in Chinsapo had never participated in demand driven projects and were not married. This was also reflected in the survey as shown in **Table 4.14**.

Table 4.14 Marital status as a determinant of participation

Marital Status	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No		N	%
	n	%	n	%		
Never Married	13	31.7	28	68.3	41	20.5
Married with Certificate	37	43.5	48	56.5	85	42.5
Married Traditional	23	50.0	23	50.0	46	23.0
Consensual Union	8	66.7	4	33.3	12	6.0
Divorced/Separated	2	28.6	5	71.4	7	3.5
Widowed	3	58.3	6	41.7	9	4.5
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

The table shows that the trend of non-participation in all marital status categories ranged from 33% to as high as 71%. On the one hand, it can be seen that the level of non-

participation in the never married category was 68.3% and 71.4% among those who were divorced or separated. On the other hand, it is also evident that among those who were married traditionally, 50% had participated, just as 66.7% among consensual unions and 58.3% among the widows. However, there is a need for further studies that can explain trends as indicated in **Table 4.14** above especially how marital status can determine participation in demand driven projects.

4.3.8 Religious denomination vs. participation

Some participants in FGDs argued that religious denomination can influence participation in demand driven projects. This was attributed to encouragement from some religious institutions for members to participate in preaching the gospel as well as community development activities in humanity. However, it has been shown that members of some religious groups have conflicting loyalties to religious authorities and to the state (UNDP, 2004). For example, the state promotes grassroots participation in democratic governance for development like voting to elect leaders yet members of Jehovahs Witness do not believe in voting for leaders hence appear to oppose the state.

Analysis of the survey data revealed that religious denomination is a determinant of participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor as shown in **Table 4.15** below.

Table 4.15 Religious denomination as a determinant of participation

Religious Denomination of Respondents	Ever Participated in Community Project				Total	
	Yes		No		N	%
	n	%	n	%		
Pentecostal	19	43.2	25	56.8	44	22.0
CCAP	19	61.3	12	38.7	31	15.5
Catholic	17	40.5	25	59.5	42	21.0
Islam	13	37.1	22	62.9	35	17.5
SDA/SDTV	5	27.8	13	72.2	18	9.0
Anglican	7	63.6	4	36.4	11	5.5
Church of Christ	3	42.9	4	57.1	7	3.5
Jehovah's Witness	1	12.5	7	87.5	8	4.0
Traditional/Aaron (Nyau cult)	2	50.0	2	50.0	4	2.0
Total	86		114		200	100

Source: Field Data

It can be noted that although there were high levels of non-participation among followers of almost all denominations, 63% and 61.3% of Anglicans and Presbyterians had participated. It can also be noted that 87.5%, 72.2% and 62.9% of Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) and Seventh Day True Vision (SDTV) and Islam respectively had never participated in community projects. SDAs do not work on Saturday while Jehovah's Witnesses do not believe in voting which testifies to the reported observations (UNDP, 2004). The study finds that religious denomination is a determinant of participation in demand driven projects in Lilongwe City.

4.3.9 Ethnic diversity vs. participation

A question was asked in the study if ethnic diversity in poor urban communities determines participation in demand driven projects. The majority in Chinsapo had a view that ethnicity is a determinant of participation. According to an FGD with women, Chinsapo is divided into two groups of people, *obwera* (incomers) and *eni nthaka* (original land owners or insiders). It was reported that community leaders promote this division. Participants in the FGD complained that when there are good things (e.g. coupons for subsidized fertilizer) *eni nthaka* just share among themselves. *Obwera* realize later after the coupons have already been shared between insider community leaders and their relatives. When there is community work, *obwera* are informed first to do the work and *eni nthaka* are reluctant to participate. This was mentioned as a factor discouraging *obwera* in Chinsapo from participating in demand-driven projects.

This finding is in line with the concept of 'participation exclusion' (UNDP, 2004) where excluding people from participation is linked to various characteristics of the persons involved such as gender, ethnicity or religion. The report shows that the primary basis of discrimination in many cases of participation exclusion is the cultural affiliation of the people involved. Some ethnic groups are said to be lazy, rowdy or irresponsible, resulting in their exclusion from participating in education, employment or political decision making.

This came out clearly when participants in the FGD accused children of *eni nthaka* of taking a role in discouraging *obwera* to participate in demand driven projects. They were accused of polluting water and vandalizing school property:

Ana a eni nthaka amatsekula mjigo ndi ku bibilamo, poti titunge madzi, timangozindikira bibi ikugwera mu ndowa zathu (Children of original land owners open the borehole and defecate into it such that when we are drawing the water we just see faeces dropping into our pails). They also steal doors and frames at Kakule Primary School yet community leaders do not punish them even when caught red handed. Community leaders say *obwerafe tikudyera momwemo* (we incomers are benefiting from the school property) because we are in the school committee (FGD with women, Chinsapo).

It was further learnt that in 2002 when food was in short supply in Malawi, *obwera* were sometimes forced by *eni nthaka* to pay MK200.00 (US\$1.43) for them to buy food at Agricultural Development and Marketing Cooperation (ADMARC) market. It was reported that *eni nthaka* were marking positions on a queue with stones and stay at home. If anybody jumps the stones, it was taken a reason for an argument. Such ethnic exclusions were emphasized as a determinant of participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor.

It transpired that such deliberate ethnic fractionalizations in Chinsapo alienate some people from participating in demand driven projects. A study conducted in South Africa (Hoddinott et al, 2001) found that participation in public works projects was negatively affected in communities that were fractionalized on the basis of racial and political diversity. In more fractionalized communities, participation was *de jure* while less fractionalized communities increased the likelihood of *de facto* participation by 19%.

Such empirical finding testifies to the perception that even though divisions based on ethnicity may discourage participation in demand driven projects, chances remain high that ethnic diversity may encourage participation. Some Key Informants in Chinsapo observed that *eni nthaka* were not sending their children to school but are now doing so after observing that *obwera* are prospering due to the support they get from their educated children. They indicated that children of *eni nthaka* were spending more time *Kudambwe*,

a *gule wankulu* secret camp but the situation is improving since many are now attending classes.

Similarly, the youth FGD in Chinsapo argued that ethnic diversity does strengthen participation in demand driven projects. They pointed out that each ethnic group comes to the city with ideas on how community development work is done in their villages. This creates a situation where a variety of ideas are improved upon through social interaction further creating greater and increased participation in demand driven projects.

Studies that were conducted in other poor urban neighbourhoods of Kauma and Chilinde in Lilongwe City (Shaba, 1997), City of Colombo (Russel and Vidler, 2000), Municipalities of Bolivia (Faguet, 2000), Arnett Gardens in Kingston City in Jamaica (Rao and Ibanez, 2003) and Kibera in Nairobi, Kenya (Weru, 2004) concluded that ethnic diversity encourages participation in community projects. This shows that by promoting a wider and more effective participation of all ethnic groups in decision-making for demand driven projects, an increase in social integration can be achieved thereby promoting participation in community projects among the urban poor.

4.3.10 Political affiliation vs. participation

Participants were asked if politics and affiliation to parties influence participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor. Participants in FGDs and interviews observed that since the introduction of multiparty politics in Malawi in 1994, many people have been discouraged from participating in community development. This was attributed to comments and unfulfilled promises made on political podiums during political campaigns by influential and charismatic political leaders.

Participants in all FGDs emphasized that in 1994 the UDF leadership told Malawians that participating in community projects like Youth Week²⁰ was equal to *thangata*²¹. The

¹⁶A special annual participatory community development programme, which was initiated by the first head of state Late Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda in 1978.

consequence was that it demoralized communities from the spirit of self-help. Political affiliations to parties was also perceived to discourage participation in projects. It was argued that people consider participating in a project initiated by a rival political party as enhancing its popularity. As such those in the opposition decide to stay away in order to score political points once the project fails.

Referring to calls for local government elections, the general view of the public in Malawi is that development has been slowed due to the absence of Councillors. Some participants shared this opinion and argued that a Councillor links the Assembly and community being a representative or development agent for the latter. However, participants in FGDs observed that some Councillors were very corrupt and selfish. Participants in an FGD with men in Chinsapo and “Dubai” argued that Councillors encourage political tensions in the community. They were accused of derailing community development by way of replacing elected PMC and CDC members with fellow party cronies or even taking over control of public services for their own benefit. Mansuri and Rao (2004) described this as “elite capture” of public projects.

According to a Key Informant in Chinsapo, a UDF Councillor took control of communal water Kiosks and replaced Kiosk Attendants with his political party members. It was learnt that the Councillor misappropriated money realized from water sales and LWB closed Kiosks due to unsettled water bills. Such actions were detrimental to participation as people became reluctant to participate in community projects in fear of spending energy to the advancement of individual political interests.

In addition, community leaders in Chinsapo Chambuzi accused politicians of bypassing community members and electing CDC executive committee in private forums. It was reported that MCP supporters were chairing both CDCs in Chinsapo Chambuzi and Chamafaiti. They were also Water Users Association (WUA) and MCP Area Chairmen. Community leaders complained that since they are poor it was difficult to change the

²¹ *Thangata* (to assist) was a land tenure system in which one had to assist a chief or a European Landlord on their very land in return for a right to occupy certain land. It was also a colonial Institution of economic production (see Kandawire, 1977). The term is generally used here to mean free labor.

situation to encourage participation stressing that “One man cannot fight a dozen”²². However, some participants in FGDs pointed out that political parties claim to advance development. They encourage followers to participate in community development to make their parties popular. This kind of competition was described as good for demand driven projects.

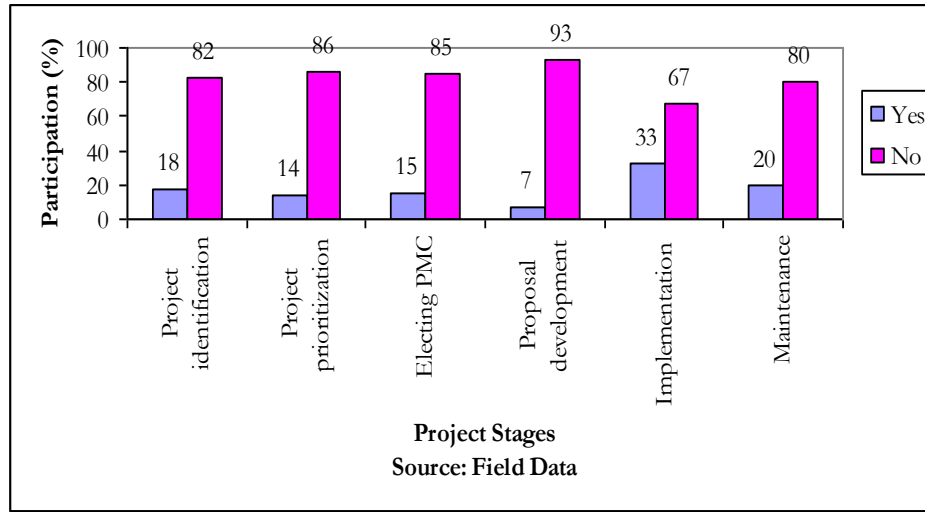
The survey on the other hand revealed that people do not participate because they are not interested (21%), not invited to participate (10%), sickness (5%), lack of public awareness (11%) and poor leadership (7%). Other respondents (46%) cited reasons as explained in FGDs. This implies that the failure to delegate true decision making authority in demand driven projects results in beneficiaries being reluctant to act because of concerns that they will be subsequently overruled (Hoddinott et al, 2001; Rao and Ibanez 2003; Mansuri and Rao 2004). Fatch et al (1998) recommended that politicians should not be involved in the election of MASAF project committees having noted that they cause disputes and affect mobilization since most of the times only “favourites” are appointed. This calls for more public awareness on CDD to discourage political authoritarianism in poor urban neighbourhoods in order to empower the community to act collectively for them to realize the benefits of CDD and decentralization.

4.4 Participation in project stages

A question was asked to find out if the community had ever been involved at various stages of demand-driven projects. Participants in FGDs reported that the community had participated at implementation stage particularly in digging trenches for a water pipe network in Chinsapo and “Dubai”. In Phwetekere, many participants said had never taken part at any project stage. Using project cycle stages derived from Bloom et al, (2005), **Figure 4.2** shows respondents participation at various project stages.

²² The informant said these words in reference to a story of “Robin Hood the robber” in an old standard 4 English textbook. Robin was robbing the rich to give to the poor and what is happening nowadays is the reversal of this where the rich are robbing the poor in the name of participation.

Figure 4.2 Participation in project stages



It can be seen that 82% of respondents had never participated in project identification or needs assessment compared to 18% who had participated. Participation in other stages was minimal except at implementation stage (33%). This was attributed to willingness of the community to have access to piped water and encouragement from politicians for people to participate.

Fatch et al (1998) found that the poor in the four urban areas in Malawi expressed desire to participate at all levels of the project cycle whether as a group or through committees and neighborhood leaders. Using similar project cycle stages, they reported that communities had a desire for all members to participate at needs identification; the project committee and neighborhood leader at planning and application; all people at implementation; committee and neighborhood leader at monitoring and supervision and all people and committee to participate at evaluation stages respectively.

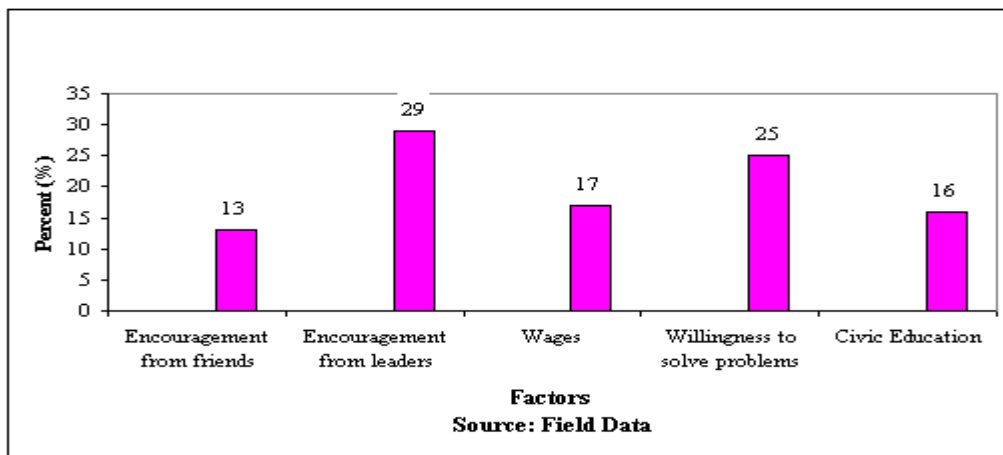
Therefore as can be noted from **Figure 4.2** above and community aspirations as were reported in Fatch and others, this study shows that community development among the urban poor is low and largely top-down than bottom-up. Few people indicated to have participated at project stages that were expected to be the responsibility of the whole community such as project identification, election of the PMC, implementation and maintenance stages. As Fatch et al (1998) concluded, it is only when the rest of the

community is involved in the four stages above that they will own the project and therefore full participation will be achieved.

4.5 Suggestions to encourage participation

Figure 4.3 below shows five main factors that were mentioned in the survey that if promoted, could encourage participation in demand driven projects in the poor neighborhoods of Lilongwe City. Firstly, it can be seen from **Figure 4.3** that the need for community leaders (29%) to encourage subjects to participate in community development is important. Since poor urban neighbourhoods are heterogeneous (Hoben et al 1998; Canel 2001) community leaders have a critical role of providing leadership to encourage participation. A study in South Africa revealed that conflicts that characterize many public works projects testify to the heterogeneous nature of communities (Hoddinott et al, 2001). As reported in Fatch et al (1998), this shows that mobilizing participation in community projects is only possible where leaders are strong and influential.

Figure 4.3 Factors to encourage participation in CDD



Secondly, 13% of respondents were of the opinion that encouraging friendships or social relations among the urban poor can encourage participation in community projects. It is a fact that a community with health social relations may result in members accumulating more social capital which may result further in increased participation in community projects. According to Mansuri and Rao, (2004), social capital in development discourse

is the stock from which people can draw to improve their incomes and which can be built to facilitate economic growth and development among the poor.

Thirdly, 16% of respondents indicated that civic education is important in promoting awareness and inclusiveness in demand driven projects among the urban poor. Knowledge disseminated becomes an important facet in empowering the poor to demand priority projects according to (Mozammel and Schechter, 2003). It was found from FGDs and interviews that where the community is aware about projects in the neighbourhood, more people become interested to participate as compared to a situation where knowledge is disseminated to a few.

Fourthly, 25% of respondents in the survey indicated that once information about a project is made available people are encouraged and become more willing to participate in solving community problems resulting in increased participation. Fatch et al (1998) observed that training and public awareness in project management improved skills in effective accounting and reporting on usage of public funds in MASAF projects in peri-urban communities. It was observed that in Dubai the community had constructed teachers' houses at Mvama Primary School with support from MASAF 3 one of which is shown below.



Figure 4.4 A Teacher's House at Mvama Primary School in "Dubai"

Source: Field Pictures

This shows that given a chance the urban poor in Lilongwe City can participate in solving neighbourhood development problems. As was observed in Hoddinott et al (2001) once participation is *de facto* as compared to *de jure* benefits are derived from knowledge of local conditions resulting in improved implementation of community projects. In Dubai two children were killed after a tree fell on them during a class session at Mkomachi

Primary School in Area 49 (Proper). This led the community to demand the construction of Mvama Primary School as a measure to avoid similar accidents in future. This shows that demand driven development has potential of enabling the urban poor to meet priority needs if given actual responsibility to participate in project planning and implementation.

Fifthly, 17% of respondents said paying wages to those who do labour work in community projects could be a catalyst for encouraging the poor to participate. Fatch et al (1998) noted that it was the poor who were doing labour work in MASAF projects hence recommended that more paid than voluntary Community Support Projects (CSP) were appropriate for implementation in poor urban neighbourhoods. Therefore, in designing projects for implementation in poor urban neighbourhoods, it is necessary to consider the five factors as discussed to encourage participation in demand driven projects.

4.6 Agents of development in poor urban neighbourhoods

With regard to agents of development in poor urban neighborhoods, it was established that this was the role of community leaders including politicians, CBOs, CDCs and Water Users Associations (WUAs). These are discussed in the following sections.

4.6.1 Leadership and social organization

Siu-kai et al, (1986) and Rondinnelli, (1988) argued that weakened leadership among the urban poor leaves behind a wide gap between government as a major social service provider, and citizens as service managers. In projects under MASAF 3 community leaders had the responsibility to demand accountability from PMCs, supervise implementation of projects and ensure community participation (MASAF, 2005). However, urban areas are not supposed to have these traditional leaders (see TCPA 1988). Despite that there were traditional leaders in Phwetekere and Chinsapo though their roles were minimal compared to typical village leaders. It was learnt that members of the community challenge the leaders if asked to participate in community work.

In “Dubai”, traditional leadership positions were abolished and were renamed Block Leaders to lead the community for two-years after which elections are held. It was

reported that Block leaders were replaceable even before the end of term of office that is if the community feels the leader is incompetent. Block Leaders complained that often-times, politicians do take advantage of this and threaten to remove them from positions. Such a practice discourage leaders from organizing the community for participation. Leaders pointed out that their role is recognized in funerals, disputes or in efforts to revive projects that had failed yet they were not consulted at planning stages (as was argued in Phwetekere). Community leaders in Kauma and Chilinde (Shaba, 1997) and Area 24, 25 and Chatata (Fatch et al, 1998) within Lilongwe City raised similar complaints.

Participation in leadership by gender was also observed. In Phwetekere, Chinsapo, “Dubai” B and one section of “Dubai” C leaders were men. “Dubai” A and two of the three sections of “Dubai” C were led by women. This shows women participation in community leadership contrary to the argument that women were sidelined in leadership and community development activities (Chipeta and Chamgomo, 2000). The increased participation of women can be attributed gender awareness campaigns which have uplifted the gender debate in development discourses in Malawi.

4.6.2 Perceptions on quality of leaders

Mozammel and Schechter (2003) argued that culture, behavior, values, beliefs, attitudes, community and political dynamics are some of the key strategic communication issues for success of CDD. A question was therefore asked to find out perceptions of the community on qualities of their leaders. **Table 4.16** shows respondents perceptions on the quality of community leaders in the sampled study areas.

Table 4.16 Perceptions on qualities of community leaders in areas visited (%)

Leadership Quality	Areas visited						Total N = 200	
	Phwetekere n = 50		“Dubai” n = 44		Chinsapo n = 106			
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Trustworthy	44.0	56.0	50.0	50.0	44.3	55.7	45.5	54.5
Concern with residence well being	54.0	46.0	54.5	45.5	44.3	55.7	49.0	51.0
Work efficiency	58.0	42.0	72.7	27.3	54.7	45.3	59.5	40.5
Fairness	44.0	56.0	43.2	56.8	43.4	56.6	43.5	56.5
Ability to talk wisely in public	88.0	12.0	75.0	25.0	71.7	28.3	76.5	23.5
Honesty and reliability	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	47.2	52.8	48.5	51.5
Experience in community work	60.0	40.0	56.8	43.2	49.1	50.9	53.5	46.5
Knowledge of community needs	72.0	28.0	63.6	36.4	62.3	37.7	65.0	35.0
Positive attitude to community work	58.0	42.0	79.5	20.5	58.5	41.5	63.0	37.0
Good education	54.0	46.0	54.5	45.5	52.8	47.2	53.5	46.5
Courage to talk to external officials	64.0	36.0	61.4	38.6	61.3	38.7	62.0	38.0

Source: Field Data

As can be noted, 76.5% of respondents observed that community leaders had the ability to talk wisely in public on community development matters. However, 54.5% described the leaders as untrustworthy and 56.5% said leaders lack fairness in discharging their duties. Similar trends were found in all study sites as shown in **Table 4.16**.

It was also reported in both official and anecdotal reports that the roles of political leaders in CDD were mobilizing communities for participation, monitoring progress on project implementation and use of project facilities, assisting communities in making follow ups to ensure that government ministries and departments were fulfilling obligations as was requested by the community and reporting to Assemblies (*The Daily Times*, 10 October, 2006, MASAF, 2005). However, the study shows that political leaders were very untrustworthy, dishonest and unreliable because they made promises that were never fulfilled. Participants in FGDs in Phwetekere reported that the MP for the area pledged to improve cleanliness in the community once elected but this was not done by the time of the study. This also shows that urban poor communities were less aware about separation of duties for Councillors and MPs, which gives politicians a chance to misguide the community in demand driven projects.

It was also reported that Councillors in Chinsapo and “Dubai” promised people free access to water in exchange for participation in digging trenches. Participants in an FGD

with women in Chinsapo complained that they invested personal efforts, resources, energy and time in the project. However, upon completion of the project the same Councillor announced that the community will be buying water at MK1.50 (US\$0.01), which was later revised to MK3.00 (US\$0.02) for a bucket of 20 litres.

This practice, said the poor, was discouraging the community from participating in demand driven projects. The need to pay for water seem to be detestable to the poor and makes them continue to prioritize water as the most needed service. Almost all communities that were sampled in Lilongwe Mzuzu, Blantyre and Zomba peri-urban areas (Fatch et al, 1998) prioritized water as the most basic need. It can also be explained that cheating the urban poor like the councillor did was easy. Due to illiteracy at 17.2% in Lilongwe City, (IHS, 2005) and not knowing City boundaries, the poor in urban neighborhoods have the general perception that their location is a “Village” where water is expected to be subsidized by government at 100% making it appear a free commodity.

4.6.3 Community development committee (CDC)

CDCs were created to serve as a bridge between the LCA and communities to assist it to know more about community aspirations. They were also designed to serve as an instrument to bring awareness to beneficiaries of objectives and goals of urban community development projects, to ensure community co-operation and commitment to contribute resources and time to implementation of projects. In short, a CDC is a major decentralization structure at urban community or neighborhood level responsible for initiating and coordinating community development (Kawonga, 1996 & 1998; Chipeta, 2005; Kruse, 2005a & b).

CDCs are equivalent to Area development committees (ADCs) in rural district Assemblies. As such all committees at community level including PMCs and CBOs are sub-committees of the CDC. The CDC is responsible to community, informs the ward Councillor and community development officer (CDO) who is a CDC coordinator at the Assembly. MASAF categorised CDCs and NGOs as project implementers. These are responsible to the community in organizing project launch and implementation;

participating in pre-launch training; signing project financing agreements; procurement of project materials; engaging contractors; monitoring progress of work on daily basis; preparing financial justification and physical progress reports to the Assembly; participating in organizing community statistics day and inauguration of projects after successful project completion (MASAF, 2005).

On the one hand, it was learnt that the CDC executive was not given a leading role in MASAF project implementation but its sub-committee, the PMC (interview with a MASAF official). LCA recognizes CDCs, and not traditional leaders while participants in FGDs in Phwetekere and “Dubai” were not aware about the existence of CDCs in their community. This shows that there was inadequate coordination hence faulting information flow between the LCA, MASAF and the community. The reason is that each institution values the structures differently to the extent that they undermine each other. Leaders in “Dubai” and Phwetekere complained that sometimes, they are not informed about projects, which the Assembly implements in their communities. As such, leaders were finding it difficult to encourage people to participate. This shows that there was no collaboration among leaders, the community and the Assembly on demand driven projects. As a result mobilizing participation and resources to improve conditions in poor urban neighborhoods becomes a difficult task.

In addition, CDC leaders were expected to be apolitical unlike Councillors who are politicians. This study found that political party area and constituency chairmen were chairing CDCs in all areas visited. Names of all committee members were aligned to a political party mainly MCP and UDF except in Chinsapo where CDC secretary was a DPP member. By all standards CDCs were a grouping of politicians contrary to the provisions of the CDC manual to be apolitical. According to participants in FGDs, CDCs were perceived to be largely inefficient and were blamed alongside MPs of being responsible for absence and failure of communities to access funding for projects in MASAF 3. This testifies to the study recommendation that politicians involvement in demand driven projects should be minimal for it affects participation mobilization (Fatch et al, 1998; Rao and Ibanez, 2003).

Participants in FGDs in Phwetekere and Chinsapo accused CDCs of concentrating on managing Water Kiosks because of financial benefits attached to the activity. It was learnt that members of CDC get an honorarium of MK2000.00 per month for monitoring and keeping money realized from water sales on behalf of Lilongwe Water Board (LWB). The position of treasurer in all study sites was occupied by either a CDC member or community leaders indicating “benevolent elite capture” of poor people’s resources (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). This shows that community leaders among the urban poor consider their positions much as an income generating activity than serving interests of the community, a practice which may discourage the community to participate in CDD.

4.6.4 Community based organization (CBO)

During MASAF 2, demand for more projects in rural areas originated from CBOs because of their proximity and distribution in the communities than NGOs (MASAF, 2003). CBOs are expected to be community owned meant to improve the flow of benefits to beneficiaries among others (Dongier et al, 2002). However, it was established that a CBO called Community Development Service for all Initiative, (CDSAI), which was funded in MASAF 3 in Phwetekere was owned by individuals who were using public funds for personal interests.

As a CBO, CDSAI received MK4.5 Million from MASAF under the Social Support Programme (SSP) to construct an Early Childhood Development Center (ECDC) and a maize mill in Phwetekere. Under the SSP, communities were expected to contribute up to 20% of project cost (see Appendix 1.0). However, Participants in FGDs and Key Informants in Phwetekere complained that they were not informed about these projects. The community was only wondering that construction came to halt when the structures were at foundation level as shown in **Figures 4.5** and **4.6** below.



Figure 4.5 Cheated: Uncompleted ECD centre foundation in Phwetekere at which a CBO spent MK909387.55 (US\$6495.63).
Source: Field Photographs



Figure 4.6 Failure: Uncompleted Maize Mill House at the same site as (4.5)
Source: Field Photographs

These projects were meant to benefit orphans in Phwetekere and Mwenyekondo but were not completed by the time of the study. The leader of CDSAI said the two projects failed to complete due to lack of community participation. While trying to explain the role of CDSAI, the leader revealed that funds for the projects were misappropriated as shown in the excerpt below:

We have a great responsibility than we have in our homes. We track problems that orphans meet, register the orphans and identify people who can assist. We also look at problems other people have similar to ours because if I have no food, I have to do ganyu in order to buy it. If there are people that do not have money I have to lead them to a place where there is water. Someone told me that a proposal has to be written like a funeral message as if there is a dead body that needs to be buried before it decomposes. In this way funding is released faster (CDSAI Chairman, Phwetekere).

The remark shows that some CBOs perceived MASAF as a spring of water from which thirst can be quenched. The CBO leader revealed that MK1.5 million, which was paid as an initial allocation was used to transport sand and bricks, from Dedza (84 km from Lilongwe City), paying men and women who were engaged to work on the project, buying cell phones and airtime for communication. These expenses were not budgeted for because they form part of 20% community contribution. It was found that men and women who received the money were actually executive members of the CBO, a practice which Mansuri and Rao (2004) described as “extreme form of elite capture” amounting to theft and corruption.

Therefore, while it remains important for CBOs to participate in CDD to afford vulnerable groups an opportunity for survival, it remains paramount that briefcase and bogus CBOs be kept at a distance from public funds. Essentially, there is lack of transparency and accountability in the way CBOs spend public project funds among the urban poor.

4.6.5 Water users associations (WUAs)

WUAs are also stakeholders that promises to have a positive impact in CDD in the management of communal water Kiosks and sanitation at poor urban community level. According to LWB, 15 out of 26 unplanned areas in Lilongwe City were supplied with water through communal water Kiosks. **Box 4.1** provides a consultative stakeholder initiative in water service provision that led to the establishment of WUAs.

According to LWB, WUAs are registered under Trustees Incorporation Act (Cap. 5.03) of the Laws of Malawi and Ministry of Gender and Community Services. They have a three-tier management structure with a Board, Executive and Secretariat. The Boards are composed of prominent people in community. These include politicians, clergy, high-ranking traditional leaders and a member from LWB serving as secretary to the Board. Members of the executive are chosen from community groups of politicians, traditional leaders, clergy and community role models. A Water Kiosk Administrator (WKA) is identified from the community through a competitive interview and qualifications are considered before s/he is given the task of managing the secretariat. All residents of the community become automatic members of the association.

Box 4.1 Stakeholder participation to improve water supply in Lilongwe City

Water supply to unplanned areas in Lilongwe City is through individual connections and communal water points called Kiosks. Management of Kiosks in some areas was left to communities and few were managed by LWB. According to LWB, poor management systems in Kiosks managed by communities led to accumulation of arrears amounting to more than MK2 million (US\$ 16, 000.00) in unpaid bills and were disconnected. Later, stakeholders such as Water Aid, Center for Community Development (CCODE) and MASAF worked with LWB to find solutions to the problems and improve water supply to the urban poor.

LWB and Water Aid formed a partnership in order to build capacity and determine effective Kiosk management systems. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between LWB and Water Aid was signed in which it was agreed to setup a stand alone Kiosk Management Unit (KMU) within LWB. CCODE played an advocacy role in the urban poor communities while MASAF sponsored the construction of supply lines and Kiosks implemented by poor communities in Chinsapo, “Dubai”, Kaliyeka, Senti and Chipasula.

The KMU acts as an intermediary or facilitating agent between LWB and communities aiming at improving provision and management of water supply to the urban poor. It is also aimed at contributing to government initiative of achieving MDG number 7, targets 10 and 11 that aims to halve the population without access to safe water and sanitation facilities by 2015.

The number of people who had no access to potable water in informal settlements in Lilongwe City was estimated at more than 150,000. This is perceived as one of the concerted efforts among stakeholders to contribute to CDD and improve water supply for the urban poor.

Source: Lilongwe Water Board, Kiosk Management Unit.

In addition, Board and Executive members take an oath of responsibility administered by the District Commissioner (DC) for managing Kiosks as volunteers. The oath is aimed at reducing the risk of members abusing their positions. The WKA is paid a salary commensurate with qualifications. Each association has a constitution, common seal and rules governing its use, a bank account and keeps minutes of its deliberations. Funds from water sales are deposited to the account by the WKA on daily basis and the KMU at LWB monitors the accounts through an Internet Banking Facility (IBF).

According to the Kiosk Manager at LWB, the idea of forming WUAs was adopted from Blantyre Kabula Constituency. Members from poor neighborhoods in Lilongwe City were taken on educational visit to learn. Chinsapo Water Users Association (CWUA) was one of the piloting associations. Each association signs a Performance Agreement with LWB. The anticipation here was that the use of performance agreements was to provide motivation for the WUAs to participate actively in communal water management hence the potential to improve service accessibility to many poor urban neighborhood households.

However, participants in FGDs and interviews in Chinsapo pointed out that they elected a neutral person to chair CWUA but was replaced by the MP in favour of the MCP area Chairman. As indicated that political leaders may assume multiple responsibilities as was the case in Andasani and Kachere in Blantyre, Chatata in Lilongwe and Choma in Mzuzu Cities respectively (Fatch et al, 1998), the difference here is that they were elected because of hardworking in community development matters and were not imposed due to political affiliation as was found in Chinsapo.

Mansuri and Rao (2004) pointed out that the success of a project (the establishment of WUAs in this case) may depend on how incentives are aligned –whether by persuasion, ideology, consensus, good governance, domination by greedy elites or sheer hard work by a group of altruistic individuals. Success of WUAs in Lilongwe City therefore depends on participation by selfless leaders in the management of communal water points in the poor neighborhoods.

4.7 Initiation of CDD projects and urban planning

Before the adoption of decentralization policy in 1998, urban development was a technocrat responsibility as planners had the edge to propose projects in their Urban Structure Plans (USP)²³. A question was therefore asked to establish who initiates community projects and how support is mobilized in the now decentralized urban setting. The findings are discussed in the following sections.

4.7.1 Influence in initiating community projects

When asked who initiates community projects among the urban poor, it was found that 33.5% of respondents (30% in Phwetekere, 43.2% in “Dubai” and 31.1% in Chinsapo) perceived community leaders as more influential than politicians. Many participants in FGDs shared this perception and observed that community leaders address more development meetings as compared to other stakeholders. Fatch et al (1998) also observed that village headmen in peri-urban areas were influential in mobilizing the community and were at the centre of all community development activities. Others were

²³ An Urban Structure Plan is a document that describes background information and development proposals for designated areas in a planned area in line with recommended land uses.

ward Councillors (20.5%), CBOs (19%), MP (14%) and LCA (13%). This is an indication that the political factor also plays an important role in demand driven projects in urban poor neighborhoods.

It was learnt that MASAF and LCA were not responding timely to development requests from poor urban communities thereby making community mobilization difficult. Some community leaders argued that they were not taught about MASAF operations hence could not mobilize the community to ask for projects. Participants in an FGD with men in Chinsapo complained that they applied for funds to construct a school fence. The community had 50000 bricks which were seized from a former Councillor for misappropriating money from Kiosk Water sales. When MASAF and LCA officials came to assess eligibility of the project, it was found that the CDC executive had sold the bricks to Mbizi Community Day Secondary School in Area 3 without informing the community. As a result the project failed to get funding.

This implies that the community could not provide evidence that they were ready for the project. As was found in other studies (Fatch et al, 1998; Kawonga, 1996 & 1998), demand driven projects in poor urban neighborhoods may be rejected if the urban poor are not well informed about procedures for project submission and approval. Similarly, theft and corruption involving community leaders (Mansuri and Rao, 2004) leads to low participation in demand driven projects in poor urban neighborhoods.

4.7.2 Mobilization of support for community projects

Table 4.17 shows strategies for mobilizing project support as was established in the survey.

Table 4.17 Strategies for mobilizing project support

Strategy	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Lobbying by MP	52	26.0
Community Self-help	49	24.5
Lobbying by Councillor	45	22.0
Direct Donor Support	29	14.5
Political Meetings	25	12.5
Total	200	100

Source: Field Data

From **Table 4.17**, it can be seen that the political factor plays a critical role in mobilizing support for community projects and accounted for a total of 60.5% composed of lobbying by MP (26%), lobbying by Councillor (22.0%), and political meetings (12.5%). However, participants in FGDs in “Dubai” and Chinsapo indicated that MPs do not consult the community, which makes it difficult to request projects of their choice. However, community leaders take advantage of political meetings particularly those addressed by the Head of State or Ministers to ask for development projects on behalf of the community. This was described as the quickest way of accessing funding. It was learnt that Chinsapo Secondary School was constructed after a community requested at a political rally addressed by a Head of State who granted immediate government support to the project.

Regarding community self help contributions (24.5%), it was learnt that a CBO (CDSA) in Phwetekere was collecting funds from its Trustees. The Trustees were paying MK300.00 (approximately US\$2.14) and the Executive members MK200.00 (US\$1.42) as monthly contributions for operations. It was also learnt that community policing forums in all communities were operating from funds collected through community self-help initiatives. This proves that poor urban communities consider participation as contributing money towards development projects according to Fatch et al (1998). Writing project proposals requesting direct funding from donor organizations like United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) were also mentioned as fundraising strategies especially for CBOs in poor urban neighbourhoods.

In mobilizing community labour, it was found that young men make rounds in the community to announce community meetings or funerals. At these gatherings, people are called upon to participate in community work. It was learnt that in some areas like Kauma, *gule wankulu* is used (though in a threatening manner) as a mobilizing strategy. The masked dancers are sent to woo people from their homes to attend development meetings and even to participate in community development projects (Shaba, 1997). This can affect voluntary participation expected in CDD projects because uninitiated

community members are not allowed near the dancers (Englund, 2002). People may also perceive *gule wankulu* actions as the re-emergence of the “Youth League” that used to force people to participate in Youth Week projects or *thangata* during the one party state and colonial times in Malawi respectively (Englund, 2003; Kandawire, 1977).

4.7.3. Community priority basic service needs

A service needs assessment was conducted in all FGDs. Participants were asked to mention services needed and rank them giving reasons for each need. Integrated results of the exercise are shown in Appendix 3.0. The rankings reflect Fatch et al (1998) findings in Chatata, Area 24 and Area 25 (see Figure 3.1, p.19) where water and dispensaries were ranked highly in all sites as the basic prime needs. However, it was observed that Chinsapo had a clinic which was constructed by the community and services are provided by the LCA at a fee. Although service fees are in line with decentralization, some services were described as not accessible to the community indicating that the urban poor were not aware that decentralization culminates into privatization of public services.

4.8. Demand-driven projects and urban planning

The fourth objective of the study was to find out how demand-driven projects in urban areas are integrated in urban development planning. The aim of urban planning is to promote economy, equity and efficiency to reduce conflict between competing land uses. It also aims at eliminating duplication of effort in supply of physical and social facilities and environmental problems (Government of Malawi, 1993). The Statement of Development Policies (Devpol) of 1987 to 1996 stated that uncoordinated development of economic and social infrastructure is costly because public investments are expected to be long term and permanent. Demand-driven projects need to adhere to urban development plans not only to make them permanent but also accessible and sustainable. The following sections describe the observed land use conflicts that came about due to implementation of demand driven projects in Chinsapo, Phwetekere and “Dubai” without following urban physical development plans.

4.8.1. Land use conflicts- the case of communal water kiosks

It was observed that demand-driven projects particularly communal water Kiosks that were implemented in MASAF 2 and those sponsored by Plan International and UNICEF in Phwetekere and Chinsapo respectively were being demolished. Some were enclosed within new housing developments. Participants in an FGD with men in Phwetekere complained that three Kiosks were turned into personal property and were enclosed in fences making them inaccessible to the public. It was observed that a fourth Kiosk (CDC Kiosk No 28 shown in **Figure 4.7** below) was about to be demolished because a non-poor housing developer had enclosed it within a new building.



Figure 4.7 Captured: CDC Kiosk No. 28 in Phwetekere found in a state of capture. **Source:** Field Photographs

The site foreman said the Kiosk was in a dining room and a fence was under construction so that the Kiosk should not be demolished in full public view. It was learnt that Kiosks were established in Phwetekere before implementation of the Site and Service Scheme, which has attracted middle class income people to the community. The IHS established that Communal Water Kiosks were established to address frequent cholera outbreaks in poor urban neighbourhoods. Kiosks were a source of drinking water for 79.5% of households out of 95.4% in Lilongwe City that had access to an improved water source (NSO, 2005a).

An interview with a Kiosk Attendant revealed that CDC Kiosk No 28 was serving more than 60 households. The attendant said poor households will be denied access to clean water and might be forced to use unprotected sources of drinking water. Demolition of

Kiosks also means Kiosk Attendants lose jobs, as they cannot be moved to another thus depriving them of a livelihood activity. Participants in FGDs and in-depth interviews were surprised that Kiosks were being demolished to make way for houses of the rich yet Phwetekere continues to expand and clean water remains inaccessible to many poor people.

Dwelling house-communal water kiosk land use conflicts were also observed in Chinsapo and it was learnt from FGDs that the community contributed to the conflict as explained in the excerpt below:

Places where Kiosks were to be constructed were marked with pegs but people were shifting them to be close to their houses at night to have the Kiosk at their doorstep. As for us who are regarded as *obwera*, we were just watching *eninthakawo* placing the pegs close to their houses provided we should have access to water (Participant in FGD with Women, Chinsapo).

It was learnt that people who have Water Kiosks on their doorstep refuse to buy water; instead they draw water at night or whenever the Kiosk Attendant was away. As a result, Kiosk Attendants lose jobs because of shortages. Cash shortages and huge unpaid water bills from Kiosk became a catalyst for LWB to close some of them. In “Dubai” the situation was the same confirming existence of planning problems (Manda, 2005) which are now leading to demolition of public infrastructures implemented through CDD.

It was also observed that unprotected wells were very common in all study sites and were noticed almost in three quarters of the households sampled. The wells provided an alternative source of water from Kiosks. The problem was that most of the wells were not covered creating a potential hazard to members of the community. In “Dubai”, it was reported that an elderly daughter to a “Dubai” B block leader died after drowning into a well and left four orphans. According to the IHS 3.5% and 1.0% of households in Lilongwe City were using unprotected well and rivers respectively as a source of water for drinking (NSO, 2005a & b). At “Dubai” market, toilets had surrounded the only borehole meaning that the risk of contracting waterborne diseases due to adhoc location of public services in poor urban neighborhoods was high.

4.8.2. Access to land and disputes settlement

It was found that 54.5% of households bought their building land from individuals who were holding land under customary tenure regime. Other households bought their land from community leaders (36%), the Assembly (7.5%) particularly in “Dubai” and Phwetekere while 2% confessed having encroached on the land. Englund (2002) contended that most residents in poor urban neighbourhoods are considered as squatters, but most of them have customary tenure rights to land because city boundary extensions like in Chinsapo and Phwetekere enclosed whole villages in a planned area and were not compensated.

This explains most squatters regard to their purported unauthorized occupation on urban land as legal. The result of multiple land holding regimes in urban areas affect not only planning and allocation of land to the urban poor but also delivery of public infrastructure services. According to Mumba (2005) out of the total land area of 32127 hectares in Lilongwe City, only 6564 hectares or 20% was occupied by low income groups who constituted 78% of the total population of the city. Specifically, 44.2% of the people were in THAs like “Dubai” A and B and part of Phwetekere while 34.1% were in informal settlements like Chinsapo, Dubai C and other parts of Phwetekere among many others where available public services do not meet demand.

Respondents were also asked whether they were aware about the process of acquiring development permission in urban areas considering that Phwetekere and “Dubai” are planned areas. It was found that 33% were aware about the planning process while 67% were not aware. This was an indication that poor urban communities were not aware about urban planning issues. The blame in this regard has always been levelled on a laissez faire approach to development planning which brought chaos in urban space during the UDF regime from 1994 to 2004. During the period political patronage and interference in the planning profession led to negative participation in urban development (Kawonga, 2005; Mumba, 2005; Manda, 2005). In adherence to urban land use planning has encouraged development of slums and land disputes in poor urban neighbourhoods.

Although 51.5% of respondents said land disputes were not common in the study sites, 48.5% said they were on the increase. From the latter, 40.5% said land disputes occur between developers over plot boundaries, 4.5% between community leaders and developers especially where authority of entry on land had not been sought and 3.5% between LCA and developers giving *Operation Dongosolo* (OD)²⁴ as a good example. Participants in FGDs revealed that sometimes people involved in land disputes threaten to kill each other through witchcraft. In Phwetekere, it was reported that somebody encroached into a neighbour's plot despite that beacons marking boundaries were present. This led to a conflict and the encroacher threatened the owner to apologize within three days. Thereafter, the plot owner's servant survived in a car accident with a broken arm. According to FGD participants, the encroacher boasted that the target was the servants' boss and that the servant was just a victim.

On dispute settlement, it was found that the LCA arbitrates land disputes on plots that were beacons. Community leaders attend to disputes on plots that are not beacons. An informant in Chinsapo said where such disputes occur, instructions are issued that parties involved should build houses that face in opposite directions or are encouraged to construct a fence. Such advice promotes unplanned developments in poor urban neighbourhoods and is discouraged in urban development controls (Government of Malawi, 1987b). The problem of uncontrolled development was attributed to lack of capacity for planners to conduct public awareness to help enforce development control measures²⁵.

4.8.3. Effect of land disputes on demand-driven projects

The analysis revealed that 83% of respondents were of the opinion that land disputes can negatively affect demand-driven projects by encouraging community conflicts (51%), delaying the project (30%) and increasing project cost (2%). These can influence deterioration of community interest in the projects thereby lowering participation.

²⁴ An exercise conducted in May 2006 in all urban areas to remove street vendors and illegal developments. There is need for an independent study to establish the impact of OP in reducing unplanned developments.

²⁵ In 2003, Physical Planning Department had 7 physical planners out of expected 38. In 2004, 26 young planners were recruited but more than 10 have already changed professions and joined NGOs and other Departments.

Seventeen percent (17%), said land disputes cannot affect demand-driven projects. It was argued that lack of knowledge on land ownership in urban areas has the greatest potential to delay community development since people do not know which land is free to accommodate a public project.

It was learnt that the ECDC and Maize Mill projects implemented by CDSAI in Phwetekere were located on land owned by the Malawi Housing Corporation (MHC) without consulting it. CDSAI leader said their MP encouraged them to proceed with the project even without consulting and later it transpired that the land was part of Falls Estate under MHC. The institution demanded MK416540.00 (US\$2975.29), which CDSAI failed to pay.

The leader explained that plans were underway to seek financial assistance from Ministry of Gender, doing *ganyu* and collecting contributions from the community to pay MHC. However, considering how this CBO handled MK1.5 million for the projects as reported earlier in this study, a plan was being drawn to access public funds for further private interests. The failure to prosecute CBOs that embezzled project funds from MASAF provided motivation for other elites to misappropriate community funds with an effect that it discouraged people from participating in CDD.

4.9. Effectiveness of CDD in poor urban areas

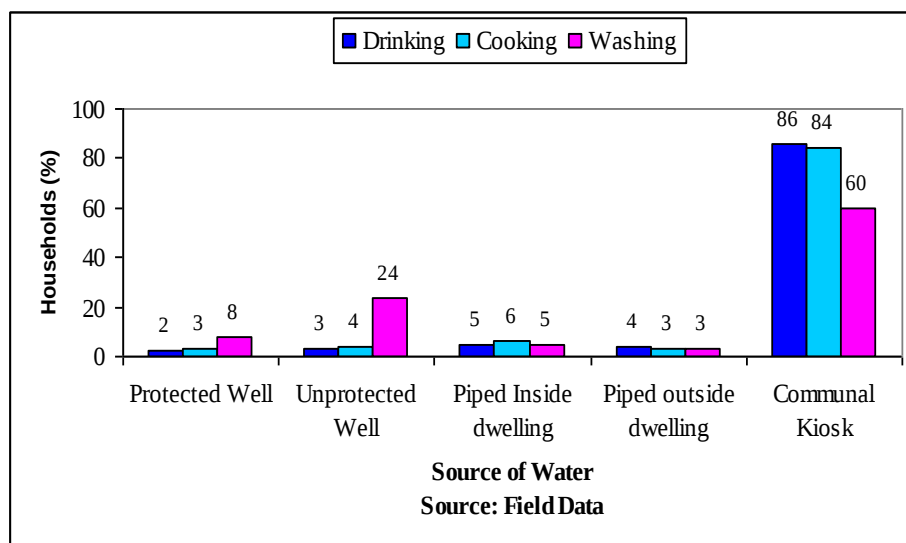
Empirical and theoretical evidence on participatory development in urban areas indicated that decentralization and CDD improves delivery of public services to the poor (Faguet, 2000; Canel, 2001; Kuper, 2001; Dongier et al, 2002; Cabbannes, 2004 among others). The sections that follow discuss findings on effectiveness of demand driven development in the provision of basic services to poor urban neighbourhoods in Lilongwe City.

4.9.1. Accessibility of basic services

The majority of participants in FGDs and interviews perceived educational facilities as accessible because congestion in classrooms and distance to school were reduced. This followed construction of new schools in Phwetekere, Chinsapo and “Dubai”. However, it

was learnt that piped water was only available but not accessible to some poorest households. Participants in the study were of the view that water was expensive and less accessible. The reasons given were closure of Kiosks due to unpaid bills (e.g. “Dubai”), demolition and enclosing of Kiosks in fences by wealthy housing developers (e.g. Phwetekere) and that Chinsapo WUA was deliberately hiking water tariffs. **Figure 4.8** shows sources of water for households.

Figure 4.8 Sources of water for households



It can be seen from **Figure 4.8** above that communal Water Kiosks were a major source of clean water for drinking (86%), cooking (84%) and washing (60%) respectively. However, it should be noted that some households were using water from unprotected wells which are a potential source of water borne diseases. According to the DHS and IHS (NSO, 2005a & b) respectively, a household’s source of drinking water is important because potential fatal diseases including typhoid, cholera and dysentery are prevalent in unprotected sources. **Figure 4.8** above shows that 3% of the households in the sample were using water from unprotected wells slightly lower from 3.5% reported in IHS for Lilongwe City.

A Key Informant in “Dubai” observed that LWB was giving priority to connecting wealthy individuals who did not participate in trench digging at the expense of the poor.

LWB confirmed that it was planning to phase out Kiosks in “Dubai” because more middle-income people that are settling there now were applying to have water piped into their dwelling units. LWB indicated that individual connections were providing better business than Kiosks because some communities were not paying Kiosk water bills. However, it is anticipated that closure of Kiosks would deny a lot of poor people access to clean water because it was observed that many poor households were living among the well-off in this community.

In Chinsapo, participants complained that UNICEF assisted the community to construct a clinic but the service was described as inaccessible. The LCA turned it into a private facility by introducing fees. Empirical evidence revealed that in the urban context, SAPs resulted in privatization and commercialization of public social infrastructures, deregulation, and some withdrawal of the state from welfare responsibilities under the guise of decentralization and popular participation (Doward et al, 2004). The poor were demanding government health facilities despite that the LCA is also a local government. This shows that the poor were not satisfied with services provided by the LCA following decentralization. However, both the Assembly and the poor communities are expected to participate in order to address community needs.

With regard to sanitation, according to the IHS, proper toilet sanitation implies that a household has either a flush toilet or Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) toilet or traditional latrine with a roof (NSO, 2005a). Many households in the study were using traditional pit latrines (68%), san plat toilets without vent pipes (28%), flush toilets and VIP toilets (2%) respectively. In the IHS, 77.9% of the sample in Lilongwe City was using traditional latrines with roof, 8.8% latrines without roof and 0.6% had no toilet facility.

In addition, 35% had no waste disposal facility. In Phwetekere refuse was seen dumped in graveyards, roadsides and uncompleted houses, 45% had rubbish pits but some were full and 20% were using communal dumps (skips), which were seen overflowing with rubbish as shown in **Figure 4.9**. Taking into account **Figure 4.9** below and that some

households in poor urban neighbourhoods had no proper sanitation facilities, Phwetekere, Chinsapo and “Dubai” remain areas of public health concern in the city.



Figure 4.9 Health hazard: A communal dumpsite beside an obsolete Public toilet near Phwetekere market. **Source:** Filed Pictures.

The LCA was blamed for not providing adequate communal dumps and that it takes too long to collect refuse. A cleaner at Phwetekere market reported that very few people participate in cleaning their business surroundings while others throw refuse anywhere deliberately. In a neighbouring Falls Estate, a location of middle-income people, it was observed that streets were paved and clean and residents were seen sweeping their section of the street. Rubbish bins were also seen on the roadsides as shown in **Figure 4.10**.



Figure 4.10 Clean: A paved road with rubbish bins on the side waiting to be collected in Falls Estate. **Source:** Field Pictures.

This shows that in middle-income locations in Lilongwe City residents were participating and the Assembly was responding by collecting refuse unlike in Phwetekere and

Chinsapo. Participants in FGDs in Chinsapo complained that a refuse collection truck is seen to and from Likuni Hospital but does not stop to collect refuse from Chinsapo. Other Studies indicated that waste collection in Lilongwe and Blantyre Cities was biased towards middle and high-income settlements (Kaferanthu and Kamela 1991 cited in Kawonga, 1996; Chipeta and Binauli, 2005; Munthali et al, 2006).

Many participants blamed the LCA and NGOs for depriving poor urban communities of public health and education programmes. However, it was observed that few women and men brought children for immunization during a weeklong vitamin A campaign in Phwetekere, which coincided with this study. As such the Assembly may not be wholly to blame of negligence, but the community may also take a bigger portion of the problem. Lack of community participation is evidence of lack of willingness to take action to solve community problems like sanitation. It should be noted that the urban poor might not be aware of their civic responsibility presumably because nobody has told them how to do it.

4.10 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the nature of participation in Community Driven Development among the urban poor in Lilongwe City has been found to be low and passive. The determinants of participation have also been identified and are related to socio-economic characteristics of the households. These include: residential status, source of household income, politics, and level of education, period of residence in the community, age group, gender, ethnic diversity and religion. In general, it has been observed that the low participation is due to lack of public awareness that can empower the urban poor to take a leading role to develop their neighbourhoods.

In addition, it has also been established that agents of development among the urban poor are the social groups like CBOs, CDCs, and WUAs. These groups together with community leaders and politicians are responsible for initiating community projects and mobilizing support for projects through lobbying and collecting contributions from the community. The discussion has also shown that demand driven projects are not integrated in urban development plans. This affects public infrastructures especially communal

water kiosks that were being demolished or enclosed in fences turning them into private or personal property. The effectiveness of demand driven development in improving accessibility of basic services has also been discussed. Accessibility to some basic facilities like schools was reported to have improved while more need to be done to improve accessibility to health facilities; water and sanitation in poor urban neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to examine the nature of participation in community demand driven development and its contribution to improving accessibility of public goods and services among the urban poor in Lilongwe City. It is imperative that in decentralized development management, no community project will be effective and satisfactory to the urban poor without their participation. A commitment to sustainable urban development entails adopting participatory mechanisms that reach and involve a wide range of social groups (Menegat, 2002).

Incidentally, the study revealed that participation in demand driven projects in poor urban neighbourhoods in Lilongwe City was low and passive. This was attributable to a hangover of top down approaches in urban development prior to implementation of the decentralization policy in 1998. Some poor urban neighbourhoods continue to look up to the LCA to initiate and implement development projects with the community being at a receiving end. The author argues that achieving meaningful participation in CDD among the urban poor entails the community being aware that it is the owner and centre not the receiver of finished products from the development process.

With regard to determinants of participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor, the study found that participation was determined by the socio-economic characteristics of the households in the neighbourhood. These include: residential status, source of household income, politics, and level of education, period of residence in the community, age, gender, ethnic diversity and religion. The argument therefore, is that increasing participation in demand driven projects among the urban poor entails integrating their diverse socio-economic characteristics in community projects to address interests and aspirations for the households. Participation in demand driven projects constitutes livelihood activities for some of the urban poor. As such failure to integrate their interests implies disregarding the integral fact that the urban poor are heterogeneous

(Hoben et al, 1998; Canel, 2001). This can result in increased social tensions and segregation in poor urban neighbourhoods, which work against CDD.

On agents who initiate community projects in poor urban neighbourhoods and how support is mobilized, the study established that it is the responsibility of social groups and decision-making bodies at community level. These include CBOs, CDCs and WUAs whose leadership exerts influence on key traditional state institutions especially the executive and legislature. Political leaders especially MPs and Councillors who are members in these community bodies are most important in mobilizing financial resources for projects in poor urban neighbourhoods. Local community leaders play a critical role as the centre of development processes interfacing between the MPs, Councillors and the community. However, the study established that some leaders were involved in rent seeking tendencies, misappropriating community resources to their individual advantage. The failure to prosecute corrupt leaders testifies to lack of transparency and accountability (Fatch et al, 1998) in the management of community project funds among the urban poor consequently affecting participation.

With regard to integration of demand driven projects in urban physical development planning, it was observed that the location of public service infrastructures in poor urban neighbourhoods was adhoc. Projects were implemented without following any physical development plans. This was attributed to lack of capacity and resources on the part of urban authorities to plan, lack of public awareness on physical planning and weak coordination of planning duties amidst rampant unplanned developments. The effect was that communal water kiosks which were a major source of water for drinking, cooking and washing for the poor were being demolished or enclosed in fences turning them into private or individual properties.

The author argues that the evident land use conflicts between communal water kiosks and individual dwelling units is a potential source of conflicts between the poor and the non-poor which is detrimental to community participation. The demolition and capture of service infrastructures shows that demand driven projects in poor urban neighbourhoods

are temporary than long term and permanent as government policies advocate (GOM, 1987a, 2004).

Upon examining the effectiveness of demand driven development in the provision of basic services in poor urban neighbourhoods, the study found that some services were less accessible to the poor because of the requirement to pay fees. Many people were not happy to pay for water, medical and maternity services offered from facilities built with their own hands. Despite that charges for similar services are much higher if sourced from private providers, the poor were not willing to pay even the subsidized fees and were opting to walk long distances to access free government services. It can be argued therefore that CDD and decentralization are effective in making services available but not accessible to the urban poor. This could be the reason why the urban poor resist participating in demand driven projects.

5.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations are proposed to encourage participation in CDD among the urban poor:

1. Urban authorities should promote public awareness campaigns on decentralization, physical planning and CDD to encourage the urban poor to participate in development projects in their neighborhoods;
2. Development planners and the legislature should allocate more resources to long-term investment projects that transfer more benefits to the urban poor unlike projects that promote private than public interests to enhance participation in CDD projects;
3. There is a need for government institutions especially the ACB, offices of the Accountant and Auditor Generals to mention but a few to build capacities for monitoring operations of community organizations like CDCs, CBOs and WUAs especially those whose projects are funded from public coffers. Instituting strong accountability measures including possibilities to prosecute to check frauds, corruption and other malpractices in urban demand-driven projects would encourage participation;

4. Local and International donor agencies and the private sector should support networks that promote grassroot urban community organizations to promote social integration that can facilitate group learning. This would provide multiplier effects that may enhance the poor's organizational capacity, bargaining power and resilience to minimize unwanted internal and external interferences in projects thereby creating potential for wider participation;
5. Urban authorities should promote integrated urban planning policies to encourage the poor to demand and negotiate local physical development plans before implementing demand-driven projects (e.g. combining slum upgrading projects with community based water management) to ensure sustainability of public investments. This would also encourage participation of the poor in urban planning hence reduce slum development.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.0 CDD Guiding Principles for CDP and SSP in MASAF 3

Community Development Projects (CDP)	Social Support Programme (SSP)
• Active participation of the beneficiaries at the community level in the pre to post sub-project cycle stages • The sub-sector supported are within the community service packages and adhere to sector norms and standards • Equitable participation of women and men in project management • Participation of women, men and the youth throughout all project cycle processes to the exclusion of child labour • Community contribution for CMPs of at least 20% of the total sub-project cost, except for capital intensive sub-projects such as water, where the contribution will be at least 10% • Self targeting under LAMPs through payment of wage rate 20% below the market and linked to a defined task • Utilization under LAMPs of appropriate labour based technologies that are gender sensitive • The unskilled labour proportion of LAMPs is at least 40% of the total project cost	• Support through an NGO, CBO, or FBO • A minimum of 20% contribution requirement from the PIA • The component does not serve private interests, cannot include emergency assistance, micro-credits, direct relief activities, school grants or resettlement • Accountability and transparency in resource management and service delivery at the institutional and beneficiary levels • Leverage the use of public resources in favour of the vulnerable and marginalized social groups • Participation in the project identification and management processes by the beneficiary communities • Equitable participation between women and men in project management • Enhancing the capacity of the NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, and target beneficiaries to undertake sustainable livelihood support and risk management respectively • Sub-project activities must be economically viable and sustainable

Source: MASAF III/CEDP Operational Manual, 2003

Appendix 2.0: Reasons for Not Participating in Demand-driven projects

No	Reasons for Not Participating	Frequency	Rank
1	Lack of Transparency and accountability	6	1
2	Lack of Public awareness	5	2
3	Busy with Ganyu/salaried work	4	3
4	Not Interested	4	3
5	Temporary Residence	4	3
6	Lack of cooperation among stakeholders	3	4
7	Untrustworthy leaders and service providers	3	4
8	Political Interference	3	4
9	Elite capture of projects	2	5
10	Lack of political will	2	5
11	Lack of consultations by MP	2	5
12	False Promises	2	5
13	Unfair discharge of duties by leaders	2	5
14	Delays in responding to development requests	2	5
15	Attending to Family Business	1	6
16	Lack of coordination	1	6
17	Gender bias in selecting PMC/CDC members	1	6
18	Lack of ethnic integration	1	6
19	Selective Institutional Policies	1	6
20	Cash/material contribution requirement	1	6
21	Not invited to participate	1	6
22	Non payment of wages	1	6
23	Government knows better attitude	1	6
24	Lack of knowledge on land ownership	1	6
25	Poor Leadership	1	6

Source: FGDs

Appendix 3.0 Prioritized Basic Service Needs in Study Sites

Type of Service	Frequency	Rank	Reasons
Government Health Center	7	1	- No government healthy facility in the community - People get ambushed when going to look for healthy care services at night. - Expectant women deliver on their way to Bottom Hospital since it is very far. - Women go to traditional birth attendants to deliver risking death in an event of complications
Police unit	7	1	- Police unit operating from a borrowed structure in a school compound and events at the unit disturb lessons. - Reduce High crime rate - Police too far away from community
Piped Water	6	2	- Kiosks closed due to unpaid bills - Community using water from unprotected sources. - No supply lines in some parts of community
Market	6	2	- Need safe business place - Population is high and one market not enough
Access Roads	5	3	Improve mobility and access to homes by car
Sports Grounds	4	4	To improve sports and prevent young people from engaging in immoral practices.
School Fence	4	4	For safety of school children and property
Post Office	3	5	Improve accessibility of the service from town
Bridges	3	5	Streams get flooded in rainy season
Secondary School	2	6	- Private Secondary Schools expensive since we - One public Secondary School not enough
Refuse Bins (skips) and Collection	2	6	To improve sanitation
Orphan Care Center	1	7	Many orphans lacking support.
Boreholes	1	7	People use unsafe water from unprotected wells and swamps due to lack of money to buy from Kiosks exposing themselves to water borne diseases.
Library	1	7	Many hard working school children need the service
School Desks	1	7	Inbuilt desks dangerous and uncomfortable for pupils.
Teachers Houses	1	7	Many teachers stay in Area 25 and come to work late and knock off early.
Electricity	1	7	Extension of the supply line to “Dubai” C
ADMARC Market	1	7	
Drainage System	1	7	Roads have no gutters and water flows into our homes.
Afforestation	1	7	Need to plant trees to make a wind brake
Bus Stages	1	7	Reduce distance to the tarmac to catch minibuses
Connecting Tarmac Road	1	7	Need tarmac road to connect “Dubai” and Area 18 via Chimoka.

Source: FGDs

Appendix 4.0 Data Collection Instruments

SURVEY FOR COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AREAS FUNDED BY THE MALAWI SOCIAL ACTION FUND THROUGH THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, CHANCELLOR COLLEGE

A. KEY INFORMANT GUIDE

SECTION A: IDENTIFICATION OF KEY INFORMANT			
NAME OF STUDY SITE_____	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
NAME OF COMMUNITY/NEIGHBOURHOOD_____	<table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
NAME OF KEY INFORMANT_____			
DISTRICT OF ORIGIN FOR INFORMANT _____			
INTERVIEW STATUS (1= completed; 2= Partly completed; 3= Refused; 4= Not at home)			

Objective 1. To identify the determinants of participation among the urban poor in demand-driven development

1. How do you understand the concept “community participation” in urban development?
2. Do people participate adequately in community projects? Explain.
3. What factors can make more people participate in a community project?
4. Why do some people avoid taking part in community development projects?
5. Does the mixture of different ethnic groups in this community affect people’s participation in projects?
6. Does political diversity affect community initiated development projects?

Objective 2. To establish who initiates community projects in poor urban areas and how they mobilize support.

7. Who initiates community development projects?
8. How do you mobilize support for community projects in terms of:
 - Labour
 - Materials
 - Project Financing
9. As a stakeholder in urban development what are your roles in reducing material and infrastructure poverty among the urban poor?
10. In your opinion, how does community leadership influence:
 - Success of development projects initiated by the community
 - Failure of community initiated projects

11. How can we improve to ensure that urban community demanded development projects do reach completion stage?
12. What is your assessment of the performance of Community Development Committees in relation to participatory urban service delivery?

Objective 3. To find out how demand-driven development projects are integrated in the principles of urban planning and development.

13. How do you integrate community initiated development projects in urban planning and development control measures?
14. How do you resolve conflicts that arise from land use and allocation in poor urban areas?

Objective 4. To examine the effectiveness of demand-driven development in the provision of basic services to the urban poor.

15. How does an urban poor community perceive those who encourage community participatory provision of basic services?
16. How much contribution has Community Driven Development achieved in improving accessibility for basic services in urban poor areas since its introduction in 2003 by MASAF?
17. How can Community Driven Development in urban areas be improved to ensure wider participation of the urban poor?

B. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Objective 1. To identify the determinants of participation among the urban poor in demand-driven development.

1. In relation to urban community driven development projects, how do you understand the term community participation?
 - Which projects were implemented through community participation in this area?
 - How was the community involved in these projects?
2. Does the community get adequately involved at the following project stages:
 - Election of the committee
 - Identification of projects
 - Selecting the projects to be implemented
 - Developing a project proposal
 - Implementation?
3. Do people participate adequately in development projects in this community?
 - What makes people fail to participate in community development projects in this community?
 - What should be done to ensure that more people participate in community demanded projects in this area?
4. Does diversity in ethnic backgrounds among people of this community affect participation in community projects?

- Explain how?
 - What should be done to improve participation of people from all ethnic groups of this community in development work?
5. Does diversity in political party following affect participation in community initiated development projects?
 - Explain how?
 - What should be done to make sure that politics does not distract development in urban communities?
 6. Given a government determined project and community demanded project, which project would the community support most?
 - Explain why?

Objective 2. To establish who initiates community projects in poor urban areas and how they mobilize support.

7. Who are the leaders in demand development projects in this community?
 - How are they put in their positions?
 - Do you think community leaders in urban areas play an important role in mobilizing people and funds for community demanded projects?
 - Apart from community traditional leaders, whom do you consider as leading stakeholders in development projects in this community?
8. How does the leadership of these stakeholders influence the success or failure of community demanded projects?
 - Who should be blamed for the inaccessibility of basic public services to this community? Explain why?
 - What should the stakeholders do to improve accessibility of services to this community? Do you think this community has a role to make these services accessible?
 - Explain how this should be done?
9. Would you mention services that are available in this area?
 - Which services are highly inaccessible in this community?
 - Who should take the initiative to improve community services in this area?
 - Why?
 - Given a chance to choose services to be provided urgently, which services would this community select?
 - Do you think community development committees are helpful in improving service accessibility to this community?
 - Explain how?

Objective 3. To find out how demand-driven development projects are integrated in the principles of urban planning and development.

10. Are there projects that were identified, designed and implemented by this community?
 - Do you think such projects can improve accessibility of public services in this community?

- Explain how?
- How does this community ensure that community driven projects promotes economic use of resources to minimize conflicts of land uses?
- How does this community resolve conflicts that arise from land use and allocation?

Objective 4. To examine the effectiveness of demand-driven development in the provision of basic services to the urban poor.

11. How does this community perceive those who encourage community participatory provision of basic services?
 - Do you think demand-driven development has contributed to accessibility of basic services to this community since its inception?
 - Suggest the best ways for implementing community driven development projects in this community to improve accessibility of basic services?

C. QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire N0.....			
HOUSEHOLD MODULE All information given will be treated as confidential SURVEY FOR COMMUNITY DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AREAS COMMISSIONED BY THE MALAWI SOCIAL ACTION FUND THROUGH THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, CHANCELLOR COLLEGE			
SECTION A: TIME OF INTERVIEW			
To be completed by interviewer		Date of Interview	
Time Interview started.....		/...../.....	
Completed.....			
Name of Interviewer.....			
Signature.....			
SECTION B: IDENTIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLD			
Indicate Male or Female Respondent		1= Male ☐	
Place Name.....		2= Female	
Constituency.....			
Name of Respondent.....			
Name of Household head.....			
Interview status (1=completed, 2=Partly completed, 3= Refused, 4= Not at Home)		☐	
Total Number of persons in the Household			
		Male ☐	
		Female ☐	
SECTION C: CERTIFICATION			
Supervisor	Field Editor	Coder	Keyed By
Name	Name	Initial.....	Initial.....
Date...../...../.....	Date...../...../.....		

SECTION D: SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF HOUSEHOLD RESPONDENT				
ID N0	Questions and Filters	Coding categories	Options	Skip to
Q1.	What is the sex of respondent?	1. Male 2. Female		
Q2.	What is the respondent's relationship to head of household?	1. Household head 2. Spouse 3. Daughter/son 4. Grand child 5. Domestic worker		
Q3.	What is the marital status of the respondent?	1. Never Married 2. Married with certificate 3. Married Traditional 4. Consensual Union 5. Divorced/separated 6. Widowed		
Q4.	Age group of respondent in completed years?	1. <20 years 2. 20-29 3. 30-39 4. 40-49 5. 50+ 6. Don't know		
Q5.	Highest educational level of respondent?	1.Primary 2.Secondary 3.Post Secondary 4.Never been to school 5.Adult classes		
Q6	What is the main activity from which the household derived its income during the last 12 months?	1.Salaried Employee 2.Family business 3.Smallholder Farmer 4.Ganyu (Casual labour)		
Q7	How long have you lived in this community?	1. 1Year or less 2. 2-5 Years 3.6-9 Years 4. 10-13 Years 5.More than 14 Years		
Q8	Which ethnic group(s) do members of this household come from?	1. Chewa 2. Nyanja 3. Yao 4. Tumbuka 5. Lomwe 6. Ngoni 7. Sena 8. Tonga 9. Other (specify)		
Q9	Which religious denomination do you belong to?	1.Pentecostal 2. CCAP 3.Catholic 4.Islam 5.SDA 6.Anglican 7. Church of Christ 8.Other (specify)		
Q10	What is your political party affiliation?	1. MCP 2.UDF 3.DPP 4.AFORD 5.PETRA 6.PPM 7.Non Partisan 8.Other (specify)		Q11 go up to Q42 then Q10

SECTION E: PERCEPTIONS ON DETERMINANTS OF PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DRIVEN PROJECTS				
Q11	Have you ever participated in any community driven project in this community?	1. Yes 2. No		
Q12	What could be the MOST critical reason (s) for not participating in community development projects? (Probe for up to three options).	1. Too busy with personal business 2. Not interested 3. Political interferences 4. Salaried employee 5. Not invited to participate 6. Corruption in recruiting participants 7. Lack of civic education 8. Other (specify)		
Q13	What could motivate you to participate in community development projects? (Probe for best two options)	1. Encouragement from Neighbours 2. Encouragement from traditional community leaders 3. Encouragement from CDC 4. Earning income from the project 5. Willingness to deal with community problem 6. Project meeting community needs 7. Civic education 8. Other (specify)		
Q14	Mention any recent community project that was demanded by the community, which is beneficial to you?	1. Housing 2. Access roads 3. Bridges 4. School Blocks 5. Afforestation 6. Water project 7. Health facility 8. Savings/Credit Scheme 9. Other (specify)		
Q15	Do you know who funded the project?	1. Yes 2. No		
Q16	Who are they?	1. European Union 2. MASAF 3. City Assembly 4. UNICEF 98. Don't know		
Q17	Did you participate in the following stages of development projects?	Identification of projects Selection of projects for implementation Election of the Committee Proposal Development Project implementation Asset maintenance 1. Yes 2. No		
Q18	What was your input (s) in this project?	1. Attending community development meetings 2. Identifying projects 3. Financial contributions 4. Contributing building materials 5. Contributing labour to build and maintain facilities 97. N/A		

Q19	Between governments determined project and community demanded project, which one would be better for the community?	1. Government determined project 2. Community demanded project 3. Both		
Q20	What problems are faced in implementing community demanded projects? (If any)	1.Delay to get the project funded 2.Political interferences 3.Ethnic conflicts 4.Poor project management 5.Corruption among leaders 6.Poor community participation 7. Other (specify)		
SECTION F: PERCEPTIONS ON THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS IN DEMAND DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT				
Q21	How does one become a community development leader?	1.Long stay in the community 2.Elected by community members 3.Inheritance 4.Imposed by political leaders 5.Other (specify)		
Q22	In organizing community demanded projects, do you think community leaders in this location have the following qualities? (Read out the option to the respondent)	Trustworthy Concern with the well-being of residents Work efficiency Fair in discharge of duties 1. Yes Ability to talk wisely in public 2. No Honesty and reliable Experience in community work Knowledge of residents' needs Positive attitude to community work Good education Courage to talk to external officials		
Q23	In your opinion, who is the MOST influential in initiating community development projects in this location?	1.City Assembly 2.Member of Parliament 3.NGO/CBO officials 4.Traditional leaders 5.Ward Councillor 6.The community 7.Other (specify)		
Q24	How does the community mobilize support for implementation of the identified priority projects in this community?	1.Inviting politicians to community meetings 2.Appealing for direct donor support 3.Appealing for NGO support 4.Financial contributions form community members 5. Lobbying for City Assembly Support through Ward Councillor 6. Lobbying for Central government support through Member of Parliament		

Q25	Do you think community leaders in urban areas play an important role in mobilizing people to participate in community demanded projects?	1. Yes 2. No		
SECTION G: PERCEPTIONS ON THE INTEGRATION OF COMMUNITY DEMANDED PROJECTS INTO URBAN PRINCIPLES AND PROCESSES				
Q26a	What is the main type of floor that best describes the respondents dwelling?	1.Mud 2.Concreate/cement 3.Other (specify		
Q26b	What is the main type of roof that best describes the respondents dwelling?	1.Corrugated Iron sheets 2.Grass thatched 3.Other (specify)		
Q26c	What is the main type of windows that best describes the respondents dwelling?	1. Glass 2.Paper/Wood 3.Cloth/sack 4. None 5.Other (specify)		
Q26d	What is the main type of walls that best describes the respondents dwelling?	1.Burnt bricks 2.Sun dried bricks (Zidina) 3.Compacted earth (Mdindo) 4.Cement Blocks 5. Other (specify)		
Q27	Do you own this house?	1. Yes 2. No		
Q28	If NO to Q27 , where does the owner stay?	1.Outside the location 2.Within the location (on same plot) 3.Within the location (on a different plot) 97. N/A		
Q29	If YES to Q27 , were you given permission to develop from the urban authorities?	1. Yes 2. No		
Q30	How do people get land to build houses in this community?	1.Encroachment 2.Buying from community leaders 3.Allocated by City Assembly 4.Buying from individuals 5. Other (specify)		
Q31	Are land disputes common in this community?	1. Yes 2. No		If No go to Q33
Q32	If YES to Q31, who are the commonest parties in land disputes in the community?	1.City Assembly vs. Developers 2.MHC vs. Developers 3.Ministry of Lands vs. Developers 4.Developers vs. Tenants 5.Community leaders vs. Developers 6.Developer vs. Developer		

Q33	Do you think land disputes in this community can affect community development projects?	1. Yes 2. No		If No go to Q35
Q34	How do land disputes affect community development projects	1.Delaying the project 2.Raising project cost 3.Causing conflicts among community members 4. Other (specify)		
Q35	Are community demanded projects from donor and government agencies referred to City Planning Committee before implementation?	1. Yes 2. No 98. Don't know		
SECTION H: EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY DEMANDED DEVELOPMENT				
Q36a	What is the main source of water for drinking for the household?	1.Borehole 2.Protected Well 3.Unprotected Well 4.Piped outside dwelling 5.Piped outside dwelling 6.Communal Pay Water Kiosk		
Q36b	What is the main source of water for cooking for the household?	1.Borehole 2.Protected Well 3.Unprotected Well 4.Piped outside dwelling 5.Piped outside dwelling 6.Communal Pay Water Kiosk		
Q36c	What is the main source of water for washing for the household?	1.Borehole 2.Protected Well 3.Unprotected Well 4.Piped outside dwelling 5.Piped outside dwelling 6.Communal Pay Water Kiosk		
Q37a	What is your main source of energy for cooking?	1. Electricity 2.Paraffin 3.Firewood 4. Charcoal 5.Other (specify)		
Q37b	What is your main source of energy for lighting?	1. Electricity 2.Paraffin 3.Firewood 4. Candle 5.Other (specify)		
Q38	What type of toilet facility does the household use?	1.San Plat 2.Traditional Pit latrine 3.Own flush toilet 4.Share flush toilet 5.Ventilated Improved Pit latrine 6. No facility		

Q39	Where does the household dispose refuse?	1.Communal dumps/skips 2.It is burnt 3.Rubbish pit 4.Own rubbish bin 5.No provision 6.Dumped in backyard 7.Other (specify)		
Q40	Given a chance to choose a service, which ONE would you; wish to be improved urgently in this community?	1.Sanitation and waste disposal 2.Housing 3.Piped water 4.Education 5.Roads and transport 6.Security 7.Employment and credit opportunities 8.Medical and Health care 9.Other (specify)		
Q41	Who has the responsibility to improve accessibility of services in this community?	1.City Assembly 2.Community Development Committee 3.Traditional Block leaders 4.The community 5.Individual households 6.Other (specify)		
Q42	Would you participate to make sure the MOST community preferred project is implemented?	1. Yes 2. No		

REMEMBER TO GO BACK TO Q10 PLEASE