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'Poverty Challenges and Solutions for the New Millennium:
A Case Study Approach to examining the Effectiveness of Christian Faith-Based Organizations (CFBOs) in their Efforts to eradicate Poverty in Urban and Rural Kenya'

Reginald Maudlin Nalugala
Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and Middlesex University

Abstract

This thesis explores the effectiveness of a Faith-based holistic approach to poverty in Kenya. The concept of effectiveness is explored through a case study approach to community development activities carried out by four case studies, namely IMANI and K-REP in Nairobi County and Mwenda Andu and KICABA programmes in Kitui County. Four themes have been developed to form a framework for analysing the concept of effectiveness. Within this framework, the study addresses the gap between theory and practice on one hand and, on the other hand, what the people presumed to be poor see as gaps in what is presented by agencies as meeting the poor’s own Most Significant Change needs. Specifically, poverty as a lack of capabilities from a multidimensional approach has been challenged further by testing effectiveness using the Most Significant Change (MSC) needs of the poor in both rural and urban settlements. Despite much support in education, the creation of credit lending facilities, improved sustainable smallholder agricultural production, provision of clean water and health amenities, leadership training fused with Christian Gospel living, poverty has been on the rise in Kenya. Therefore, this project uses the MSC approach to analyse and discuss the missing poverty dimensions regarding how poverty is defined and presented by different communities in their respective cultures. It is argued that if the missing poverty dimensions are understood there could be the desired social transformation within the development agencies at local, regional and international levels by re-thinking the methodologies and approaches used in deciding on the most suitable poverty interventions. The data findings and analysis of this study not only challenge secular development agencies on how to address the poor’s poverty but also FBOs which find themselves pushing forward interventions which may not agree with what the poor see as MSC. I propose that the effectiveness model as a tool for development agencies can be used in bringing about a holistic and transformational approach to poverty in Kenya.

Key words: Capabilities as poverty, effectiveness, solutions, most significant change needs
‘Poverty Challenges and Solutions for the New Millennium:
A Case Study Approach to examining the Effectiveness of Christian Faith-Based Organizations (CFBOs) in their Efforts to eradicate Poverty in Urban and Rural Kenya’

Reginald Maudlin Nalugala
Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and Middlesex University

Ph.D. Research is in the area of
Development Studies and Faith Practices in a Public Space

Main Supervisor: Prof. Deryke Belshaw
Second Supervisor: Dr. Andrew Hartropp
Tutor: Dr. Brian Woolnough

The thesis was examined by Prof. Ian Linden, TBFF, (the external examiner) and Dr. Bill Prevette, OCMS, (the internal examiner).

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and Middlesex University United Kingdom

Oxford Centre for Mission Studies
November 30th 2014
DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed ___________________________ (Candidate)

Date _____________________________

36th Day of November 2014

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed ___________________________ (Candidate)

Date _____________________________

30th Day of November 2014

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if approved, to be available for photocopying by the British Library and for Inter-Library Loan, for open access to the Electronic Theses Online Service (EthoS) linked to the British Library, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

Signed ___________________________ (Candidate)

Date _____________________________

30th Day of November 2014
Dedication

I dedicate the Ph.D. thesis to my dear wife Hon. Senator Dr. Agnes Zani, our children Natalie, Leslie and my parents: the late Mama Anna Ndubi and the late Mwalimu Clement Ogallo Nalugala. To my dear special guardians who accompanied me from the time I was in the kindergarten to where I am now: Mr. Protase Buluma and Amatta Ogallo. To all the poor of ex-Spring Valley slum dwellers now living at Kayole Slaughter House whose suffering prompted the research of this thesis and now who continually live in hope to mend their broken lives. Mama Tersa Zani, Betty Zani, Ryan Oremo and Peter Oremo, Matje Matheij, Martin Dingemans, Ivonne van de Kar and the wider fraternity of Harambee Netherlands for their continued support throughout my Ph.D. studies in Oxford, UK.

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<td>Arid and Semi-arid Lands</td>
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<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community-Based Organisations</td>
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<td>CFBOs</td>
<td>Christian Faith Based-organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>CORAT</td>
<td>Christian Organizations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTC</td>
<td>Chaminade Training Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Catholic Relief Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>EADD</td>
<td>East Africa Dairy Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERS</td>
<td>Economic Recovery Strategy</td>
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<tr>
<td>FBO</td>
<td>Faith Based Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLG</td>
<td>Family Life Group (IMANI’s Programme)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>INGOS</td>
<td>International Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMANI</td>
<td>Incentives from Marianists to Assist Needy be Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>JCP</td>
<td>Job Creation Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRS</td>
<td>Jesuit Refugee Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>KICABA</td>
<td>Kitui Integrated Cultural and Business Appraisal</td>
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<td>KHIHS</td>
<td>Kenya Household Integrated Budget Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>KIPRA</td>
<td>Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>KREP</td>
<td>Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>KWFT</td>
<td>Kenya Women’s Finance Trust</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Micro Finance Agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>Maria House (part of IMANI Programme)</td>
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<td>MSC</td>
<td>Most Significant Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>MWB</td>
<td>Material Wellbeing</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations (Local and international NGOs)</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPHI</td>
<td>Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative</td>
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<td>PRA</td>
<td>Participatory Rural Appraisal</td>
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<td>PRSP</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPA</td>
<td>People Participatory Approach</td>
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<td>QPA</td>
<td>Qualitative Poverty Appraisal</td>
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<tr>
<td>RWB</td>
<td>Relational Wellbeing</td>
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<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programmes</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Significant Change</td>
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<td>SCCs</td>
<td>Small Christian Community</td>
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<td>SM</td>
<td>Society of Mary</td>
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<td>SRDP</td>
<td>Special Rural Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>WMS</td>
<td>Welfare Measurement Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCEC</td>
<td>Wealth Creation and Employment Creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEREP</td>
<td>World Education Rural Enterprise Programme</td>
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Chapter 1 Global Poverty

1.1 Introduction

The new Millennium offers renewed challenges to the international community on how to reduce global poverty. The Millennium Conference 2000 was pivotal in setting the agenda on for a concerted global action summarized in eight goals. That despite progress made in the economic, social and political success in the quest for a better world where everyone enjoys wellbeing fully it had become evident that a lack of sustainable transformation is still manifest in most developing countries around the world. There has been concern ranging from all types of inequalities, which have partly contributed to armed insurrections in Africa with devastating brutality against children, women and men. Why? Because the post independence expectations of fighting poverty and bringing renewed hope at the end of colonialism have not been fulfilled. People feel betrayed.

Many scholars who advocate for social transformation agree that there is need to develop a new vision for development in developing countries (OPHI 2013, Gaventa 2013; Holenstein, 2005; Myers, 2011; Chambers 2005; Belshaw et al. 2001; Ver Beek, 2000). However, the war on poverty in the two thirds worlds will not follow the traditional indicators and single measure approach, but requires a multidimensional approach to address poverty as lack of capabilities which affects well-being of people. What these capabilities are will depend very much on developing good methodologies which find entry points into different cultures, faiths and regions across communities on how poverty has been presented as an answer to the most significant change needs of people.

Chambers (2005) summed it up by observing that our world seems entangled in systems increasingly dominated by power, greed, ignorance, self-deception and denial, with spiralling inequity and injustice. Against a backdrop of climate change, failing ecosystems, poverty, crushing debt and corporate exploitation, the future of our world looks dire and the solutions
almost too monumental to consider. Chambers peels apart and analyses aspects of development that have been neglected or misunderstood.¹

The purpose of this thesis is twofold: First, to use case studies based in Kenya to assess the effectiveness of Faith Based Organizations in promoting capabilities that help end poverty. This is supported by the existing literature which strengthens the argument that human development goes beyond mere economic growth to a much deeper appreciation of well-being. Gaventa (2013, p. 4) has argued why there is a significant need to explore faith-based approaches to development and consider their implications in addressing the “significant systemic crises” facing the field of development. Attention has been drawn towards the effectiveness of processes and initiatives of change run by CFBOs in addressing capabilities among different communities in both urban and rural settings of Kenya. In his own scholarly contributions since 1985, Sen has led others in suggesting that the capability approach can help improve standards of living and the quality of life among those identified as poor.

Second purpose is to demonstrate how a multi-dimensional approach to poverty can be used for communities, groups or individuals to realize their own potential. Through a participatory model a well-intending agency can uncover bigger community questions of social justice and the dignity of the oppressed that may undermine their own well-being.

Four themes have been indentified to demonstrate how the challenges mentioned above can be tackled and introduce a well-intended solution approach to improving well-being and human development. The four themes cover the OPHI appreciation of wellbeing, the popular participatory methodologies divided into traditions like the southern and norther traditions, and the relationship between the religious (Faith-Based Organizations) and secular agencies in addressing well-being. The last theme covers the distinct relationship between the rural and the urban in Kenya. The first two themes directly discuss well-being and the other two bring

out the argument why secular and religious organizations are so concerned about the best practices of improving well-being. They also explain that the rural and urban settings are very much complementary to each other because most poor people in urban settings tend to come from the rural parts of Kenya. We use the term circular migration to explain their movements periodically e.g. planting and harvesting seasons. Without the migrants having a rural home and land, then they will be considered poor.

As we shall discuss later in chapter two, Kenya’s development programme at independence was based on a two-strategy approach where the rural would help create employment and improve food sustainability. The urban would attract foreign investment and assist in improving the economy of the country (Wanyande et al. 2007; Swainson 1980; Lele 1975). However, with the rising poverty from 1970, the period from the 1980s to the present has created unmanageable rural urban migration. Hence, this balance is important in creating a better policy in handling poverty in rural and urban centres.

**The International Response to Poverty Revisited**

The international community sitting at the Millennium Conference 2000 came to identify the rising global poverty as the single most threat to human well-being with far reaching consequences. They were quick to point out that the start of a new millennium would have to address poverty and come up with long-term solutions to raise the majority of the poor out of poverty. Of immediate concern was how to learn from past mistakes and improve on the methodology, definition, interpretation and presentation of poverty. What could not be ignored was the enriched historical background from reflections going back to the period immediately after World War II. Tyler Cowen (1983)² while making reference to write-ups

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on why the Marshall Plan should be replicated in Latin America, Asia and Africa, lamented how the Reagan Administration through Jean Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the United Nations, suggested a biased approach to copying it as a perfect model for solving poverty related concerns in these regions. It is a well known fact that Marshall Plan (1947-1951) was a major investment strategy to rebuild 16 European nations devastated by the war. From 1948 through to 1952, European economies grew at an unprecedented rate. Economic prosperity led by the coal and steel industries helped to shape what we know now as the European Union.

In reference to developing countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, it is argued that for those countries that tried the Marshall Plan approach\(^3\) to bringing about economic growth and development have been greatly disappointed. The Model suggested by the UN and major donors thereafter did not understand that the Marshall Plan was using existing economic development infrastructures to rebuild the 16 European nations devastated by the war. From 1948 through to 1952, European economies grew at an unprecedented rate. However, that was not the same for the developing countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia. The perception then for developing countries was to invest in rural agriculture and create development opportunities which would be the main vanguard for economic growth and provide raw materials for industrialization. By the turn of a new millennium, almost 50 years after independence, poverty was on the rise with very little to show that the development policies had worked. There was something of great importance missing in all the policies as we are going to see shortly, the involvement of the grassroots groups in fighting their poverty with a high handed approach of the donor and master-like agency.

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Therefore, certain methodological approaches have been advanced to bring about an alternative solution. Since 2007, the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) has led in the pursuit of this alternative using the participatory methodology as a tool of immersion or insertion into the respective communities they work in. First, they discarded the much thought about single dimensional measure by introducing a multi-dimensional approach to poverty:

Money alone is an incomplete measure of ‘poverty.’ Human development is more about giving people the opportunities to live lives they value, and enable them to achieve their own destiny. This goes beyond material resources- as people value many aspects of life- and also focuses on what people are able to be and to do (OPHI webpage 2013).

OPHI launched a workshop held in Oxford 2007 that was attended among others by Amartya Sen, a Nobel Prize winner. Sabina Alkire introduced the key objectives of OPHI to contribute to an integrated poverty reduction framework grounded in Amartya Sen’s capability approach. They identified this framework as incorporating multiple dimensions of poverty and well-being simultaneously. These were recognized to be interconnected, and able to inform policy-making, foster debate and contribute to the literature (OPHI, 2013). The multi-dimensional analytical methodology now synonymous with OPHI has helped develop a framework from which missing dimensions of poverty in each community could easily be identified. This is because fighting poverty is about meeting capabilities of each community or individuals. As we shall see shortly, the capability approach measures well-being in terms of standards of living and quality of life. For OPHI, the five missing dimensions of poverty are quality of work, empowerment, physical safety, ability to go about without shame and
psychological well-being. Their ongoing research continues to identify new dimensions across the globe capable of depriving people of opportunities to enjoy full human development and well-being. However, OPHI is not the only one that has been looking at new dimensions. Faith-Based Organizations led by the Jubilee Centre Cambridge study group has identified relationships as another important dimension of poverty.

The Faith Dimension to Ending Poverty

The Jubilee Centre researchers have shown the place of FBOs in the development debate. In making reference to this point, Loy (2003) argued that development has not been effective because the current model falls short of reaching out to the poverty of the people. Examples cited are that aid is itself the problem, creating structures which perpetuate the very inequities it is designed to alleviate. For Loy, development projects that seek to end poverty by ‘developing’ a society into an economy focused on consumption are grasping the snake by the wrong end. From a Buddhist point of view, we should not be surprised that such efforts in social engineering end up creating more problems than they solve (Loy 2003:9). Loy adds that the greatest contribution of religion to development is the teaching of values and principles of ‘right living,’ which, if acted upon, will lead people in the developed world to stop perpetuating a cycle of wealth accumulation which perpetuates poverty and oppression. In this argument, development will succeed to the extent that religious NGOs are able to share the values of humanity, which the world’s religions espouse, and to encourage significant changes to life practices in the over-developed as well as the under-developed world. Myers (2011) noted that individual transformation and fixing broken relationships is for everyone:

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The poor suffer from marred identities and the belief that they have no meaningful vocation other than serving the powerful. The non-poor, and sometimes development facilitators, suffer from the temptation to play god in the lives of the poor, and believe that what they have in terms of money, knowledge, and position is the result of their own cleverness or the right of their group (Myers, 2011, pp. 17-19).6

These broken relationships must also be addressed not just between individuals, but also in the greater sphere of social organization between churches, governments, FBOs and NGOs. Other studies on this relational dimension of poverty are Schluter (2006),7 Clarke (2007), and Deneulin & Bano (2009). The multi-dimensional nature of poverty has opened doors to different forms of poverty that cover structural, socio-cultural, community-centred types of poverty, and relative and absolute poverty. This is indeed a radical proposition and is untested, although evaluating NGO effectiveness in changing the developed world is an intriguing prospect.

Therefore, the OPHI and Jubilee Study groups challenge the existing perceptions, methodology, definitions and interpretation of poverty by presenting a new theoretical framework of thought. These new dimensions have challenged how both secular and Faith-Based Organizations come to look at poverty and for solutions.

It also brings in what Faith-Based Organizations, supported by the Jubilee Centre in Cambridge, have identified as is missing in the discussions on poverty. They argue that building relationships among communities which cultivate love for the neighbour will champion better strategies for ending poverty than when the focus is on wealth creation as an end. Therefore, the problem of research extends beyond looking at economic growth and

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economic development as the answer to poverty and bring in the perspective that building relational approach in society will help the community and individuals out of poverty.

1.2 Methodology

The four themes were supported by a strong set of existing empirical data that gave strength to the selection of the methodology of the thesis. Using the four themes as the theoretical setting of the core argument in the thesis, the case studies selected were analysed and discussed in relation to how they handled the four themes in their programmes. Therefore, the methodological section looked at the existing literature on development by identifying the strengths and weaknesses on how poverty has been defined and presented in textbooks. The textbook presentation of poverty was tested against local communities under study for their own interpretation. I used 4 case studies to discuss poverty in the context of textbooks available on development and poverty programmes. I used 4 case studies for the field survey in order to develop a critique on how well meaning agencies present poverty in urban and rural communities. The 4 case studies are Incentives by Marianists to assist the needy to be independent (IMANI), Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme (K-REP), Mwenda Andu and Kitui Integrated Cultural and Community Appraisal (KICABA). IMANI and KREP are categorised as urban case studies. Mwenda Andu and KICABA are categorised as rural case studies. The aim was to differentiate the types of poverty the urban poor and rural poor experience. The first field survey findings are presented in chapter 3.

I present 2 surveys: one which followed the normal agreed upon process of using questionnaires leading to data analysis. I selected research instruments like open-ended questions to respondents on their poverty situation. The field survey and data analysis was supported by 2 theories: groupthink theory (Irving Janis, 1982) and deficit theory (Paul Gorsky (2014) to test communities’ participation in programmes and whether the proposed
interventions answer their actual needs. The groupthink and deficit theories tend to dominate development programmes where the elites of projects control and determine who is really poor rather than developing a process called the most significant change analysis, where the poor become protagonists of their own development to end poverty. After the data had been put together and analysed, I went back to the respondents to share with them my findings on their needs.8

The second phase of the field survey was triggered by the feedback developed from the presentation of findings of the first field survey to respondents. The challenge posed by the respondents looking at poverty from a different lens convinced me to apply the Rick Davies (2003, 1996) methodology of identifying the most significant change (MSC) the agency and the poor mean when they discuss poverty as individuals or as a household. Davies called it the effectiveness methodology of testing who really needs the intervention being proposed. Is it the agency to fulfil its mission objectives or the client who see the intervention benefitting them? Rick Davies (1996) concluded that most agencies mean well when they bring in experts to solve a poverty need. But these experts could be working to fulfil the mission and objectives of the agency and not the client’s needs. The effectiveness theory helped to answer the dilemma existing within the development fraternity on whose voice is the expert listening to and which gaps is he filling? At the end of the effectiveness theory, the beneficiary’s voice is heard. What the agency sees as fulfilling its objectives changes to fulfilling objectives of the client in question. Chapter 6 brings out the second survey based on the feedback from the field survey. It answers the question at local and international level why good intentions to end global poverty require a good model which covers the needs of the poor in their own environment. The key discussion of the thesis is presented in chapter seven to bring out the

8 Chapter 6 gives more details on the feedback from Phase 2 of the study.
question: whether the FBOs can succeed where the secular institutions have failed in the last six decades. A detailed methodology used in the thesis is explained in Appendix 2.

1.3 Organization

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis and sets the stage for understanding the problem of research and key concepts. Chapter 2 looks at the literature on well-being, popular participatory methodologies, how FBOs and NGOs tend to differ in presenting well-being and human development. It also reflects on the explicit distinction between the rural and urban in presenting capability building and well-being. The popular participatory methodologies present two important traditions called the northern and southern traditions.

Chapters 3 and 4 present the data and analysis of the first field survey data. Chapter 5 brings together an important discussion on the turning point in the findings. This chapter provides the deeper questions of poverty and human development. Chapter 6 has been branded as the discussion chapter. It brings together the challenging ethical concerns for FBOs and gives insight into new thinking emerging from the findings in relation to poverty in Kenya. The concluding chapter gives pointers on how to identify poverty and provide potential models for application in subsequent studies.
Chapter 2 Concepts of Poverty and Well-being in the Two Thirds World

2.1 Introduction

In the past two decades, a number of researchers have sought to understand poverty and its causes and to relate it to the well-being of individuals and communities. What is of interest in most discussions today is how to make the people affected by poverty come up with solutions they feel can improve their well-being. This chapter discusses four main themes on different measures to address well-being: the multi-dimensional approach to poverty, the popular participatory methodologies, the secular and religious differences on poverty and well-being and the distinction between the rural and urban. The aim of the chapter is to discuss how these themes have impacted on the case studies of the thesis and develop a guiding framework from which to discuss poverty and well-being.

2.2 OPHI Definition and Presentation of Well-being

Capability and deprivation has been placed at the heart of the debate as follows. The first theme is generated by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI 2007) who introduced a multi-dimensional approach to poverty and well-being. It is influenced by a school of thought led by Amartya Sen and Sabina Alkire. They placed Capability deprivation is at the heart of the debate. This includes and goes beyond the lack of material wants to cover i).human capabilities, ii).for instance, iii).skills and physical abilities. OPHI adds other values such as i).self-respect in society, ii).being free from shame and iii).enhancing dignity. Poverty continues to be the raison d’être of development, which, if not checked, affects well-being. Beringer and Chouchane (2007) have concluded that international organizations now
recognize that human development goes beyond economic growth. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon covering all aspects of well-being. The pioneer work of Sen on social justice and inequalities (Sen, 1985, 1992) inspired a new concept of development. They add that Sen’s capability approach contributed to the design of the UNDP’s human development index (HDI) in 1990, which was intended to be a more comprehensive indicator than per capita income for comparing the well-being of countries. However, Ophi has pioneered a series of studies that answer the HDI’s critics who think its indicators are too few and too arbitrarily chosen and that its definition is still inadequate and does not allow the capability approach to work.

During the launch of the Oxford Poverty and Human Development initiative (OPHI 2007), I was seated among the crowd of participants. Different presenters brought to light why the multi-dimensional measure of well-being is becoming the central theme in all poverty debates. Poverty was immediately recognized in terms of capability and entitlements. Sen (1992) used the capability approach where well-being is described in terms of (a) standard of living and (b) quality of life. Inefficiency in the functioning of households is not so much about income but rather meeting basic capabilities affected by the environment, religion, geographic location, and culture. The cultural aspects of capability were well expressed by the Kitui Community as presented from page 199 of this thesis. The community saw poverty in temrs of the centre and the circle. The question coming out of the multi-dimensional approach to well-being is how do you lead a manageable life? The researcher was prompted to understand what the people concerned have or do not have, and what prevents them from functioning better as people. For example, Beringer and Chouchane (2007) cite how in some

communities wearing a linen shirt for important occasions by men could cause shame and discrimination if they did not have it.

This recognition is very much part and parcel of what the southern communities have come to recognize in their daily lives, which should be taken into account when handling poverty and well-being. Other new dimensions recognised during the OPHI launch (2007) were physical safety, living in tough physical environments like in Syria, Ukraine, the Boko Haram violence in Nigeria, and the suicide bombing in Somalia. How does one bring about well-being in such a volatile environment? Of equal importance are the forestation campaigns in the Amazon basin affecting the lives of the indigenous communities and other parts of the world where ranching by the rich continues to affect the lives of ordinary people. Therefore, the methodology to find entry points into such communities and discover their most significant needs is becoming more and more important in any research.

2.3 Measure of Human Development as Well-being

Ophi had led in recognizing that human development goes beyond economic growth. Human development (HD) is a multi-dimensional phenomenon covering all aspects of well-being. Sen has continued to inspire research with his publications in 1985, 1992 and the 2009 on social justice and inequalities. In designing the UNDP human development index (HDI, 1990), most of Sen’s ideas were incorporated. Until then, income was a major indicator of per capita for comparing well-being. Beringer & Chouchane (2007) added key under-development indicators by pointing out why GDP is no longer used in comparing the wealth of countries and development by exclusively basing it on wealth creation. It came out of the Ophi research that income is just one of the many dimensions of under-development. Ophi was following an already existing study which started in 1970. This research had wanted to
construct socio-economic indicators as an alternative to GDP but the follow up research from this period began developing a critique for not capturing the distribution aspects and human welfare dimensions. Desai (1991) was able to capture these dimensions (resource distribution and welfare) in his own work or what came to be called the structural adjustment income remedy programme (Sahn, Dorosh & Younger 1997). UNDP adopted Sen’s capability approach which presents well-being in the two distinct measures of standard of living and quality of life.

It has never come out clearly whose standard of living and quality of life is the most important to human development. That is why research in the multi-dimensional nature of poverty calls for new methods that discover what the people are experiencing as their poverty.

Sen proposed a normative framework to evaluate individual (and community) well-being, social relationships and changes in society which bring about social justice. Its main components were commodities or resources, functioning and capabilities. These commodities are goods and services and not just merchandise (trade and profits). They include transfers in kind and make possible the functionaries who take into account achievements of individuals on what they are and what they make from their own resources. The concept of capability is related to functionaries and includes notions of opportunity and freedom. It means a range of opportunities a person has and can choose from. Therefore, capabilities include various combinations of functioning (beings and doings) that a person can achieve. Capabilities can be defined (as Beringer and Chouchane defined it) as a set of vectors of functioning, reflecting the freedom to choose and lead one type of life or another (Sen, 1992, p. 40).

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functioning is an achievement while capability is the ability to produce a functioning. Functionings are related to living conditions while capabilities are concepts of freedom.

Therefore, in 1997, Sen defined HD as increasing people’s choices by expanding their human capabilities and opportunities. Under-development then is not about the deprivation of basic needs but a deprivation of capabilities or freedom that would allow an individual to have a kind of life he/she wants. In his approach, human beings are the centre of development using qualitative and multi-dimensional measures. The aim of development then is to enhance human capabilities so as to lead full, productive and satisfying lives. Easterly (2002) applies Sen’s approach by examining inequality as a barrier to prosperity and growth. Pritchett, Suryahadi & Summarte (2000) looked at the vulnerability of poverty, based on household data. They show that a higher income is necessary but it is not sufficient. Higher education helps to attain a good life but should not be taken as end in itself.

Therefore, Sen has helped to guide thinking among development practitioners to find out the best ways that can promote well-being among people in poverty by focusing on capabilities and functioning. The application includes those in rural areas and urban centres, especially in developing countries like Kenya, where over 80% of the population still live in rural communities. Yet, despite much talk about bringing development and improving human capabilities, poverty levels in Kenya are over 47% by 2013 (World Bank Report on Kenya 2013). The report states that the analysis of the data from the 2005-2006 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) indicates that national poverty declined from 51% in 1997 to 46.1% in 2005-2006. While this decline in poverty compares well with other Sub-Saharan African countries, it can still be considered high in comparison to neighbouring countries such as Tanzania (about 36%) and Uganda (about 31%). In rural areas, overall

poverty declined from 53% to 49%, while in urban areas, poverty declined from 49.2% in 1997 to 34% over the same period.

In conclusion, the literature on well-being brings out the underlying contributions to the good life of an individual or community. HDI has become the most discussed measure of well-being after GDP. It challenges the development expert who has developed a hierarchical mindset on how to impose certain values on the poor to ascertain whether the beneficiary of that proposed intervention has found a way of involving them. OPHI has helped to highlight additional reflections on HDI as a promotion of well-being by showing its multi-dimensional approach according to regions previously researched on but with a biased mind.

In summary, HDI captures discussions dating back to 1970 on improving the physical quality of life index or PQLI invented by Morris (1979) where the key components are life expectancy, infant mortality and literacy. Dusgupta & Weale (1992) add civil liberties and political rights to the HDI (good governance and management of resources would be under this banner). An index of economic well-being was proposed by Osberg and Sharpe (1998) which was similar to the previous two above. He critiqued the economic aspects of well-being missing from the GDP measure e.g. stock production, unequal income distribution and uncertainty of the future income when there is a financial crisis like in 1998 and later in 2009 which most affect the poor. Lastly, Rahman, Mittelhammer and Wandschneider (2003) propose a composite index of well-being based on 8 social dimensions including indicators for social relationships, emotions, health, work, material well-being, civil and political liberties (Rawls, 1970 discussion and taken up by Sen 2009), personal security and environment quality. The index was tested in 43 countries using the Borda Rule together with Principles of Components Analysis Method (PCAM). It means that by the time of this study

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(2009/2010) the key question was how development agencies were helping the poor fight poverty in their respective communities knowing that well-being is a very wide subject area.

2.4 Popular Participatory Methodologies for assessing Well-being

The second theme discusses popular participatory methodologies that not only reveal how ordinary people become active participants in examining a problematic situation which affects their well-being but also how experts can help the people meet their own most desired or most significant needs. The popular participatory methodologies have been strongly influenced by the northern tradition and the southern tradition which have come to dominate different ways of assisting people realise their own aspirations. The northern tradition has been pursued by researchers, planners, community development experts and action researchers. The Southern Tradition was triggered by human rights advocates and fair trade organizations, e.g. Paolo Freire has been reputed as the main proponent of this method.

There have been occasions when researchers argue that the poor participate processes that empower them but modern literature by social scientists like Peter Henriot (2009), Rodrigo Mejia (2006), Francesco Pierli (2010) who appreciate this application of popular participatory methodologies have come to doubt that the poor can participate fully in actions meant to empower them.

The popular participatory methodologies have been used to counter that. They not only reveal how ordinary people become active participants in examining a problematic situation which affects their well-being but how experts can help the people meet their own most desired

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13 Peter Henriot 2009 discusses in a video Documentary, ‘The Bigger Picture’ produced by his Organization called World Concern, located in New York. The Video can be found in Tangaza University, Mary Immaculate Library, Nairobi Kenya or online www.thebiggerpicture.org. cited April 20th 2013.
15 Francesco Pierli (2010).
needs. This is where the expert’s knowledge about a community and their needs is called into action. Participatory methodologies are characterized by two participatory traditions. The commonality among them is the emancipatory perspective, in practice fostering democratic participation by the community members in order to transform their lives (Rahman 1985). Participatory methodologies are embedded in the belief that in human agency people can choose how they live through a process of reflexive inquiry. Rowan (2006) observed that this strand insists on researcher and community member reciprocity with no parties excluded or alienated from the research process as they exchange ideas and actions.

Kindon, Pain and Kesby (2007) have also supported the northern tradition through a series of participatory action research (PAR) materials over the decades. I should add that this study does not apply action research methods but discusses it to show how a participatory methodology is gaining momentum in each decade. Participatory methodology involves researchers and participants working together to examine a problematic situation or action with the aim of changing it for the better (Wadsworth 1998). Advocates of this approach have attempted to remove hierarchical role specifications and empower ordinary people in and through research. It is characterized by self-reflective analysis and critique. It helps reduce forms of power and the reproduction of inequalities they seek to challenge (Kothari 2001, Kesby 2005).

In line with the application of the popular participatory tool in daily working environment there is the deficit theory which is discussed by Paul Gorsky (2008) and the groupthink theory by Irving Janis (1982, 1972). The two scholars help in examining the actual empowerment processes in organizations. Most organizations will purport to speak for the people to be empowered by observing from a distance (deficit theory) or the boss will say he has a the final solution without proper instruments of consultation. They ask who should
really be empowered in this whole process in order to help the people achieve well-being. It is not the agency, though agencies dominate the process purporting to speak for the poor.

Participatory research methodology has been influenced by the northern and southern traditions. The northern tradition is the favoured action research method characterized by a self-reflective critique through an organized form of study. The southern tradition developed from the 1970s received impetus from the structural crises that affected Latin American countries forcing the emergence of the liberation theology championed by the theologian Gutierrez and community conscientization expert Paulo Freire.

1. Historical Background of participatory methodology

Minkler and Wallerstein (2008) were able to trace the historical roots of participatory methodology back to the writings of Kurt Lewin (1948 and 1997) when he challenged the gap between theory and practice. He sought to solve this practical problem through a research cycle involving planning, action and investigating the results of the action. This was a challenge to the positivist view which stated that researchers study an objective world separate from the meanings understood by participants as they act in their own world. The northern tradition took on this viewpoint from the sociological work of Talcott Parsons and others who followed. They viewed social progress as a rational decision based on applying ever increasing scientific knowledge to real world problems. But now with practitioners acting as co-equals with their clients in the research process, action researchers in the field of organizational development and social psychology tend to work on a consensus model by assuming that in organizations, like in management, workers may have equal power to influence quality improvement and output (Brown & Tendon 1983; Argyis & Schon 1996). They developed an assumption that problems could be solved through institutional changes.


The southern tradition was founded in the 1970s from participatory research arising within experiences in Latin America, Asia and Africa. These experiences collectively came to be known as the southern tradition. What was the driving force behind its formation? It arose out of the structural crisis of under-development experienced in Latin America. Proponents of this were from the Marxist critiques by social scientists, and liberation theologians like Gutierrez in search of a new impetus by educators and community developers among the population vulnerable to globalization forces. His 1971 book, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, Salvation*, stands as the seminal text of a social and intellectual movement that calls Christians to stand against the injustice of poverty. In the Third World, Liberation Theology is a potent and enduring force in support of economic change and human dignity.

The other key figure and contributor to the southern tradition is Paolo Freire, a Brazilian philosopher who had been exiled. In his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1974, he influenced participatory methodology of this southern tradition. Modern scholars like Wijsen, Rodrigo Mejia, Peter Henriot (2005) have developed it further as a tool in social analysis. Robert Chambers et al (2004) introduced a similar participatory methodology which they came to call the Immersion approach. The community is guided through a reflective inquiry into their own experiences to bring out a clearer understanding of how they should be

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assisted or assist themselves. It is methodology used to help participants find their own inquiry into their own social challenges.

Social science academics and educators in the south came in contact with land movements and the CBO and transformed the concept that knowledge emanated from the academy and created openness to knowledge learned by peoples experience or vivencia as Jose Ortega Y Gasset named it (Fals-Borda, 1991). This was a more emancipatory for local people oppressed by socio-economic structures in their respective societies. They challenged the colonizing practices found in business, investment and the political elites of given societies (Brom & Tandon, 1983).

2. Application of the Two Traditions
Approaches to research followed by the two traditions mentioned earlier carefully follow a similar pattern of participatory methodology. They work on consensus building as a key ingredient in research. It is built from a research consensus model because those in power or authority have advantages over their subjects or clients. Political parties, NGOs, CBOs, FBOs are no different to this application. Those funding the other can wield a lot of power and influence without consensus. It calls for a co-operative inquiry strand within this model to adapt to a human belief strand which is rooted firmly in human agency where people can choose how they live through a process of reflexive inquiry. This makes sure of the researcher and community member reciprocity with no parties excluded or alienated from the research process as they exchange ideas and actions (Rowan, 2006).21

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21 Wallerstein, N.,(1999):Power between evaluator and community: Research relationships within New Mexico’s healthier communities. Social Science & Medicine, 49, 39-53
2.5 Most Significant Change Participatory Methodology

In this thesis, I came to apply Rick Davies’s methodological approach when confronted with difficult questions on the participation processes of the client that make a difference in their lives. Rick Davies applied the technique called the most significant change (MSC) to bring out the voice of the client in need rather than giving prominence to the agency and donor giving help. This technique helped me during the second field survey after the respondents had given their feedback on data I collected on them. I was looking for a tool which would use the feelings and thoughts of the people I was researching on about their poverty. While most studies have argued about findings on poverty, the participatory approach that included feedback from the people is usually not applied. By adopting the Rick Davies participatory methodology, my eyes were opened to a methodological fault that had previously clouded my thinking and research.

The Most Significant Change (MSC) technique was invented by Rick Davies (1996) in an attempt to meet some of the challenges associated with monitoring and evaluating a complex participatory rural development programme in Bangladesh, which had diversity in both implementation and outcomes. Davies and Dart (2005) report that the programme was run by the Christian Commission for Development in Bangladesh (CCDB), a Bangladeshi Non-Government Organization, which in 1996 had over 500 staff and worked with more than 46,000 people in 785 villages. Approximately 80% of the direct beneficiaries were women.

The large-scale and open-ended nature of the activities posed a major problem for the design of any system intended to monitor processes and outcomes (Davies, 1996). He developed the MSC technique as part of the fieldwork for his Ph.D. on organizational learning in Non-Governmental Aid Organisations (Davies, 1996). In his first field survey, he followed the traditional questionnaire, open-ended approach to finding out the challenges facing the poor. The research favoured the CCDB more than it favoured the clients in need. When the data was tabulated and results given to the agency (CCDB), the donor Rick Davies was confronted by the difficult question: where is the voice of the people the CCDB was helping? It was missing. This question prompted him to change his technique and re-start the process of asking questions. He designed questions which started by asking the clients of CCDB what they considered as contributing significantly to their needs. The same question was asked to the agency and the donor. The answers were expected to reflect what the client sees as making a most significant change to their lives rather than what the donor or agency desired. Until then it was what the agency and donor desired as significant that counted.

In The Most Significant Change Technique: a guide to its use, Rick Davies and Jess Dart (2005) provide the tools on how to apply Most Significant Change (MSC) in their work with the poor. Essentially, the process involves the collection of significant change (SC) stories emanating at the field level, and the systematic selection of the most significant of these stories by panels of designated stakeholders or staff. The designated staff and stakeholders are initially involved by ‘searching’ for the project impact.

In summary, the most significant change (MSC) is informed by an evolutionary epistemology technique used as a form of participatory monitoring and evaluation tool. It is participatory because many project stakeholders are involved both in deciding the sorts of change to be recorded and in analyzing the data. It is a form of monitoring because it occurs throughout the programme cycle and provides information to help people manage the programme. It contributes to evaluation because it provides data on impact and outcomes that can be used to help assess the performance of the programme as a whole.
Once changes have been captured, various people sit down together, read the stories aloud and have regular and often in-depth discussions about the value of these reported changes. When the technique is implemented successfully, whole teams of people begin to focus their attention on programme impact.

2.6 Issues of Voice and Power found in MSC

Davies and Dart (2005) point out the key challenges one is bound to experience when using MSC. It involves many staff, donors and other stakeholders (including participants in some cases) who become active in collecting and analyzing data. However, in terms of who gets a voice, it can be argued that MSC favours the inclusion of some stakeholders over others. The story selection process is inherently biased in favour of those people who attend the story review sessions. They argue that people attending the review panels may not be fully representative of the wider voice of staff or beneficiaries. This can be offset to some extent by having a representative spread of people involved in selecting stories, or having parallel selection panels representing different interest groups.

2.7 Conclusion

The gaps identified show that the involvement of the poor in programmes that affect their lives has been a weak point in most development projects. The participatory approach helps international and local agencies to avoid being tyrannical in their approach when their intentions are noble and good. There has been a very successful application of the two participatory methodologies over a period of time. Examples are found in 1976 when the international council for adult education in Toronto used this approach. Then, for better
appreciation, there was networking in India, Tanzania, the Netherlands and Latin America (Hall 2001).

There followed new models for collaborative research among the Aborigines of Australia on group work (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000). One most recognised development was the Highlander Research and Education Centre in Tennessee which was similar to the 1977 Cartagna Symposium in Colombia as the first outside USA (Horton & Freire, 1990, Horton, 1990; Fals-Forda, 2006). The participatory approach is desired by all agencies whether religious or secular. What they agree on is how to develop the concept of well-being among those communities which have different aspirations from the donor and supporting agency. Therefore, participatory methodologies operate on a very simple principle where they recognize that both the outsider and community members have needs and agendas which may sometimes be shared and at times offer divergent or conflicting views, especially when the agency researcher comes in with an attitude of knowing it all. This is when they are brought back in line through a participatory method (Fals-Forda & Rahman, 1991&1994; Sabol W., Coulton C., Korbin J. 2004). Rick Davies and Jess Dart (2005) have introduced the participatory methodology tool as presented in The Most Significant Change Technique: A guide to its use. The tool has added value to other ways of involving clients in processes that contribute most significant changes to their well-being. Many development agencies are using MSC in management practice, governance and community empowerment programmes.  

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23 Hall, B. L. (2001): I wish this were a poem of practices of participatory research. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (eds.), Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice, pp. 171–178.
2.8 Religious and Secular Dimensions on Poverty and Well-being

The third is the secular and religious differences on poverty and well-being. The distinctions are mirrored in the manner well-being is presented. Secular agencies tend to place income measures at the heart of any war on poverty as the primary measure. When many, especially economists, use the word “poverty” they are referring to these measures. They mean that poverty is what can be measured. Faith-Based Organizations (mostly religious groups) have brought in the aspect of relationship-building as the main cause of poverty that causes negative well-being in society. The religious dimension of poverty also brings in a deeper value, which is spirituality. These are values one cannot measure with a mathematical formula but can be experienced by ordinary people. There are many arguments emanating from Hebrew, Christian and Greek traditions on doing the moral good. Most faiths have been driven by this understanding of doing good for others.

The secular and religious differences on poverty and well-being have not been discussed fully in the development literature. The different faith traditions address poverty in terms of relationships and a deep spirituality that guides behaviour. If relationships are broken they affect the well-being of each person in the community. For FBOs, community living is very much part of the faith which goes back to the early church. Gerald Clarke (2007), a key pioneer researcher in this area, was influenced by different faith traditions on how they answer to poverty and well-being.

But how do FBOs and secular NGOs interpret poverty and well-being? The place of faith in development cannot be doubted. Historically, religion has played a pivotal point in addressing well-being. Marshall & Keough (2003), were able to trace the long existing relationship between the World Bank and the leading protagonists in the development world.
In their background analysis, Marshall & Keough (2003) report that in February 1998, at Lambeth Palace, Jim Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, and George Carey, then Archbishop of Canterbury, invited leaders from the world’s major religions to discuss how they viewed the global challenge of poverty. The first meeting of the group did not go well. Many faith leaders were critical of the World Bank, especially its promotion of what was termed “structural adjustment”, and concern about the growing weight of debt on poor countries was widespread. It left a strained relationship. World Bank officials had for a long time felt that they were themselves in the vanguard of the fight against global poverty. It dawned on Wolfensohn and allies from the Bank to recognize how far apart the worlds of faith and of development had grown. More than 50 years of development history had brought very little organized cooperation between faith leaders and the Bank. From February 1998, as a sequel to this meeting, they continued to review their relationship. They focused on the process of dialogue to define broad objectives and ethical imperatives and to derive lessons from practical, on-the-ground experience with working in poor communities. A renewed collaboration with the Bank and international community came up during the Millennium Conference 2000. At the end of this 2000 U.N. Millennium Summit, the 189 heads of state summed up their commitment to ending global poverty as follows:

We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected (UN 2000).

This excerpt is contained in Resolution 11 of the total 32, under-scoring their commitment to end global poverty (UN 2000). There are many factors which prompted the UN and World

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Bank to hold this Millennium Summit in 2000. The DFID (2008) report states that by the time of the September 2000 Summit, over 1.2 billion people earned less than $1 per day.\textsuperscript{27} The World Bank estimate revealed that by 2015, 1 in 8 people will be poor compared to 1 in 4 in 1990. There were three billion people who lived on less than $2.50 a day. New reports in 2008 came to suggest that over 80% of the world’s population continued to live in countries where income differentials were widening (World Bank, 2008).

Therefore, the faith leaders and others present agreed on 11 commitments signed at the end of the Summit 2000 at Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York. Commitment Number 6 urged faith leaders: \textit{To promote the equitable distribution of wealth within nations and among nations, eradicating poverty and reversing the current trend toward a widening gap between rich and poor}.\textsuperscript{28} Marshall & Keough (2003) cite the research of WFDD which shows that FBOs are known for their ethical inclinations in their service to communities and the confidence put in faith leaders:

- Long-standing presence among the affected in society and work planted by missionaries in regions unknown to the rest of society was well appreciated.

- Ethical considerations where love for fellow man was driven by faith, especially Christian principles. For instance, the desire to help based on the Parable of the Good Samaritan pushes them to reach outside their own circles e.g. the migration of the boat people (1980) from Vietnam. The Jesuits formed Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) to help the suffering. CFBOs are known to promote human rights where the World Vision, Caritas, and San Egidio stand out.

\textsuperscript{27} DFID 2008: Annual Report, Development Making it Happen, Chap. One on Poverty and MDGs.
\textsuperscript{28} Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders’ Commitment to Global Peace http://www.millenniumpeacesummit.org/resources/hr/Commitment cited 28/6/2013.
• The rising population has brought about economic migrants to the developed world. FBOs follow these migrants and offer them shelter, water and ease their suffering.

• Environmental implications have caught the attention of FBOs where global warming affected by misuse of resources has induced leaders to promote good stewardship.

• Monetary implications i.e. reduced resources increases greed and if populations grow and countries get poorer, the international community is affected. FBOs can help educate their people on values that can promote the equal sharing of funds for the common good.

The Summit also put forward resolutions that ‘reflect an effort to frame and encapsulate many global agreements reached in recent decades, and a new determination to mobilize energy, resources and passion behind tangible and quantified imperatives.’

According to Malloch Brown, the UNDP Administrator present at the Millennium World Peace Summit: “The unprecedented depth and breadth of participation at this event, bringing together leaders from nearly every faith and every corner of our world is a tribute to the extraordinary congruence between your shared goals and our own.”

Jim Wolfensohn and George Carey built on their dialogue to achieve greater results. The World Bank had in its mission two phrases: “our dream is a world free of poverty” and “to fight poverty with passion and professionalism.” It was a common phrase found in every major world religion that has a belief in compassion for those who suffer, a deep obligation of the fortunate to help those in need, and a fire for social justice. Gerald Clarke, (2007) and Deneulin & Bano, (2009) added that for most faiths development is an intrinsic goal. There is

no teaching in religion where a neighbour will be hungry, sick, and homeless, without
clothing, in prison and no one will go out of their way to help. The only challenge noticed is
when the neighbour does not belong to the same faith. There could be strained relationships.
However, when the Tsunami struck on December 26th 2004, the divisions did not exist. Every
Faith-Based Organization reached out to the neighbour in Aceh at the epicentre of the
earthquake and beyond.

There is a historical engagement directly with faith institutions in only limited ways. Greater
efforts have been to engage more with civil society groups. Missionaries had already been
doing this same work since 1844 when CMS started working in the interior of East Africa,
while Roman Catholics were already in Zanzibar in 1866 and the interior by 1870. Many
FBO organizations had been formed to handle development from all levels e.g. Alliance of
Churches existing since 1911 with the Thogoto Declaration 1913 by Protestant Missions in
Kenya and Cardinal Levigerie taking many Catholic students to read medicine in Malta by
1920. The formation of the Phelps-Scott Education Policy Commission was a highlight of the
place of Faith-Based Organizations in education in East Africa. It was already pronounced
why the Government of the day would have to work closely with faith institutions for the
However, since 1997, the Bank had begun working with many Faith-Based Non-
Governmental Organizations on a wide range of development projects.

There is a recent rich literature developing in this line championed by Katherine Marshall
(2003) and now by Alkire and Edmund (2005) in What Can One Person Do? Faith to Heal a
Broken World. They contend that faith alone is not enough but without it the well-being of
people where religion holds great importance in daily living is in jeopardy. Bornstein (2005)
in The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe,
argues that faith NGOs from the Protestant community keeps the people of Zimbabwe going through difficult moments during the Mugabe regime. Faith is resilient and persistent in nature. Clarke (2007) in his article *Agents of Transformation? Donors, Faith-based Organisations and International Development*, challenged the international community for being slow in recognizing the importance of Faith-Based Organizations as true agents of social transformation. These sentiments are echoed by Corbett, Steve, Brian Fikkert, and John Perkins (2009) in *When Helping Hurts: Alleviating Poverty Without Hurting the Poor and Ourselves*. Well-being means creating a balance between what the poor want and what the agency proposes as doing the right thing. That is what FBOs tend to do.

Religion has championed ethical thinking in the way we treat each other. It can transform the way society looks at each other and the well-being of every person. Ter Haar (2011) in *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World* brings out this perspective. There are those who see religion as a divine calling to do good. Harper, Rao, and Ashis (2012) in *Development, Divinity, and Dharma: The Role of Religion in Development Institutions and Microfinance*, have emphasised the divine calling as part of well-being. It means for people of faith, spirituality is not complete unless it also improves the well-being of the created being. Hayes (2007) in *Sub-Merge* supports this view too on the importance of deeper faith in society. Clarke (2012) gave a summary how from the 1990s, civil society has been a significant locus of concern in development studies. He saw this concern was noticeable for its neglect of religion and faith and their role in international development. Clarke adds that most development policymakers, practitioners and academics had not understood the place of FBOs for the well-being of others. They saw them as exclusive and chauvinistic organizations. Moreover, the secularism of the north, with its traditional separation between church and state, has underpinned development policy and practice of North America and Western Europe. Focusing on Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and
examining the work of Christian, Islamic and Hindu organizations, this book argues that FBOs are, in fact, important stakeholders in the development enterprise. FBOs are crucial in managing international aid, by providing services including health and education, advocating and supporting human rights, and upholding ideals of democratic governance. Arguing that faith communities will be central to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, this study overturns previous perceptions of the role of religion and its impact on civil society. Moreover, in the *Third World Quarterly* 2007, Clarke adds that recent donor discourse points to the potential of Faith-Based Organizations as ‘agents of transformation’, mobilizing the moral energy of faith communities in support of the Millennium Developments Goals. This new donor-driven agenda, however, invites scrutiny of complementary processes of organizational change within donor institutions. This article examines donor policy and practice concerned with engagement with FBOs. While considering the work of a number of donors, it focuses on the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and traces the reasons for DFID’s growing interest in FBOs from 1997. It examines the challenges which DFID faces in further developing this engagement and considers whether it and other donors can themselves become ‘agents of transformation’, embracing a less material and less secular vision of well-being and a more culturally inclusive approach to partnership. In contrast to recent scholarship, which presents a benign view of the emerging ‘faith and development’ interface, this article considers it as a controversial new Zeitgeist in development policy and discourse.

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Denuelin and Rakodi (2011) have come to re-assesses the treatment of religion in development studies. They review religion in development going back 30 years after the publication of a special issue of World Development on “Religion and Development.” They argue that the changing world cannot do without the subject of religion. The last 30 years have experienced changes in the social and political context, making the consideration of the subject of religion difficult to avoid. They pick out two implications of this for development studies as follows. The first assumption looks at secularization and secularism that supposedly define the relationships between religion, society, and politics that have to be revisited. Second, they emphasize why development studies can recognize that religion is dynamic and heterogeneous. This is because both development studies and religion are concerned with the meaning of “progress” or a “better life,” implying that attention has to be given to social and historical processes, requiring a shift from positivist to interpretivist research methods.

The conclusions addressed how religion could contribute to transforming development studies. There are living examples from this article by Jawad that bring out two objectives. New insights into the current thinking on social policy in the Middle East were introduced based on a case study of religious welfare in Lebanon. This in turn provides an analysis of how faith-based welfare may connect to social policy more broadly. We saw what Anderson (1977) had presented on the role of missionaries in Kenya. Rana Jawad focussed on how 5 of the most prominent Lebanese Muslim and Christian welfare organisations engage with poverty reduction. The article draws attention to the moral dimension of social policy-making. This is illustrated by an analysis of how the Lebanese Faith-Based Organizations

(FBOs) define the objects of their interventions and, subsequently, how appropriately they respond to the causes of social problems. The analysis also includes a review of the FBOs' evaluation of their services. The overall argument of the article comments on the extent to which social welfare in Lebanon has scope to act beyond short-term, instrumental or politicised goals. It argues that human need, the ‘social case’ and poverty are three core concepts which determine the design of social interventions, but they also serve to confuse the definition of the object of social policy. They conclude that welfare service providers in Lebanon and now Syria give a new impetus to a deep contention in the policy-making process, since the lack of clarity in defining the object of policies can hamper the effectiveness of services. This means that while the social action undertaken by FBOs in Lebanon and other Middle East countries is more complex than the private or corporate charity initiatives known in the western faith-based contexts, religious welfare programmes in Lebanon are more focused on palliative in-kind services. There is much scope for strengthening partnerships between faith and development organizations. The traditional divides between the worlds reflect the well-known scepticism on both sides about working together, stemming from different values, different norms, different languages, and different approaches. More important, though, many basic issues that are central to the world of development – poverty alleviation, dynamic approaches to ensuring access to high quality education, social justice, and social safety nets - are core issues in all of the major religious traditions, with intellectual and moral roots that can be traced back thousands of years. However, there are moments when faith leaders are blind to social justice. Vinay Samuel (2001), Sugden (1998), Paul Gifford (1998, 1995) and Ranger & Njoroge (2008), Knighton (2009, 2005), have given hints on how FBOs can either be used for the improvement of society in order to enhance the well-being of the oppressed or bury their heads in the sand. Belshaw (2005a) in offering recommendations for FBOs at the Manchester FBO Conference
elicits training as a key factor in making FBOS different from other organizations through processes and initiatives they are involved in and how the poor respond to them through participation.

2.9 Rural and Urban Perspectives of Well-being

The fourth and last theme is to create a clear distinction between the rural and urban. The rural cannot do without the urban and the urban without the rural. Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations* argued that there was a natural progress of opulence by moving from a rural agricultural society to an urban industrialized trading nation. This distinction created the impression that the urban very much relied on the rural for its economic growth through the industrialization process. Aspromourgos (2008) shows that Smith’s chapter 8 of book 1 in *Wealth of Nations*, was concerned with wages and the labour market, and how these were affected by population. Woude, Hayami and De Vries (2003, p. 105) gave the impression that the elite would extract the rural surplus labour force to be consumed in cities. Allowing wage labourers in urban centres helped bring about a good balance. The place of the rural and urban in development continued to occupy development debates since after the war (1945). The 1970s Green Revolution which was the brainchild of USAID from the 1968 policy paper on improved food production supported the idea of making the rural an economic basket for developing countries. A good distinction was explicitly stated in the independence speech and later in the Sessional Paper 10, 1965. The development policy in Kenya became a two-pronged strategy for development to promote rapid economic growth through public investment, to encourage and promote smallholder agricultural production, and offer

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incentives for private (often foreign) industrial investment. Kenya as a country would adopt a dual economic model which focused on agriculture development in rural areas and industrialization in the urban. Like most developing countries, Kenya showed a positive economic programme for a decade from 1963 to 1974.

The Wallersteinian discourse (1973) of the core and the periphery gave importance to how the rural became a periphery to the urban as much. The former colonies were considered the periphery to the core in terms of the demand for raw materials from the former colonies. Most Kenyan poor tend to migrate from the rural to the urban in search of a better life, only to end up in slums where they may live in extreme poverty. The relationship between the urban and rural helps also to give answers why circular migration has become part and parcel of this important discussion.

Chepkwony (1997) was among the first to offer this unique relationship between the rural and urban Kenya as very much circular in character. The National Council of Churches of Kenya had embarked on a major programme to offer opportunities to the youth in both rural and urban centres after independence. The literature available from independence (1963) gave the impression that moving to the city was almost like leaving the dark rural to the light. This is because for the NCCK the city symbolized development, progress, freedom and emancipation. But it did not mean that the rural areas would be neglected as the urban migration pace gained momentum. Chepkwony (1987) discussed how the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) developed an elaborate rural development programme to support pastoralist communities in dealing with drought related causes. Rural agriculture

(1964) Harambee! The Prime Minister of Kenya's Speeches, 1963-64.
(1968) Suffering without Bitterness.
36 Tostensen 1.1.3, p. 5.
training centres were set up in Isinya, Kajiado District and at Limuru. Limuru also hosted a vocational centre to give skills to the youth to expand their employment opportunities and create jobs (Chepkwony, 1987). The Limuru Conference of 1966 introduced the policy change that streamlined the future of the country to focus more on rural agriculture rather than abandoning the rural for the urban completely. Urbanization meant migrating to the city and looking for work.

The World Bank Conference in 1973 helped give importance on the place of rural agriculture in the economic development of Kenya but also for improved household incomes over time. Robert MacNamara the World Bank President, speaking in Nairobi at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre, put emphasize on creating loans for smallholder farming so that household incomes could be improved. Smallholder farming was already part of the rural development policy in Kenya since independence (Lele 1975). The 1972 ILO Conference in Nairobi helped bring out the importance of the private sector in enhancing industrialization (Leys 2006, 1996; Swainson, 1980).

Wanyande et al. (2007) have cited President Kenyatta’s speech at independence in 1963 which summed up the primary development goal for Kenya. The Vice-President’s speech while launching the Government policy on MDGs made reference to Kenya’s war on poverty, (2005). He reminded the gathering on efforts the country had put forward since independence to fight poverty and promote well-being. The Sessional Paper No.10, 1965, a follow up to the Sessional Paper No.1, 1963 and included in President Kenyatta’s

39 Wanyande et al. (2007) acknowledge Tom Mboya and his able assistant Mwai Kibaki as the people behind the two papers.
Independence speech, 12th December 1963, proposed a policy approach characterized by the three greatest enemies of development: the elimination of poverty, disease and ignorance (Opiata 2004).

The gross domestic product (GDP) grew at an annual average rate of 6.6% from 1963 to 1973. Agricultural development and later the Small Scale Enterprise (SSE) were identified as key factors of development to help provide employment and spur economic growth, (Swynnerton Plan Proposals, 1954, in Clayton 1964, and Galia 2002). Agricultural production grew by 4.7% annually during the same period (USA Government 2007, O’Brien and Ryan 1999). The economy began to recover after 2002, registering 2.8% growth in 2003, 4.3% in 2004, 5.8% in 2005, and 6.1% in 2006. By June 2007, the economy was growing at 6.4%.

However, the contrasts were evidently clear that the country’s economy was growing at an average 6.1% of the GDP (2003-2012) and yet the number of those living below $1 per day was increasing. The official figures in the period were that over 56% of the population lived below the poverty line (IMF 2005, 2007). Despite being aware of the need to end poverty and efficacy in development policy, the country has continued to suffer major drawbacks. The surveys from 1990, 1993, 1995 and 1997 Kenya Welfare Monitoring Surveys (WMS) recorded in the Standard Survey Bulletin 2 (2003) revealed that there was very little in the improvement of well-being. In 2013, the poverty levels stood at 48% (GOK Ministry of

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41 GOK: The 1963 Independence manifesto and the later Sessional Paper No.10 (1965) identified the 5 as causes of under-development.
42 Kenyatta was just echoing what President Roosevelt of USA had spoken of in 1941 as part of the international concern for societies less privileged but the terms freedom of speech and expression, worship, want in economic terms and fear are empty to the hearer unless matched with real people centered concerns. See Congressional Record, 1941, vol. 87, Part I.
Cooperatives development 2013). It implied that for poverty to end, development requires a different and more inclusive strategy. This strategy is similar to the participatory methodology discussed earlier.

Other studies conducted by the Wageningen University in Kitui in the same period revealed irregular rainfall as a major cause to low development and weak improvement in well-being (Ambler, 1986; Ecosystem, 1987). Lele (1975) had observed that urban employment was not fully feasible for wage labourers but for casual labourers. It meant that during peak periods, labourers would be required to seek temporary employment in urban centres, while at the same time they maintained their smallholder farms in rural areas. The 2005 United Nations report ranked Kenya as 154th out of 177 countries, in terms of life expectancy, literacy levels and overall gross domestic product. Three years earlier (2002), the country had been ranked 134th. To make sense of the facts, the immediate neighbours of Kenya were ranked as doing better with Uganda 144th, and Tanzania 164th. The question being asked is why there was such a great downturn in fortunes when the country seemed to be on the right course? Just to underline the argument, the existing empirical data gives factors which have contributed to poverty in Kenya by citing poor economic growth, population growth, social welfare indicators which have also continued decline or remained mostly static, including life expectancy, child mortality, and low primary school enrolments (O’Brien & Ryan, 2001), low output from smallholder farming, climatic changes which affect smallholder farming and agriculture production, external factors like dwindling donor support and donor conditionalities which may not always match local needs. However, the question is whether there can be an effective answer to rising poverty in developing countries when all

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indications are that without making it possible to improve in household and individual incomes poverty cannot be conquered. Schluter 2007 quotes Carl Eicher (1982):

Africa's development crisis is far more than economic in nature. The lack of political leadership, the dearth of farm organisations, and the general absence of a “good institutional environment” explain why the crisis will not yield readily to economic prescriptions.⁴⁸

Carl Eicher sums up the development crisis that engulfed Africa for a long time, where the focus was on national economic growth and improved household incomes. The multi-dimensional approach where the people decided on the best cause of action was missing until the OPHI intervention in 2007. These include rapid rural appraisal (RRA) participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and dramatic developments in the still largely unrecognized fields of participatory numbers and statistics, and of participatory mapping and GIS. Chambers shows how these can empower local people and provide rigorous and valid substitutes for some more traditional methods of inquiry. Also presented is a repertoire for offsetting the biases of the urban trap, which has become so serious for officials and aid agency staff. Importantly, Chambers (2008) reviewed some of the revolutionary changes in the methodologies and methods of development inquiry that have occurred in the past 40 years, and reflects on their transformative potential for the future. He points out gaps which have emerged in search of community based solutions using participatory methodologies. These evolved through creative and eclectic pluralism that can be a transformative wave for the future as drivers of personal, professional and institutional change. These include rapid rural appraisal (RRA) participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and dramatic developments in the still largely unrecognized fields of participatory numbers and statistics, and of participatory mapping.

Chambers shows how these can empower local people and provide rigorous and valid substitutes for some more traditional methods of inquiry.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{Conclusion}

The four themes have prompted this study to reflect on some of the best practices which can be used in handling poverty and under-development. They help in coming up with better ways of improving the well-being of the poor. Each of the themes is complementary to each other. The study now moves into the next important stage where the selected case studies help to locate these themes within the various programme activities, with the intention of determining how they handle poverty and its causes in relation to the well-being of individuals and the communities languishing in poverty.

\textsuperscript{49} Robert Chambers (2008) \textit{Revolutions in development inquiry}. 
Chapter 3 Data Presentation and Analysis:

Incentives from Marianists to Assist the Needy be Independent (IMANI)

3.1 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 present an analysis of the first field survey data that covers the two urban case studies from Nairobi County: Incentives from Marianists to Assist the Needy be Independent (IMANI) and Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme (K-REP). The data presentation and analysis that follow are based on programme activities of each case study presented in three chapters. IMANI is covered in Chapter 3 while K-REP is covered in chapter 4. The other two case studies, Mwenda Andu and KICABA, from a rural setting in the county of Kitui, are covered in chapter 5.

The field survey targeted 400 respondents spread out in the four case studies but only 300 were respondents in the interviews. Of the total, IMANI had 216 interviewees as follows: CTC 52, Mara House 50, IMANI management 10 (included the director, the finance officers together with 3 coordinators), JCP’s 40 clients spread out in Mathare, Mlango Kubwa, Eastleigh, Bahati, Jogoo Road Market, Mukuru. The Kayole Slaughter House group had 74 men, women and youth as respondents. K-REP had a total of 3 groups of 5 with 3 representatives from each making a total of 9 interviewees. Kicaba had a total of 30 including the 10 from management of the project. Mwenda Andu had 33 including the cluster leaders who also doubled as officials.
3.2 Four Themes

The four themes supported by the literature review are discussed in relation to how the four case studies have applied them in their programmes. The study set out to test the effectiveness of the processes of change and initiatives run by the case studies. Effectiveness was measured in terms of why the agency was founded, the purpose and aim of its existence and if it faithfully fulfilled that same mission call. Similar questions were asked to the clients of each programme to learn how the type of intervention offered by the particular case study had helped them most significantly in meeting their own capabilities and improving well-being. The second theme asked how the agencies were using popular participatory methodologies for both rural and urban communities. This drove us to pay more attention to the difference between secular and faith based organizations in bringing out the important values that help to empower people better and promote much needed capabilities and contribute to well-being.

Each presentation covers three parts: the background of each case study, what the staff said about their work for the poor, and sample responses from the clients or beneficiaries of the project in question. The format of setting up questions was twofold. I used the main questionnaire as a guide but also adjusted the questions depending on the focus group and individual interviewees. The list of questions appears in Appendix I Part Four of the main questionnaire.

3.3 IMANI Case Study

Incentives from Marianists to Assist Needy be Independent (IMANI) was founded by the Society of Mary in 1986 and officially registered under the Society’s Act in 1987. The
Society of Mary is a male religious congregation with roots in the USA. IMANI’s core aim is to assist the poor who were ‘living a life devoid of dignity and without hope for the future to find meaning in life.’ This is contained in the CORAT Report 1994, an evaluation report conducted by a consultancy agency called CORAT. The demographic presentation of Kenya recorded a consistent growth of 3% annually. The population had grown from 34 million in 1999 to over 37 million by 2009 (GOK 2009 census report). By the time of this research, the population of Nairobi City was over 3.4 million people. The census of 2009 came up with figures which indicated that over two thirds of the people lived in slums around the city. This was the group of people who were most likely to be living below the poverty line of US Dollar $1 per day. IMANI, like most well-meaning agencies, was working with this category of people located in Eastlands region of Nairobi County in the slums of Mathare, Korogocho, Dandora, Kayole, Soweto, the Mukuru slums and Embakasi. Most of the population of these slums found casual work in the industrial area and few tried their hand in running their own enterprises. The needs of the people ranged from getting jobs, shelter, clean water, education for their children and just living a life of dignity. There are many Faith-Based Organizations working in the Eastlands region but I picked on IMANI as an example of what most of the agencies do there other than preaching the Good News.

### 3.3.1 Society of Mary as Providers of Education

The Society of Mary is a male religious congregation founded by a group of local people from the Bordeaux Sodality group in France. Jean-Baptiste Lalane, 21 years-old, together with Fr. Chaminade, a 56 years-old clergyman, were the main catalysts in founding the
congregation. The Sodality Movement was important in helping those affected by the aftermath of the French Revolution between 1789-1794 to reflect and come to terms with the reality of pain and anguish. Jean-Baptiste Lalane and Fr. Chaminade recruited four others from the Sodality group to form a society. They went through a discernment period and the Society of Mary was founded on October 2nd 1817. The Congregation spread across France very quickly. In 1849, six Marianists left France for USA to teach in the German-speaking primary school of Cincinnati, Ohio. There was no contact with Africa until 1957 when a group of Marianist Missionaries went to Asaba in Nigeria to teach in a high school. In 1960, another group went to Malawi (then Nkhata Bay) to take over a high school in Koronga.

In 1961, the Marianists arrived in Kenya and took over Mangu High School and Aquinas High School (formerly St. Thomas Aquinas High School) from the Holy Ghost Missionaries who had been in Nairobi since 1890. It was not until 1977 that the first African Marianists started working in the Kinyago slums in Nairobi. They were following the recommendations of the Society’s General Chapter of 1976 in Rome where it was suggested that they should go back to the original charism founded by Fr. Chaminade (1817) of building communities of faith which supported each other in time of need. Giving education to children of Africa’s elite was good but there were those who would never be reached by the same system. To this effect, the General Chapter opened doors to new ways of looking at the poor in society.

The Lusaka Declaration in 1979 was an outcome of the conference for all Society of Mary members or Marianists working in Africa who met in Lusaka to revisit the outcomes of the 1976 General Chapter in Rome. The Lusaka Declaration reiterated the society’s change from formal education to community development. The document is found in the Ohio Library of the Marianists. The question was what was the motivating factor in moving from

52 The Lusaka Declaration was held from August 27th to 30th 1979, at Luwisha House, a Jesuit Study House. It brought about fundamental changes to the way the Marianists in Africa work and run their African Province.
education to community development? Three points stand out in this policy shift by the Marianists in the Lusaka Declaration:

1. Strengthening the Marianist presence in Africa and finding better ways of reaching the poor.
2. Recruitment and formation of African Marianists to take the leading role.
3. To achieve the two tasks above would require radically different approaches (methodology) to governmental structures, personal apostolic priorities, the formulation of an area mission and a greater sense of urgency in developing local vocations, with the objective of forming an African province. It was agreed that the African council would take the lead in implementing this new thrust.

The Lusaka Declaration proposed to strengthen and implant the Society’s activities in Africa by a transition which would help in nurturing a ‘man who never dies’ spirit (Chaminade’s vision of Marianists). African Missionaries would have to be formed with a new focus of service. It was during that transition that the two missionary brothers Daino and Phillips came to Nairobi (in 1981 and 1983 respectively) and began working with the poor. According to Brother Timothy:

The 1976 Society of Mary General Chapter in Rome laid the foundation for discernment and reflection on changing times in 1970s and what their religious community should do to answer their call to the marginalised, the poor and needy in society. This was a bold move by the society because the fruits of that action could be translated into what came to be called IMANI. IMANI became a symbol of the continuous reflection by the society on what it meant serving the lowly in society and lifting them to high places.  

The seminarians were to work among the poor by giving catechism classes, preparing them for sacraments and working through the Sunday liturgy by building a choir. It was from this weekly working formula  that they came to see another type of mission by founding IMANI. The Marianists decided to move away from running established ‘white collar high school

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53 Interview on May 26th 2006.
54 Interview with Brother Timothy Phillips, SM, on May 24th 2006 at the Marianist Generalate in Rome.
education’ to a more practical service delivery to the marginalised poor in downtown Nairobi by promoting informal education.

3.3.2 From Formal Education to Community Work

The CORAT Report (1994)\textsuperscript{55} contained this excerpt of the Society of Mary’s Mission Statement:

Empowered by the Holy Spirit and inspired by the dynamism of their founder's charism, the SM dedicate themselves to the following of Jesus Christ, Son of God become Son of Mary. They are commissioned to making Christ present in every age and culture by forming persons and communities of apostolic faith that advance justice and reconciliation. Committed to education, they minister with youth and in solidarity with the poor.

Education was already an important part of developing the person in self-reliance. The early missionaries had focused on education, health care and gospel living. The CMS missionaries from 1843 begun building mission centres for freed slaves in Freetown, Mombasa where education was offered to the natives. William Anderson (1977), Lawrence Njoroge (1999), De Jong (2000) give importance of the missionary contribution to education in East Africa. In particular, the Society of Mary took formal education as part of their call to serving the poor.

The running of Mangu High School in Central Kenya and St. Thomas Aquinas High School at Makadara, Nairobi, were landmarks of formal education success in Kenya. However, the discernment of 1976 had created a new alternative from the norm. Their strong belief that that education could be a catalyst for empowering and solving poverty in Kenya came to a halt when they learnt that they produced brilliant students who went on to university.\textsuperscript{56} However, more marginalised groups were not finding the same results as those who had gone through

\textsuperscript{55} CORAT conducted an evaluation of IMANI in 1994 and 2004. CORAT stands for Christian Organizations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa (CORAT Africa). It is a Pan-African, not-for-profit Organization established in 1975. The purpose of CORAT is to enable effective leadership, management and accountability of Churches, Church Related bodies and Christian organisations in Christian and professional way.

\textsuperscript{56} Before the Marianists came to Mangu High School, another religious order, the Holy Ghosts, had been running the school. The retired President of Kenya, Mr. Emilio Mwai Kibaki had passed through Mangu High School in 1950s before joining Makerere University, Uganda where he read economics and later went on to Cambridge University to further study in economics.
Mangu and Aquinas High Schools. These two big schools were also for male students not for girls. The women had been left out, yet Mary, the Mother of Jesus, stands out as the one who gives faith to the congregation. The woman in need and her household were offering a new mission call to the Marianists, as a male religious order. But their discernment and perception of the reality was slow. Interviewing one of the founders of IMANI, Brother Timothy in June 2006, it was clear that the new candidates to the religious life would not all work as teachers. Moreover, between 1973 and 1983, there were trends in poverty that convinced the SM to change their focus and go into the core areas that housed the poor. While searching for a new mission call, they stumbled on real poverty.

3.3.3 Discernment and Change to a New Mission

In the process of discernment and reflection on their mission call in Kenya among the poor, the Society of Mary came up with a number of proposals (CORAT Report (1994)). Some of these were to work with refugees in Nairobi. Between 1980 and 1983 there was a large influx of Ethiopian refugees into Nairobi. The SM created centres where they provided refugees with rent, food, medicine, and counselling. They also tried to work with youth and taught music in the community. They collaborated with the Undugu Society already in existence since 1973 to rehabilitate street boys and girls through informal training. It was one of the few serious projects to be found in the slums and doing good work in Mathare, Majengo, Eastleigh and Kariobangi. The Undugu Society followed up with another scheme of helping street mothers and fathers lead a dignified life with a programme for skill enhancement and provision for shelter. Brother Timothy observed that some of the Society of Mary members

57 CORAT conducted an evaluation of IMANI in 1994 and 2004. CORAT stands for Christian Organizations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa (CORAT Africa). It is a Pan-African, not-for-profit Organization established in 1975. The purpose of CORAT is to enable effective leadership, management and accountability of churches, church-related bodies and Christian organisations in a Christian and professional way.
were already having this experience and wondered if they could do something similar. It was not until 1983 that serious thoughts were given to the idea when Brother Peter Daino and Brother Timothy Phillips arrived in Nairobi. According to the Brothers: ‘The quality of a person’s life is in direct proportion to their commitment to excellence, regardless of their field of endeavour.’ (Vincent T. Lombardi.)

3.3.4 Stumbling on Misery and the Call for Transformation

IMANI started from an experience of misery when one of the brothers found a dead foetus being pulled out of the sewerage waters of the Nairobi River. In a written interview with Brother Daino September 10th 2007, he said that one day Brother Peter Daino was crossing the Kinyago Bridge and saw a foetus which had been thrown into the river in a plastic bag. He went down and picked it up. Many questions were running through his mind as he looked at the foetus.58 ‘Was this a Christmas baby wrapped in swaddling clothes but dead? Was what they had been teaching in catechism all but in vain? He walked into the village with the foetus to ask the women what had happened that someone could throw a child away! The CORAT Report 1994 reveals that the women laughed as if to say: ‘Are you the only one in Jerusalem who does not know that this is a normal phenomenon in the village of Kinyago and elsewhere in Eastlands! It was a normal occurrence every day every week that foetuses were being thrown away.’ Peter Daino’s “closed eyes” became opened to the Damascene realities before him. Brother Timothy re-visited this experience during the interview on May 24th 2006 in Rome by adding that people had an idea what to do but did not know how:

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58 The thought of ‘bones’ coming to life (Ezekiel 37), the thought of new life being born from a dead seed (John 12: 23-24), the resurrection of Jesus (John 20:8). New breath was blown into the understanding of mission and human development. They had gone through the Elijah experience of earthquake, fire, storms to a gentle breeze (1Kings19:1-18). The breeze was the silence of the foetus, floating quietly in the murky waters of the Nairobi River. Where was this real voice calling all to action?
The women were not pleased with their lifestyle. They wanted change but could not do it alone. They were waiting for someone who could kick start their lives in the positive direction. Crossing the bridge was the turning point. It changed everything for the Marianist brothers. George Thomas had a tiny badge written on a Welsh proverb: *Those who are leaders must be the bridge.* And Demosthenes said, ‘Small opportunities are often the beginning of great enterprises’. This was a bridge of life stumbled on by the SM brothers.

They began weekly group reflections on what to do as women in the Kinyago slum who are faced with this reality of dead children every day, every week and all year round. The birth of the IMANI programme started from this experience. By the time of the survey (2006-2010), it was serving over 1500 clients each day divided among the two centres in Eastleigh and Mukuru Kwa Njenga. They included the students attending classes daily, and their children attending the nursery and pre-primary school. The programme had risen from a modest structure of 5 staff in 1987 to over 60 permanent staff and 10 volunteers by 2009. IMANI identified its mission call from the Magnificat in the Gospel of Luke 1:26-39: ‘The Lord has raised the lowly to high places.’ IMANI has embarked on a programme that tried to fulfil that call of service delivery to the poor, articulated through the three main programmes namely Maria House, Chaminade Training Centre and Job Creation Programme. Maria House receives female clients, counsels them and identifies those who may require other needs like education for both parents and their children. It provides medical care in the form of vouchers to local hospitals and medical centres. It has skills’ training in dress-making, knitting, handicrafts, hair-dressing and glass-melting. They also run a successful feeding programme for children under 8 years old.

Maria House, the IMANI head office, is for the director and six members of his management team: the deputy director, the accountant, bursar, secretary, chauffeur and driver. Chaminade Training Centre (CTC) is located in the industrial area slum of Mukuru. CTC receives the

59 Appendix 2 for interview by Brother Timothy, May 24th 2006 in Rome.
youth and young mothers who need skills in tailoring, welding, catering and carpentry. Job Creation Programme (JCP) helps graduating clients of Maria House and CTC get job placements and where possible helps them create employment. Initial loans are offered to assist the new entrepreneurs in the beginning.

IMANI is headed by a board of 9 members chaired by the Society of Mary Eastern Africa Regional Superior. The board has more professional lay people assisting the director in three core areas: finances, programmes management and personnel.

3.4 Progress of IMANI from this Stage of Discernment

Q. How did IMANI take off after the discernment to help the needy women and young mothers to move from a state of misery to that of human dignity and well-being?

The question was directed to the founders of IMANI to discuss how they went about laying a strong foundation to meet the capabilities of the poor.

3.4.1 Financial Aid to the IMANI Programme

They started by getting a donor who shared in their noble aspirations. They were lucky to enter into partnership with Misereor from Germany and Catholic Relief Services, CRS, a USA church supported fund.

The Society of Mary and Misereor have been recognised as the main sponsors of the IMANI programme. Misereor fitted in very well with the objectives of the Society of Mary in their quest to meet the capabilities of the poor. Brother Timothy in 2006 reiterated that IMANI was very lucky to have had this contact at a very crucial stage. But how were they going to help the poor? The second question was about funding. Can you really get funding for something Christian while addressing poverty? That was bound to pose a big challenge.
Brother Timothy observed the key questions for Misereor:

Q.1. *What do the women do after ‘weaning them off their trade’ (prostitution).*
Q.2. *How can we make this training really empowering for the women?*

Misereor is the overseas development agency of the Catholic Church in Germany, which offers to co-operate in a spirit of partnership and collaboration with all people of goodwill to promote development, fight worldwide poverty, liberate people from injustice, exercise solidarity with the poor and the persecuted, and help create "One World." It was founded in 1958 as an agency "against hunger and disease in the world." Its main development activities are found in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in relieving hunger, disease, poverty and other forms of human suffering. The financial support given by them is designed to stimulate and support self-help for the local agency and self-reliance for the clients in the programme in order to pave the way for sustainable improvement in the living conditions of the poor. From the Misereor website, their name can be traced from a verse in the Bible from these words of Jesus: "Misereor super turbam" - "I suffer with the people" (Mk 8.2). These words were to help those around Jesus to open their eyes to the poverty and needs in the world. Misereor was to see the world through the eyes of the poorest of the poor and the oppressed and to empathise with the poor (Misereor 2008).

Catholic Relief Services (CRS) was the other locally based donor that was interested in the project. CRS gave moral support by encouraging Peter and Timothy in their early work to start an initiative for poor women in the slums. CRS is the development arm of the Episcopal Conference of USA Bishops Conference. It has projects in most developing countries. It was founded in 1943 by the Catholic Bishops of the United States to serve World War II survivors in Europe. Since then, they have expanded in size to reach more than 100 million people in

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60 Interview in Rome on May 25th 2006. Appendix 2, interview number 02.
61 Protestant Churches have EED as the main supporting agency with the same objectives as Misereor. Both agencies raise funds from Christians and the general public in Germany, but also receive public funding support from the government. [http://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/home/cited](http://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/home/cited) 28/3/2014.
91 countries on 5 continents. Its mission is to assist impoverished and disadvantaged people overseas, working in the spirit of the social teachings of the church to promote the sacredness of human life and the dignity of the human person. CRS is motivated by the example of Jesus Christ to ease suffering, provide development assistance, and foster charity and justice. They are committed to a set of guiding principles and are accountable for them (CRS2014). The next level of support was putting in place the management structures to help run the programme effectively.

3.4.2 Management Structures

They embarked on an efficient management style based on promoting the skills of clients. They quickly learnt that running a social enterprise was not easy. It required people with a special call and commitment. Brother Timothy and Brother Peter quickly recognised each other’s strengths in helping meet the needs of the poor. In the interview 01 in Rome, Brother Timothy said:

From the experience learnt over time it became evident that Brother Daino was a hands-on person and believed that things would not wait to happen on their own. That experience of the foetus had revealed enough lessons to sit and wait for someone else to take charge. The women wanted change but they did not know how. Brother Daino knew how to go about issues.

3.4.3 Recruitment of Personnel

This was a centre run as a polytechnic in the middle of a slum in the industrial area of Nairobi. It required people who understood the locality and those who could fit in with locals.

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64 Interview with Brother Timothy Phillips cited as FS/01 Field Survey between May 23rd 2006 and August 15th 2006 in Rome. Brother Timothy Phillips is a founding member of IMANI in 1986. Follow-up interviews by phone, e-mails cited as FS/02 Follow up clarify collected information: April, September and December 2007.
They had to wade through water and mud and faeces to reach the centre when it rained. That required dedication.

The co-ordinator, Mr. Fred Njoroge, was a born public relations man who did his job with clarity. People loved him. At one time, he would be called councillor instead of counsellor. Most of his work was in the field helping the local leaders solve their problems. I found this very positive. Some may have thought otherwise. However, having an excellent person running such a programme too required wise recruitment. It required getting people not from one tribe but across the 42 ethnic groups of Kenya.

Brother Timothy reviewed their earlier staff recruitment that did not work well until they hired Fredrick Njoroge, Anne Gakuru and counsellors like Mary Wanjau. The appointment of Mr. Njoroge by Brother Peter as CTC co-ordinator was a big plus for IMANI. There followed another important recruitment at CTC in the person of Mohammed Shisia. He loved his work when appointed as the technical man handling welding. Shisia was discovered later to have extra talents that connected well with local communities.

It is reported by CTC co-ordinators that during a graduation day, Shisia would pick up the microphone and do rap music, sing captivating village songs, and act as a comedian. The community loved him. Shisia epitomised the philosophy of what Marianists wanted to achieve in the programme. The young people wanted an ambitious, moral and focussed role model. They wanted people who could give them hope. Njoroge and Shisia together with the CTC staff needed impetus. In this recruitment, Brothers Peter and Timothy had got it right.

3.4.4 Role of Co-ordinators and Finance Manager

Brother Timothy notes that there were occasional clashes between the co-ordinators and the finance officer. For the director, it was a question of which issues were more Christian and
which were not. The question was how to get a good co-ordinator for Maria House who understood women’s issues. Anne Gakuru was that kind of a person. She had trained as a teacher at Kenyatta University, specialising in chemistry. She had a great gift in sensing women’s needs and picking out the ones who deserved that kind of help. The finance manager, on the other hand, always got details right such as what was urgent for the workshop, and how much food should be consumed per person. However, when asked about what people would want to talk about he did not know how to initiate that conversation. Sharing personal problems and trying to solve social problems was not his training. It was the co-ordinators who took over the process. But you needed the two types of persons in the project.

3.4.4 Work of Counsellors

One key feature of the IMANI programme is counselling. It became clear that while IMANI hired counsellors for the programme, there was a need to counsel staff. IMANI was also confronted by the question: does good education lead to good counsellors and good managers? It was apparent that when founding IMANI, both Brother Timothy and Peter would have to pay more to hire good counsellors. But would these counsellors understand the poor whose image was now synonymous with the Kinyago women? Or they would treat them with scorn and derision? So, their selection and appointment of counsellors was well thought through. In the end, they were pleased with their staff despite limitations.
Table 1 IMANI Staff Gender Breakdown

Table 1 above shows the gender distribution among the IMANI staff where over 70% were male and 30% female. It may look like a contradiction that a women’s support project like IMANI would have more men working there than women. The simple explanation was that the Marianists, being a male congregation, found it much easier employing more male employees than women. It was an unwritten law nor previously contemplated upon before employment. Men coming together to work for women’s rights and support them with skills was quite new and a paradigm shift to what gender debates had been promoting.

When it came to the clients of Maria House, over 99.9% of the student population were female. Maria House targeted women who were in crisis and required more specialized support. It meant that the education level of the staff was crucially important. From the level of education, one could determine whether the skill development of their clients would improve as they underwent the training. The skills area were indentified to cover dress-making, knitting, crafts and embroidery.
3.4.6 Assessment of Achievements of IMANI

After putting into place all the necessary structures to support the capabilities and well-being of the poor, the following are the achievements of IMANI in the three programmes: Maria House, Chaminade Training Centre and the Job Creation.

Maria House developed its mission statement during its strategic planning meeting in June 2000\(^6\): ‘To empower needy women toward integrity by focus on the future through active participation, respect of life, self-dignity, and appreciation through spiritual and practical formation.’ The programme is headed by a co-ordinator and 9 teaching staff and helpers. The mission is actualized by targeting poor single women in crisis and poor pregnant women who require a livelihood, counseling on daily needs of life, organizing groups and sharing together by using scripture and other stories that inspire hope. This sharing was put together in what they called gospel living. It combined training and social work as indicators of success in the programme.

Training: The skills training addressed areas women required most for a shorter period of time, e.g. dress-making (35 students), knitting (8 from 13) tailoring, bookbinding (10 out of 13), crafts and hair-dressing. The main reasons for dropping out were the guardians and relatives who were not able to sustain the client for a long period of time. The fees increased from Ksh. 300 ($4) to Ksh. 3000 ($40) per year, a recommendation by CORAT, in 1994. Maria House, MH, has no limit on the number of students per class because many students drop out. When they reach 50, the classes require an additional instructor. The nursery school has 38 children. The students who graduate from the programme are assisted with job placements by Job Creation Programme staff for 6 months before moving to their own

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\(^6\) The strategic planning workshop was held in 2000 to help IMANI plan for the next 5 years. The main donors were demanding a change in approach to funding. So new input was required into the way programmes were run. The workshop was run by Dr. and Mrs. Gordon Brown, formerly CORAT. Gordon had been running workshops for IMANI since 1994. He authored the first CORAT Report in 1994.
income-generating activity under the JCP. The day care centre had 13 children from 9 months to 3 years by 2006.

Social Work: Counselling (combined with gospel living or social/spiritual motivation) of the FLG. This group comprised of pregnant women in crisis, mothers, and community support groups in out-stations of IMANI like Kariobangi and Kayole. Both the clients and IMANI management have found the gospel living approach very fulfilling. From the founding of the programme, it was discovered that reaching out to the ‘inner spirit’ had immense power in giving an individual the will and hope to face the future with confidence.

The importance of the inner spirit in poor people is part of the long interview with Brother Timothy, in Rome on May 24th 2006, on the development of the gospel living as a core programme at Maria House:

_Q. 1. Brother Timothy what did you mean by building an inner spirit? Could you elaborate on this?_

Thank you Reginald, the Maria House programme could not run well without the Gospel Living added to it. Gospel Living as the word may suggest is not all about the Gospels as such but using scripture readings to assist the poor to know that there were others too who went through such sufferings and made it life. So it was an empowering exercise for the mothers and their families. Sensing how important his concept was CTC also incorporated it in their programmes. Bro. Timothy says that “before 1994 there was talk about Gospel living. What struck me in that report was the comments about poor people? One of the most important things to do with poor people is the ethical side of things; ethical, moral, cultural side of things we need to do that because one of the biggest problems is that their lives are so chaotic that they can’t build a structure for their lives. So to do that you need to focus on that and do something about the little things that matter most to giving hope. That was a good insight and a very helpful idea and I think that is what the gospel living is for us. However, the gospel living for us was problematic in the sense that I was never interested in developing it too much until we found the right person. This is because we had some experience in working in this area. It seems that Sr. Janelle, of the Sisters of Notre Dame and Mr. Amore had gotten the idea well and were asked to assist develop a structure. The other obvious problem was that gospel living was about teaching catechism or Catholic catechism. It went beyond a concept of conversion to a faith that encouraged people to live a satisfying God-centred life that transcends a particular faith. In the IMANI programme, there were Muslims, non-Roman Catholics and non-believers but the message from the Bible gave an enrichment that cut across religious affiliations. The core concept
of gospel living was built around 3 characteristics: the theme of the day, selected reading and sharing. The theme of the day captured the situation people were faced with e.g. domestic violence. The reading looked at similar cases in the Bible like Ruth, Esther, Hannah, Rebecca, Isabella, Mary, Mother of Jesus and her cousin Elizabeth, all women of integrity who were rewarded for their faithfulness to God. The shared discussion that ensued was always very fulfilling because the women and the youth saw God’s hand in their life. This is what Brother Daino and I envisaged to be the core approach combined with skills training. It needed people of experience to give a hand. We were lucky to have Sr. Janelle, from USA, an experienced counsellor and translator of the Word of God into the local realities.66

During the field survey we were introduced to the programme where as part of the gospel living, clients were asked to introduce their own experiences in song. Within a very short time healing songs were shared by all present, for example:

- Mambo in sawa sawa ayeh! (All is okay okay!)
- Mambo ni sawa sawa ayeh, (Everything is really okay)
- Uki weka imani yako kwa Mungu Baba (If you have faith in your God)
- Nawe utabarikiwa (He will bless you)
- Sote ayeh (Persevere and you will be successful: all is okay...) x 4

This experience encouraged IMANI to introduce gospel living in all of its core and outreach motivation and development activities. On top of the above activities, they have added individual and group counselling, home visits and home visit report writing.

Spiritual aspects were identified as follows: gospel living, retreats, prayers, Bible knowledge and education for life. From the different contributions by social workers, IMANI coordinators and clients, we figured out what could be a better way of presenting the hierarchy of needs among Maria House clients. It does not place money at the top of the objectives. The hierarchy of needs starts with the reception, listening to the problem, counselling, trying to identify what the actual problem is by making a home visit, writing a report to support the needs and widening the necessary support (e.g. education for mother and child), identifying

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66 Appendix 2 Interview No.1 FS/01May 24th 2006 in Rome with Brother Timothy Phillips, founding member of IMANI.
the type of help that would answer the client’s immediate and long-term needs. Then followed training, job placement, gaining experience and asking JCP for credit to run their own enterprises.

Chaminade Training Centre-CTC mission statement: ‘To nurture the very needy people of Mukuru through counselling and skills’ training through self-worth and Christian human dignity’ (CORAT2004; IMANI Strategic Plan, 2000). CTC’s core activities are as follows:

i) Training in skills: CTC targets youth consisting of both young men and young women. The youth were to receive training in skills development in welding, catering, dress-making, carpentry, electrical wiring, tailoring, knitting and hair-dressing. The graduates would in turn be handed over to the JCP for job placement and credit facilities to start on their own. The average per class is 25 students and lowest level of education is primary level 8.

ii) Social Work: includes counselling, FLG and family planning; mothers’ group, case work for home visits; feeding programme sponsored by World Food Programme (WFP); gospel living classes. Other activities by the CTC management are networking, e.g. dispensary and medical support, liaison with police in the compound against crime; giving advisory support to the administration and contributing to a chief’s barazas (community courts chaired by a chief).

iii) Schools: there are 3 nursery schools and 3 pre-primary schools for Mukuru residents and CTC clients. The typical class in the slums of Mukuru was not mixed but under IMANI the boys and girls are together for tailoring and dress-making. The community where CTC is located is in the Mukuru slums, a few kilometres from the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and in the middle of the industrial belt. The slum started in the 1980s when a few people settled at Kwa-Matayo on the banks of the Ngong River. These people were formerly working in the sisal plantation nearby. Over the years, the slums have expanded tremendously, giving rise to various villages in the neighbourhood of the industrial area.
IMANI already had the building of relations and community spirit methodology which required working around a programme that communicates these ideals to the residents. CTC carried out an internal evaluation in 2005 whose findings are highlighted below. The information shows the significance of CTC in the Mukuru slums.

### 3.4 Gospel Living at CTC

The same idea of running a programme that mends the inner spirit was developed at CTC.

In the same interview on May 24th 2006 Brother Timothy observed:

> From the CTC experience it was obvious that not everyone could lead or guide students in Gospel living. Mr. Omari was recruited later to assist at CTC but he had been a catechist and his thinking was to convert the students and clients to the faith of the Catholic Church. In that regard he was not the right person for the Gospel living. However with such enthusiasm and dedication to work it was always hard to get rid of such people. More training was required but how do you bend an old tree? Today the programme is very much well managed and those employed see the difference between teaching a catechism and gospel living. While Bro. Timothy and Brother Daino knew how to work with Gospel Living, they would not be there always to handle it. The Marianist Community began training others to take over. They brought in had Bro. Bogonko and a lay person in Mrs. Dorcas Ossome, now deceased, who handled it very well. Then they identified Brothers Jun and Calistus (now priests in the same congregation) as potential leaders in developing the gospel living training further. They did a commendable job both at Maria House and CTC. CTC without gospel living it will remain just an ordinary secular group. Gospel living gives it the identity with the original charism of reflective action.67

#### Table 2 Demographic Composition of the Mukuru Community where CTC is located

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER DISTRIBUTION</th>
<th>WORKING/ COLLEGE</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALE 30%</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FEMALE 70%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 20 years</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42% (of 60%)</td>
<td>58% (of 60%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67 Appendix 2 Interview No.1 FS/01May 24th 2006 in Rome with Brother Timothy Phillips, founding member of IMANI.
Table 2 shows that in terms of gender, 30% are male and 70% female. Other important groups include single mothers and abused children. In 2005, it was reported that there was a rise in the use of child labour and alcoholism due to the level of poverty in the area. It also indicates that 60% of the Mukuru population of 400,000 in the 1999 census was composed of young people. In the whole of Mukuru population the gender factor of young people below 20 years of age is that 58% are female and 42% are male. This huge population put pressure on the existing resources in the slum of Mukuru.

It justifies why CTC has been targeting the youth in Mukuru more than the adults. There are over 400,000 residents in the Mukuru slums. According to the 1999 Population and Housing Census, of those below 20 years, 60% are productive, working in college or an institution of learning; of those in the 21 to 40 year-old bracket, 30%; and, of those aged 41 years and above, 10%. There are various leaders in the community: the chief, sub-chief, councillors for the various wards, political party zone leaders, village elders, church leaders, imams, women group leaders and opinion leaders and school chairpersons. All these leaders meet monthly in the local development committee.

Lack of employment for families made parents get involved in crime. Ethnicity plays a major factor in the programme. Kamba, Luo, Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii and Somalis form a multicultural society with a fusion of many other newcomer tribes in the area.

**3.5.1 Structure of Work at CTC**

The CTC co-ordinator managed the programme with the help of 18 staff. The officers mentioned below played a key role in understanding the work of CTC as located in the slums of the industrial area of Nairobi.
The question was to understand whether the staff at CTC could guide a client to self-reliance considering their level of education. Apart from John Kagwima with a degree in education from Kenyatta University, all the other were diploma holders. As a researcher, I wanted to know whether people with a diploma certificate would motivate others to go beyond the level of the instructors. The tailoring, dress-making, hair-dressing, carpentry, and catering instructors had passed through the IMANI programme before becoming teachers. It had its positive effect if the staff understood the gospel value of sharing with their neighbours. But with life becoming tough for those with a low level of education, it was obvious that such members of staff at CTC were working on limited time. They would be phased out or be challenged to upgrade themselves.

3.5.2 Livelihood

Most of the IMANI CTC clients get their livelihood from the industrial area by being employed as wage labourers. But not all of them will have the opportunity to work there unless they developed some sort of skill through IMANI that would put them in a competitive
position against the rest. CTC fills the gap by providing professional support in skill
development and training, counselling and even offering space for a police station to serve the entire community.

Q. 2. *What were the duties of CTC staff like?*

3 out of the 12 staff were interviewed to give a picture of their role in assisting the poor who come to their programmes: a social work officer, a social spiritual motivator and a catering instructor.

### 3.5.3 Work of the Social Work Officer

I took the CTC social worker as one of the 3 good examples of what each of the leaders do to meet the daily needs of their clients. The social worker, Mr. Kagwima, understood his role and was easily accessed by those in need. During the interview held on June 11th 2006, the social work officer, John Kagwima, was under pressure to complete the list of new clients joining the programme in hair-dressing after a successful selection. It became clear that CTC was a much more organised system in meeting deadlines and stated targets. John showed good co-ordination and planning of programme activities. Despite being under immense pressure, the social worker was willing to hold the interviews. Why was he working on hair-dressing while his work was counselling? It was evident that the CTC work was equally shared out, so that if any of the staff were free then the co-ordinator would allocate more duties to them. The co-ordinator acted as an overseer in a busy factory who walked along the line to see who was under pressure by picking or moving certain hands to help out. With a population of over 400,000 residents, the work would be overwhelming for the centre.

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64 CTC Interview no 11, June 11th 2006 with 3 CTC staff: John Kagwima, Mwendwa Kengole and Omari.
to handle and more so for the social worker to deal with. But it is the working structure that made things easier and better to manage.

### 3.5.4 Social Spiritual Motivator

This is the same office as gospel living at the heart of IMANI programmes. Omari was holding the office then. He thought that bureaucracy had been reduced by the IMANI management which empowered him to make important decisions based on IMANI chrisms and philosophy of helping the needy. Being a centre that is funded by a religious organization, religious education in the development of the person is emphasized. It has been integrated into the training curriculum through the Gospel Living course that emphasizes spiritual growth. On the CTC training schedule there was a self-awareness course which gives the trainees a chance to share their life experiences and group guidance and counselling were provided during the session. Individual counselling may take place if there are issues in a person’s life that need special attention. Both the self-awareness and gospel living courses are provided once a week on Wednesdays and Fridays. The marketing department that handles projects for CTC and is based in the IMANI head office 10 km away is supposed to visit CTC once a week but in the 3 weeks’ period data was collected they visited only once. A lot of people in the slums look up to CTC to assist in getting them organised. The police are housed within the CTC compound and when students have problems of all kinds they come to CTC as do the community leaders when they need to get together. In a way, CTC offers a central place for various groups to meet.

### 3.5.5 Catering Instructor
The instructor, Eunice Mukami, said that the time allocated to catering was not enough because some parts of the syllabus were not being covered that were believed to be of great significance to the students e.g. laundry. The course took one year but should be up to one year and a half giving more time for practical experience. The instructor never received training in catering but upon graduating was co-opted to assist the other students. However, training was organised for Eunice Mukami at the Kenya Polytechnic in the city centre. This was in line with the IMANI founders’ policy of assisting trainees to get employment and to encourage staff to improve their skills continuously and apply them to the success of the project they are involved in.

3.6 CTC seen as the Heartbeat of the Mukuru Slums

The major concerns for CTC were to meet and support daily livelihood (economic), provide education for family members especially children, finding work for clients, strengthening welfare associations, handling funerals for families of the dead in the slums. The community trusted IMANI to provide the burial expenses of deceased relatives and to organise the merry-go-round around circle members. The merry-go-round was identified as a key income support mechanism for the poor households. When people came to a house for prayer meetings it was an incentive to collect sadaka or offerings. 50% would be shared with the household concerned. Housing was a big problem for residents. CTC was expected to speak to the authorities to allow more space for building. But that request helped the landlord more than the tenant. CTC was involved in sports and other recreation facilities for the youth, provided space for worship and helped the police to deal with the high crime rate by providing space for the police station in the compound. There are only 5 formal primary schools, with an average of 1500 pupils each (4500 pupils in total), 1 secondary school and 3 skills training
centres to meet the needs of over 400,000 people. Therefore, by helping the youth acquire a skill it is hoped that they can use it to earn a living. There is a high population of Christians, Muslims and a few traditionalists. The majority can be described as Church-going Christians but their lifestyle fluctuates between believers and non-believers. Witchcraft is practised to suit a particular situation or problem at hand.

3.7 Job Creation Programme

JCP is the main link programme between MH and CTC graduates. For the JCP to be successful, it relies on the skills and qualification of IMANI staff. Clients from MH and CTC who are under training receive instructions on business development from JCP staff. According to the 2000 IMANI Strategic Plan Report, the JCP mission statement reads as follows: ‘To develop the needy into people of higher integrity in their Christian human values through micro-enterprise development and job opportunities.’

JCP was developed from the main IMANI ethos of helping the poor and needy to be independent through job placements, job creation and job employment. Those who show the capacity and capability to run a small and medium enterprise (SME) are encouraged to apply for a loan. JCP staff would then help the client develop a proper enterprise appraisal to allow the poor and needy to start. The success of JCP is measured as follows: those in the programme who get job attachments and full-time employment; those who receive a loan and create an employment opportunity for others; and those who not only employ others from the IMANI loan but who are able to pay back the loan in the scheduled time and apply for more. From the above, it should be clear that the JCP plays a pivotal role in IMANI.

Table 4 gives statistics of clients assisted to start their own income generating activity. It explains the type of skill and sample of statistics of clients in training 2006-2009.
Table 4 X= skill developed and used by clients and Y = % totals of the skill used by clients.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>Series1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kn</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation of the Table is as follows: M = mechanics totalling 3 who were sampled and interviewed, Gr = greengrocers 2, Ha = hairdressing 13, Kn = knitting 28, Pa = panel beating and painting 2, We = welding 2, Ca = carpentry 2 and Te = textile businesses (i.e buying and selling roles of cloth to tailors).

**Detailed Explanation**

The question of how JCP guides IMANI clients through improved skills development, product development and opening up more opportunities for the clients yielded the following data from the above table. The initial M stands for mechanics. Out of the 57 JCP clients interviewed from residential areas of Mlango Kubwa, Eastleigh and Mathare, 3 (5.26%) of them were running a car repairs workshop in Eastleigh area. Gr = greengrocers 2 (3.5%) of the people out of 57 were selling fruit, vegetables and other fresh produce. Ha = hair-dressing has 13 (22.8%) involved in hairdressing. Kn = knitting which has a large number of clients 28 (49.1%) of JCP clients interviewed in the three stations of Jericho market, Uhuru market and Eastleigh are involved in knitting as owners of the business supported by IMANI. Pa =
panel-beating, painting and We = welding and Ca = carpentry have 2 (3.5%) persons each working in these trades. Te = textiles which has 1 (1.75%) doing textile business which involves buying and selling rolls of cloth to those who are tailoring and dressmaking.

In an interview with the programme co-ordinator, Eunice Onyango, a number of points of analysis ensued. JCP started in 1994. From 1987 when it started functioning as a support centre for the needy there the only skill training programmes were in knitting, dress-making and tailoring. Machines were bought to give proper skills training to the women. After training, it was expected that many clients would use the skill to earn an income for the household. But by 1994, the IMANI management realised that those trained lacked openings to sell their finished tailoring products. Job Creation Programme was formed to assist the people in this category find markets and challenge each other in improving on skills to match the existing commercial groups. The Kenya Government had followed the World Bank proposal in the 1990s to liberalise the market. Then there followed an influx of secondhand clothes that led to the closure of established textile companies like Kenya Textile Mills (KTM Thika), Rivatex in Eldoret and Kicomi in Kisumu. The poor of IMANI were even more affected when they tried to make clothes when the second hand ones (mitumba) were flooding the market.

Q. 3. How did JCP assist clients of the programme to market their products?

The question was directed towards the JCP Staff including the co-ordinator. The question helped to know what the marketing arm of JCP was doing to help its many clients who made items that did not find a market. Why were the clients piling up ready-made clothes with no market potential?

Observations from the two interviews with Eunice and clients from Jericho Market were as follows. The data collected on JCP gave the impression that despite the economic downturn and the second hand goods’ influx in the country, the poor clients of JCP were still knitting in the same style and fashion of 1987 in 2006. While the skill is good, it required creativity and upgrading in order to become more competitive. IMANI needed to do more to help its clients move with the times. The problem perhaps was between the clients and the JCP skills training officers who did not know how to adjust their strategies in a competitive market. Clients interviewed from Jericho Market, Bahati and Shauri Moyo, revealed that they had piles of sweaters which did not suit the Kenya market. To make matters worse the weather conditions of Nairobi were not favourable to thick sweaters. They were making thick sweaters suitable for the cold mountainous areas of Mt. Kenya and the Kenya Highlands.

A question was left lingering in my mind: was JCP just doing things to be noticed yet did not affect the lives of the poor? Why was JCP continually doing its own activities and not those that suit the poor?

*Q.4. How did JCP go about improving what clients produced for the market?*

Eunice answered that one way would be to give more training in the specific area like knitting, embroidery and carpentry. But the other most practical way was to conduct research through magazines, documents from their organizations like UN and attending trade exhibitions. The following table brings out the summary of how JCP worked on improving quality of products. The data is from staff indicating how many clients benefited from the help given as indicated in Table 5 below.

**Table 5 How IMANI gets New Knowledge on Emerging Skills**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How to improve products</th>
<th>Frequency of use by clients</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali Internet</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Q.5. How do you see IMANI training benefit you?**

**Q.6. Would you have succeeded in joining IMANI without your guardian’s support?**

The following are selected interviews from clients to address the success and challenges IMANI programme has had on their lives. It will help us answer the main question of effectiveness and meeting the capabilities of the people they intended to serve.

**Table 6 General Feeling about the IMANI Training at CTC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Out of 42</th>
<th>Why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with CTC training</td>
<td>40 agree</td>
<td>Without CTC they would not be where they are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not satisfied by CTC training</td>
<td>2 agree out of 42</td>
<td>Tuition too much for the poor, why charge as church is part of the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with support from guardians with tuition</td>
<td>40 agree out of 42</td>
<td>Over 28% of the guardians are big brothers big sisters who want to raise their families but must help their sisters and brothers. There was also concern that a very small number of guardians did not work but relied on hand-outs from charities. To the CTC student this was hard to handle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large families of more than 6 members is a problem</td>
<td>40 agree</td>
<td>Average number of persons in a household was 8 creating big financial constraints to families. Government recognised average was 6 (KIHBS2005-2006).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambition to be self-reliant after graduating from CTC</td>
<td>40 agree</td>
<td>Almost 100% of those interviewed want to be self-reliant. However, some students prefer getting necessary experience before moving on to work.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q. 7. **How important are guardians in contributing to the empowerment of the youth at CTC?**

Most of the youth would come in from rural areas, perhaps without anyone they can rely on to offer free accommodation and get them a job or some sort of training. Guardians play a major role in helping this kind of young people to settle down in the city. The importance of guardians to CTC students gave the indication what IMANI was trying to teach about good neighbourliness among the poor was reflected in the households the students come from. Only 32 out of the possible 45 were interviewed on this question. Out of the 32 students interviewed at CTC, 28.2% are supported by their elder brothers compared to 9.3% by elder sisters. When you add together support from elder brothers, elder sisters, cousins and self-supporting students, we find that 56.25% of all support to the CTC is not by parents.

**The figure below explains how they get support without which they would helpless**
The research also established that only 12.5% of the 32 interviewed were able to work and support themselves with education. This shows the determination and hunger for education with the hope that life could be better and brighter. What IMANI does is to build on that hope and give them a future.

There are many explanations for this. The first is that parents have large families to offer any financial support to their children. Figures show that on average a family has 8 members in the household all relying on the parents to provide for them. In most cases, the parent breadwinner is the man who in most cases will educate the first two and leave the rest to fate. That is when the elder brother may drop out of school to look for a job and support the younger siblings. It becomes worse in the era of HIV/AIDS pandemic and other communicable diseases, and hunger brought about by famine and drought. The persons who normally take over responsibility of the education and job-hunting for the family are cousins, aunts, uncles and some good Samaritans like CTC, Church organisations, NGOs and individuals who may feel obliged to help a talented child or potential bread-winner of the family get the necessary skills with the hope of one day supporting others or laying the foundation towards self-reliance.

Q.8. Did the students have any rural links as they went through the programme?

The number was overwhelming 100% who had strong rural links. CTC was an important programme that not only gave education but assisted the youth to settle down in the busy environment of the city. They relied a lot on guardians for their subsistence. As we saw earlier, guardians were happy to help their relatives as part of the culture and faith which teaches about loving your neighbour as yourself. As was the case in Kitui, most households were managed by children or grandparents because parents had succumbed to the HIV/AIDS.
3.8 Interview with FLG Clients under CTC Programme

Family Life group (FLG) interview that took place at Mukuru Kwa Njenga Chamidade Training Centre on 10th June 2006 captured the following points. The social worker at CTC had invited all FLG clients numbering over 50 for an interview with the field assistant Fiona. To the surprise of the interviewer, only three women turned up. The first, in no order of preference, was given a name, Maogo, who was 26 years old with 6 children, followed by Luca, 23 years old, who came with her child of suckling age. The last was Imera who left 3 children at home.

Q. 9. How has CTC assisted you and other women in your aspirations as mothers?

The women started by complaining that the original aim of forming a group and meeting weekly did not work out well. The key challenges were that FLG reached out only to the women and did not incorporate the men yet the family is a responsibility of both men and women. The men had continued stopping their wives from attending weekly meetings. The three also complained that the course available to women who have gone through the FLG was very restrictive. If a woman wants to develop skills in catering or tailoring or any other course she was not given the opportunity to do so. The fees had gone up and they had moved away from any primary school drop-outs to only those who reached primary 6 and able to read and write would be allowed to join the other programmes. The fees had gone up cutting them off the programme. As a result, very few mothers proceed to join the knitting class, most opting to join the women’s groups and run a business. The three women wondered what a programme meant for the needy and the poor would digress from their original call to an almost commercial entity.

The three mothers were very open about their feelings about IMANI’s programme at CTC. The social worker was asked the same questions but had a different answer. He added that the
women used to come to CTC weekly and share their own challenges together with the social worker. Most of these women were pregnancy crisis mothers, malnourished mothers and mothers who had moved from pregnancy crisis (given birth) and now have a child. A well-organised pregnancy programme for mothers ran well at CTC. Resources were put together and helped them. Some would join the courses and after training they would be given food, milk, sugar, and medicine for their children. The project discouraged women from abortion but gave education to prevent pregnancy. Some videos on the consequences of abortion were always shown to the affected mother to help her think through what it means to have an abortion. The mothers would be comforted, allowed to share their pain together and make them realise that they were not alone.

The malnourished children were offered support by teaching on nutrition. A whole class would be offered information on what to feed their children, and other needs the child might require. The mothers would go home and help feed their children accordingly. The third group was for mothers who have already delivered. They would put them in the knitting class. If they happened to come out of their crisis, they would join these classes and start their own knitting shops to generate income for their child. But the mothers were too dependent on the CTC help and weaning them off that dependency proved futile. The donors too were getting fatigued when more women came for hand-outs in a programme for self-reliance. It was not serving the ethos of IMANI of giving incentives to the needy be independent.

The CTC selection criteria were a challenge to FLG. While they agreed with the social worker, the three women complained also about the selection process which had good intentions but they forgot that the target group is anyone who is in poverty. So the questions asked do not help much during the selection. For instance, they gave samples of questions asked during the interview by the panel. The questions ranged from how long the individual had lived in Nairobi and the catchment area specifically before being assisted. It means if one
does not live in the Eastlands region of Nairobi one would not be assisted by IMANI. They looked at other criteria like the length of time the individual’s guardian lived within the catchment area. Is the individual the eldest or the youngest children in the family? What level of responsibility is the individual expected to handle? What kind of housing arrangement does the individual have, if stable? Does the individual want to pursue the training out of their own free will or have they been pressured by the guardian to take the particular course? Lastly, the panel will only select the limit age of 16-24 years and anyone above 24 years is shifted to the JCP programme. Therefore, the panel used the above questions to assist in selecting students, especially those without proper addresses. The above questions influenced the decision-making to join CTC or not. Some of the participants tended to present false or forged information (documents). It required a home visit by the officer concerned.

After each interview session the panel discussed the case. Comments and observations were shared and a decision was made on whether the person should be given a chance because they needed the course or not. The CTC social worker when asked on the same selection criteria added that some of the participants were not able to communicate and express themselves effectively. He also cited cases where the guardians who are familiar with the centre and keep referring different people who may not necessarily be family members but friends they know from their association.

**Q.10. How did CTC help you reach your goal?**

The question was a reflection on how clients benefited from the IMANI programme with reference to CTC. In total, 42 out of 45 CTC students and clients were interviewed were happy with what CTC was doing to help them. The 42 students interviewed found the gospel living to be very helpful because their major hope was in God to get support and build their lives. They do not want to work for someone else but must start by being employed, gain experience, make money, save and start buying their own equipment, then set up their own
enterprise e.g. hair-dressing, dress-making, electrical shop. The work of CTC like other IMANI projects is to build hope and help them realise the potential of clients so that they may be self-reliant. At the end of the programme seeing clients more confident, ready to face the challenge of the future is a proof of success.

The benefits of CTC to all the students interviewed were as follows: students were able to make use of the skills immediately after graduation; creating confidence and hope to clients to face the future. The big brother, big sister syndrome seems to be there. The eldest cannot leave the young ones to suffer but will go out to get a job and support the family. The effectiveness of CTC is measured in terms of building confidence and skills in a client. One student said that one gain for her has been building self-confidence and she can now face people, speak better and not be the shy girl of six months before. The courses have helped her know how to run a business.

A sample of the rural and urban connection of the clients of IMANI is presented below. The clients were highly connected to their rural roots. The city or the urban centres provided for them opportunities for training and work. In comparison, the rural was dull and unrewarding.

3.9 Outreach Programme

IMANI’s major success has been based on the outreach programme with the view that not all poor people in Nairobi can come to study at IMANI. As the programme was expanding by attracting many poor and needy people, the demand for services close to the people was also increasing. Not all who need help must necessarily enter a skills training programme. By 1994, a compromise had been reached where the clients were visited wherever they were in their local slum centres. Some of the groups that continue exist to date are: Familia Group, Maa Group, Ukweli na Upendo. In each group there might be about 20 women on average.
who meet regularly with the IMANI staff in attendance. The Kayole Slaughter House group was one of the core groups between 1998 and 2005. By 2005, it had gone through most of the challenges Brother Timothy and Brother Peter noticed at the start of IMANI. All eyes would be fixated on the co-ordinator, the director or someone interested in helping. It required regular meetings and time to make things happen. By 2005, IMANI through Sr. Rita had found for the women candle-making equipment, IMANI had trained them in running the project, conducting marketing and helping to train more. All that stopped when the co-ordinator and the initiator of the project had left.

3.9.1 Outreach Programme and Challenges beyond IMANI

I visited the Kayole Slaughter House community June 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th 2006 and later in 2009. The full story is in the Appendix 2 interview 6 that revealed they were faced with many challenges starting with land because they were squatters on city council land having been evicted from another part of the city. They missed leaders they could look up to like Anne Gakuru and Sister Rita Esposto. There was an obvious health amenities challenge with a big sewer passing through their slum. There was the slaughter house next door which brought many vultures preying on all sorts of food. So, the women could not sell their tomatoes, maize and other foodstuffs in the open as would be the case for street vendors. New tenants had come in and built modern homes in the same spot as their shanty houses. It was obvious that the area administration had been slowly selling the piece of land without giving them the chance to try and buy it themselves.

However, even if they would be offered the land, they did not have any money to spare. Previously, their donor helped pay fees and even built a community centre for the women to
hold meetings and which acted as a nursery school in the day. In time the group was educated to run their own affairs.

3.9.2 Challenges experienced in the IMANI Programme

The presentation on IMANI programme ends by presenting areas of concern if they are to continue serving the target group of their programme. It might force them to think beyond just helping the needy but changing many structures in the programme.

Misereor had been the main donor covering 100% of the budget. But since 1998 that amount had been reducing to 61% of the total budget. The other 39% of the budget was supported by the Maro, a Society of Mary, which is another department created by the Marianists to fundraise for their projects including IMANI. From 2000, there was a programme to develop a production unit for dress-making, knitting, welding and carpentry. These programmes would make sales whose remittances would cover the 39% required by the donor. There has been a challenge to IMANI to be more competitive and produce unique but saleable items compared to their clients.

The CTC production unit was criticised for producing the same items their clients were making. There was neither the creativity nor innovation from the side of CTC. This has reduced demand for the products to potential clients like carpentry and affected the sales and fundraising for the programme. The JCP Co-ordinator explained how they were slowly
finding entry points into the USA market from what their clients were making. She thought that there should be more outlets for selling finished products like the one in the USA.\textsuperscript{70}

The trial and error approach while working with the scouting group in Makadara brought out its own lessons. The CORAT Report 1994 gave clear indicators how finance management proved to be a challenge. To cover the loopholes in the IMANI project, the financial procedures had to be followed by making sure that the financier does book-keeping professionally. It was important to tighten any financial loopholes and create workable systems of management. However, Brother Peter was easy in giving hand-outs without a clear recording procedure. Now the task for the founders was to find the right people for the right job in IMANI.

3.9.3 Improve Relationship Building

Again it was not just employing people because they applied for the job but getting those who could learn to work together better. There was a need to get people who would learn or had experience of dealing with work relationships. A medical doctor in Oxfordshire, Muir Gray 2005 said, ‘Blessed are those who have more trouble from patients than colleagues. Doctors have more trouble with colleagues than patients’. Doctors then need persons who can help them mix together better and concentrate on treating patients than worrying about their colleagues.

This was the case for IMANI too. Brother Timothy Phillips says that getting the right people in the right positions and people who were able to work together was not easy. However, once that was done the director could concentrate on other details that demanded serious checking with donors and other sponsors of the programme. Projects could concentrate a lot

\textsuperscript{70} Appendix 2 interview set no.2 item 6 Fs/ICP/Cordi/IMANI held different times between June 5\textsuperscript{th} to 20\textsuperscript{th} 2006, and June 30\textsuperscript{th} 2006, ending July 9\textsuperscript{th} 2006.
more on physical and intellectual staff which is good but if their relationships are not well managed then the project could fail not because the vision or mission call was wrong but because the leaders, the management had ruined it.

3.9.4 Conflict Resolution in Finance

Brother Timothy on May 24th 2006 shared his own personal experience to show how difficult some of the issues were. However, his approach was to help the co-ordinators and the FM see each other’s point of view and solve the problem. Shared complementarity rather than fighting for supremacy was an issue as explained here:

The finance manager was much better on the tangibles and I can remember this discussion we had about a group coming to live with us and experience for about two weeks. Well we were working on this programme and during the first half hour of the meeting where the FM went over the some stuff that he had to worry about like housing and transport and how we were going to cater for the food… all those things all those little details of logistics of which he was very good at that nobody else had anything much to say about it. After half hour we got to things like: how are these people going to talk to each other? They come from different cultures and how are we going to deal with that. Well Ann Gakuru shouldered that but the FM had absolutely no sense of that. It wasn’t even a question for him. I always thought that was partly at the bottom of the conflicts and I doubt that was everything. They were very different personalities and sometimes it works well when people are quite happy to be complementary of each other. In a management situation at times it works very badly because what becomes most obvious is lack of limits on the other person, and then everybody ends up feeling bad because of lack of projection where you feel bad because you could not do this while the other did well. It just calls for a different approach. Of course everyone recognised it and tried to work around it well.

The co-ordinators were working together very well. They understood clients and their personal problems. The first co-ordinator of CTC was a hard-working SM member. However,
it is reported that his recruitments had motives of trying to undermine the IMANI leadership. The signs appeared in the 1994 CORAT Report and complaints later from staff that some of those recruited by him were there to satisfy his ego than do the actual job. They were not a good example to the depressed youth coming for training. Drunkenness, losing temper and dodging work were some of their experiences that required to be corrected.

In 2001-2006, the new SM management of IMANI began the purge. It was long overdue but also created a lot of complains about how to serve the poor who themselves are the staff! Those sent packing were the night guards, lowly trained teachers who could not grow with the changing times and the undisciplined. This included also a former SM member who was now married and living as a lay person dedicated to service. His alcohol consumption was high even in marriage. His training had not helped him learn how to deal with real life outside the religious life. He was a bitter man who underwent multiple heart attacks caused by alcohol and cigarettes. The question then was how the finance office could be in touch with real issues affecting the poor? Could they find working formulae to help touch people’s real problems rather than just figures and calculations.

3.9.5 Faith Values conflict with Business

The relationship between business and faith is an old debate that is present in the IMANI programme. There was a discussion on whether the religious side of things should interfere with JCP work. What mattered for JCP, it was assumed, was to do business with the poor and not to worry about the ethical side of business. However, that was not the point as such.

According to Brother Timothy’s summary of the struggle:

Clement Njoroge (JCP staff) was trained in business management and administration programme at Kenya Polytechnic but he was also very much involved in Young Christian Students Association (YCS). He was
very good at things that touched on the religious side and the business side. While the staff we employed later were good at the business side they were not particularly interested in the religious side. They were not motivated by the religious side of doing charity and business. The kind of comment made by the Job Creation Programme in their first report gave me a lot of grief. The CTC staff at Mukuru kwa Njenga were unhappy with that conclusion too because for them secular was a negative thing while for me it was a neutral thing. However, they learnt together how to be professional and impart good values in business. I realised that they knew how to put together good values and ethical things in business. They were much more religious and understood both sides better than those who were religious. This was in the early days of the JCP programme before 1994. As time has gone by the same question has been asked several times: how to combine business and Christian faith. Would one want to see the poor live on hand-outs or get down to work and earn an honest income? Yes they should work and earn an income but also grow as people who are ethically strong in business values. Christian faith imparts that kind of discipline which the SM hoped would be strong part of the programme. The questions that followed were on whether doing business with the poor would negate the good Christian spirit of doing charity to your neighbour and be consumed in business. However, the questions were whether the poor should be beggars and live good Christian values or run enterprises but be inspired by Christian values! That is a question IMANI is left to ponder on even today 2007.  

The presentation of IMANI was summed by the three programmes that support its mission objectives. From their activities we were able to deduce whether IMANI was meeting its effectiveness or not. The conflict in delivery of service to the very needy people they wished to support while maintaining donor funding came out as bigger challenge than any other. Without funding the mission call could easily be abandoned to remain relevant.

3.9.6 Conclusion

The interviews helped to develop a better understanding of how IMANI as a faith based organization (FBO) had gone round in addressing the four themes in their programmes by bringing to our attention the capabilities and well-being of the poor. The three programmes (Maria House, CTC and JCP) demonstrated that they were transfixed to helping their clients

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71 Fs/04 May 27th 2006 with Brother Timothy Phillips in Rome.
achieve desired capabilities. However, using the popular participatory methodologies for the urban communities we noticed that IMANI was trying hard but the clients were not fully satisfied the way the programme stuck to its own mission and not to the expectations of the clients fully. Using the second theme on participation by clients, we concluded that to a large extent the voice of the clients was muffled but at the same time they expected the agency to give them the necessary help. It also emerged how IMANI was trying to handle the rural to urban migration by encouraging communities of faith to support those who came into the city without having anyone to take of the youth. Through communities like Mukuru, Mathare, Mlango Kubwa, Kayole Slaughter House one can see a pattern of good neighbourliness among the local groups. But again the people themselves seem to have realised why it was important to live in a community and help one another than being a loner in the dark somewhere with no help. Such families, for IMANI, were prone to being left on the street and slip deeper into poverty. The role of IMANI as a Faith-Based Organization serving the poor in the urban centres was well pronounced from these activities despite the many shortcomings they faced as an agency.
Chapter 4 Data Presentation and Analysis: Kenya Rural Enterprise (KREP)

4.1 Introduction

Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme (K-REP) was the second urban case study for this research. While IMANI had an elaborate holistic approach to well-being, K-REP followed a very simple model, which is to fight poverty through credit lending. K-REP like IMANI was founded to answer the question of poverty for Kenyans. The effectiveness of K-REP is measured in terms of why it was created, and the fulfilment of its mission goals and objectives. The responses from clients help to analyse the success of the different programme activities in meeting their capabilities and well-being. The presentation on K-REP that follows below is divided into three parts: the background, the sample responses from clients in relation to K-REP programmes and the progress of K-REP after the survey was done. The methodology used was more qualitative than quantitative, supported by more secondary data based on different reports that have been made about K-REP by K-REP, USAID, UNDP and HIVOS, a Dutch community support agency. The reports consulted on K-REP cover the period 1984 to 2008. The last part of this presentation covers the 2014 current data on K-REP. The K-REP development agency (KDA) has rejuvenated its operations to cover gaps.

4.2 Why K-REP was created

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The interview with K-REP Managing Director, Mr. Naivasha, by George Malinga and Nganga Gichumbi took place on February 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2007.\textsuperscript{73} The success of K-REP can be attributed to the structure that put together a formidable group of professionals.\textsuperscript{74} The Managing Director referred to reports about the founding of K-REP in a 1994 report (K-REP Occasional Paper 1994).\textsuperscript{75} The idea goes back to 1978, when a private voluntary organization called the World Education Incorporation based in Boston, USA, together with Kenyan experts thought of setting up a credit support system in Kenya. This was also the same period that the Society of Mary, (who founded IMANI programme) was thinking about the best ways to reach out to the poor in Kenya. A World Bank (1981) review of the period shows that the world economy was going through a major transformational phase with the shift from direct government lending to supporting private enterprise.\textsuperscript{76} K-REP comes in at the right time to try and fill the gap. But as we shall see, USAID supported the idea of founding micro-credit lending in Kenya. The climate was ripe for such an initiative. The NCCK already had initiated the Small Scale Business Enterprise in 1975 but it concentrated on feeding rather than supporting enterprise. It is as if they were waiting for USAID and K-REP to bring about some order on how to serve the poor better.\textsuperscript{77} In 1983/4, USAID conducted a study in 1983 to

\textsuperscript{73} Appendix 3, Report no.3. Fs/Report from a meeting at K-REP with K-REP MD, February 22\textsuperscript{nd} 2007. They had also interacted with Mr. Kimanthi Mutua the co-founder, board member and Managing Director of what came to be called K-REP and K-REP Bank in 1999. The interactions were warm and mutual with field officers. More meetings took place with the Mr. Naivasha in 2007.

\textsuperscript{74} K-REP is led by an experienced board of directors like Dr. Bethuel Kiplagata, career diplomat, and former permanent secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mutua the founder and Managing Director of K-REP Bank. He is also co-founder member of the K-REP Group, who has devoted close to twenty years in designing, developing and running viable micro-finance institutions. He serves as a member of various boards and as an advisor to several national and international institutions (K-REP 2009).

\textsuperscript{75} Aleke-Dondo, C. (1994) \textit{Credit to the informal sector approaches and models experienced in Kenya.}

\textsuperscript{76} World Bank (1981) \textit{Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: an Agenda for Action.}

\textsuperscript{77} See a report published November 16\textsuperscript{th} 2013 by the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), K-REP and USAID between 1984 and 1999 entered a partnership to help those in poverty move away from the culture of dependency to become business entrepreneurs. In 1978 it developed into a micro-credit scheme aiming at helping the people become self-reliant. The programme with support from USAID developed the current scheme with a loan through K-REP. In 1999 it was reorganised to become the Small and Micro Enterprise
assess the institutional needs of NGOs in Kenya.\textsuperscript{78} From this study, K-REP was established as an intermediary NGO. Two projects were set up: Rural Enterprise Project (REP) and Rural Private Enterprise Project.\textsuperscript{79} The first project was founded to answer the lack of credit facilities in Kenya's rural areas. It was recognised as a significant obstacle to building a sustainable rural financial market. The idea of supporting the rural areas of Kenya was a 5 years’ project, the ‘Rural Private Enterprise’ run by a private voluntary organization called World Education Incorporation based in Boston, USA, with a strong focus on the development of small micro-enterprises in the rural areas of Kenya (K-REP 2007). K-REP provided 100% grants to other NGOs which in turn would support micro-enterprises. K-REP Group then entered into another 5-year co-operative agreement with USAID in 1987 named ‘Private Enterprise Development’ (PED). With well-funded support from USAID, PED was registered as WEREP, a Kenyan owned company limited by guarantee with no share capital. It started supporting the development of small and micro-enterprises through NGO managed programmes in 1987. In 1989, WEREP changed its original strategy of supporting NGOs with grants and technical assistance to that of advancing loans to the NGOs. In the same year, it established a micro-credit lending programme and established this as the core business and growth area. In 1992, WEREP\textsuperscript{80} changed its name to K-REP, an abbreviation for Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme. This recognised poverty as a self-perpetuating cycle characterized by low levels of education, increased deprivation and low standards of living.

\textsuperscript{78} See a report by the World Bank and UNDP (1989) \textit{Africa's Adjustment and Growth in the 1980s}.
\textsuperscript{79} Aleke-Dondo, C. (1991) \textit{Survey and analysis of credit programmes for small and micro-enterprises in Kenya}.
\textsuperscript{80} World Education Rural Enterprise Programme.
Developing countries have long endeavoured to break the poverty cycle, and these undertakings have been met with mixed results. K-REP can be considered the pioneer of NGO micro-finance in Kenya (Otto et al., 2002). The experimental and financing activities of K-REP have had far-reaching consequences, influencing the modalities and outreach of many other NGO Micro-Finance Associations (MFAs) and even the forms of assistance given by Dutch CFAs to micro-finance programmes in Kenya. A 2007 estimate placed the gap between the level of credit supplied and the effective demand for credit at K.Sh. 57 billion. The demand was high but lending was low (K-REP 2007).

Q.1. Sir, could you elaborate on the strategy adopted to give better service to the ordinary people?

Mr. Naivasha directed attention to the reports on K-REP by K-REP Holdings (1994) and the upcoming UNDP Report on K-REP Bank (2007/2008). This is the email communication by the two field officers after meeting Mr. Naivasha:

Hi Reginald, this is a short report on our meetings and feedback from K-REP. We met Eric Naivasha the MD of K-Rep Advisory Services yesterday (February 22nd 2007). We interviewed him regarding the founding of K-REP and the type of needs it was to meet. He was very pleased with the attempt to guide thinking within the K-REP organization by conducting a survey in Kawangware and sections of Eastlands. Kawangware was very strategic because the bank was established there and many clients were running enterprises in the surrounding. It was also closer to the head office of K-REP located along Wood Avenue in case we wanted clarifications from the interviews. We agreed that the officers in charge of the region would be contacted to make plans to interact with their clients. Most of the data would be online making the work much easier than IMANI’s data access. The MD Naivasha concluded our meeting by giving us his contact numbers.

82 From the K-REP Management Report one can see that IMANI’s budget over the same period (1994-2006) of Ksh. 26,000,000 (£180,000) disbursed by JCP could not be matched with K-REP’s savings at Ksh. 56,000,000 (£380,000) same period. K-REP’s effective demand for credit is beyond Ksh. 50 billion (£3.4million). The difference in strategy and mission objectives is enormous when sees what K-REP has done since 1984.
84 See full discussion in Appendix 3, no.3. Fs/Report from a meeting at K-REP February 22nd 2007.
K-REP Group then was: “To empower low-income people and serve as a catalyst for them to increase their participation in the development process and to enhance their quality of life.”

4.3 Juhudi and Chikola Initiatives

K-REP offered 3 types of loans:

a) Juhudi Scheme, initiated in 1989, provided individual loans based on a modification of the group lending methodology used by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. K-REP facilitates the formation of 5 members’ groups called watanos (5 members’ group). The group meets weekly and each member contributes Ksh. 200 ($2.5) which goes to a group savings account. Members can borrow up to $150-$400 for their projects. Up to 6 watanos (making 30 members) confederate into a kiwa that is registered by the Ministry of Culture and Social Services as a self-help group. This is an important group, especially among the merry-go-round groups. When the members of a prayer group of an association meet, they raise funds to be given to one person at the end of the meeting. However, the group can agree to be keeping a certain amount in a K-REP Bank. This is where K-REP becomes very useful indeed.

b) Chikola Scheme, initiated in 1991, provided credit to individual entrepreneurs through existing rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAs). According to K-REP reports under the Chikola Scheme, K-REP provides a single loan to an established group (average membership of 20 persons) that retails the loan to its individual members. This group meets once per month and loans must be repaid to K-REP Bank within 12 to 24 months. After a Juhudi group has been in existence for some time, it may seek approval to transform into a Chikola group. Additionally, K-REP maintains a wholesale credit facility for
selected NGOs, which on-lend to their clients using the Juhudi methodology (World Bank 1995; K-REP 2007).

c) KatiKati Scheme or Solidarity Loan is, according to the UNDP Report 2008, a type of loan given to volunteer-formed solidarity groups which tend to number from 5 to 10 existing K-REP Bank clients. Usually, this group will have evolved from a Chikola group. The members would meet once per month with a K-REP Bank official present during all group discussions. KatiKati group members borrow relatively large sums of money (ranging from US$1,200 to US$30,000 per person) and they are soon ready to evolve into normal commercial banking activities. For this reason, K-REP Bank was been very helpful in solving many challenges the clients in groups of 5-10 were experiencing (World Bank 1995; K-REP 2007).

The estimated number of micro-enterprises in Kenya is approximately 900,000, of which K-REP reaches some 1.5% (135,000 clients). There are over 14 microfinance institutions (MFIs) in Kenya, though pseudo-MFIs keep popping up each year. Over 6 million Kenyans now are estimated to be actively involved small businesses (UNDP Report 2008). Loans are usually offered for small and micro-business activity, household development, education and healthcare. K-REP Bank Limited was registered as a limited liability company in March 1997 and, in March 1999, obtained its banking licence. On 23rd December 1999, K-REP Bank successfully began operations.

A study by UDNP 2008 gave these statistics: K-REP Bank served 69,000 active borrowers in credit and 23,000 savers with an asset base of over $50 million. These are people who would never have been assisted elsewhere in terms of credit support and savings. The objective of donors and K-REP management is to achieve increased sustainability.
4.4 Responses from Clients on K-REP

The period covered is from March 6th 2007 to October 20th 2008. The interviews were carried out by Dr. Nganga Gichumbi and an engineer, George Malinga. The interviewees were from the K-REP clients living around Route 46, Gathondeki and Riruta. These clients shared many things in common. They were selected as beneficiaries of the Juhudi Scheme. At the time of the interviews, K-REP was running two types of credit schemes. The clients understood that Juhudi is based on the Grameen Bank Model, and extends loans directly to an individual in a group of 30 members. Chikola gives loans to the group that has been practicing a ‘merry-go-round’ savings and lending for at least one year. Both credit schemes require the group to take mutual responsibilities in the event of default. Periodical meetings among members and a credit officer (weekly for Juhudi and monthly for Chikolo) enhance the individual’s sense of belonging to the institution and remain committed to the scheme’s regulations. They did not know much about the KatiKati scheme, the third type of support mechanism.

Q. 2. How has K-REP benefited the clients and how they think it could work better for them?

From September 24th to October 20th 2008, Mr. Nganga Gichumbi interviewed a Chikola group of 9 members calling itself 3-K and based in Kawangware area. He took time to speak with each at different times a time period of 2 to 3 hours each. The researcher used a qualitative research method approach. The members were coded as follows:

✔ K-REP 01 HK
✔ K-REP 02 FM
✔ K-REP 03 SG
✔ K-REP 04 BM
✔ K-REP 05 WN
What follows over the page is a verbatim report of what they said, based on the questionnaire. Note also that I had to paraphrase the questions to rid them of their highly intellectual language.

Q.3. What did you see as the greater benefit of K-REP in meeting your capabilities and well-being?

Q.4. How do you see the management of K-REP and support to you?

The question was directed to what clients could pick out on different needs they felt were not covered in the programme.

The general feeling in the group was that “The K-REP management system does not motivate us as such and should there be an alternative they would pull out.” They felt that the management was patronising instead of showing proper direction in running their business. It also explains the approach of K-REP, where the business model is to make a profit and pay back loans rather than adding another aspect of what cements groups together to help them grow as one.

They demanded proper management including provision of a proper office structure that can house their project activities and also help them organise training. “What is lacking from our point of view is proper management of our groups. Put in another way, how are we expected to grow if since 1995 we have been meeting in this shack, with no office, nothing?” They also complained that the top management was absent: “It is extremely difficult to meet the top management to share with them some deep concerns. We feel they do not empathise with our concerns.” The implication is that the levels of participation in their MSC were reduced.
However, reading through K-REP reports and operational manuals from 1994 to 2008, their approach is to make groups more self-reliant rather than relying on the management. K-REP wants to kill the ‘dependency’ syndrome that is a common feature in most development agencies. The second problem they raise is that they were not helped to set up an office. Moreover, groups could get together and set up an office where they can receive customers, make phone calls and keep records instead of one group working by itself. The management may not do much to help groups come together in a faith sharing session because K-REP is purely a business. The management had not envisaged how faith or people’s belief in religion would play a major role in running business here. That explains why K-REP has had over 90,000 clients countrywide since 1994, compared to IMANI’s 14,000 since 1990 when the JCP was created. However, the level of participation is limited to business only and less on spirituality and morality.

Q. 5. Do you know the mission statement and objectives of K-REP?

K-REP Mission Statement (2007) is “To empower low-income people and serve as a catalyst for them to increase their participation in the development process and to enhance their quality of life.” It was important to test out the mission of K-REP and assess how the finance interventions had been developed with the aim of creating institutions and mechanisms which serve to enable low-income people organise their financial lives better (K-REP 2007). However, the clients were confused about the impact of the mission statement on their own lives. 

K-REP 01 HK: “The only mission statement and objective I know and subscribe to is one: how I can profit from this scheme.”

K-REP 01 FM: “The mission and objective of K-REP is well known to me but I think I no longer think deeply about them.”
K-REP 08 EW: “I know both K-REP’s mission and objectives but I know better what as a group we intend to achieve: to be rich someday.”

K-REP 03 SG: “In terms of betterment, I must say K-REP has kind of bettered us financially considering our initial financial bases were truly wanting. But in terms of personal and institutional development, we must say K-REP has failed dismally.”

The above responses indicate that the K-REP mission is known to its clients. But they expect more from K-REP to make them fully informed of their own progress *vis-a-vis* the K-REP mission statement. If the mission is simply to empower low-income clients to run a sustainable enterprise, then K-REP has done very well. But what is missing is any deeper sense of personal and institutional development by K-REP. The question put to the clients was whether, having been given a loan to run their enterprises and seeming to work hard in their activity, K-REP should do more, such as organise seminars, group workshops, and open up more opportunities for clients to address new ideas. The answer was yes. But that is what K-REP was doing. So where was the problem? My answer is that because of the large numbers of clients and small number of staff at K-REP, they cannot meet the demands of all the 90,000 clients they serve in a given year. However, clients are encouraged to be creative and plan their area of need to be addressed by K-REP officers in the office or at their work place. K-REP staff members do this frequently.

Q.6. *Have you been exposed to different markets outside Kenya? How have you been exposed to them?*

This question demanded to know how well they were aware of the outside market, new knowledge, and skills required of them to compete favourably.
Benson: “In terms of self-evaluation, I do it alone and nobody helps me in that. In fact, K-REP stands in the way of a proper self-evaluation in their aloofness and cut-throat business tactics which disregard what is genuinely human. We use rudimentary report writing and have no computer or flash drives or CD back-ups since none of us knows how to use a computer or the other tech-gadgets.”

K-REP 01 J: “K-REP has never taken us out for any training. What we get from them is on-the-job training from their credit officers, once they are deployed to assist us. In this case, I must say K-REP advances some form of dark ignorance which in the long haul will stagnate more than advance them.”

K-REP 04 BM: “K-REP has never given us any training nor have we individually and at our cost attended any meeting that they have organised.”

Q.7. Do you have any issues with project managers?

K-REP 03 SG: “We are all equal in terms of leadership but our credit officer, you might as well call her project leader, is known as a Miss Temui.’ The clients wonder how a person with three years’ experience, a B.A. degree, and a Diploma in Social Work could be useful. For them, three years may not be enough to help them meet their objectives.

K-REP 09 DW: “I am trained in engineering and I consider myself a self-made man. I have serious reservations about the way K-REP does its business. How can I benefit fully from their support?”

K-REP 08 EW: “I cannot fault K-REP’s credit managers. They have tried. I think there is something fundamentally wrong with K-REP. Think with me the following: A bank like Equity was started at more or less the same time as K-REP yet it has left K-REP crawling while it (Equity) is sprinting like Jamaicans.”
It is very interesting to observe how the clients describe their credit officers. They say that if a credit officer does not have enough experience, then she or he may not give them sound advice on how to manage their businesses. A diploma in social work and a B.A. from Methodist Campus Nairobi are not enough exposure. However, being experienced clients, they could suggest to her areas that need improving and work together to address the problem. Exposure is good but the will to learn too is very important. The credit officer is doing her best to meet their needs but they look at the level of education and experience as key to their own success. Here then are the hidden sentiments of dependency. Unless someone can do things for us, then there is no success. K-REP breaks that ‘backward thought.’

Q.8 Do you experience a top-down approach with less participation from you?

The clients were concerned with non-participation in what makes contributions to well-being better. They think the management practises a top-down dictatorship on what they see as good for them rather than the other way round.

K-REP 02 FM: “We have never been nor are we nor will we ever be free from K-REP’s big brother top-down influence. This I think is our fate or, if you like, the fate of all poor people in need of becoming rich. I guess we have to lie low like an envelope in order to get the help we need.”

K-REP 08 EW: “K-REP has in a sense interfered with our freedom to plan. In another sense, we plan for ourselves. But in a real sense, we have not grown to our true potential because of K-REP’s massive interference.”
K-REP 05 WN: “My thinking on this question is quite simple and pointed: you either sing to K-REP’s tune or you will be dealt with, forcing you to leave the programme with all the problems that follow!”

This was a clear indication of poor levels of participation within the K-REP programmes where the clients would feel that participation implies good governance where transparency, accountability are supporting the spirit of entrepreneurship.

But from the explanation above the client K-REP05 says she does not want to disturb the Big Brother or be punished. However, this was disturbing to hear when we know that as a country the new constitution has given voice to ordinary people to create checks and balances on their bosses. If a well-meaning agency behaves in a roguish manner and cannot be held accountable it would show contradictions in the way the country is growing in its democratisation process while the development agencies, the private sector, and local and international groups are lagging behind. The implication is that unless participatory processes are encouraged in all structures of governance reaching desired capabilities and well-being will not be achieved soon.

Q.9. Is K-REP the only group you are associated with in meeting your capabilities?

K-REP 07: “Apart from this K-REP group, we all belong to other merry-go-rounds. Truthfully, we are charitable among members of our group but not really among the wider society except when we are playing politics.”

The answer created two challenges. The first is what they could have meant by suggesting they are the only charitable among group members and not the wider society. The wider society would be the neighbours who do not have the same opportunities in running an enterprise. It could also have meant that unity is only possible when talking politics. By
extension, they want to talk politics that favours their person from a tribal inclination rather than a nationalistic perspective. The business people in Kawangware are mostly from one ethnic grouping. When it comes to voting, they would certainly vote for their own ethnic member. It would be the same in other regions.

**Q.10. How you build the inner spirit and enhance personal growth?**

When interviewing IMANI clients, gospel living brought about a spirituality which was pronounced among them, but not K-REP.

K-REP 06: “To be honest, we are spiritually undernourished. I guess the K-REP programme is to us a financial empowerment thing. The collectively is there for individual profit. There is no God-speak in this thing.”

K-REP 01 HK: “I think spirituality is a matter of individual belief and motivation. We [hold it] as a rule do not bring spirituality into our financial dealings.” This was rather a strong statement knowing that in IMANI programmes the clients were freely speaking about faith and business. Perhaps the K-REP practice of business only does not allow clients to bring it into business, yet it is a silent need.

**Q11. What has been your impression of service delivery and support from K-REP?**

This was a question exploring how groups are formed under K-REP. It shows that getting money for business is an end in itself and the driving force behind group formation, and not so much that groups are important for social and spiritual capital as in IMANI. The clients have noticed the weakness in the K-REP credit disbursement because they focus more on groups of 5 (*watanos*) or more to receive funding under the Juhudi programme than looking at groups as a resource that has its own goals whether money is there or not. According to the clients:
K-REP 09 DW: “We began the *hap a kwa hapa* (here and now) programme of 30 people in 1995 but we separated to form a 10-member group of individuals with a large capital base. This was arrived at with the understanding that the 10 of us are soon going to benefit in a major way. But K-REP loans are pegged at an interest rate of 16.5% which is high among the local banks. Besides, it is difficult for members to access an individual loan of Ksh. 500, 000 and above even when one has collateral. They (K-REP) argue that members of the group have to guarantor you. This is clearly a major roadblock to financial independence. Besides, there is a lack of trust in us by the K-REP Bank.”

What Daniel is saying is that, once you have been a member of the *watano* and you want to move on, K-REP cannot support you. This could be part of the frustrations clients face when the groups are not working and clients want to move on their own but cannot until the group loan has been fully paid.

K-REP 01 HK: “My work is in a bar (pub) business where I sell beer and hot drinks. While in one sense I have benefited from the K-REP scheme, in another sense I have lost out in terms of business expansion. I have this experience of taking with one hand and giving away with the other.”

K-REP 01 is one client whose business requires expansion after a period of time. He cannot be held perpetually under the group rule. There is a need to give concessions to certain individuals who show promise to expand their business. IMANI has been better in handling such cases because they concentrate on the individual person from the word go, though their group outlook is different from that of K-REP. Their group system is for mutual support and self-growth.
K-REP 04 BM: “A hotelier, I have mixed feelings about this scheme. At one point, I feel I am making progress from a life of financial dependence to a life of financial independence and interdependency. At the other point, I am concerned that that I am regressing in my financial commitments.”

K-REP 05 WN: “At last I can say that we have bonded as a group since we have come to know each other better and to get involved in each other’s life issues collectively.”

Like Henry, Benson has difficulties in running his hotel, and there are many others who are experiencing the same problem. The business in service delivery requires quick loans to replenish and refurbish all the time.

4.5 Market for Finished Products

Q.12. Did you have challenges in finding market for your goods?

IMANI had difficulties getting clients’ goods to the market because from the interviews at Jogoo Market the demand for such goods as sweaters, dresses, shirts, and uniforms was saturated. Everyone produced the same products for the same market. Secondly, the influx of second-hand clothes had changed the market, but the clients were still living in the past. Their complaint was that the IMANI JCP was not doing enough to help them market their products. By 2006, IMANI had opened up a new market in the USA for finished products. K-REP was faced with such a problem too. The clients felt that the management was not doing enough to help them sell their products, operating at a very high level without going to the small entrepreneurs who need help most. The complaint as revealed below is that they are a village group not of much interest to the management. They expect K-REP to market their products nationally and internationally. This may not be in K-REP’s interest but it requires attention.
Clients will demand that what they produce advances to the national and international market. They may not work alone on this. A concerted effort by all organisations in the micro-enterprise will have to form a body that collects and advises clients on production and market needs. This may bring in IMANI and other CBOs.

K-REP 02 FM: “As we pointed out earlier, we operate at a very local level. In fact, we are village-based. I think the blame falls squarely on K-REP for failing to market us and our products nationally and internationally.”

Q.13. Do you have any rural connections while in Kawangware area of Nairobi?

Different reports starting with Lele (1975) and different reports from 1966 indicate the rural to urban movement. They use circular migration when most people come to the urban centres in search of work and go back when their planting and harvest time arrives. The question was to establish whether K-REP is working towards helping those in the urban centres to move back to rural areas where they might find better working conditions through farming and other investment in horticulture. Like most NGOs working in the urban setting, this question does not ring a bell in most cases. The clients too do not seem to know whether this should be a very important question in their lives. Could rural-urban migration be better handled if there was a clear ‘going back strategy?’

K-REP 03 SG: “Take no for an answer. K-REP’s strategy is quite inward looking in the sense of only supporting isolated groups within a given locality, groups which have no connection at all.”

K-REP 06 JT: “I will agree with Benson when he said that K-REP’s programmes are eclectic in nature in the sense of employing a variety of paradigms. In terms of having an urban-rural
strategy, I will offer that their present development model does not quite bring out this strategy.”

K-REP 07 JN: “I am a supplier by profession. My understanding of the question is that K-REP has helped in developing an urban-rural strategy in the sense of helping a supplier like me buy eggs and chicken from rural farmers, in turn helping them develop their rural areas as I develop my urban base.”

Q.14. What has K-REP done to improve on meeting the capabilities and well-being of clients?

The question was to make a quick assessment of the progress of K-REP since the interviews in 2007 and 2007. March 2014 K-REP data gives a good indication how the agency has tried to capture some of the questions raised by clients. The modern outlook of K-REP operates under four distinct entities that form K-REP: the K-REP Group, the parent company that owns the other three subsidiaries, and K-REP Bank, the lending arm and core business of the Group. The mission of K-REP Group is to build the field of microfinance through the development of appropriate microfinance products and services and create economic opportunities for low-income people and contribute to eliminating poverty. In addition to K-REP Group, the Bank has several international strategic shareholders as outlined below. Then there is the K-REP Development Agency which is a company that carries out research and developmental assistance work for the Group. The last is the K-REP Advisory Services, the consulting company, which provides consultancy services for a fee.85

K-REP also expanded its activities to include research and product development, as well as changing its Technical Assistance (TA) activities to a for-a-fee capacity building service. The K-REP Bank is one arm of the bigger K-REP Development Agency. The Agency has

employed a competent team of managers who have worked hard to ensure K-REP Bank lives up to its core objectives. They are answerable to the board of directors. The directors see to it that K-REP meets its obligations through its vision, mission, goals and objectives in line with its original philosophy. They have a business development manager, head of operations and IT. The structure also extends to grass roots branches found in every county across Kenya. This follows the establishment of the K-REP Bank in 1999.

4.6 K-REP Bank and Credit Support

The K-REP Development Agency (KDA) is recognised as a company that carries out research and offers developmental assistance work for the K-REP Group and has helped to improve on quality output of its services, including the credit support from the Bank. The creation of the Bank in 1999 helped to reduce many bottlenecks associated with borrowing from an institution you do not have control over. Based on this success, the Bank promotes three arms to improve on development: microfinance based loans, personal banking and business banking (K-REP Bank 2014).86

The philosophy of the Bank is to provide financial services to all as a basic human right that every Kenyan can access. Particular attention is paid to the low-income, small and micro-entrepreneurs. They believed that access to financial services is an essential ingredient for eradicating the rising poverty in Kenya. The Bank aims at bringing “Micro-Finance to the centre of the banking sector arena, as opposed to the peripheral financial activity it has hitherto been perceived to be.”87

The service given to the low-income, small and micro-entrepreneurs follows well laid out core values. They embody what the bank stands for, driven by what it believes in as giving

direction to its activities to keep moving forward. They expect clients and staff to develop a spirit of hard work and team work, honesty and integrity, respect, learning and reflection, solidarity with the poor, creativity and innovation, equal opportunity, modesty and fair play. While IMANI approached the values from a faith-based perspective, K-REP has applied business values. To make sure there is sustainability, three principles guide the K-REP Bank: profits, planet and people, or what they call triple P bottom line reporting.\(^{88}\)

There is always this debate whether the poor can be promoted and the people who serve the poor are unserved justly by the agency. K-REP has a twin approach to this by implementing programmes which aim at improving employee welfare and the community at large. It will also support programmes and businesses aimed at sustaining the environment and those that will make K-REP Bank financially sustainable.\(^{89}\)

### 4.7 Examples of Success by the K-REP Bank

There are big differences with K-REP before the Bank was created in 1999 to 2008 and K-REP before 1999 when there was no Bank. The Bank had to compete with other established banks to serve clients better. They introduced microfinance group-based loans. These are loan facilities designed for micro-enterprise operators, who do not have conventional collateral. These loans are usually small in size and have a short tenure. To supplement collateral requirements, the loans are secured partly by cash and partly by group guarantees. To access these types of loans one has be a member of the following groups: Chama Biashara Group is for all registered and unregistered groups of 5-10 members, whereas Ungana Group is for registered and unregistered investment clubs whose members have come together with the

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sole purpose of borrowing to invest e.g. buying motorcycles for running ‘boda-boda’ taxi business.

There is the individual microfinance (IMF) given to individuals engaged in business and are not willing to join the group system. This is a secured individual borrowing unlike the old system where you needed group guarantors and when all had cleared the previous loan before getting a new one. However, they retained the group lending where individuals borrow in the group by use of co-guarantee mechanism and any other appropriate securities accepted by the Bank. Apart from group loans, customers are able to access individual loans. This is an excellent facility for those clients who have outgrown group loans.

Medical care support K-REP has entered a partnership with CIC insurance to offer insurance to its customers and families. They call the scheme Afya Bora Scheme. Afya Bora translates from Swahili to English to mean “good health.” They provide an affordable in-patient cover for up to Ksh. 250,000 life cover equivalent to members’ savings and family funeral covers of Ksh. 50,000. They have improved where IMANI had not succeeded when dealing with its clients over the same period (1994 to 2010). The benefits too have been very attractive. K-REP reports that clients do not need deposits at the time of admission. The cover gives a shared benefit to the family on a first come basis. They do not exclude those with HIV-AIDS positive. The facility covers chronic and pre-existing conditions subject to declaration at entry. It also covers ‘maternity including non-elective Caesarean delivery for all who have been in the cover for more than a year.’ The scheme also covers children between 1 month and 18 years of age.

The success of the Bank is attributed to good management led by Mr. Albert Ruturi, the Managing Director of K-REP Bank. He is an experienced and well-trained banker with a wealth of experience of over ten years in different banks before K-REP. He has excellent leadership skills and has made substantial contributions to the overall growth of the
organizations he worked in. The other senior manager is Philemon Wachara, Head of Finance and Administration. He holds a Bachelor of Commerce (Accounting) Degree and is a Certified Public Accountant of Kenya (CPA K). He joined K-REP Bank from Housing Finance in April 2007.

Q. How has the bank benefited its clients? What are some of the examples?

K-REP Bank had presented two cases of people who appreciate and applaud its services.

4.7.1 Case 1 Mr. Stephen Ngei Musyoka, K-REP Bank Customer

Mr. Musyoka is quoted saying that:

I was selling paraffin in Makindu and Kiboko market centres before I joined K-REP Bank. When I joined K-REP, I was able to diversify my business. Today, I am a sole Kenyan dealer of Skygo brand of motorbikes from China. I am on the road to becoming wealthy because my business has expanded so much and K-REP has been a partner all the way. I am now comfortably educating my children and living a relatively stress free life. K-REP Bank is indeed a different kind of bank.  

4.7.2 Case 2 Anne Njeru Wathumbi, K-REP Bank Customer

Ms. Wathumbi added:

K-REP Bank has improved lives of many people. I can attest to this because before I became a customer I used to sell second-hand clothes from a small stall. Today, I can pride of having one of the largest boutiques in town and 2 plots which I will be putting up permanent houses soon. I have also learnt how to manage time and money. Thanks to K-REP Bank.

By December 2011, the total asset valuation of K-REP Bank was approximately US$113 million (Ksh. 9.3 billion) with shareholders' equity of approximately US$15.75 million (Ksh. 1.3 billion).^91

Q.15. How has K-REP handled some of the questions about meeting people’s capabilities and well-being?

The creation of K-REP Development Agency was good for the growth of K-REP. It has helped to handle key questions raised by clients through research.

4.8 K-REP Development Agency

K-REP Development Agency is recognized as one of the key arms of K-REP Group. The vision of K-REP development agency (KDA) is “To have a Kenya where everybody can have access to financial services.” According to a Dutch development agency, HIVOS, since 2004 K-REP works through four entities that include a holding company (K-REP Group Limited), an NGO (K-REP Development Agency), a bank (K-REP Bank Limited) and a consulting company (K-REP Advisory Services Limited). The mission of KDA is “to develop and pilot test sustainable microfinance products and services and then institutionalize successful ones with existing microfinance institutions or create new institutions to implement them. KDA has been expanding financial services to low-income groups of people who have traditionally been ignored by formal financial institutions.”^92 The objectives are summed up as to “develop innovative financial products for the low-income people.”


^92 KDA board comprises Prof. Judith Bahemuka (chairperson and also a top academic at University of Nairobi), Dr. Bethuel Kiplagat, Prof. Kabiru Kinyanjui, Mr. Kimanthi Mutua (founding member of K-REP), Dr. Francis Kihiko, Mr. Paul Kasimu and Dr. Agnes Zani, an academic and senator in the 11th Kenya Parliament http://www.k-rep.co.ke/page_id=32/7/4/014.
This would be achieved through specific objectives which have been carefully selected to identify innovative financial products, pilot test, evaluate and re-design these products, document and disseminate the research findings. Lastly, to build the capacities of community-based groups involved in microfinance activities.93

4.9 Main Activities of KDA

Since 2010, KDA has embarked on programmes that reach far and wide to the marginalised communities across Kenya. The first of the improved programmes is the Smallholder Poultry Agribusiness Development Project (SPADE) (KDA 2014).94 This project is supported by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). K-REP 2014 reports that USDA has approved a 3-year programme to be implemented by TechoServe. The programme seeks to sustainably improve the livelihoods of 12,000 small holder poultry producers of indigenous chickens and in so doing help 50,450 individuals improve their livelihoods. The programme was created to focus on the districts of Kisumu East, Lugari, Gem, Siaya, Rachuonyo, Homa Bay, Kakamega Central, Bungoma North, Bungoma South and Kisumu West. The third component of the programme seeks to establish 10 rural-based, farmer-owned Financial Services Associations (FSAs). The main goal of the FSA component is to improve the access to financial services by low-income poultry farmers in the selected districts through Financial Services Associations (FSAs). FSAs are shareholding financial enterprises through which rural communities can access a broad range of financial services at the community level. KDA ensure the capacity building of farmers is achieved, that there is good FSA management, a running board of FSA directors and SPADE staff is accomplished efficiently and in a timely manner. They develop relevant training curricular/ manuals on best practices

in the establishment and efficient operations of FSAs and financial literacy training, savings and credit. KDA enables a good working relation with TechnoServe and maintains a good working relationship with relevant industry stakeholders e.g. MFIs, banks, government regulatory agencies, professional organizations, to ensure smooth operations and growth of the FSAs.

4.9.1 Improved Sustainable Livelihood

The key partner is Voluntary Services Overseas collaborating to serve the communities of Lakipia, Nairobi, Mombasa and Kwale Districts. European Funding to KDA through the auspices of VSO Jitolee funds KDA to implement the income generating component of ISL for a period of 3 years. Improved Sustainable Livelihood (ISL) aims at creating business opportunities to disadvantaged women by empowering them through the provision of micro-credit and other sustainable business development services to secure stable increased household and family incomes.

This project works towards making fair credit available to the poor and excluded groups which are committed to building sustainable livelihoods. Facilitating the sharing of the resources in ways that strengthens understanding solidarity and self-reliance avoids dependence and external indebtedness. It increases accessibility to credit by the economically active and marginalized micro business and farming people in Kenya. It encourages a savings culture among the entrepreneurial groups to enhance their future financial position.
4.9.2 Other Projects

The other projects are the renewable energy microfinancing by availing credit facilities for identified members of the target community to encourage the uptake of renewable sources of energy to construct biogas digesters and purchase solar equipment. The credit given in the form of loans is used to fund the installations of the bio-digesters or the solar equipment. The key partners in this are UNDP and the household economic investment fund for employment or HEIFER International. The ILO partnership helps the youth in Nakuru find employment through a programme called Yes/Jump Green jobs. They are given basic business skills and life skills coupled with credit to start their own enterprises that help reduce negative environmental impact ultimately leading to environmentally, economically and socially sustainable enterprises.

KDA, IFAD and the Government of Kenya (Ministry of Planning) are implementing a Community Banking model in South Nyanza. It is envisioned to increase financial inclusion of poor communities in remote areas with a high poverty rate. KDA was obligated to establish and capacity build 15 CFSAs popularly known as village banks. The CFSA project stands for the Community Finance Services Association. The project runs in 6 districts: Kuria, Suba, Migori, Rachuonyo, Homa Bay and Nyamira.

4.9.3 Moving out into the Socio-Cultural Domains

One project that has tried to push K-REP away from targeting business entrepreneurs without worrying about the socio-cultural challenges is the Fahida project. K-REP Development Agency introduced the FAHIDA Project in Western Kenya to empower low-income people, especially those infected or affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic with skills and income
generating activities, and promote their participation in the development process to enhance their quality of life (FSDI2008). Fahida stands for family household investment development agency.

K-REP came to recognise that it was important to reach out to its clients and especially those who contracted HIV while enjoying support from K-REP. By specifically targeting those who are infected or affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, K-REP is confronted with an immense set of challenges that are wholly unrelated to traditional financial services. In addition to the expected stressors that small business owners may experience, many of K-REP’s clients struggle with severe physical and psychological obstacles as they or their family members succumb to AIDS. The K-REP staff design, test, institutionalize, and replicate effective microfinance models in areas with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. They provide training in basic business start-up and management, business counselling, and group leadership skills to improve the standard of living of vulnerable groups by encouraging and promoting value-adding and income-generating activities (FSDI 2008).

They collaborate and partner with strategic organizations (NGOs, CBOs, and hospitals) on socio-mitigation agendas countering the HIV/AIDS pandemic. They promote the sustainability of family businesses operated by HIV-positive community members by encouraging and facilitating training and support for the entrepreneur’s next of kin or heir. They also give psycho-social support to clients and their communities on top of their ongoing economic and social development programmes. While community groups often serve as support groups for individual members during weekly sessions, the K-REP FAHIDA Project complements these support systems by facilitating psycho-social and medical assistance for its clients.

4.9.4 Conclusion

Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme (K-REP) came out as a unique and progress minded anti-poverty agency. The four themes have been extensively reflected in their programmes. The three themes apart from faith dimensions feature well in the programme. For instance, in providing capabilities and well-being, they support credit lending opportunities to the poor and also reach emerging entrepreneurs who wish to evolve out of their poverty. One way to achieve that was to create centres for money borrowing with efficiency in getting repayments on time so that more and more people could be reached. Their 2020 strategy of reaching over 1 million clients seemed achievable. They are working in both rural and urban so the rural urban migration did not matter to K-REP. However, the interviews also revealed a weakness in the programme where the mission objectives of the agency override the aspirations of the clients in order to achieve well-being. K-REP was challenged on how voice of the clients could come out stronger so that credit lending too had a human face. The communities of Kawagware where the majority of its clients were and the K-REP bank was located were pleased with credit lending but also looked at how they could be served to achieve their own capabilities. The clients were asking how you can divorce good neighbourliness among the local groups, especially when clients fall sick and default in loan repayment. K-REP Kakamega had started addressing that bit of the question by supporting families affected by HIV/AIDS pandemic. K-REP’s sole focus on credit lending is being challenged by clients who feel at times that they wanted to belong to a community sharing certain values which go beyond credit only. By bringing the social aspects of life into the credit scheme would help make K-REP more popular than it is now. This aspect of the capability building was lacking. The social aspect that the clients are asking for will bring out the effectiveness of the
programme than is it now. Chapter 7 will discuss K-REP alongside the other four case studies in view of the four themes presented in chapter 2.
Chapter 5 Rural Case Studies

5.1 Case Study 3 Mwenda Andu in Kitui County

The two case studies outside Nairobi selected for research were Mwenda Andu and Kitui integrated cultural and business appraisal (KICABA) in Kitui County. The two case studies present an ideal review of the poverty situation in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALS) of Kenya. Kitui town is slightly over 200 km east of Nairobi City. The people there face many months without rain or water pushing them to extreme poverty. This is one factor which helps to explain why Nairobi County is always absorbing more and more poor people from the rural areas who come to look for casual labour or full employment.

The effectiveness of Mwenda Andu was measured in terms of its programme activities and how the clients responded to the service rendered. Based on this statement, the following presentation covers the background of Mwenda Andu explaining the purpose and mission obligations. The responses from the clients help to evaluate how the programme has been successful in meeting their most significant needs capabilities and well-being. In the conclusion I look at the four themes as applied by the two programmes.

5.2 Mwenda Andu Programme CFBO

The following is a write up from the interview by the project co-ordinator, Mrs. Mary Wambua. She started by giving the background of Mwenda Andu to bring out its main purpose and mission statement.97

97 Appendix 2 item E.4 Kicaba and Mwenda Andu no.4. Fs/Mwenda Andu Interviews/Mary Wambua/June 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, July 4th 2006.
Q.1. Mrs. Mary Wambua, you are the co-ordinator of this vast programme could you tell us its background please?

Mwenda Andu is a CFBO founded in 2003 by the Christian Community of Wikililye. It is a small Christian community within the main Anglican Church Diocese of Kitui. By definition, Mwenda Andu means the one who loves the neighbour as self. The name has its root in the local language, which translates as ‘wanting to go out and help’. At the time of founding Mwenda Andu in 2003, the following was identified as their mission for the poor in Kitui: To ‘finish’ ‘umasikini’ (poverty) and lift each other in times of low spirits through sharing, reflecting and praying together. Mrs. Wambua narrated the start of the project as follows:

The dream of this project began with 3 women. After having shared their idea, they went in the villages mobilising other women, especially those who were hit by the HIV/AIDS scourge. The first group brought together 63 women and each came from a family that had an orphan or orphans. The 63 women represented 63 households of Mwenda Andu. The 63 women were divided into clusters. The Kenya integrated household budget survey (KIHBS 2007) defines a cluster as having 10 households. 63 households would add up to 6 clusters. It is this cluster that became of great interest to the 3 women to think of a suitable name which has a deep local meaning but was also biblically located, hence the name Mwenda Andu Project.

The women met and elected leaders from the community to help them push the project forward. Other than the drought and persistent famine, new social challenges were quickly identified in the community. The major one was the HIV/AIDS pandemic and children-led households. On average, each household had 6 family members headed by one adult. In some homes, like that of the cluster leader, Esther Kavila, there were 13 children under her care. They comprised grandchildren whose parents had died from HIV/AIDS. The Church organised a workshop to respond to this pandemic and the project was realised. They had organised the workshop to know how to end poverty in the village keeping in mind the challenges posed by the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

98 Appendix 2 Item E.4: Kicaba and Mwenda Andu no.4 Fs/Mwenda Andu Interviews/ Mary Wambua/June 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, July 4th 2006.
5.3 Moving towards Self-Reliance

Mary Wambua gave interesting insights during the interview. She said that until 2003, the local community had been relying on NGOs to carry out the work of economic empowerment. The community had been made to believe that anything to do with development was to be taken over by the government and NGOs and FBOs were left out. The Church was simply there to carry out spiritual nourishment and education of the community, a policy which had been there since the 1924 Phelps-Stokes Education Commission policy. Provisions for education was to be run by the Church with funding coming from the government (Anderson, 1977). However, the changes brought in by the Church in the 1980s started opening the eyes of the local community to the fact that development is part of their mission and they cannot sit by waiting for someone else to run their households. So, in 2003, the community began to realise that closing their eyes to poverty and not doing anything about it was hurting the ‘church body.’ ‘Praying and not acting was not living the full gospel value,’ the cluster leaders said during interview. ‘The Church was for a long time seen as a place for prayers to prepare people for heaven,’ said Mary Wambua. In a Church-organised workshop, people began to realise how much they had been dependent on outside help for far too long. They received assistance in everything, even tuition for sending children to school. The people forgot to run their own affairs as a prerequisite for raising their standard of living. They went to church to pray but did nothing. They left the Church having pleased their pastors on spiritual matters, while the NGO and District Offices provided the material needs. They reflected on some Biblical verses as a guide to action. From 2003, the Mwenda Andu-Ikanesa people started combining their way of life with building a holistic community of faith. They had become far removed from the building of the body, soul and mind and sought a fresh start. Reflecting together on a Bible verse from the Book of James 1:27 which speaks
of listening and doing, the religion that God our Father accepts as pure and faultless: to look after orphans and widows in their distress and to keep oneself from being polluted by the world (also Isaiah 58), where faith must be accompanied by deeds.

Mwenda Andu was inspired by this verse to start taking action themselves rather than relying on others, who did not know their own community needs. They read the Exodus story on the persistence of Aaron and Moses to free the oppressed by becoming cluster leaders. Leadership was by mutual consent. Nobody was forced to take over the running of households by the cluster. Mary Wambua saw herself as Joshua who was appointed by Moses to lead the oppressed people of Israel to the Holy Land. Mary Wambua, like Joshua, became the overall leader and head of the Mwenda Andu community. She was chosen to lead the households to ‘the promised land with a holistic development approach.’ As there were different leaders for the 12 clans of Israel, so there were for the Mwenda Andu leadership. The gender factor was not an issue. Any of the village people who could lead a cluster were appointed by the households themselves. They were people who could address their problems effectively and efficiently. They went through a series of problem identifications for about a year.

The main challenge that affected households in their village was the water shortage because Kitui is in the ASAL region. They embarked on a major project of making sure that all the orphans were identified in each of the villages. They were then put under a cluster of 10 to 15 depending on how the households were closest to each other. Mwenda Andu started winning over the trust of the community as the main custodians of the poor households. 60 leaders became cluster leaders. If each cluster had 10 households with 10 members per household

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99 ASAL, Arid and semi-arid lands are prone to drought due to unpredictable rainfall.
then the community of more than 600 people was divided into groups of 15 households with a cluster leader.

5.4 Role of Cluster Leaders

For this study, a total of 30 clusters were identified with 30 leaders. They were invited for an introduction meeting outlining this research on 27th June 2006. The cluster leaders became key respondents in assessing what was happening in households of their cluster. The leader identified fully with his or her group. The cluster members met regularly to look at the needs of each person in the household. They acted like a head teacher with prefects in charge of each household. The needs were shared and then presented to the executive committee. The executive committee had been carefully selected to represent different household groups. The focus of the clusters was to improve the livelihood of each individual member in the household. Each cluster would pick an economic activity or set of activities that would help solve the poverty challenges affecting households.

There were over 287 households that Mwenda-Andu was taking charge of, bringing the number of clusters to about 28-30 (where a cluster had 10-15 households with an average of 10 members per household). The government survey of 2007 had defined a cluster as that unit of living together with an average of 8 households per cluster. It implies that if the government understood the national household demographic figure to be 6, Kitui had an average of 10 people per household. Then, by implication, Mwenda Andu worked with more people per cluster than the government estimates.

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100 Appendix 2 item E. Kicaba and Mwenda Andu no.6. Fs/Mwenda Andu 30 cluster leaders/June 27th 2006.
101 Kenya Integrated Household Budget survey 2007 has indicated that a cluster has 10 households with an average of 5 family members. But in Kitui a cluster meant 10-15 households with 10 family members.
The education of all children, especially orphans, was regarded as very important. There had to be a concerted effort from all households to raise funds to educate the children. With some households of over 13 children it was going to be a tall order. But they were determined to succeed. They came up with an idea of dairy farming and rearing goats for milk and meat. But new challenges emerged which required a specialised kind of support. If they were to keep dairy cows how were they going to make sure the animals were free from tsetse fly infection, daily running of the small holding and making sure they made enough money for food, education and servicing the loan? The children-led households were too inexperienced to contemplate that process.

Before the dairy project and small holder farming was initiated, the households lived on average Ksh. 20 per day. That is almost a quarter of a dollar. They thought by selling milk products, the income levels of each household would rise from Ksh. 20 per day to Ksh. 50 and more. The youth were asked to start greenhouses. The exercise attracted 200 youths but only 50 were very actively involved and serious about the project by the time of the survey. The rest of the youth were looking for casual labourer work in the city. This was later called circular migration.

With the help of the Church, Mwenda Andu formed a board to help streamline its activities better. Below is the working structure of Mwenda Andu:
Board members:

**Pastor Daniel Kitili**  
Pastor and Secretary Advisory Board

**Esther Kavila**  
Cluster leader (over 70 years)

**Sofia Katiwa**  
Cluster leader/Committee Member

**Mary Nyamai**  
Treasurer/Cluster leader

**Mary Wambua**  
Co-ordinator chairperson

**Kalungu Nzau**  
Committee member/carpenter

**Rtd Pastor Elias Mumo**  
Project Pastor/Patron

### 5.5 Objectives of Mwenda Andu

- To ensure the availability of water by digging boreholes.
- Smallholder farming using proper farming implements and techniques that would generate income within the shortest possible time.
- To ensure availability of food for improved livelihood of the local people.
- Creation of employment for young people.
- Provide basic skills to OVCS in a holistic manner.
- To raise the income of the lowest earner in the community from Ksh. 20 per day to Ksh. 50 per day. (Ksh. 20 is what was used to buy food for the household. Generally speaking, a household of 8 could not live on Ksh. 20 per day.)

### 5.5.1 Village of Wikililye where Mwenda Andu is located

Mwenda-Andu is a community Faith-Based Organization in Wikililye area 4 km from Kitui town initiated in 2003. Wikililye is one of the most densely populated areas of Mlango, where this project is situated. Mlango, being very close to Kitui Town, has been badly...
exposed to the HIV/AIDS scourge and therefore has many orphans. One of the cluster leaders and board member of Mwenda Andu, Mary Nyamai, has 3 orphans within her own extended family. On top of that, she was taking care of 20 other orphans from 20 households. Mary also works as a social worker visiting households and advising them on what is required to serve orphans within the home. She concentrates on behaviour change, organising a village polytechnic training for the boys and girls who have completed Primary 8. At the polytechnic, they teach tailoring, masonry, carpentry and behaviour change. This is more or less like the concept developed by IMANI in Nairobi.

5.5.2. Income-Generating Activities

Q.2. How did you now move from being a dependency people to a people empowered to self-reliance?

Mary Wambua answered that the group embarked on income generating activities as a means of fighting poverty in the community in the ways explained below:

a) Dairy farming has been placed at the forefront because of a donor who has been assisting the Anglican Church in Kitui Diocese. It involves buying cows and goats.

b) Horticulture that deals with tissue bananas, paw-paws, oranges, vegetables of different kinds.

c) Crop productions with improved techniques on maize, beans, cowpeas, pigeon peas, green grams etc.

d) Water use and soil conservation by sinking of boreholes, harvesting rain water in tanks or underground reservoirs. They also encourage digging terraces when farming

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102 Appendix 2 Kicaba and Mwenda Andu interviews no.7. Fs/Mwenda Andu/ cluster leader Mary Nyamai/Interview/June 8th 2006.
to preserve soil. They direct water on roads by digging drains which are directed into their farms into pre-prepared storage.

e) They have embarked on developing greenhouses where some of the new crops could be tried out. The government through the help of the Japanese government and other well-meaning NGOs have been developing drought resistant seeds for food production. Greenhouses were used as experimental centres.

f) The land in Kitui is rich with fruit. Some of it is wild and some growing within the homestead. The households with so much fruit like mangoes, oranges, pineapples have been encouraged to practise juice-making for sale. Mwenda Andu makes sure the households find markets for the produce.

5.5.3. Position of Mwenda Andu in Kitui County

Q.3. How did you fit into the main district development plan with your new found holistic development approach?

Mary Wambua said that they had to start with the Kitui Diocese to get their support. Mwenda Andu is a project within the Anglican Diocese of Kitui. It is a good example of how a small Christian community can take control of the poverty situation without waiting for manna
from heaven. They fall under the diocesan mission team and development of projects office (as shown in the figure above).

5.5.4 Part of the ASAL Region of Kitui

Mwenda Andu and KICABA are seen in the wider context of the challenges facing Kitui district. The district is placed under the arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL regions) of Kenya and that has a great impact on the lives of the people of Kitui. According to Kitui Food Security Development Profile report (KFSDP, 2005) and Kitui District Development Plan (KDDP 2002-2008), Bernard, Campbell and Thom, 1989, ASAL regions are characterised by long spells of drought and famine. Kitui district is a good example of the continuous land degradation which dates back to the 1930s (Dregne 1990; Hall 1938:396; Matheson 1950:218), and state policies have continuously been devised to address this concern. The rural residents report that they have experienced crop failure and water shortages. Food aid has become a permanent feature of rural life as part of persistent famine relief (Rocheleau 1995). A 10 years’ research project was carried out by the International Centre for Research in Agro Forestry (ICRAF), the Kenya Environmental Secretariat, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi and Wageningen University, Netherlands, between 1983 and 1992. Their research helped launch various activities in the region, combating food security, soil erosion and control (Rocheleau1995).

The major concerns associated with the county were reflected on by Mwenda Andu and KICABA to make a difference in the way programmes were being run. By assisting households to find a better and more meaningful life in rural areas, the 2 projects reduce poverty and rural-urban migration. Rural development could be the backbone of attaining sustainable human development and well-being of the individual in Kenya. But due to poor
arable land, rainfall and employment, most people run to urban centres in search of work. While searching for casual labourer jobs the poor find themselves in the slums of the big city. This explains how IMANI and K-REP located in urban settlements try to come in and help out.

**Map of Kitui County (2005) showing Former Divisions**

![Map of Kitui County](image)

The case studies are concentrated in Kitui Central constituency.

**5.5.5 Deforestation and Low Food Production**

According to the Kitui Food Security Development Profile Report (KFSDP, 2005) and Kitui District Development Plan (KDDP 2002-2008), about 90% of Kitui’s population is rural-based. Human activities such as the clearing of land for agriculture, settlements, charcoal burning and cutting of indigenous trees for carving have put the district at the doorstep of desertification. Perhaps the most serious consequence is the felling of trees for charcoal production that has reached commercial levels. The district produces nearly 300,000 bags of charcoal annually, causing the loss of
biodiversity and severe land degradation in the fragile eco-system. The most affected regions are Northern Yatta (Kwa Vonza, Southern Yatta), Kitui South and East. There is an urgent need to curb the felling of trees to protect livelihoods in the district (KDDP 2002-2008).

Unemployment in the district is 4.7%. Energy use is another area of concern. Households able to use solar energy are small at 4% compared to the households using firewood and charcoal at 98%. The use of firewood means an increase in deforestation, creating a negative impact on the natural environment.

5.5.6 Reduced Arable Land

One of the challenges found in Kitui District was the available arable land compared to the population. Kitui District, Eastern Province, covers an area of 20,402 sq km, 34% of which falls under the Tsavo National Park. This leaves 13,465 sq km available for agriculture. Administratively, it is divided into 10 divisions: Kitui Central, Chuluni, Matinyani, Mwitika, Mutitu, Ikutha, Yatta, Mutongoni, Mutomo and Mutha. Wikililye located within the Kitui Central Division. This division also marks the Kitui Central constituency.

The district lies between 400 m to 1,830 m above sea level and generally slopes from the west to east, with the highest regions being Kitui Central, Mutitu Hills and the Yatta Plateau. The climate is semi-arid with very erratic and unreliable rainfall. Most parts of the district are hot and dry throughout the year, resulting in very high evaporation rates. Rainfall is distributed within 2 seasons yearly and varies from 500-1050 mm, with about 40% reliability (Bernard, Campbell and Thom, 1989). The precipitation pattern is supposed to be bi-modal, with long rains between March and May and short rains from October to December (Moore, 1979b; Porter, 1965).
5.5.7 Low Rainfall

However, since 1979, the rainfall pattern has been very unreliable to the extent that Kitui seems to have only one rainy season spread over 6 months (Barber, Thomas and Moore, 1981). About 40% of the district’s total area is categorised as arable, while gazetted forests cover less than 1%. The soil types range from sedimentary rocks in the central parts to red sandy soils in the eastern parts and clay black cotton soils, but these soils are generally low in fertility (KFSP Report 2005, KDDP 2002-2008). The 1980 Development Plan for Kitui District classifies 2% of the district as high potential, 37% as medium potential and 61% as low potential (Republic of Kenya, 1980). The soil below is red cotton soil, which is good for farming. However, the biggest challenge to smallholders is water. The moment the rains come, the trees show their richness with a canopy of greenery around the district.

The roads are made of tarmac, gravel and, predominantly, earth. This explains why transporting goods to the district is so difficult, especially when it rains. There are only 75.8 km of tarmac road, 286 km with gravel and more than 1,492.2 km of pure earth roads.

The sticky black cotton soil mixed with red cotton soil make it impossible for goods vans to pass through the 1,492.2 km of earth road when it rains. So, transportation of goods still poses a big threat to smallholders in Kitui who cannot travel to urban centres to sell their produce.

5.6 Food Security and Community Needs in Kitui

The table below is a log frame from the Kenya Food Security Report, (KFS2005) which gives a helicopter view of the poverty scale in Kitui District. There is a shortage of household food demand at 82,839 metric tonnes per year, which means that the deficit would have to be
given as food aid per year. It shows in summary the population of Kitui and demand for food in relation to income and expenditure. The problems highlighted are having a negative impact on the people of Kitui. It demonstrates why Mwenda Andu and KICABA felt the urge to reduce poverty levels there in the new millennium.

Table 7 Food Insecurity in Kitui and Challenges the Community faces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Food Production metric tonnes 6,661; food demand 82,839 food aid</th>
<th>Sources of income: mean household income=Ksh.4,731</th>
<th>Agriculture crops and livestock: 75%</th>
<th>Spending water; health care nutrition under 5s; energy-fuel, solar and firewood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>575,273; Kitui Central has 153 per sq km Ikutha has lowest with 6 people per sq km</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area of Kitui District 20,402; Arable land 40%</td>
<td>Livestock production 2005=cattle 201,500 sheep and goats 515,800</td>
<td>Household poverty; overall headcount 69%; rural 70%, urban 39%</td>
<td>Wage self-employment: urban 15%; rural self-employment 7%</td>
<td>Road works and high travel costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified Challenges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Unemployment 4.7%;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Household food demand 82,839 or as food aid per year;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Energy use: Households using solar = 4%; Households using firewood and charcoal 98% (impacting on environment);</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nutrition of under 5s: wasting less than 2ds = 32.2%; less &lt;2sd stunting 4.2%; underweight 41.2; mortality under 5s 98/1000; life expectancy 51 years.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Piped water access: 462 households; households access to piped water = 6.1% and households with access to portable water source 10%; average distance to nearest point = 5 km.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Health centre facilities: 92 and average distance to nearest = 5 km.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Road network: Tarmac 75.8 km by 2005; gravel 286 km; earth 1,492.2 km.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 above shows that unemployment in the district at 4.7%. It calls for diversified ways of creating employment and improved household incomes.

5.6.1 Water Shortage and Impact on Food Security

Water shortage has been a big challenge to the county. From the report only 6.1% of the households can access piped water, which leaves a large majority (93.9%) without piped
water. There are only 462 water points for drawing piped water in the district. The rest can use unreliable rivers and drilled water points. But that is not adequate too. The report shows that households with access to a portable water source are 10% (rivers and wells). The average distance to the nearest water point is 5 km. This is still not adequate if watering the farms is to be achieved as an alternative to the unpredictable rains.

Mwenda Andu started a micro-credit scheme for dairy cattle farming, that digging boreholes for water began in earnest. The people realised how blind they had been to the fact that the government and water NGOs would do everything for them only to learn that they ought to have done it themselves much earlier. Dependency on others from outside their households did not help to improve their poverty situation. However, Mwenda Andu clients opined that one major factor contributing to dependency was that they were not united as a team to fight poverty until the Church community was formed to deal with this effort. It has worked to their advantage.

5.6.2 Demographic Difference and Impact on Local Culture

Mwenda Andu and KICABA were confronted with population and cultural attitudes they had to transform. For example, the district has a high proportion of females to males (112:100) and a dependency ratio of 100:113. This is explained by the fact that, despite having more women compared to men, women rely more on men (husbands, male relatives, friends and others) for their up-keep. This is purely cultural when one looks into the community details. It is typical African culture that the woman is taken care of by the man.

Chapter 6 will discuss this cultural ontology when the question was followed up with the Kitui Kamba Community, where they argued that cultural ontology of the community did not allow segregation or neglect of the other person. Mwenda Andu is confronted with this reality
where the woman relies on a man for up-keep when in actual fact the women, men, children, youth, visitors were all considered part of the circle of relationships. It meant that each and every one worked for each other and there would be no room for individualism which deterred development. But modernity and gender relations education has challenged the thinking in the community by introducing individualism and self-centredness. The married women in a household did not take control of resources as they should. Integration and acceptance has become a bigger problem based on this cultural shift in support when the whole community cared for each other. Where women felt neglected and uncared for or wanted to rebel against this suffocating culture they needed freedom.

Mary Wambua explained why more women have gone to the city centres looking for opportunities when the rural environment did not provide for their household up-keep. Those who remained behind had to depend on their absent husbands for their livelihood. This type of dependency was detrimental to their own well-being and development as people.

Nutritional intake per child is also presented for the under 5s. They suffer from stunting at 4.2%, and underweight 41.2%. Mortality of the under 5s is recorded at 98/1000, with life expectancy being 51 years, which is not very high for the district. Life expectancy at birth for the total Kenyan population is 56.87 years: 56.64 years male: 56.42 years female (2008). The Kitui life expectancy figure (51 years) is, therefore, 5 years lower.\textsuperscript{103}

5.7 Circular Migration: Rural Urban Migration

Q.4. What have you noticed as the pattern of movement of residents between your village and the city of Nairobi?

\textsuperscript{103} 2008 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Fact Book explains that that life expectancy at birth is a measure of the overall quality of life in a country and summarises the mortality at all ages. It can also be thought of as indicating the potential return on investment in human capital and is necessary for the calculation of various actuarial measures.
The board members of Mwenda Andu opined that when the rural becomes tough you find young men and women moving to urban centres looking for opportunities. Mwenda Andu youth were practising circular migration and moved to the urban centres when life and conditions in the village became unbearable. They returned around harvest time to assist their family members. They may return to the city with some of the harvest as food or a source of extra income generation in the city.

The portrait of Kitui has given hints why they travel to urban centres. The county has bad weather, poor roads, scarcity of arable land or available land for the growing population coupled with hunger where the district needs over 82,000 metric tonnes of food annually making it hard for the population to survive in the district. Those who have farms do the planting and then move to urban centres. They return when weeding is about to start and later for harvesting.

Men’s employment outside the region has a long history. Kitui people have a tradition of circular migration. They move to urban centres where they hope to find opportunities for work. Unskilled labourers tend to live in poor urban settlements where they find themselves in poor housing and sanitation conditions. Those who are able will travel to their rural homes when they can. The member living in an urban settlement may come occasionally to inspect, direct harvest and take the produce to the urban centre as food. The migrant may sell it to generate extra income.

For the last 50 years, many Akamba men have served as career soldiers and policemen, as well as labourers in nearby factories, plantations and urban areas, mainly in Nairobi and Mombasa (Ambler, 1985). \(^{104}\)

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\(^{104}\) Sex ratios make clear that this male migration has been playing a more important part of household livelihood strategies over time (Rocheleau 1995) says that the sex ratios of males to women in Kitui have been
Circular migration is a common practice for households with (that have) cereals (maize and beans) from Ukambani. Families may use migration as a risk-adapting instrument enabling the poor to diversify sources of income (Stark 1982:67, Selier, 1988:14). Those without land in the rural area are at a disadvantage. They will live as squatters in poor urban settlements. They are bound to be unskilled labourers, vulnerable to urban expansion problems and may not rise above the poverty line fast enough.

Some confusing terms have been used like oscillatory migration (Watson 1958), reciprocal migration (Hume 1960), recurrent and circular migration or return migration (Bartte 1982). Circular migration refers to commuting migration and lifetime migration. People leave their homes temporarily to work elsewhere in what van de Muijzenberg (1973:344) calls circo-commuting. He generally refers to that kind of group of people who spend some time abroad and some time back home.

5.7.1 Response from Mwenda Andu Programme to these Challenges

The question to Mwenda Andu management was to know how they tried to assist the community to answer these challenges. The questions put to team leaders, whom we call cluster leaders in this study, was to appreciate their role as community leaders and ascertain how they coordinate activities of the village to support the very poor households. Their responses would determine the effectiveness of the intervention in order to fight poverty. This group comes from Kitui Central where land is scarce and if they own any, it is very small because of a high population density. The 2009 census gave the statistics of 189 people per sq km on average.

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decreasing over the years. By 1969, there were 89 adult males per 100 adult females, but in 1979 there were just 76 adult males per 100 adult females (Tiffen 1991; GOK 1980).
Q. 5. What policy is the county working under to improve agriculture?

Q. 6. Could there be a policy of combining farms to make room for better production?

Q. 7. Would the change in policy have a bigger impact on urban migration?

The following exercise was conducted to learn more how households were coping with the poverty situation despite the support rendered by Mwenda Andu.

5.7.2 Sample Questions put to Respondents about their Poverty and Data Analysis

Q. 8. To the programme coordinator: What have you done to address these challenges?

Mary Wambua of Mwenda Andu said that despite the unfavourable weather conditions, they would embark on smallholder farming, keeping a cow and milk goats. The most common food crops in Ukambani were maize, beans, cowpeas, pigeon peas, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, green grams and bananas. Farmers inter-crop maize, beans, bananas, potatoes, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and sometimes coffee in the wet uplands of Ukambani. Some upland coffee farmers grew other crops, including macadamia nuts, mango, papaya, timber, and fuel wood. But in this particular area of Wikiliye, their cluster households would try out cabbages, tomatoes, onions, red peppers, and kale which were usually limited to river flood plains or poorly drained valley sites.

105 In a similar study on Kitui conducted by Ackello-Ogutu, 1991, it was found out that each household kept 2 cows and 8 goats on average.
In the past, households supplemented their diets with wild and semi-domesticated plants found in forests, hedgerows, rangelands and fallows. Most families had been affected by the loss of both parents. A new way of supporting households to meet the required food supplements had to be worked out under cluster leadership. Now they would have to re-start the process and help them grow nutritional food for good healthy living.

The following questions were directed towards 33 cluster leaders and members of the group:

**Q. 9. What ties your group together despite many problems most groups face in managing themselves?**

The role of the cluster leader is to be in charge of 15 households and unite them to solve community challenges as a group. It would even involve voicing social justice issues as a united force with the government leadership in the area. It would mean meeting the chief, the commissioner or the police boss when they sense an increase in burglary in the homes they manage. They would hold regular weekly meetings to keep each household and other cluster members informed about new needs and feedback from the office of the co-ordinator. The weekly meetings would also help inform the households on decisions made on education, investment, new concerns and also moments to pray with the 10 to 15 households that form a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8 Rainfall Patterns and mastering agricultural Business</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cluster. Mwenda Andu has a constitution which is consulted from time to time. The presence of a group constitution that regulates their course of activity, performance, disciplinary action and meeting other needs is known by everyone. It covers membership subscription fees. It means helping the cluster leaders attend workshops and seminars and in turn share the core values of their constitution with cluster members.

The leaders also look at the common problems that essentially brought them together like waterborne diseases, HIV/AIDS, and joblessness among the youth. Revisiting these common problems also helps to remain faithful to their mission. The leaders co-ordinate education of the children, help the sick and take them to hospital and also those who can attend regular and intensified training on basic skills in various activities. These include animal husbandry, poultry, growing an orchard and marketing their produce.

Q.10. What makes CFBOs more credible in terms of performance in project service delivery?

A sample of answers given by 30 cluster leaders was as follows:

Mwenda Andu CFBO encouraged openness, sharing and involvement of community members in decision making. It made the organization more transparent in each activity and avoided corruption. Mwenda Andu under the leadership of the co-ordinator, Mrs. Mary Wambua, was giving this type of leadership to the community. Their main activities focus on loving the poor. People keep CFBOs focused on the human person to direct benefits where they are due. The prayers, action and dedication for human development inspire them to be a life witness in keeping the Word of God alive through the service to the community. They add on the social teachings of the Church which help them practice equality, a spirit of volunteerism and work for the common good. They have also found the inculturation of the Word of God in their daily activities.
5.7.3 Common Challenges

The cluster leaders recognised common challenges as keeping the group united. This is quite a tedious exercise which requires a lot of patience. The scarcity of water affected small holder agriculture farming. Not everyone has the right skills to harvest water. But with the digging of bores within a radius of 5 km has helped most of the households have water closer to their homes. Even though most households have been assisted to buy grade cows and goats, the challenges are revolving around disease control and expertise from the households. The whole process of managing a milk cow is too expensive for some to sustain. Lastly, marketing of dairy produce has been a big challenge. They rely a lot on Mwenda Andu to negotiate with shop owners, schools and individual persons to become regular customers in consuming milk. By doing so, they secure a stable market where they are certain each day their milk will be consumed and bring in a daily income to the household.

However, there were new challenges affecting the small holder farmers despite relying on Mwenda Andu management. This was to do with understanding the regional market and outside economic forces. For instance, they relied on dairy farming and the smallholder agricultural production of vegetables. But at the same time, there was an influx of milk from other towns, while supermarkets were selling imported milk, butter, ghee, vegetables and fruits like mangoes, pineapples which could be produced locally. So, the question was how they would counter this force without some form of organised co-operatives or bargaining skills. 3 crucial questions were asked to smallholder farmers in regard to the above question on bargaining power. The answers were summed up in the tables and figures below.

A total of 33 smallholder farmers, who were also cluster leaders, were interviewed.
Q.11. Do farmers understand the obstacles to find market for their produce outside Kitui?

Table 9 if aware that external market forces will influence their own output

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 above was presented using pyramids as follows:

The findings were that only 9 (27.3%) out of 33 farmers were aware of the external market forces interfering with farming produce in Kitui. The remaining 24 or 72.3 % were not informed about the challenges that accompany a liberalised market where products produced locally may not fully find market outside their village because of competition. It means that their own produce may not find a ready market because the supermarkets are bringing in produce similar to what they can produce e.g. milk, fruit, green vegetables. It also means that for the farmers to compete favourably, they would have to invest more resources into their smallholder farming. It would drive their farm expenditure higher making the whole exercise of economic empowerment a wasted investment.
Q.12. Did small holder farmers know the market environment well to sell their products at a good price?

The pie chart explains the breakdown of those who say know the market and can compete favourably or not.

![Pie Chart: Farmers' bargaining power to control prices to their own advantage]

The chart shows that 48.45% out of the 33 small holder farmers interviewed did not possess the bargaining power to sell their products at a good price on their own. They rely a lot on middlemen. Only 15.2% were able to do better in marketing and bargaining for the right price. For its part, Mwenda Andu has been pushing households towards self-reliance by attending workshops that improve individual skills, book keeping and learning skills of savings and trading have dominated most of the workshops and seminars for both the officials of Mwenda Andu and their cluster leaders. A major challenge was the size of smallholdings for farming. They produced enough for themselves and little for the market. It is now common that when the young generation population rises, land is subdivided and sold to more families. The average size has reduced from 0.5 to 1 ha. This explains the

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available agriculture land in relation to the population. The landless are forced to migrate to urban areas.\textsuperscript{107}

5.7.4 Benefits under Mwenda Andu

\textit{Q.13. Could you explain what you have found out as benefits of being under Mwenda Andu programme?}

The first thing the programme did was to encourage their members to own dairy cows and goats in households. The result was huge of range of benefits experienced by members.

The conversation with Mwenda Andu management between June 4\textsuperscript{th} and July 10\textsuperscript{th} 2006 revealed that before the group was formed most families could not even afford Ksh. 20 per day ($0.25). But within few months of initiating the project household incomes increased from Ksh. 20 per day to 50 and in some households the income doubled due to the economic activities present in the home.\textsuperscript{108} Lack of rain has pushed Mwenda Andu to dig more boreholes for its people.

Milk production for the cows depends on the feeding done especially on the supplements purchased from the agrovets. Farming had now taken root in Mwenda Andu as the key objective of the project. They discovered that daily needs could be met through farming. The arable land could grow beans, pawpaw and bananas. The leaders realised that their youth did not presently work. 3 greenhouses were created by the youth with beans, pawpaw and bananas to keep them busy. Dairy farming became a major project to help sell milk and bring a small percentage (of 8) of income to the project. By the time of the survey, there were 25 dairy farmers who were benefiting from the dairy farming credit scheme under Mwenda

\textsuperscript{107} More data on this from Hoekstra, 1984; Rocheleau, 1985, 1992; Tiffen 1991.
\textsuperscript{108} Appendix 2 interviews item E. No.6 Fs/Mwenda Andu 30 Cluster leaders/June 27\textsuperscript{th} 2006 and July 9\textsuperscript{th} 2006.
Andu. The second empowerment objective was food. Mwenda Andu office realised that food for orphans was a big problem. They mobilised the community to donate food and then redistributed it.

Q. 14. How did you go about the process of improved household incomes?

The first was to lay out strategies to improve from small-scale subsistence farming to an income generated agricultural business. The table below explains better. Table 9 above shows how small-scale farmers have continued to become self-reliant in their quest to be better farmers who fight poverty. From the 33 small scale farmers 51% have acquired improved farming methods. 30% have knowledge on drought resistance seeds and only 10% have mastered the rainfall patterns by organizing farming around the pattern.

Q. 15. What has been the biggest source of income in your household (cluster family)?

Below is a sample of 6 households out of 33 whose income and expenditure patterns were tabulated between June 4th and July 15th 2006. The 6 households were all plying their trade in dairy farming after they were introduced to it by Mwenda Andu. What started as an experimental project became a major source of income for most families steeped in poverty but determined to evolve out of it. The dairy farming has helped improve in protein consumption per household especially where there is a large population of children. The children need milk as part of their diet. Table 9 explains how households have been supported by Mwenda Andu through a credit mechanism where the purchase of a cow or goat was encouraged. The surplus generated income per household when sold.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of loanee</th>
<th>item</th>
<th>Credit</th>
<th>Time limit</th>
<th>Loan repayment per month</th>
<th>Cost of food per month</th>
<th>Other costs Ksh.</th>
<th>Total expenditure per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.Esther Kavila</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>Ksh.48,000 (40,000- real cost 8,000.00 for shelter)</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>Ksh.2,667</td>
<td>2 sacks @ Ksh.1,000 Ksh. 2,000</td>
<td>Approximated 500</td>
<td>Ksh.6,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Mary Mutunga</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>Ksh.48,000.00</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>Ksh.2,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Ksh.6,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.Kiman gu Kitili</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>Ksh.48,000</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>Ksh.2,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Ksh.6,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.Rose Titus</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>Ksh.48,000</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>Ksh.2,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Ksh.6,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.Joseph Kilonzo</td>
<td>1 goat</td>
<td>Ksh.10,000 (7,000.00 real cost 3,000.00)</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>No feed</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Ksh.556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.Irene Mumo</td>
<td>1 goat</td>
<td>Ksh.10,000 (7,000.00 real cost 3,000.00 shelter)</td>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>No feed</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Ksh.556</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 above gives a summary of the smallholders loan what it was used for, time for repayment of 18 months and how much is spent on food monthly. The waste from dairy cows is used as manure for the small holder farming they call *shambas*. They grow all assorted vegetables like kales, cabbages, legumes like cowpeas, fruits like pawpaws, guavas, mangoes and apples. The produce from the small farms has created a vibrant grocery business. The needs of the people keep expanding to keep pace with changes. There were frequent meetings, workshops on health amenities and healthy living. The community too has been supported to learn new skills and management on issues that concern them through co-operation between the government and the Anglican Church.
Mwenda Andu, as part of the development structure of the Anglican Diocese of Kitui, receives help in organised workshops for leaders. They also receive training in marketing and better food production techniques like using organic farming methods. The table also explains a breakdown of 6 households that undertake dairy farming with statistics from 4 who keep milk cows and 2 who have goats. It also explains the household demographic statistics. For instance, Esther Kavila, a grandmother over 80 years old was taking care of 13 children in her household. She had a milk cow that produced 9 litres per day. She would sell at Ksh.30 per litre amount to Ksh.270 per day. The total sales were Ksh.8100.

Table 10 Household Population and Daily Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF THE PERSON</th>
<th>ANIMAL KEPT</th>
<th>NO. OF DEPENDANTS</th>
<th>Litres produced</th>
<th>Cost per litre</th>
<th>Gross income PER DAY</th>
<th>Monthly Gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.Esther Kavila</td>
<td>1 dairy cow</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9 litres per day</td>
<td>Ksh.@ 30</td>
<td>Ksh. 270.00x30</td>
<td>Ksh.8,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Days. Daily use sh.100-150</td>
<td>(less daily expenditure)=3000-4500=5100-2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Mary Mutunga</td>
<td>1 dairy cow</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15 litres per day</td>
<td>Ksh.@ 30</td>
<td>Ksh.450.00</td>
<td>Ksh.13,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.Kimangu Kitili</td>
<td>1 dairy cow</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14 litres per day</td>
<td>Ksh.@ 30</td>
<td>Ksh.420.00</td>
<td>Ksh.12,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.Rose Titus</td>
<td>1 dairy cow</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7 litres per day</td>
<td>Ksh.@ 30</td>
<td>Ksh.210.00</td>
<td>Ksh.6,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.Joseph Kilonzo</td>
<td>1 dairy goat</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 litre per day</td>
<td>Ksh.@ 40</td>
<td>Ksh.40.00</td>
<td>Ksh.1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.Irene Mumo</td>
<td>1 dairy goat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 litres per day</td>
<td>Ksh.@ 40.00</td>
<td>Ksh.80.00</td>
<td>Ksh.2,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table above gives an example of 6 households out of the 33 explaining how they raise income from dairy farming and daily expenditure. It helps to underline the point that if we
use the internationally recognised measures of poverty then two families represented in No.5 and 6 live on less than Ksh.40-80 per day respectively. That is 33% of the total of the community. However 67% of the total population lived above the poverty line. This is very deceptive because the households in Kitui that were practising smallholder farming supported each with food produced locally. They did not really spend that money per day. It is just a symbolic figure to give an idea what it means that a household lives on so much money per day while, in actual fact, they may buy essential items like sugar, salt and cooking oil which might last a month. They do not need to buy bread since they have sweet potatoes, and other traditionally made food stuffs like porridge mixed with sour milk.

**Table 11 shows crop production and household expenditure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of farmer</th>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>NO.of bags per season (@90Kgs)</th>
<th>Per kilo at harvest (Ksh.)</th>
<th>Gross income</th>
<th>Buying cost</th>
<th>What Household Spends in Ksh.</th>
<th>Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Esther Mwangaangi</td>
<td>Maize Beans Cowpeas Pegion-peas</td>
<td>5 3 ½ 3</td>
<td>10.00 30.00 40.00 20.00</td>
<td>90x5x10 Ksh.4,500 90x3x30 Ksh.8,100 45x40 Ksh.1,800 90x3x20 Ksh.5,400</td>
<td>20.00 45.00 90.00 35.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Monica Kioko</td>
<td>Maize Beans Cowpeas Pigeon-peas</td>
<td>4 2 Nil 3</td>
<td>10.00 30.00 40.00 20.00</td>
<td>90x4x10 Ksh.3,600 90x2x30 Ksh.5,400 0x40 Ksh. 0 90x3x20 Ksh.5,400</td>
<td>20.00 45.00 90.00 35.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ksh.19,800</td>
<td>34,650</td>
<td>14,850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Ksh.14,400</td>
<td></td>
<td>24,550</td>
<td>10,150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Daily expenditure ranged from Ksh.100-150 (3000-4500) with savings between 2600-5100 per month. Mwenda Andu has benefitted the community greatly. To afford 2 meals per day has been regarded as the best way to measure household poverty of deprivation. A summary of the benefit per household is revealed in the next table by looking at the 6 households used as samples of the benefit to the community of Wikiliye, Kitui County.

A summary table below gives figures of income against expenditure by a household which practises dairy farming in a rural setting of Kitui County.

**Table 12 Explains whether households make any profit from their efforts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Client</th>
<th>Gross household monthly income (KSH)</th>
<th>Gross monthly expenditure</th>
<th>Profit effort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.Esther Kavila</td>
<td>8,100 with (13 children)</td>
<td>6,167.00</td>
<td>1,933.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Mary Mutunga</td>
<td>13,500 with 3 children</td>
<td>6,167.00</td>
<td>7,333.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.Kimangu Kitili</td>
<td>12,600 with 6 children</td>
<td>6,167.00</td>
<td>6,433.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.Rose Titus</td>
<td>6,300.00</td>
<td>6,167.00</td>
<td>133.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.Joseph Kilonzo</td>
<td>1,200.00</td>
<td>555.50</td>
<td>644.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.Irene Mumo</td>
<td>2,400.00</td>
<td>555.50</td>
<td>1,844.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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This is strongly argued by 2010 UN Social Development analysis chapter 3 citing works of Amartya Sen on deprivation. They argue that human poverty index (HPI), introduced by UNDP in 1996, measures deprivations in 3 of the 4 key dimensions of the human development index, namely (i) the capability to survive (measured, in developing countries, by vulnerability to early death defined as death before age 40), (ii) the capability to be knowledgeable (measured by the adult illiteracy rate) and (iii) having access to private income as well as public provisioning (measured by the proportion of malnourished children under age 5, and by the share of people without access to safe water).
Explaination: Esther Kavila makes Ksh.8,100 per month from selling milk and groceries. It is, therefore, estimated that she spends Ksh.6,167 per month and is able to save Ksh.1,933. Part of this money she is able to keep aside as savings she can service her loan comfortably. Mary Mutunga is able to make Ksh.13,500 per month and her expenditure does not go beyond 6,167. She is able to save Ksh.7,333. However, it does not explain that when you earn less like Joseph Kilonzo and Irene Mumo you are bound to be in poverty. It just means that they are among many people who spend little monthly. Kilonzo needs about Ksh.555 per month and is it is estimated that he is able to save Ksh.644 monthly. It means that they supplement their daily and monthly expenditure with home grown food.

Q.16. When there is no bank or donor giving you financial support, how do you raise the financial support for your members?

It was through the third empowerment objective was to promote the merry-go-round support scheme by embarking on collecting Ksh.20 per day from the very poor whilst others paid Ksh.50 per day. The money was kept in a safe bank account so that, with the help of the diocese and the donors, they could engage in a credit-lending scheme to all needy and poor alike. They agreed to lift each other financially to be on the same level.

The savings would go on for a while. The first programme to be supported was the pawpaw and banana stems for planting. The soil and limited rainfall favoured plants that could withstand longer dry spells of 6-8 months without rain. The pawpaw and banana stems also retain a lot of water in the soil which would be good for future planting with little water. Moreover, the households already had pawpaw and banana trees growing around them. It became a very good strategy of uniting communities for a common purpose. This credit scheme fitted in well with the main objective of every household which was to afford to
undertake dairy farming. The sale of dairy products (milk) generated an income to support orphans.

**Q.17 You mentioned water as key to meeting basic needs. How did you manage to bring water to your cluster households?**

The fourth empowerment objective was water for the households: water drilling was another anchoring project that had defeated NGOs for over 30 years. Kitui, being in an ASAL region, requires a lot of water throughout the year. Mwenda Andu project organised each cluster leader to enhance food production from smallholder farming. It would involve digging boreholes which would serve not less than one cluster. The water would be tapped for drip irrigation and sprinkler irrigation. For those who could not afford the gadgets for sprinkling water, they would draw and use their hands to water the small farm around the household. Greenhouse farming had not been introduced. From the support given by Mwenda Andu Ikanesa, each household was supposed to have enough food supply and savings to meet basic needs.

In summary, these were the means for evaluating the formation and success of Mwenda Andu project to ensure community transformation. To ensure availability of water to the community, to organizing farming using modern techniques that brings income within a short time. They were to ensure availability of food and help create employment for young people.\(^{110}\)

**Q.18. What do you see as new challenges affecting your organization?**

Mary Wambua and the other board members were deeply concerned with a new NGO which had been brought in to help them run Mwenda Andu at a profit. The NGO took over and pushed everyone aside. They lost the vision of the project and neglected the cluster leaders as had been the case. Rather than fight with the new NGO purporting to be serving the poor in

\(^{110}\) For example, Mkandawire (2007); Robeyns (2008); Chhachhi (2008); Saith (2008).
the diocese of Kitui, they decided to register a new group under the name of Mwenda Andu Ikanesa. This would give them the same value and identity as before. A Faith-Based Organization cares for each member of the community.111

5.7.5 Conclusion

Mwenda Andu as a Faith-Based Organization (FBO) had addressed the four themes which paid attention to the capabilities and well-being of the poor. They had broken away from the tradition of sitting and waiting for NGOs and other organizations to come in and help them. This dependency culture had gone on for 30 years. The moment they realised their own full potential and capabilities available in the community, they embarked on a courageous route of reaching them on their own through culturally instituted structures of cluster households. This approach was new and not even the Government of Kenya had thought about it. But they were also challenged on how to help grandparents-led households achieve greater capabilities. The youth were reaching an age where they felt they needed adventure in the urban centres when the village was inadequate in providing a better life. Yet the urban centre was a void where the youth would languish in poverty unless they linked up with groups like IMANI.

111 January 19th 2009 interview with Mary Wambua and other board members in Kitui.
Case Study 4 KICABA Programme in Kitui County

5.8.1 Introduction

The fourth case study under review is Kitui Creative Arts Business Appraisal (KICABA). This is an example of an individual initiative to serve the poor in a rural setting. To KICABA, community empowerment means being creative in all aspects of the word. The founder had a history of trying to find better ways of helping the youth deal with the poverty situation in Kitui County. The governor and the cabinet recognised his dedication to fighting poverty in Kitui by appointing him deputy director of the County Business Development Authority in January 2014.

The effectiveness of KICABA programme is addressed in two ways. First what the programme has been doing to alleviate poverty in Kitui and how clients have reacted to the initiatives and processes that empower them to evolve out of poverty. The presentation gives the background of KICABA and the activities of the programme. This is followed by reports from clients to show the effectiveness of the programme in meeting the clients’ capabilities and well-being.

Q.1. What is Kitui Creative Arts Business Appraisal (KICABA)?

The questions were directed to the founder of KICABA, Mr. Partrick Kutu. The poverty analysis presented in the introduction of Mwenda Andu had challenged many well intentioned people to find better ways of helping the poor evolve out of their poverty in Kitui.

112 Appendix 2 item E.KICABA and Mwenda Andu Interviews No.1 Fs/Kic/Kutu/ founding and growth on June 15th 2006 and follow up interview on 18th and 19th January 2009.
The major aim of the project was job creation for marginalised groups, especially the educated and uneducated youths from parentless households and grandparents-led homes from Kitui District. But as an individual supported initiative he could not carry the burden of the whole district. His response to the poverty was inspired by a story he had heard in a retreat about a boy and dead fish. The story was told of a little boy who went to the beach with his family and saw fish washed on the shore. Instead of walking by he decided to do something. While his parents held hands feeling good about the holiday they were enjoying, the little boy was disturbed and started throwing the fish presumed dead back into the sea to give them life. The passers-by laughed at the boy. He continued and to the surprise of the tourists who were laughing at him some of the fish started swimming the moment they got into the water. The fish were alive but in the wrong environment. But doing something to help the fish whether it was hopeless situation or not, the boy decided to act and the community of tourists came to help. Had he not started doing something, nobody would have been enticed to see the plight of the fish lying in pain with no possibility of ever being helped to reach the water. Once in the water they found freedom. Mr. Kutu explained how he could not walk pass by from the poverty of the people in Kitui, especially the youth and parentless households.

5.8.2 Why KICABA was founded

Q. 2. When was KICABA started and did your faith play any role in its foundation?

KICABA was registered as a Community-Based Organization (CBO) in 2002. It is secular but guided and inspired by special reference to the Christian faith. Mr. Patrick Kutu said in the interview that he was inspired to start the KICABA programme from the ‘Last Supper’ imagery. This is the passage where Jesus breaks bread with his disciples and asked them to
do this in memory of Him. The use of the third person symbolised for Kutu the sharing in the community and breaking of bread together to reveal Christ in the community. He began meeting different leaders including the late Bishop Lele (Catholic Diocese of Kitui and Mombasa) on how he could inspire the youth in the county to fight poverty through skills’ advancement. The secondary school drop-outs were many and most were easy targets for drug traffickers and criminals. He had to stop them from drifting further away from the Kamba cultural values and community spirit. The district then (now county) was ravaged by famine and drought for over 6 months annually had to learn how to break and share bread together.

Q.3. What kind of help did you receive to clarify your own thoughts about the project?

Mr. Patrick Kutu explained how he received help as follows:

I was encouraged to join Tangaza University College, Nairobi, for my undergraduate studies in 1999. The institute that combined my thoughts about eliminating poverty and promoting social justice in society was the Institute of Social Ministry, in Tangaza University College, Nairobi. I knew from the word go that I was in the right place to pursue my passion of meeting the needs of my local community in Kitui. During my study at Tangaza University College, I started working through my thoughts about KICABA and developed a project proposal.113

The mission statement of KICABA: ‘We exist to create an enabling environment for the marginalised individuals and groups to work towards poverty reduction.’ Its objectives are:

1) To run the KICABA Project as a unique Faith-Based Community Development Agency instilling in its members the principles of self-governance, collective responsibility, transparency, accountability and a sense of common good;

2) To empower the local community, especially the less fortunate, through training, to discover their potential as protagonists in their own development;

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113 Appendix 2 interview E. No. 1 Fs/Kic/Kutu/ founding and growth June 15th 2006.
3) To the local groups, especially women and youth, in job creation and income (wealth) multiplication, using the proper utilisation of the local available resources;

4) To support the under-privileged in society through charitable activities by providing financial materials and social-spiritual services;

5) To enhance the community’s efforts in environmental preservation, protection and improved security;

6) It is hoped that, in this approach, injustice too would be tackled in a broader sense.

Mr. Kutu and his team of ten staff made KICABA promote opportunities that create togetherness and support initiatives that bring income to the household. KICABA differs slightly from Mwenda Andu in terms of objectives. Mwenda Andu uses agriculture as the best tool to help households cope with poverty. KICABA looks at the richness of the community and encourages them to be creative in generating income. It means looking back into the history of the Kamba people and re-discovering what kept the community in terms of business entrepreneurship. Ambler Charles (1985) presented a noble picture of the Kamba when Captain Lugard appeared in 1890s with his caravan. They were good entrepreneurs, middlemen between the central province communities like the Kikuyu, Ameru, Aembu and the Arabs from the coast. But they were renowned for their carving skills. They also specialised in making bangles, necklaces, belts and other artefacts from local materials. The Kamba were well known for their somersault dances. Spinning in the air twice and landing was a speciality by the Kamba long before the Olympics. KICABA was to explore these avenues and help build a community from the past but in the modern setting.
Q.4. When did you graduate and what did you write about?

Patrick Kutu graduated from Tangaza College, Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA), where he wrote his thesis on ‘The Technical Education: a means of self-employment among youths in Kenya,’ in June 2002. KICABA as a case study was selected because it was an initiative by a person from the local community who felt the need to work within the community rather than going to Nairobi to look for work. He had the vision to realise that there was plenty of work in the rural surroundings. However, as he expressed, funding was a big problem. But with creativity and resilience, he was moving towards self-sufficiency.

5.8.3 Pillars of KICABA

Q.5. What would you consider as the core values of KICABA?

Kutu replied by stating that KICABA is supported by core values called the pillars under which the project operates:

1) Human Person First: The initiator believed in the power of the local people, having faith that they are creative, innovative and resourceful and once empowered could become agents of their own development;

2) Holistic Development: The initiator believed that integral development will only be possible if the community integrates the available cultures with their religious beliefs, their environment and their work;

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114 Tangaza Theological College (www.tangaza.org) was its official name before being given accreditation status by the Department of Higher Education, Ministry of Education, as part of the Catholic University of Eastern Africa. It is a Seminary with over 30 religious institutions sponsoring it. This gives it an international outlook. It is associated with University of Wales Lampeter, De Paul University, Chicago, Maryknoll University Minnesota, Urbanus and Gregorian Universities, Rome. The college has 10 institutes including the Institute of Social Ministry, Institute of Youth Ministry, Institute of Communication and Media, Institute of Islamic Studies, Institute of African Studies, Institute of Theological Studies.
3) Collaboration: It was seen as necessary by the initiator to work in collaboration with governments, NGOs and other partners in development. Collaboration and networking are essential;

4) Sustainability: KICABA believes the culture of saving – if developed among the local people – is important for resource mobilisation. For any project to move towards self-sustainability, most of its resources (both human and material) should be mobilised from the local environment.

5.8.4 Challenges in the Family

1) Problem of school fees

2) Fund constraints

3) Disunity among two families

4) Cultural beliefs e.g. witchcraft

Despite not doing well in education, Mumbe has a great aspiration: to build a polytechnic and give training to the local youth in many skills, including dress-making and fashion design. Like Patrick Kutu who had a dream and worked on it, she too will make changes soon in Kitui. Her father having two wives has had a negative impact on the household. Feuds and unnecessary misunderstandings have drained the love and care they hoped to have. There are twenty-two children in the household from the two wives. That large household has given Mumbe a drive to do well. She is not sitting and moaning but acting. KICABA has been an inspiration helping her live her dream. She is in tailoring, making a monthly income, but also aspiring to reach the heights when a polytechnic is in place.

Client 4: Winnie Mutua, interview 10th October 2008
Winnie Mutua is the third of six children in her family. They are aged 35, 33, 30, 24, 20 and 15. The first and second born did KCPE and never proceeded to secondary school. They are now local farmers, Winnie is a tailor, the fourth born is working in a local shop, while the rest are in secondary education. Her aspiration was to be a chef, but it was impossible for her since her parents could not afford the fees. Winnie said “I wanted to join Utalii College.”

Winnie was employed as a waiter in a local hotel, worked hard and started training in tailoring. Winnie helped her parents to educate their last born to improve their livelihood. Their *shamba* (‘piece of land’) is half an acre which produces insufficient food for the whole family.

Witchcraft or *Kamute* is detrimental to development in the area. People cannot develop when thinking about witches and witchcraft. There have been many cases of powerful witches in Ukambani over the years: men who can make stones rain on houses and those who can see the image of their enemies in a basin of water. The clients were all aware of the power of witchcraft and even Mr. Kutu knew the power of witches in the community despite Christianity being in the area. The mix of Christianity and local culture was a challenge but from both sides of the divide.

5.8.5 Cultural Differences and impact on development

One of the main challenges KICABA and even Mwenda Andu projects faced was about the ‘outsiders’ mainly the NGOs who thought they had a better grasp of the local community problems using different lenses. The failure of development projects was anot that the local people had not idea but understanding how the local community expressed their cultural ontology and epistemology. While interviewing an expert on this problem we came to see that one can be in a community even 40 years but may not find an entry point into the culture
and use their own lens to educate the community on matters of mutual growth. Mrs. Bernadette Kyanya, who is a model of the empowerment of women and field consultant from Ukambani, when asked about the problem of witchcraft, cultural differences despite the presence of Christian education and other faiths in the region over the years she replied with a telling example of a missionary who had been in Kitui for 40 years but failed to enter into the community mindset.

The question was, you can learn the language but you may not enter a culture’s ontology and teleological mindsets unless you learn a different language: expressions, proverbs, living with people in the same place, etc. Now witchcraft is the same. We can speak about it but one needs to live in the community to appreciate what people really mean by it.115

While witchcraft is a common challenge to the people of Ukambani the problem of using the right language became an important factor in order to bring about a holistic development. The worry for Mrs. Kyanya was whether development practitioners were ‘finding the right entry point into the real issues affecting the people or they were transfixed into solving their own problems and not those of the people. A good participatory methodology is required where people learn to understand their situation of underdevelopment and become their own protagonists.

**5.8.6 Programme Activities**

**Q.6. How did you reflect these core values in practice?**

Mr. Kutu replied as follows. At first it was difficult to infuse good values in everything we wanted to do for the poor in the community. But slowly we discovered projects we felt confident would answer the immediate needs:

1) **Savings and Credit Programme:** The project developed this programme because it was vital for training its members in areas of revolving funds in order to move society towards self-sustainability. Members within this programme are advised on how best they can save in order to access loans to initiate small-scale businesses. Loans are advanced to members in proportion to their savings. There is no mention of large farms that require large-scale irrigation. The best reason available was the scarcity of land and overpopulated villages makes it hard for the households to own much land.

2) **Creative Arts Programme:** This programme was introduced in order to create jobs through the use of locally available resources. Some of the resources are skilled human labour, with available materials like sisal and banana fibres, soil and water. The community has been using arts and crafts in earning their living and this skill needs to be passed on to future generations. The groups produce art by weaving, bead-making, carving, technical drawing and the presentation of traditionally made items.

3) **Community Training Programme:** This component covers many areas and involves capacity building for the community and staff. Some of the courses given are: Business Management for Small-Scale Enterprises, HIV/AIDS Awareness, Behaviour Change, Gender and Development, and Human/Civic Rights and Counselling. Training empowers the local community on different aspects of life, as well as sharing deeply in...
the project’s mission and vision of social ministry in general. However, not everyone is trained as a social minister to articulate and implement new approaches to community development.

4) Agriculture and Environmental Care Programme: This programme was started to address the problem of food in Kitui and safeguard the environment. Individual members and communities are to be equipped with modern crop production techniques, including bee-keeping, horticulture and forestation. Farmers are advised on modern food storage methods that ensure pest control. This guarantees that the families have food throughout the year. Modern food storage methods mean there is an awareness of production and storage which should help reduce loss and ensure that sufficiency is recorded as a reflection of the growth of food production in the district. The survey understood what is meant by modern crop production techniques, e.g. using terraces on slopes, and natural manure from cow dung.

5) Orphans and Vulnerable Children/Guardians Programme: developed out of community needs because of the growing numbers of orphans and vulnerable children due to HIV/AIDS. The aim of this programme is to integrate the orphans and vulnerable children within the family system and support guardians to care for them. The project has identified more than 100 orphans and vulnerable children within the families of its group members. KICABA does basic counselling and equips guardians with necessary life skills.

6) Child Rights and Welfare Programme: KICABA, through its interaction with communities, realised this emerging scenario and conducted a baseline survey in the last quarter of 2005. The bitter results were that 7 families in every 10 homes had their children aged 16 and below engaged in employment. This varied from farmhands, house boys,
brewers of illicit liquor commonly called ‘kaluvu’ and, in extreme cases, sex workers. The project had to address the problem facing children and, therefore, developed this programme.

5.8.7 Ongoing Skills Development Programme under KICABA

The skills development activities of the project:

1) Promotion of local tourism by introducing them to the Kamba culture based around the nine clans;
2) Computer training;
3) Typesetting/photocopying services;
4) Education funding for secondary education.

The promotion of local tourism by introducing visitors to the Kamba culture based around the 9 clans was very informative. This is when the history of the Kamba would be told, and the traditional setting and community life discussed. Different cultural artefacts are displayed and sold. Cultural dances tell the story of the clans. The clans are also divided according the superiority e.g. the clan of leaders, meat eaters, planters etc. The Ambui would always rule the community. If others rose to challenge, people would resist and elect the clan of leaders whether good or bad. The family of Kitili Mwendwa comes from the clan of leaders. They have been holding different forms of leadership positions from independence.

The community too has a rich history of military prowess, as discussed by Charles Ambler (1985), relating how Chief Kivoi was well known for leading the Kamba community in military expeditions. They were feared but also respected by the dreaded Maasai to the south and the Kikuyu, the Meru and Mbeere communities in the north. When Lugard arrived, he
saw a well-organized community with Mbenges (fortresses for self-defence in key hilly locations in the village. The Kamba immediately became known to the British administration as military commanders, an accolade they still hold even today. They have had more generals in the army than any other community since independence. Telling this part of the history raises the profile of KICABA.

5.8.8 Responses from the Clients of KICABA: Interviews with KICABA Clients

The interviews with clients intended to find out how they viewed the KICABA programme and whether it was having any impact on their lives. Below are some examples of interviews and responses using a one-to-one qualitative method.

Client 1: Anna Fundi, 10\textsuperscript{th} October 2008\textsuperscript{116}

Anna Fundi is a shopkeeper from a household of 9 members (brothers and sisters). Her aspiration was to be a nurse but she did not get enough education to attain that dream. She reached Primary 7. She has built her livelihood from being a shopkeeper. She chose to open her shop in Kitui because in the rural area many customers really like to buy items on credit.

One of her brothers is a teacher who also helped his father to educate the rest of the family up to Form Four. The second wife of her father disunited the family, meaning that she, as the last born, did not have an education. The best option was to get married.

Anna Fundi is married and her husband works at the Central Veterinary. Together they have four children, two in college, one in secondary school and one in Primary 8. They have one orphan from her brother-in-law and his wife who passed away leaving one child. The orphan

\textsuperscript{116} Appendix 2 interview E. on KICABA no.7 Fs/Kicaba/Clients interviews: Client 1: Anna Fundi, 10\textsuperscript{th} October 2008.
is in Form 2 in a local secondary school. Her source of income is the shop and the salary from her husband. They have a problem in the family with school fees.

Anna Fundi’s case is one of many in Kitui. One can tell that when Mwenda Andu children fail to get a higher in education and cannot enter a polytechnic then the best they could do is look for an enterprise which could generate income. KICABA becomes an important player in providing credit to the needy like Anna. The other option is to get married and hope that things will improve in a new home. However, most come to realise that this is not the case. Fees and other needs in the household take their toll on the breadwinner.

In her own family, the elder brother had been helping his father pay fees. This is a common phenomenon in most Kenyan homes. Without the support of a brother, sister, cousin, uncle or aunt, children do not receive an education. There is a belief that children are part of the community and that they carry the spirit of the family, meaning that helping them is like helping your own. This act of love has seen many go through education in Kenya and IMANI’s CTC project experienced this too. Children who did not have parents to help them were supported by an uncle/aunt or elder brother/ sister. The new guardians of the children have been encouraged by the Christian spirit of sharing faith by ‘loving thy neighbour as thyself.’

An important point too is the aspiration expressed by Anna. She wanted to be a nurse. Had she received the necessary education she would have made it. But the usual family let-downs become an excuse to deny another the education she wanted. The marrying of a second wife made their father not have enough money to support the first family. I am sure that if Anna would go back to school she would make a good nurse and perhaps a good social worker too from this experience. The impressive thing is that her own children have gone through secondary education and moved on to college and still aspire to reach higher.
Client 2: Jemimah Mwende Musyoka 10th October 2008

At 21, Mwende is the eldest in a family of five children (seven in the household). She managed to do KCPE but never proceeded to secondary school. Her mother got very sick and was admitted to hospital, so all the money which was accumulated for her secondary education paid her mother’s medical bill.

Mwende aspired to serve God as a religious sister in the congregation of the Assumption Sisters of Nairobi with training in Kitui, but she was unable to do so because she had no secondary level of education which is a requirement.

Her father is a lorry driver in Nairobi and her mother sells vegetables at Kabati Kitui. The father tries to return home monthly. Roles in the household are well defined. The mother caters for basic needs, especially food, while the father and Mwende take care of fees. Mwende is a tailor and with her small salary she helps her parents pay the fees of the younger ones in secondary school. This rural home grows maize, beans, peas and green grams. The surplus is sold to generate more income. The rural connection is beneficial, because they can get food easily compared to living in the urban centre.

Mwende is very happy to mention that she is a member of Boma Cathedral Church Choir, where she is now able to build on her faith and talents. The challenges faced in their family are: School fees and Poor Diet were recorded but with support from KICABA she sees a bright future.

Mwende is another of the girls from Kitui who could not fulfil her dream of a good education but she believes her contributions are good for the community. Had her mother not been ill, she could have proceeded with education in secondary school. The question that was hard for
her to answer was why she did not continue after her mother recovered? For her it was
difficult because it meant a lost opportunity to get better education.

The well-defined roles of the family do not mean that the family members will not assist
when there is no food in the household. This is explained by the fact that food is not always
enough, though they try to have three meals a day. Diana Hunt (1984) has discussed how to
measure poverty in the household by how many calories a person should have per day. Any
consumption less than 2,250 calories per person annually was seen as poor from the data
collected and analysed by both Feldman (1977) and Crawford and Thorbecke (1978). In their
understanding, the poverty line in rural areas was set at Ksh. 2,200 income per household of
seven per year. While the calorie consumption in 2009 would remain the same, the income
per family has since tripled between 1978 and 2008. The mother is presented as head of the
household when her husband is away working in the urban centre.

We can only conclude that KICABA has done well to help Mwende with a loan. She is
beginning to find meaning and hope in her life.

Client 3: Joyce Mumbe Kimanzi, 10th October 2008

Mumbe is the youngest in her family. Her father has two wives. There are ten in their family,
while the other family has twelve children. Their family is aged 30, 28, 26, 24, 21, 18, 16, 13,
10 and 8. Her father had a wholesale business in Kitui Town which operated for five years.
He later opened a small shop in their home area. Mumbe’s aspiration was to be a teacher but
she never managed because her father had an appendix problem and was admitted to hospital
for two years.

Mumbe is a tailor whose first brother is employed by the navy and lives at Mariakani
Mombasa. Her two sisters are doing a tailoring course and her other brother is doing a
mechanics course while the others are in school (secondary and primary schools). Their stepmother cares for six orphans left by her children.

5.9 Conclusion

From the data we have explained that most rural households in Kitui County have been affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. There were orphaned households which were run by grandparents as heads of their children’s families. KICABA has tried to follow in the footsteps of Mwenda Andu and combine efforts to support families struggling in poverty. The clients demonstrated in Anna Fundi show that one wage approach to well-being was not enough. Households had to work but also run their own small enterprises. To achieve that they needed a credit support system like KICABA. KICABA promotes creative arts as a means of fighting household poverty, while Mwenda Andu uses smallholder farming to support families. The two organizations have proven that through the promotion of enterprises, the households affected by poverty, low human development and attainment of well-being, will become stronger. They complement each other in most of their activities in the same locality serving almost the same clients. After this data was presented to the same respondents again there were mixed feelings about their own poverty compared to what the researcher had discussed.

Chapter 6 that follows gives more feedback on the data presented until now by bringing in new insights into this study. The findings brought about a major shift in the thesis and additional knowledge to the final findings about poverty.
Chapter 6 Voice of Respondents in the Feedback on Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter opens with a narrative about my experience after sharing the data of my findings in chapters 3 and 4, with some of the same respondents I had interviewed earlier. The feedback from the respondents about my findings introduced additional data that deal with a deeper question of knowing what exactly the poor, the clients served in any organization, really want. This chapter emphasizes the voice of the client in view of what had been presented about them as indicators of poverty. The question that was asked to the same respondents was: in view of what you have heard, are there issues of poverty that you would have liked to discuss which were not included? These were what Rick Davies would call Most Significant Change questions. The questions were discussed from the clients’ vantage point rather than from the position of the expert researcher. This approach had been used by Rick Davies in evaluating and measuring effectiveness. It is characterised by asking the client first what would be their most significant need to be addressed and the same question asked to the agency and donor. A total of 96 respondents were interviewed using the focus group method between November 2008 and February 2009. A number of themes came out of the findings which are discussed in the following paragraphs. Some of the themes are: group relationships, the centre and the circle, individualism and community, the continuity of life, the freedom to move forward, values and virtues, and self-determination.

6.2 Summary of the Findings Presented to Respondents

A summary of the presentation to the clients before the feedback is represented in summary form using Table 13. It gives a summary of the findings and how the same respondents
reacted. The gaps were easily identified from the findings about their own poverty and how they could meet their most significant needs.

Table 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Defined as Poverty</th>
<th>Clients reaction to Most Significant Change MSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMANI -Eastleigh</td>
<td>Structural poverty: Not getting organised; Dividing communities by politicians leading to marginalization of the other. Experience of violence.</td>
<td>➢ Management, social, disorganisation, literacy and experience, frequent violence ➢ Job security, shelter, land, healthcare, income, dependent on: Love, unity, ‘uvumilivu’ tolerance, communication &amp; leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Jericho</td>
<td>-No enterprise of choice by 70% of clients and no loans of choice; no skills in loan management; no knowledge to understand changing market trends; helplessness of CTC trainers due to training equipment; lost ambition; no parents in city; lack of knowledge on loans and use; safety in area of work; lack of money for school, college, medical care, HIV stigma, lack of markets for goods produced.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Bahati</td>
<td>-Lack of shelter, not being listened to, education for children, literacy for adults, healthcare, not a single meal per day, but MSC lack of love, unity, tolerance, leadership.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-JCP/CTC</td>
<td>- No dignity, no income, no respect for life, no gospel living</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Kayole Slaughter Marianists (founders)</td>
<td>- Skills, loans, counselling and no donors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMANI Management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-REP</td>
<td>-Lack of income to meet basic needs</td>
<td>➢ Freedom to increase income for business expansion and basic needs. But spirit of community in credit lending.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwenda Andu</td>
<td>-Impatience in group, wanting quick results; poor machines for fruit processing, lack of household income; no enterprise; less calories because food is sold (milk, vegetables, maize, beans) to pay loan; scarcity of water; land for farming; unable to control disease; vulnerability of orphans, lack of moral fibre when growing up because parents are dead (grandparents unable to instil discipline; dependency of household on church, NGOs, govt.</td>
<td>➢ Impatience; poor machines, selling food for loan repayment; water scarcity; lack of moral fibre; indiscipline; fight dependency syndrome. Going back to basics of the community’s ontological mindset: the centre and circle of interdependence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KICABA</td>
<td>-Being orphaned (grandparent-led households), markets, and skills; not a single meal per day</td>
<td>➢ Orphaned; market skills; not having a single meal per day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The answers cut across urban and rural surroundings of Kenya by February 2009. This is the summary of the presentation as explained from the table 13 above:
Case study 1 was IMANI. After looking at the data analysis from the clients of Eastleigh, Mlango Kubwa, Bahati, Jericho and Mukuru kwa Njenga this was my conclusion about what was required to be addressed if they were to live above the poverty line. Over 70% of clients trying to run enterprises did that because JCP had pushed them into learning how to raise household income. As it appeared, 70% of IMANI clients passing through JCP did not run an enterprise of choice because of the loan given. Now they needed to shake of that dependency and be creative. They should work harder to improve their household incomes through wage employment or self-employment through an enterprise. The enterprise planning and organization required training which IMANI had been offering for a long time but it appeared that the clients were forced to undergo that training. What was missing was the motivation to complete the course and fight their poverty through an income generating activity.

In Kayole Slaughter House there were low levels of literacy despite their enthusiasm. Out of the 165 families living there almost 80% of the youth could read and write but their parents were hardly literate. The national finding from KIHBS 2007 indicated that over 93% of Kenyans were literate. A scheme to help develop adult education was required. It could be done at the Slaughter House hideout supported by IMANI or by the local faith communities. As a community, the Kayole group was organized because they knew who should do what despite their level of education. They had a ministry of health led by Mr. Macharia, a ministry of education led by Mr. Mwongela, governance led by Mr. Mutuku, women’s affairs led by Phyllis, youth matters led by Mwangi but the HIV/Aids was a challenge, housing was not good and the community was getting swallowed up by in-fighting among politicians. Therefore, a self-awareness programme should be developed, education for all revamped and, if possible, a school of their own created and then help to work out counselling in all programmes of IMANI. Lastly, Gospel living should be encouraged in all programmes of IMANI.
For K-REP, the feedback gave food for thought about holding a credit meeting away from a prayer meeting. Why did the two not fit together? It was observed that K-REP as a credit lending organization business and enterprise was on top of their agenda. People could get together as believers but when it came to business it had to be business. Therefore, clients can try and find a good balance in the way they operated as a *juhudi* group to run a group of 5 and support each other by bringing people of the same beliefs together. People who pray in the same church could end up being better creditors than those who just met for loan repayments weekly.

Mwenda Andu group was next. The data analysis and findings had indicated that there was impatience in the group which wanted quick results without training and understanding. They asked for machines for fruit processing yet they were not producing enough to warrant heat support. Training in food processing especially fruit was required. The land was full of home-grown fruits like mangoes and oranges which could be canned for the Nairobi city market. Unless they found an outlet in the city of an established company already canning fruit or jam made from fruit, they may not be ready to capture the market. Canners in Nairobi would also like educated personnel from the group who could negotiate better fees for their produce. One weakness noticed in the data collection was that they were too dependent on their leader, Mary Wambua. But Mary too was not conversant with markets for their produce. They needed to get the right capacity building in this area. They lacked enough household income because the enterprise they ran was too expensive for most e.g. dairy farming required 48,000 Ksh. per cow. Most of the homes were too poor financially to purchase a cow. Therefore, the group needed to diversify its income activities. The households consumed less calories because food is sold (milk, vegetables, maize, beans) to pay for the loan. There was scarcity of water and land for farming and they were unable to control disease. Orphans were vulnerable because they were alone in a home led by an adult cluster leader. How sure were
we that they were not being molested despite being a Faith-Based Organization where love and care were key values? There was lack of moral fibre when growing up because parents were dead (grandparents were unable to instil discipline). The clusters were too dependent on the church just as they were dependent on NGOs and the government in the past.

KICABA clients wanted extra income on top of what they were doing. Teachers wanted to borrow money to run enterprises. KICABA was doing well to build on this support and to balance the demands of the local people. But the orphans could not easily access loans nor were they ready to run an enterprise. Therefore, KICABA would have to work with Mwenda Andu, in order to help orphans while supporting those able to borrow and improve their lives.

The following presentation was what the clients said in their response to the findings about them which I summarized in table 6.1. The feeling was that what was presented was good. But the Kayole group opened up the discussion to new areas not reflected on before and after the data analysis.

What was called MSC by the Slaughter House Group was the failure to enter their community mindset and pick out issues that affected how they utilised their capabilities. They are summed up in what they called poverty challenges that if missing in their lives would not improve for the better. There was social disorganization brought about by frequent group in-fighting, frequent violence because of the politics of the area which prompted a lack of tolerance, poor leadership and poor communication skills where people tended to fight and quarrel instead of listening and appreciating what was being shared by others. The ethnicity factor too played a major role in their conflicts.

Conclusions on poverty through the clients’ eyes revealed the following. Table 13 above has revealed 15 poverty priorities as observed by clients from the four case studies. Their presentation of poverty was identified as most significant change needs to their well-being.

The Kayole Slaughter House clients revealed that there were people whose shelters were in a
terrible state but they were not bothered by the state of the house as long as they worked together to create better opportunities for their children. For the Kayole group, the determinant of poverty for some women was having good leadership, ‘being listened to and tolerated, loved, being helped to earn an income and lastly owning land with a title deed for everyone there.’

While IMANI had concentrated on building groups that could be of value to each other, the rest of the community valued their owning land as the key to their success. We read from the interviews conducted with the women leader Phyllis and the men’s committee members of the slum led by Mr. Mwongela, Masea, Mutuku, Kariuki and Mutira that shelter and food were not a real threat compared to feeling secure in their own piece of land, popularly known as ‘kaplot’.

The presentation of findings was given first to each of the groups before asking for feedback. This is what was presented to the clients of respective programmes before they gave what they called the most significant change points missing in the proposals to improve their capabilities and well-being. The feedback took over 4 months from the time of the presentations. Apart from K-REP which had a feedback in September October 2008 the other three case studies were visited between November 11th 2008 and February 15th 2009.

6.3 Opening Narrative as Feedback

It was on November 20th and 26th 2008 and January 2nd 2009 when I met the 54 women seated in the small hall where they held their meetings. The data presented to the clients is explained above. It sums up findings discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5. I read through the

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117 Interview L.no.2 Fs/IMANI Clients at Kayole Slaughter House of the 54 women November 20th and 26th 2008; also Interview no.10 Appendix 2 IMANI Clients of Kayole Slaughter House January 2nd 2009.
findings and discussed what I found about their poverty. After about 30 minutes of presentation, I paused for questions of clarification. The women were quiet, intense in listening but not saying much. After 2 hours with them, I shook hands to say goodbye and left. I walked to the bus stop 50 metres away along the Kangundo Road to return to my residence beyond the city of Nairobi. I was thinking that this had been a busy day for me. I had met the men, the youth and lastly the women. We had agreed they should be seated in the small church hall by 2 p.m. but by 3.30p.m only a handful had come to meet me. The rest joined by around 4 p.m. The mothers had been away looking for something to feed their children. Phyllis Musau, their chairperson, had explained why they had started late. Just as the 14 seater matatu (small bus) was approaching, 10 women led by Phyllis Musau, the chair lady, came running towards me calling’ ‘Mwalimu! Mwalimu! Teacher teacher! Can we have a word?’ As if to apologise, the chairlady told me that they had forgotten to say something very important. She explained that the women had been afraid to speak out openly as I was presenting data to them and for fear of being laughed at. They agreed that the findings about their own poverty and what undermined their capabilities and well-being were correct. But I had forgotten a very fundamental contribution about their real poverty. We walked back into the church hall and sat down. As I had included them in the interviews, how could I have forgotten their contributions? Phyllis expounded on some key issues that affected the expansion of their capabilities and well-being. They felt that just mentioning education, income and healthcare as poverty indicators was not enough. The key poverty issues that the group lacked were ‘umoja’ unity, ‘upendo’ love and ‘uvumilivu’ tolerance/perseverance, ‘uawasiliano’ communication and ‘uongozi’ leadership. Without the five values being reflected in the programme, there will be schools, hospitals and credit facilities but the community would still languish in poverty unless they were addressed. The 5 “U”s were well pronounced. The five values connected well with important Christian social teaching on how
neighbours can live and work together for the benefit of each other in mutually binding relational wellbeing. Most faiths are bound together by this important golden rule of loving your neighbour as yourself. She explained that for two years the candle business had stalled, yet each one of them knew how much money was invested in it. The 54 women also knew the financial potential of the project of about 3 to 5 million Ksh. a year.\textsuperscript{118} The previous owner was making enough candles for the local and outside markets. If it was being owned by one person, this person would own buses and rent houses. This was explained by the bad leadership, unity, poor communication, lack of love and perseverance. Phyllis explained that leadership was not certificates and training but better ‘mawasiliano’ communication. I sat with them for another hour listening to important data I had not covered in my field survey. This was when my eyes were opened.

As a researcher, I had been using my own methodology guided by my own questionnaires. I had acted like the expert elite who wanted to know more about my questions than theirs. I wanted to write my thesis and not their story. The first fieldwork was very rich in findings on how the respondents reflected on my questions. But this new contribution strengthened the earlier argument on how the poor see their own poverty.

\textbf{6.4 Indicators of Poverty by Clients from the Case Studies}

The secondary and primary data collected in the 4 case studies were two sets of arguments. One covered how the agencies and donors defined poverty and went ahead to implement their findings. The second was where the clients of the case studies were not totally in agreement with what the agencies and donors put forward as poverty. For instance, creating opportunities to increase income per household was a goal of the 4 case studies. The literature

\textsuperscript{118} This translates to $US dollars 21,000 to 36,000 per year.
demonstrated why income per household was a vital component of improving human development. The understanding from the literature was more inclined towards structural support to eradicate household poverty. By going back to the community and sharing the data, it proved that there is much more that people desire as significant other than what the agency wants to achieve based on its own mission statements and goals.

6.4 Observations and Discussion on True Meaning of Poverty

Mama Nyaga belongs to the group of 54 women with whom she formed the Kayole Spring Valley Women’s Group.\(^{119}\) They have an elected office supervised annually by the local Divisional Government Administrator, who is the District Officer of Embakasi Division. Why was Mama Nyaga selling Napier grass in the urban setting? The Government of Kenya Integrated National Household Budget Survey (2005/6 p.180) reveals that 7.3% of the households in Nairobi own cattle. This is a fair percentage, considering that most households in Nairobi would not have the space for keeping cattle. If they did, then zero grazing would be favourable. Because of this, the sale of Napier grass by Mama Nyaga was enterprising indeed. IMANI programme was not ready to fund a business like selling Napier grass, yet this is what Mama Nyaga was able to do for a living by matching her own skills to survive in such harsh conditions. She was also considered the most poor in the village because she had two mentally challenged children. The medical history of the children was not known. But different Faith-Based Organizations had tried to help her. One such a group was the Holy Ghost Missions in Kenya through Fr. Christy Burke between 1995 and 2002. Fr. Burke would visit the community every weekend to assess the poverty situation there. He had helped organise the group into different needs divisions. They included key departments with people in charge like the health officer under the chairmanship of Mzee Macharia, the education officer led by Mwongela, business development under Phyllis Musau and overall management of the village under Mutuku with his core executive of 6 members.

An interview with Mama Nyaga on behalf of the 54 women (November 20\(^{th}\) 2008)\(^{120}\) went as follows:

**Q.1 Mama Nyaga you have two sick children, you sell Napier grass by the road do you consider yourself poor?**

\(^{119}\) Spring Valley because before coming to the Slaughter House in 1995 they had been living in the rich neighbourhood of Spring Valley in Nairobi. They moved to Kayole Slaughter House when their slum was razed to ashes by fire ‘co-ordinated’ by some rich politician because he wanted to give the piece of land to his daughter. The name gave the women an identity and social capital.

\(^{120}\) Appendix 2, interview L no.2 Fs/IMANI Clients at Kayole Slaughter House November 20\(^{th}\) 2008.
We were seated down by the Chief’s office surrounded by about 20 other women from the
54. Her reaction to the question was very dramatic like the paralytic who had been cured and
now wants the whole world to know. She jumped up and screamed in a strong Kikuyu accent:

(Niangalie, mimi niko na mikono, miguu, macho, hata naweza kucheka, heee
mimi ni msikini kweli?” it translates, “look at me, I have hands, legs, eyes, and I
can entertain others to earn a living, hee! Can I really be poor?

As long as she had these God-given synchronised parts of the body she was not poor. That
was a surprise to all present but they nodded in agreement. How can you have good health
and be in good physical condition and say you are poor?

It also brought the perception that the poor do not want to be called poor. We measure
poverty in terms of material needs which are answered through structural improvements to
create jobs and employment. But for Mama Nyaga, such structures will never give her a job
because of her lack of education.

Q.2 If you see yourself not poor how would you see the village as a whole? You live in a
sewer, surrounded by a slaughter house and many vultures. Is this
good for you?

She thought through the question and asked those standing with her at the Chief’s office
along Kangundo Nairobi Road, “Who can remember the group of Anya from Canada in
1999? What did they do?” She narrated an experience the whole community
had at one time.

In 1999, a well-intentioned organization with missions in Nairobi had come to help them.
They looked around and without much consultation they decided what to buy iron sheets
worth $5000 (Ksh. 435,000). To them the houses looked bad, dirty and made from nylon
paper. Should the rains come the poor people did not have a roof to keep away the rain from
their shelters. They did not even ask Fr. Christy Burke for his opinion yet he had been
working with the group for over 5 years. The team leader whom we learnt later had graduated
from a University in Canada and had been given this first job was very enthusiastic and eager

121 L no.2 Fs/IMANI Clients at Kayole Slaughter House November 20th 2008.
to help them but was quite naive. The following weekend, iron sheets arrived and everyone lined up to get their share. The line-up was well co-ordinated. You got your iron sheets and signed off. One week after receiving the iron sheets, a TV crew from Canada was brought in to the village to record the success of this well-meaning support for the poor. To the surprise of the project leader, there was not a single house which had fixed new iron sheets on any roof. This surprised them very much. The project leader came to Mama Nyaga and asked her why the villagers at the Slaughter House did not fix iron sheets on their paper houses. She replied: “Tangu lini tulikula mabati?,” which translates, “Since when did we eat iron sheets?” The crew got the message. The priorities of the agency and the most significant needs of the poor were not matching. They were operating on two parallel lines. The people living in a land with a sewer passing through the village but on free land were not worried about good homes or fulfilling habitat goals of shelter for all but how to make ends meet on a daily basis. Mama Nyaga said the group left and many others came in to do the same but failed to meet their most significant needs.

Q.3 What would be the most significant change in your life?

In an interview on January 4th 2009, Mama Nyaga answered by looking at her two mentally handicapped children. The son was actually working at the local food kiosk as a waiter and the girl stayed at home all day while she sat by the roadside selling Napier grass and, when possible, some groceries. As long as her children could eat and do what they wanted then she was very happy. The Slaughter House community and the 54 women in the Chama, group, gave her a sense of belonging. The conclusion was that despite living in a slum and in squalor, Mama Nyaga did not see shelter as poverty but her relationship with her friends (neighbour) was what denoted poverty. IMANI was willing to reach out to such people but

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122 Interview 10 appendix 2 on feedback by Mama Nyaga January 4th 2009.
the kind of support offered them was dictated by what the donors thought would be suitable in line with the financial objectives. So, it came out that IMANI management would be the ones in finding out better ways to empower the people but very little on how the poor can advise them or on how they wanted IMANI to serve them. The poor wanted to empower themselves supported by the donor and agency.

For Mama Nyaga, poverty was not about feeling how poor one is but working to overcome it, and that poverty was not necessarily inherited when you have hands, legs and a brain to do things. She had hands, legs and a good mind, why should she be called poor? To her, the poor are those who did not have limbs or were not in a sound state of mind. Our interview took place alongside the road where she was selling Napier grass to those nearby who practised zero grazing in the outskirts of Nairobi. Her definition of poverty was most unexpected but equally challenging to anyone who would meet her face to face. We are used to experts defining poverty for us, not the poor like her.

Q.4. After IMANI helped you, there came a new donor to give you a hand. Could you tell me more about the donor and what you as a community did to improve your livelihood in the slum?

The new helper came into the village and began mobilising them to start a microfinance programme, a school and other interesting enterprises. They thought that through a microfinance programme they could access credit and run enterprises. But in time, they felt inadequate. They had not understood how to trade with money. Training on how to trade with money was lacking. What Sr. Rita and Anne Gakuru did for the women in terms of all-round training was not done for the male youth and men of the village. Therefore, under the new sponsor, the women benefitted most from the credit scheme.

The youth and the men had very little contact with the new sponsor. The distance was another challenge. Those interested could not afford the fare. The school was built for them to
educate their children there and own it. But they claimed that the new sponsor did not allow them to discuss ownership. Their expectations were not matching those of the sponsor. They abandoned the thought of owning the school. In the end, the ex-Spring Valley Kayole group members became disillusioned about the whole idea of an NGO running their affairs when they were used to being in the church and getting free help. Those who were able to organise a merry-go-round which they could manage themselves started supporting each other in running their own skills-focussed, incoming-generating programmes.

Q.5. What was JCP doing to help the Kayole group and other groups in credit lending?

JCP co-ordinator, Eunice Onyango, had this to say about most of the clients they had tried to support. The questions of values and a work ethic were the biggest challenges. The set-back was that groups have been forming but they were only together for the loan. Once the loan has been given they disbanded. The groups saw loans as charity and the fact that IMANI received donor money then they saw their loans as free and theirs (Ni Bure Na Yetu). Of course, if they saw on the news the international community collecting money for tsunami-like needs, they did not see why they should not just be given loans as charity because they were poor. Their group was formed without individual people knowing one another so that they felt suspicious of each other and the group broke up.

6.5 Values and Work Ethic in the Credit Lending Programme

JCP Business advisor, Mr. Kengole, urged CTC and Maria to intensify education on values, where dignity and a hard work ethic prepared them for trading with money. The key lay in the Gospel Living experience where these values were cultivated. The loan disbursement had

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123 See Appendix 2 item L, No 7. FS/IMANI/JCP Coordinator/credit support challenges, January 20th 2009.
124 Bure in Swahili means free and also useless. So the loans are free and useless.
been a tool for encouraging the poor to be more organised and focused in supporting their household livelihoods. Some women had been encouraged to start an enterprise, in order to qualify for a loan because without a clear sign that one can actually run a business that generates income no loans would be disbursed. Once a loan has been given to a client, it was recorded that some of the clients became active because they knew that the credit officer was on the way. JCP field officer knew that some clients would borrow retail shop goods from their friends across the street to show progress in making use of the loan. They were only discovered when the same items were seen on the shelves of two kiosks. CTC discovered the trick late on but there were more tricks known by the officers. 125 However, a better screening system has been put in place where the groups become aware of each other rather than individuals. That means that the loan disbursement in a group makes the group more responsible for each other than in an individual case. Once CTC have come to know the individual hard-working clients this gives them hope and encouragement.

6.6 Relationships Building among the Mlango Kubwa JCP Clients

The expectation of such an IMANI society was that when you start a SME the family too must benefit. The person executing the project was expected to feed his family plus the extended family. That is the sole reason why IMANI thought of a feeding programme for the children and their mothers as a way of balancing between giving enough nutrition to both the mother and the child, while at the same time observing the cultural elements where things were done communally. Therefore, such poor families would be happy being under the IMANI programme, where the mother and children got a free meal per day. But the question

125 Interview M. No.2 FS/05 JCP Business advisor CTC Feedback: December 20th 2009.
was what happened when they went home? We followed one group from Mlango Kubwa which had been supported by IMANI and where the JCP programme was active.

Q.6. What structures were in place to support the clients once they left their daily skill training classes at IMANI?

The community of Mlango Kubwa introduced a new idea which had not been incorporated in the IMANI project: meeting for prayers and ending with a merry-go-round to assist the host family meet their needs, while at the same time investing a certain percentage of money with the IMANI Job Creation Programme so that they could qualify for a loan to operate a social enterprise of their choice. Mlango Kubwa is along Eastleigh Mlango Road, 500 metres from the IMANI headquarters. That same spirit of the community was exhibited in the group in the idea of a ‘merry-go-round’, a popular finance support mechanism among the people of Mlango Kubwa. Therefore, what IMANI exhibited was that there was a lot more to be done in terms of identifying the phenomena the poor were experiencing as poverty. IMANI had found out that three things mattered most to the community: group building and skills training accompanied by spiritual nourishment. The poor and needy require encouragement more than condemnation. The poor need hope more than the expansion of businesses; the poor can become their own protagonists if they live in a community. But Mlango Kubwa was showing that the so-called poor can be even more innovative and get help once the group works together. JCP supported the idea of a ‘merry-go-round’ by giving loans to Mlango Kubwa’s small Christian community. This was chosen as an example of what other groups were doing in Mathare, Bahati, Kariobangi, Jericho, Jogoo Road Market, and in the Mukuru area. Most banks do not fund merry-go-rounds but JCP supported the idea.
6.7 Donor and Agency Policy Support to Clients

Q.7. Do you think you can influence the donor and the agency (like IMANI) to listen to you and serve your needs?

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From the analysis above, 12% felt they can influence the top decision making unit in IMANI. 54.5% were not convinced.

A follow-up question was asked about JCP as a credit provider. JCP under IMANI was treated as a donor and scrutinised by 33 clients across the groups they support, whether it imposed on the clients on what the credit should support. The results were as follows: 69.7% agreed that JCP had a big hand on how funds were to be released and given to support the actual need requested by the client.

Q.8. Does JCP impose policies on you or no credit to you if you do not abide?

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JCP gave out loans but had to have security for them. Because the clients were poor, the assessment looked at what the household had in form of the kind of assets of the individual. They would ask if the client had a radio, TV, or anything the loan could be attached to. This qualified a client to a loan. Then the client would be asked to open a bank account for the cheque to be processed and for any future monthly deductions. When they defaulted, the items held as security would be sold. But again, selling someone’s radio to collect back the loan did not go down well with the clients who felt as a Faith-Based Organization, CTC should operate differently from established groups like Faulu Kenya, K-REP and KWFT.

In an interview with a JCP co-ordinator and sent by email on February 2nd 2009, the following data helped to clarify the success and support given to Clients JCP as an agency:

Reginald, Here is the information I am able to provide. Total number of clients trained in business management over 8 years is about 2,400 while those who received loans are about 1700. Savings started with group credit in 2001 and by Dec 2008 it was about Ksh.700,000. Total amount transferred to the revolving fund over the years is kshs.6,366,000. Disbursement over the years is in the tables attached. 

The analysis shows that JCP was not just giving out loans but also co-ordinating training in management of the enterprises. Over 2400 clients came for training between 2001 and 2008. Another total of 1700 were clients who came for training because they were connected to JCP through a previous loan they had acquired and who now asked to be trained in the same period 2001- 2008.

6.7.1 Kayole Youth Group Feedback

The youth of Kayole were interviewed too about their feedback on the data about their poverty. What did they see as gaps in the data presented?

126 Interview M. No.7. Fs/ JCP Coordinator/ email sent on February 2nd 2009.
Q. 9 What did you see as significant to your own well-being that you missed from the presentation?

Mwangi had agreed to call together the local youth living around the Slaughter House and discuss the findings about their poverty. Mwangi, the chairman of the Kayole ex-Spring Valley Youth group, chaired the meeting assisted by the Joshua the Mokorino on January 2nd 2009. Joshua was not originally supported by IMANI nor was he living there since the group moved from Loresho Spring Valley in 1995 to the Slaughter House. Mwangi was the original member of the youth group from Loresho. He was 19 years old when the fire gutted their slum located in Spring Valley surrounded by homes of very rich people. The USA Ambassador’s residence was located nearby, while diplomats from missions working in Kenya, and the cabinet ministers all lived across the sprawling ridge. There was not much done to help the male youth apart from the CTC project which had recruited less than 10 in 1999. Those who went to CTC Centre in Mukuru Kwa Njenga did not complete the course because of the distance and lack of fares. Those who went through the few months to CTC were able to put to use their skills in masonry, carpentry, and plumbing, welding, scaffolding and digging in a quarry. They formed their own company of ex-Spring Valley Youth that scoured for work in construction in the Slaughter House slum. IMANI embarked on supporting the girls acquire some skills. At the Kayole Youth Combined Meeting, Mwangi and Joshua Mokorino were to lead the partnership. The youth were anxious about getting quick money and leading a good life. In the meeting, the youth came up with new proposals to seek donor support and also to collaborate with existing youth groups in order to learn more from them. They had already contacted Mr. Aggrey Kere from Riruta Environmental Group (REG) who agreed to help where necessary. REG was an experienced youth

127 Appendix 2 item F. No.17 Fs/IMANI Kayole/youth led by Mwangi & Joshua the Mokorino on January 2nd 2009.
environmental group that raised income from collecting garbage at a fee. They were involved in recycling- paper, plastic bags, bottles, as a co-operative idea. Mr. Kere was recognised by the local environmental authority called NEMA. He acted as secretary general of NEMA Riruta division. His vast experience took him to Asia, the Atlantic and Europe. But the question for the youth was how they would make use of this opportunity in looking for better means to empower themselves economically.

6.7.3 Chaminade Training Centre (CTC) at the Centre of the Community

The various leaders in the community found that CTC was an important centre that promoted human development activities in the region. A baraza was attended by the area chief, sub-chief, city of Nairobi councillors for the various wards, political party zone leaders, village elders, church leaders, imams, women group leaders and opinion leaders and school chairpersons. The leaders explained that the interconnectedness of the Mukuru slums went back to 1980 when a few people settled in the Kwa-Matayo area on the banks of the Ngong River. These people were formerly working in the sisal plantation nearby. Over the years, the slum expanded tremendously giving rise to various villages in the neighbourhood of the industrial area. The young people who came in from the rural homes to look for work asked to join CTC to facilitate the process of finding work faster. CTC is part of the industrial area of Nairobi covering Embakasi and Makadara Constituencies. The slums of Mukuru comprise various villages namely Mukuru kwa Njenga, Kware, Sinai Lungalunga, Mukuru kwa Reuben and Kaiyaba. The Eastlands area borders Machakos in the Eastern province and their clients have spread out to other slums from 10 kms to 30 kms away like Ngomongo in Korogocho area, Dandora, Kayole and Embakasi. They established the place of CTC in the

128 NEMA stands for National Environmental Management Authority. It oversees all concerns with the environment.
community. Removing CTC from any of their activities would be like cutting the umbilical cord that gave life to whole community. It would crumble.\footnote{Appendix 2 item L. No.6 FS/IMANI/Mukuru leaders monthly meeting, November 24\textsuperscript{th} 2008.}

All these leaders met monthly in the local development committee to discuss concerns CTC was directly involved in besides IMANI. It means that donors would not be ready to give money for these activities to IMANI unless IMANI came up with a different programme targeting the needs mentioned by the leaders. Yet, each leader thanked CTC management for training and supporting community programmes. These are some of the key areas for CTC at Mukuru:

Helping with political issues in the community has been recognised as mandatory because the residents were highly political with almost all parties having membership in the area. Currently a large section of the population is affiliated to the ruling coalition, NARC. The leading political parties have offices and active youth groups in the area. Youths affiliated to the ruling party collaborate with the administration in the demarcation of plots and distribution of materials in times of fire outbreaks or any other calamity affecting the community. Rivalry among different political parties leads to skirmishes among the residents. CTC has been selected as a centre for reconciliation and peace building. It has also helped leaders learn skills of good governance and community cohesion.

Mukuru Kwa Njenga is a poverty-stricken area. Most of the people get only casual jobs in the industries where they are paid meagrely. There are petty traders selling various items mostly from the black market. Others engage in the sale of illicit brew. They recognise the importance of CTC in teaching good values among the people which focus more on running enterprises and investment rather than drinking everything away. The slum has now grown and if you visit it in 2008 and look back in 2006 when the survey started there were big differences. The culture of enterprise had spread among the local community. The students
emphasized the importance of guardians and their continued presence in the CTC programme.

Q.10 What did the students think of the findings about CTC and what needed to be improved? After attending a chief’s baraza meeting where local leaders met to discuss issues affecting their communities, 6 CTC students from catering, carpentry, dressmaking, electrical and 2 JCP clients were interviewed. This is what they said.\footnote{Appendix 2 item L. No.5 Fs/IMANI Clients in Mukuru Kwa Njenga: January 1\textsuperscript{st}, 10\textsuperscript{th} 2009.}

a) The role of guardians to the students was neglected. Apart from the graduation ceremony there has been neither time when the guardians were invited to play a role in the running of CTC nor to challenge the skills training programme offered by CTC.

b) There was an absence of exposure for the catering students as they learn cookery. They wanted to visit Utalii Training College, a big hotel like Norfolk, Hilton Hotel and to get internships in competitive restaurants etc.

c) The interconnectedness of CTC with surrounding regions meant that there was a huge catchment area for CTC students to attend class every day from as far as Dandora (25 km away on foot). CTC needed to think of providing transport in the form of a minibus to pick them up and drop them back home. They could build new centres closer to their living quarters in the villages. They requested Maria House and CTC open centres in Dandora.

d) Students were not well informed about what JCP does. There was also very little information on what role JCP plays in Chaminade.

e) The electrical student present said that as a class they preferred to further their skills immediately after graduation since CTC was giving them a grade 3 certificate rather than a grade 1 which most Form 4 students qualify for. They required a grade 2 and grade 1 certificate as well as a diploma to become more marketable in their job search.
CTC coordinator, Frederick Njoroge, was asked to respond to some of the challenges posed. He responded that the electrical students were accurate in their request because it was true that you needed grade 2 and grade 1 certificates as well as a diploma to become more marketable. Their biggest challenge was to get a good balance in the class where you mix Form 4 (secondary school graduates) with Primary 8 drop-outs. While you want to show love and commitment to the neighbour there has to be a separation of the two student groups. However, that would affect the morale, confidence and unity in the school:

We prefer keeping together to bring the gospel value of being a good neighbour to the other. It means supporting the weak and encouraging the strong to be good to their weak in academic neighbours. This is a unique virtue that we must promote all the time. It is enshrined in the Marianist principles of life. A community that cares for the weak.\footnote{Appendix 2 item M. No.5 interview with CTC Co-ordinator January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009.}

The second challenge CTC based on meeting needs was finding entry points into the community. According to Frederick:

Our clients who used to come here to be assisted, mostly mothers, used to come with half-baked truths. Some of the mothers used to come for help and would advise fellow mothers that when they came here they should say this and that. When they used to come here for help we could not tell who was telling the truth. So John and I and the coordinator, Mr. Njoroge had to go and find out where the truth lay. We experienced one time a situation where a woman claimed to have killed her husband but it was not true, others needed help in cash. They might even say: ‘Ooh bwana wangu’ (My husband has been killed and I have this kind of a problem. But when you go there to ask the neighbours they tell you: Ooh apana, huyu mama ana bwana wake (Oh no, she has her husband and does not deserve any help!! We do not just assist. We assist only after confirming that the case is really needy.

Interviewer asked Q.11. “How do you deal with such cases when they arise?”
Fredrick answered: ‘We counsel them, we listen to their story, we meet several times before helping them. We do not just look at the case and assist. We would meet the case several times until the case shows seriousness in the type of help requested.’ A good example is reported in Appendix 2 case 3. This is a sad story where a woman lost her child from water burns in her house. Fredrick narrated this sad story:

Kerothi (not her real name) is married and had 3 children but one passed away. As she explained why she came for help she broke down in tears when she told the panel how the child died. That she was boiling water on a kerosene cooking stove ‘jiko.” The children ran and knocked themselves onto the hot water spilling it on themselves. The baby was badly burnt beyond 70 percent. The kid died and she walked from her residence in Dandora, 25 km away to come to CTC for help. The coordinator and his team visited her and gave the necessary help. Since then the woman had been coming to CTC for counselling. She has entered the skills training to help her support her remaining children.

The CTC as a centre encourages self-determination, relationship building and a community that loves their neighbour. The same spirit of the founders of the Marianist brothers was being manifested in the programme supported by the main mission as reflected in the Magnificat in Luke 1:26-39. But the participants also have a problem. When you ask the mothers, ‘Please plan your family, in these days you need to bring up children you can support.’ They still come back with the 8th and 10th child. They are educated on HIV/AIDS but some of the clients react negatively. According to Frederick, they wonder what their children would eat if they do not get active in their sexual habits. They want to look good like other women by looking for things that matter to them like a ring, a necklace, shoes, and scarves. The material needs control their daily habits so they block the efforts by the social worker to give them sustainable living.

CTC had embarked on publicity of the HIV/AIDS programme through the social office by sending out pamphlets to social service centres, such as church group meetings, the chief’s barazas (chief’s meetings normally called to solve weekly disputes) and by advertising in
local newspapers and newsletters and whenever there is an opportunity at any political gathering in the slums.

In conclusion, the question on how did Frederick and CTC handled ‘naive’ needs of the women and instil in them a moral discipline in the group, the following stood out. According to Frederick, the women would wonder what their children would eat if they did not get active in their sexual habits. The desire to see their children have a better life and material needs control their daily habits. These desires block any efforts by the social worker to provide them with sustainable living. However, following the Marianist spirituality of community building and support to each other like Mary went out of her way to help Elizabeth during her pregnancy CTC had embarked on groups formation, using gospel living and rich examples from other role models who walked similar lives of self discipline and succeeded. The social worker is a well trained counsellor and well exposed. He applied a holistic model in his work. Counselling combined with skills development. CTC tried to offer short courses that could bring income to the table faster than normal courses. For example, they were exploring starting glass melting programme to make ash trays, cups, glasses and floor decorations from melted wine bottles.

6.8 Feedback from the 2 Kitui Case Studies

Q.12. Do you as clients have a say on what you want to do under the Mwenda Andu programme or the have the leaders become active like any other agency?

The table below shows the findings from the 33 cluster leaders under Mwenda Andu. Those who agreed that they were allowed to voice what they wanted without much interference by the management were 36.4% while 63.6% said they did not have a voice in making decisions about what they wanted to do.
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They gave some examples about the farmers involved in crop production who do not benefit from what they produce in terms of profits. One reason for this is the low selling prices after harvest against the sky-rocketing prices a farmer experiences in purchasing food once it has been kept by the buyers (middle-men). Each farmer would like to have a greater say on how to store food and also to keep some for the market. But the challenges of control are even beyond what Mwenda Andu can do. At harvest, a kilogram of green grams sells at Ksh. 30 per kg to a middle man but the same farmer goes to purchase the same one kilogram during the drought period when food is scarce at Ksh. 90.00 per kilogram. This in itself is exploitation and the farmer’s livelihood may not improve at all. How can they control this situation? They see it as a challenge in all situations including other crops and fruits. If we take Esther Mwangangi (the first client in the table above), she works hard to make Ksh. 19,800 per harvest but will spend Ksh. 34,000 trying to buy the same food she produces at double the normal price. They want Mwenda Andu to help the smallholder farmers cost their household needs and produce from the farm while at the same time they do not want control.

6.8.1 Project Effectiveness

The clients of Mwenda Andu addressed poverty through the project. The leaders and smallholder farmers have found ways of working together to complement their efforts. They
both aim to improve on the work already going on and perhaps tap the talents found in the community project from the leaders or the local people. They have embarked on common activities as follows:

1. Dairy farming that involves cows and goats
2. Horticulture that deals with tissue bananas, pawpaw, oranges and vegetables of different kinds
3. Crop productions, including improved techniques on maize, beans, cowpeas, pigeon peas, and green grams. Water conservation, including the sinking of boreholes, rain-water harvesting, terracing and road water catchments (directing running water during rains to *shambas*)
4. Development of greenhouses in key areas where drought is rampant
5. The extraction of fruit juice for sale now finding a market in Nairobi.

### 6.8.2 Household Extra Activities for Grandparents

Households have been encouraged to make money from other sources. With the collaboration with KICABA the following artefacts are made for the tourist market: hand bangles, bracelets and chains, all made at home. Kitui Town has traditionally bought goods from Nairobi, but now they believe that development is when they can ‘export goods’ to Nairobi.

### 6.8.3 Project Training

Project leaders and owners had to go through constant training to adapt to changes taking place around them. The cluster leaders believe that their youth were in too much of a hurry to make quick money. The turnover of youth remaining in the village to help with farming and organise themselves is high. Their destination is the city of Nairobi or Mombasa in search of work. Some leave, some remain in the project. December is when the sales have been made
and they come together to share money. They leave for Nairobi or other towns. But by January they return to the village to work on the farm again. The leaders welcome them back with open arms. Two projects have been set up to help the youth who want to empower themselves economically in the community under the names of Ushindi and Kivuli.132

1. **Ushindi Group**: The success of the project can be seen in the Ushindi Group with the production of milk, bananas, passion fruits and pawpaw.

2. Mangoes grow wild in most areas, but now families have domesticated them. They have bought machines for making juice from mangoes.

3. The group is waiting for installation tanks, pipes (water pumps) and electricity supply to enable them to bring water closer to the people.

4. Resource management, including learning how to manage farming and working with budgets.

5. Tree grafting to get a better variety has been encouraged, especially in the youth project. As well as cattle and goat rearing and training on how to improve quality.

6. Savings and credit are now being taken for development.

Two distinct groups have emerged among cluster leaders, namely Umoja and Kivuli. Togetherness or *Umoja* was an important word in the group. The youth worked in sand dams or *mingeeto* as a livelihood but also as a way of helping to drain rivers. There was a light moment when *mingeeto* was mentioned because they found this a big source of income. But it also meant a tin for holding local brew ‘*changaa*’. In the context of cluster leaders, *mingeeto* meant how they try to solve the water problem.

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132 Ushindi translates as “winning, aspiring for success”. Kivuli translates as “a shadow under which others find comfort”. As Kitui can be very hot throughout the year, the Kivuli Group offers comfort and hope to the youth.
Kivuli Group has the following projects in place within Mwenda Andu: cattle and goats; savings and credit facilities; fruit juice production; and youth projects. They follow the same approach as the Ushindi group, supported by Mwenda Andu.

6.8.4 Challenges faced by Smallholders

The district is one of the poorest in the country dictated by the poor climatical conditions, erratic and unreliable rainfall, long droughts and frequent famine.

Only 2% of the District land has a high potential for agriculture while on the other hand, 80% of the population depends on subsistence farming as their sole source of family income.

The District, therefore, experiences a food deficit and for many years has been referred to as a relief zone. The population of the District is slightly more than ½ a million (1999 census) with more than 60% below age 25 years, an indication that this is a young population composed of more consumers than producers. They recognised that many of their people (65%) of the above population live below the poverty line (living on less than one dollar per person per day) and the majority of the families cannot afford one balanced meal per day.

There has been since independence (40 years ago) many N.G.Os working in the area to alleviate poverty with huge funding and yet very little is realized on the ground as far as the community is concerned. In the same period, many organizations have tried to help the community in poverty reduction and from the general observation, people believe (trust) more in the Faith-Based Organizations (CFBOs) than the “secular” N.G.O.s since they seem, as the community says it “down to earth”, more human and flexible in accommodating the community proposals in what they see as their needs.
The survey was carried out when the Mwenda Andu community had been dissatisfied with input from “outside” and there had been a lot of community re-organization to seek ways to bring about change on their own. They have realized that their collective wisdom can help a lot to bring about development. Therefore, information gathering was based on small group discussions, the majority of which was with CFBOs. Small groups’ free discussions have helped in the flow of information and the sharing that goes beyond what can be written on paper (tapes record the information). Other challenges experienced by the cluster leaders were as follows:

1. Fruit trees were bought but many withered away because people were not familiar with them and the soil could not hold them. The trees were strange to the environment.

2. How to deal with impatience. People want to get the cow today and milk tomorrow. If not they get discouraged and run away.

3. Marketing juice is a big problem. Poor machines and a lack of skills to do it well.

4. Sunflower machines which were inadequate. Also, some seeds were not good.

Follow-up questions to know why church-led projects make people more committed made the following points:

a) ‘Anything in the name of God is successful’. There is the fear of God in all they do. They fear not being loving and having merciful feelings for other people.

b) NGOs do not give accountability to funds like church-based groups. There is always a sitting allowance, fuel allowance, sleeping allowance etc.

c) God-fearing people have a certain openness, which means they look at the person’s development, think of the other person and share gifts equally.
d) Jesus as the focus in the group. Leaders are seen as true witnesses of the Gospel of Christ and truth.

The group agreed unanimously that they were one group and the chairlady was just a co-ordinator of the group. They valued experience and commitment to the values of the community rather than politicising the post of the co-ordinator.

They would continue to reflect using Johari’s Window and any new ideas that can make them more united in their own mission objectives. The group has a table describing how they intended to acquire new knowledge and work for they call Johari’s Window:

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<td>Known to self and others</td>
<td>Unknown to self but known to others</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hidden</th>
<th>Glories in revelation, experience</th>
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<tr>
<td>Known to you but not sharing</td>
<td>Dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown to self and others.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.8.5 Reasons why they are disillusioned about getting Help from other Agencies

The group claimed that many reputable NGOs had been working in the district for over 30 years. There is very little to show what they did to alleviate poverty. They felt disappointed that they had spent valuable time depending on these organizations to help them whilst the NGOs were busy using them as a bridge to self-enrichment. One cluster leader lamented as the others nodded:

Look at the project managers, the kind of cars they drive, the houses they have built for themselves. Why are they doing so well and we so badly? Why did they not help us reach where they are? We thank God for Mwenda Andu. Our eyes are open and we shall succeed…
The group experienced an exaggeration of figures. The project leaders gave an example that explained there was a water tank built in Mutomo where they recorded using 300 bags of cement while actually only 52 bags were used. The NGOs staff received big sums of money, with huge salaries ranging from Ksh.200,000 to 300,000 per month compared to their needs and at times claim that they spent Ksh.1 million on fuel when they did nothing to help the people.\textsuperscript{133} So the Church comes in to show the way projects should be run. After going through many interviews and data analyses, the question that needed to be addressed was what makes CFBOs more credible in terms of performance in project service delivery? The answers were as follows:

1. The free-sharing and involvement of a community in decision-making makes them more transparent in each activity and helps to avoid corruption.
2. Love for the poor and people in general, keeps CFBOs focused on the human person keeping faith as it pertains to direct benefits where they are due.
3. Prayers and action (dedication) for human development inspire them to be a life witness in keeping the word of God alive through service to the community.
4. Social teachings of the churches help them practice equality, volunteerism and work for the common good.
5. In/Enculturation of the word of God in their daily activities.

\textbf{6.8.6 NGO Interference and Change of Name}

Since conducting the interviews between 2006 and 2009 the name Mwenda Andu has changed to Mwenda Andu Ikanesa (meaning Mwenda Andu of the Church). It came about

\textsuperscript{133} $1 = \text{Ksh.85}$; $\text{Ksh.200,000} = \$2400$; $\text{Ksh.300,000}$ is about £3,500 per month.
when the development arm of the diocese decided to register Mwenda Andu as an NGO. The original leaders were removed and a team of professionals put in their place.

However, after some time, the original members felt they were not being served as well as before. They re-grouped and registered a new organization with the same objectives as the original Mwenda Andu. The co-ordinator of Mwenda Andu, Mrs. Mary Wambua, said in a feedback interview that towards the end of 2010 they realised that registering Mwenda Andu as an NGO lost its value and purpose to the local community. The fear from Mwenda Andu, Mary explained, was that the NGO will elevate the elites who in turn would ask for more money and introduce new models which would alienate them from their work. In their case the NGO had become a profit-making enterprise rather than a community service entity. The elite took charge and removed the beneficiaries from running the project with the assumption that they could bring more value to the people of Wikiliye.

The lesson from the above in relation to the four themes is that NGOs are usually well intended but they focus on their goals rather than what the community see as MSC. NGOs use experts who do not allow participation in the processes of change. And even if they allow participation, it is a participation which is directed by experts. By doing that the voice of the poor does not come out, they do not help build wellbeing and capabilities among them clients and dismiss any chance of developing a holistic community built around gospel values of helping the neighbour. The challenge to Mwenda Andu was that as an FBO they would succumb to what the donor wants and then lose the project. They did not wish that to happen, but the chances were that the donor would dictate what they should do.
6.9 Interviews with KICABA Clients on MSC

The feedback from KICAB brought in new dimensions about the cultural heritage and concept of the circle and the centre. The ontological interpretation of the true meaning of development was revealed through an interaction with the traditional dancers and grandparents-led households. They felt that the idea of development should have been community-centred as if they worked traditionally.

6.9.1 Community Ontology and Organizational Structures

Two reflections emerged from the data collected when using the qualitative method of research. The findings on the organizational structures helped bring out a deeper theological and ethical argument on the place of man in development. This extra dimension came from Patrick Kutu, who introduced the concept of the centre and the circle to understand how the community in Kitui looked at each other as a large family instead of just being individuals. Kutu explained that it came from their community ontology about the centre being left for God and everyone else sitting in the circle symbolising teamwork. In the circle, there is no gender or class. The chief and the spiritual leaders are part of the circle because the focus is not on them as the centre is left for God.

The illustration below shows the top-down organizational structure used by development agencies. Most agencies would argue that man was the centre of development. In Kitui, the reflection was on the circular structure which presents God as the centre of the community life. Therefore, development is about a shared relationship in the community by everyone bringing resources to the centre. Mr. Kutu used the Acts of the Apostles type of model as the best illustration where people learnt to share things in common. The shared relationship is depicted by a circular model. The difference between the Kamba idea of a relationship shared by the community and a secular idea of organizational structure is illustrated:
The three diagrams illustrate an important concept among the people of Kitui that explains why a circular representation of development makes everyone equal than when it is top-down. What has been observed is that FBOs tend to follow the popular secular view that man is the centre of development. From a faith perspective, the agency would have to re-examine their position vis-à-vis the client in question.

**6.9.2 Importance of the Centre and the Circle in Kamba Ontology**

The interviewees of Kitui added that the causes of poverty can be explained from the society’s epistemological and ontological mindset because their poverty is affected by certain behaviour patterns found within their own community worldview. Part of their poverty was caused from the understanding about the differences between the centre of ‘the circle’ and being on the edge of the
circle. The ethical question is defined when the centre of the circle is occupied by an individual person instead of God in the community where there is bound to be greed, corruption and disconnection of relationships between God, people and society. Chapter 7 elaborates more on this discussion. Therefore, for Patrick Kutu, a research respondent, the Kamba of Kitui group ontology is based on the notion of the circle which generates relationships. Helping the other person less privileged and in poverty is a community intrinsic good that must be done by all people. It is reflected from the centre of the circle which inspires their development.

How did this affect the perception of the causes of poverty in the community? Mr. Kutu thought that the Kamba cultural understanding of the causes of poverty combined well with the Christian worldview. The ethical understanding is that when God is the centre of the community everyone works for the other by sharing things in common. When man is the centre of development the chances are that the individual person will accumulate wealth individually rather than be part of the wider circle of relations with the focus being the centre. The collective nature of development in this case supports the overriding view that to eradicate poverty is a communal, group responsibility and effort because ‘man does not exist on his own’ in any society but for each other.\(^{134}\) If man was at the centre of every development programme, then it would contradict not just the Kamba community ethos but also Christian and other religious beliefs. ‘If the individual took the centre of the circle,’ says Kutu, this could ‘imply possessing the community and taking control of all the resources’. He gives an African ontology that places the community unified interdependently around God:

\textit{Reginald, the Kamba homes are rounded with walls made of mud and sticks or unburned bricks. Traditionally they were thatched houses with a central pole holding}

\(^ {134}\) Karl Barth (1886-1968) discusses his theocentric thinking of development when critiquing the popular belief rife in 1950s and 1960s that ‘man was the centre of development’ instead of God. Karl Barth Centre Princeton Theological Seminary Conference paper On June 22-25, 2008 discussed various reflections on Karl Barth’s virtue of an analogia relationis between God and humanity, the shape of the Christian life that puts Christ in the centre of life. \url{http://www.ptsem.edu/library/barth/obedience/cited} April 15th 2014.
the centre of the house which symbolises the power of God protecting the house.\textsuperscript{135} This pole is called ‘Kitui kya ua’ meaning the pole from which the strength of the house is held. Everything to the Kamba is associated with God. Daily work, entertainment, socialisation; there is always fear and respect for God. At the bottom of the centre pole is the fire place with the three stones with one protecting the centre pole from fire. It is also the cooking area. This spirit builds a very humble community. The Kamba say ‘Kasele katune katunivaswa ni kunengelanilwe’, that is a shared calabash turns (the skin) brown (inner growth) and brown is beautiful! This tells it all about sharing in the community.\textsuperscript{136}

The format of a round house is also the design for sitting in the chief's baraza. The chief who sits in this circle has authority but he is one part of the big circle. All rules were made by the community in the presence of the chief and his advisors. The centre is left for God…’

\textbf{6.9.3 Circle and the Centre Development Ethics}

Mr. Kutu was well versed with the understanding of the Kamba Community thinking on development. He had been inspired by Kaleli (1985)\textsuperscript{137} who wrote his thesis on Kamba ontology as a theological reflection to show contradictions in development when based on a different worldview. The question one asks in response to this is whether the agencies have concentrated too much on fulfilling their own mission objectives and forgotten the mission objectives of the clients they have come to serve. What baffles us now after looking at the challenges faced when placing the agency in the centre of the circle or outside is how well-meaning agencies do not work according to the mission of the poor but to what the donor dictate as policies. So then, is the project leadership part of the circle, inside the circle, on top

\textsuperscript{135} That process created contradictions in reflecting on local culture against unworkable foreign culture. A good example is noted by Mutiso (1975), on the type of house being built to alter local ontological thinking ‘…if children were to sleep at home and live a Christian life, he must have a house with two rooms instead of one. If he was to read his bible, his house must have windows to admit light, and therefore its shape must be square and not conical, nor could he afford to rebuild it every five years to meet the needs of shifting cultivation. If his children were educated he must learn to do without their services on the farm and yet earn enough to pay their fees. Again to pay the government tax and his church title he must have ready money; and if he was not to leave his family to work on a railway or plantation, he must produce not only for himself but for the market’ (Mutiso, 1975, p. 20; see Nettl and Robertson, 1968).

\textsuperscript{136} Case 8 Kitui on Ontology of the Kamba on union with God and working for each other. Patrick Kutu interview results sent on June 20th 2010.

or below the circle? Mwenda Andu programme people in Kitui agreed with the findings from Kayole but added that *uongozi* (leadership) alone was not enough. It had to come from the community, by the community, for the community. They felt that creating a director would violate their own community mindset. A co-ordinator fitted in well with their traditional setting, where everything was shared in common with the chief as leader and organiser of the village. Consequently, the differences between the poor and those without formal education were very minimal indeed. The reason was that their community ethos tended to regard all people as being the same: the educated, the poor, the well-off, the materially poor, men and women, the chief and the Member of Parliament, the bishop and the priest: all are treated as part of the circle.

![Diagram]

The centre was left for God and all people work for each other because they seek the good for the other or are punished. Evil came into the community when an individual took the centre for himself. Mwenda Andu and KICABA were struggling to keep the Kamba development ideology balanced with what development agencies wanted based on the UNDP’s HDI and the World Bank’s absolute poverty measurements. The two agencies in Kitui discovered that perhaps neither income nor HDI were the most fundamental points for their own holistic development. Building on values that gave the community proper identity brought about concern for the poor, the marginalised, the illiterate and the rebellious. Any NGO coming in with such a different mentality would sincerely miss the most fundamental development ethos of the Kamba community. It was also important that the programmes did not see
building children-holding centres as good for the long-term development of the community. Their own alternative was helping orphans through their cluster leaders system.

Most development agencies giving support for community building were still looking at foster homes, as they had worked in the Western world. But the Kitui community felt that the good values of the community would be lost in such a system. Here was a model geared towards creating individuals who would succeed and become new elites far removed from society and thinking of their own immediate families than when argued within the context of the centre and the circle. Such an elite would expand as the middle class without a strong moral connection to the very society they belong to. The social capital gained from Mwenda Andu and KICABA is focused on getting training, staying with people who cared and the extended families contributing to their welfare. A brother, sister, uncle and aunt would see it as their obligation to serve the members of the family, because they do not see themselves as individuals cut off from wider society but as part of the support team. Their earnings and contributions are not demanded by the society but help is expected of them. This is significant when looking at MDGs that have been built around the elevation of the individual and expansion of the middle class rather than the community one comes from.

6.9.4 Conclusion

The chapter has contrasted how different agencies try to assist the poor. In defining the effectiveness of each programme, the central question was about how clients responded to the intervention offered. From the feedback responses, we picked out fundamental questions why well-intentioned agencies were still not able to initiate a better participatory approach to poverty and identify the most significant change their clients needed. IMANI Kayole Slaughter House group had started off well by identifying skills’ development as the key to
their economic empowerment. But that alone did not remove the most urgent conflict management problem in the group. Once the conflict aspects would be resolved the community would find reason to work towards each other’s well-being. Chapter 7 gives an account of this significant finding.
Chapter 7 Data Analysis and Observations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the application of the four themes in the thesis. This has been strengthened by the data analysis that revealed the perception of poverty based on what one sees. There was a tendency to believe that what one donor sees as poverty can be deceptive without finding entry points into the community’s ontological framework to analyse what the community describes as poverty. It did not matter so much whether the agency in question was faith-based or secular. Studies do not show why experts also need better lenses to observe the major causes of poverty. Moreover that perception can be deceptive is one of the main findings of this study.

7.2 Examples of how Clients viewed their own Poverty

The data analysis from the Kayole Slaughter House community indicated how far the results were from the outsider’s viewpoint of poverty. Different organizations came with the intention of helping the people meet their basic needs for shelter, health amenities and education. However, because there was no consultation through an organized community participation structure, the donor who bought them iron sheets worth $5000 turned out to be ineffective a week later. In reference to an earlier narrative by Mama Nyaga in chapter 6, we learnt about the wrong perception of the poverty of the slum dwellers from the outsider point of view. All indicators were that without understanding how to co-ordinate a participatory inquiry into challenges faced by the people in need, one can end up making wrong assumptions about their problems. For instance, to the aid worker the houses looked bad,
dirty and flimsy. Should the rains come the poor people who have not a roof to keep away the rain from their shelters. But when he did not see the new iron sheets on any of the roofs he was much perplexed. The villagers answered him in the words of Mama Nyaga who replied “Tangu lini tulikula mabati?,” which translates, “Since when did we eat iron sheets?” 138

The second example was based on the transition of the Society of Mary from a leading formal education teaching agency to a community-based informal training programme between 1979 and 1985. The Society of Mary was founded IMANI in 1986 but IMANI as a programme was run independently of the Society of Mary. The IMANI programme was sponsored by Misereor, the Society of Mary and to a small extent the Catholic Relief Services (CRS).

During their Lusaka Declaration Conference (1979), they thought of moving into communities and giving ecclesiastical support. The aim of the Lusaka Declaration (1979) was to strengthen and implant the Society’s activities in Africa through a mission transition that would help in nurturing their main vision of a spirit of ‘man who never dies’ (Chaminade’s vision of Marianists). The routine offer of catechism classes did not help to reflect on the social gospel that the immediate community was experiencing in their backyard.

According to Brother Timothy, the 1976 Society of Mary General Chapter in Rome laid the foundation for discernment and reflection on the changing times. Their new call was to answer to the marginalised, the poor and needy in society. IMANI became a symbol of the continuous reflection by the society on what it meant serving the lowly in society and lifting them to higher places. 139 But the seminarians were not prepared for the new experience which led to the programme they later came to call IMANI. They were thinking in line with their routine training they had received while in the seminary of giving catechism classes to the

138 Interview L. No. 2. Fs/IMANI clients/Mama Nyaga at Kayole Slaughter House November 21st 2008.
139 Interview on May 26th 2006.
poor, preparing them for sacraments and working through the Sunday liturgy with an
organized choir. This was what their mission entailed. It was a weekly working formula.140

But in the same Kinyago Community, there lived a very angry group of women who sought a
good life and not a simplified version of a Gospel when their lives were a misery. However,
the CORAT Report 1994 and Brother Timothy Phillips in Rome May 24th 2006 had given an
account of how Brother Peter Daino had seen a foetus into the river in a plastic bag as he
crossed the Kinyago Bridge. His eyes were opened from this Damascene experience. He
started leading the women in a self-reflective inquiry into the actions that made one of them
throw the unborn into the river. Many questions were running through his mind as he looked
at the foetus.141 To the women this was a normal thing. Why was Brother Peter bothered
anyway?

According to Brother Timothy, during the same interview in Rome (May 24th 2006), the
Brothers had not found entry points into the culture and mindset of the community. They had
assumed the needs of their flock by teaching and offering sacraments without discerning their
most significant needs. Their seminary training had created the impression that they could
feel the suffering of the poor without learning their hidden feelings. Many years later, IMANI
staff members were not learning from past experience in fine tuning their methods of
perceiving who was in greater need of help. This experience called for a better participatory
methodology on what affects and empowers the client to avoid situations of perceived
deception. The conclusion helped make a review of gaps found in the case studies from the
four themes.

140 Interview with Brother Timothy Phillips, SM, on May 24th 2006 at the Marianist Generalate in Rome.
141 The thought of ‘bones’ coming to life (Ezekiel 37), the thought of new life being born from a dead seed (John
12: 23-24), the resurrection of Jesus (John 20:8). New breath was blown into the understanding of mission and
human development. They had gone through the Elijah experience of earthquake, fire, storms to a gentle breeze
(1Kings 19:1-18). The breeze was the silence of the foetus, floating quietly in the murky waters of the Nairobi
River. Where was this real voice calling all to action?
### 7.3 Application of the Four Themes

The Table below summarizes the 4 Themes as applied in the 4 Case Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Case study 1 Imani</th>
<th>Case study 2 K-REP</th>
<th>Case study 3 Mwenda Andu</th>
<th>Case study 4 KICABA</th>
<th>Feedback</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Popular Participatory Methodologies p.15</td>
<td>Tended to be top down in management, but in counselling better participation, home visits, report writing, weekly meetings, organized drama to pass message of hope, long and short term skills development, credit lending after discussion not clear.</td>
<td>Clients not satisfied at levels of participation, they ask to discern their MSC needs rather than K-REP's mission needs. Conflict of interest between what clients want and what K-REP wants to fulfil its mission.</td>
<td>Before 30 years they were dependent on NGOs and no water was found. Coordinator was starting to work then. But in 2003 through a church led workshop they got empowered and started group insertions on their own needs. This has created high level participation. Decide in the fate of children’s future under cluster leaders. (10-15 households).</td>
<td>- determined already by giving credit+education+ski -ils development through a popular approach. Together decide on the market and encourage cultural education as part of kicaba using 9 clans as entry point.</td>
<td>- Looking at Paolo Freire, we discussed how groups are formed and given support to be better empowered. 1. Cluster leaders were directing households top down (vertical) than participatory. 2. Social workers were more circular in approach. Families were more aware of their challenges after training and through participatory approach. 3. Reflective inquiry theory helps MSC. 4. Use of MSC missing in all 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Secular NGOs and FBOs on Poverty Readings by Clarke G.2007, FBOs as agents of change, Denuelin &amp; Bano 2009, Rakodi World Development, p.31 promote equality, equity, faith as community.</td>
<td>FBO but challenged to get balance right. Charity or business? p.78. A disturbing question over time. Peter Daino gave handouts, Timothy directed self-reliance and enterprise. Not clear when to do charity and business.</td>
<td>Does not mix faith with business. However, the SPADE project and Farida, Heifer Project in Western Kenya. p.109.</td>
<td>Gifford p.32 on place of FBOs in development, NGOs were building false hope for 30 years about drilling water. No water. But an empowered faith community found water in 30 days. Wells drilled and served at water points serving 5 households per tap.</td>
<td>Q. How to organise participation-caught between top down approach and how to encourage young people to be more pro-active. Mission is inclusivity guided by breaking bread.</td>
<td>- Imani and Mwenda Andu were purely faith guided but not finding it easy in a secular world. They tended to listen to donors more than their own mission call. The message of the foetus opens darkness to light and renewed life in the resurrection. The ethical dimensions define what each stands for. The clients of K-REP found that faith adds value to their work rather than go for credit meetings then go for faith meetings. All can be in one place. 3. Religion is divine p.28.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**4. Relationship between Rural and Urban p.33.**

**How do they offer well-being and capabilities to the poor?**

- Clients leave rural and come to the city. They stay with a relative e.g. uncle, sister, brother, single parent, neighbour. IMANI - education shelter, refuge to the migrants.  
  - Found in both areas. p.105, 108.  
  - Case of Ngei, Anne KDA p.106.
  
  - FBO= The city as light and rural as darkness (NCCK Policy in 1970s under Isinya, Limuru projects see Chepkwony 1987).
  
  - Rural based and serving needs at closer family level. Family needs tightened in households. But circular migration key factor for youth empowerment.
  
  - Rural based but connected to urban centres for marketing products and internationally to cultural promotion.
  
  - Circular approach where middle class like Annas Fundi look for opportunities to grow knowing salary alone will not be enough. Building cultural dimensions to bring value back into the community.

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**Brief explanation:**

Each of the four themes is discussed according to how each case study was able to apply or use a portion of the theme in the respective programmes. The column named feedback shows how clients of the case studies differed or agreed with the agencies serving them on what they saw as meeting their MSC needs.

Four themes formed the framework from which the data analysis on poverty and human development through various interventions: capability and well-being, popular participatory methodologies, how the rural urban discourse was followed and the relationship between FBOs and NGOs in discussing poverty. The themes were expounded to help the analysis. The summary is stipulated in the following paragraphs.

The theme on well-being and capability was supported by the selected literature to develop a framework for analysis of the four case studies, in order to arrive at key findings. There was already an existing study on the multidimensional interpretation of well-being by Oxford
Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI). Amartya Sen’s work had pioneered the capability and well-being approach. It was important to appreciate the ongoing research by OPHI and compare findings with the case studies on well-being in their respective programmes.

It was important to examine and compare the contributions and roles of Faith-Based Organizations with secular NGOs. The Millennium Conference 2000 which took place in New York also recognised the role FBOs have played in development in the past. Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General while address Faith leaders at Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York put confidence in faith leaders on the eve of the Millennium Conference. He gave numerous examples how Missionaries had been the precursors of human development before anyone else thought of fighting poverty. As mentioned in chapter 2, Commitment Number 6 urged faith leaders: To promote the equitable distribution of wealth within nations and among nations, eradicating poverty and reversing the current trend toward a widening gap between rich and poor.142 This point was picked up by Marshall & Keough (2003) when discussing why FBOs are known for their ethical inclinations in their service to communities.. They reiterated why FBOs should be part and parcel of development because where NGOs run a project for a short time, (Vinay 2000)143 had observed that FBOs always remained with the poor to continue the mission of holistic development. Furthermore, most agencies that work for the poor in Kenya are Faith-Based Organizations.

The literature on rural urban migration helped to analyse what was happening to a developing country like Kenya where more and more people left their rural communities in search of

jobs in the urban centres. Nairobi has been attracting people from rural areas since independence. But the reverse has been very slow. It was important to know whether circular migration could reduce the outward urban flow to an inward flow. If people own land and can lead a happy life in the rural areas why stay in urban slums and abject poverty?

The last theme reflected on the popular participatory methodologies which had been applied in different programmes. The popular participatory methodologies were divided into what the literature called the Northern and Southern traditions of community participation. Simply put, they were community-based self-inquiry or action research which had been tried out among sister NGOs in North America and Latin America. Other types of participatory methodologies which helped the study in addition to existing ones were what Rick Davies has used for group participation called the Significant Change (SC) and Most Significant Change (MSC) approaches.

The following section discusses how the four themes were discussed and analysed in the four cases. The themes do not follow any particular order but the discussion helps us to observe challenges experienced in trying to fit all the four themes in their programme activities. Some of the case studies were affected by the themes of well-being and the rural-urban balance in the war on poverty. But they were weak in applying a participatory methodology tool in the programme. How some of the themes were understood by clients was quite challenging.

**7.4 Importance of Participatory Methodology**

The application of these themes was selected at random, as in the reflection on the story by Mama Nyaga that gave the evidence on the gaps that the popular participatory methodologies could have used to help educate each side on the significant change needs of the group. The application of a self-reflective inquiry through a set of questions would help a group free
itself. The well-meaning agency staff seemed not to have been aware of finding entry points into a community mindset through a reflective inquiry tool. The team also lacked participatory skills. Paolo Freire (1974) had observed that ‘People can only be liberated with their reflective participation in the act of [self] liberation’ (Freire 1974, p. 52). Freire also acknowledged the importance of collaboration with others in that liberation, ‘While no one liberates himself by his own efforts alone, neither is he liberated by others’ (p. 53). In the analysis of this dialogue, one can see the good intentions of the aid worker. But the local community was not satisfied with his approach. Lessons can be drawn from this experience.

First, finding the entry point into the community that Peter Henriot (2005), in reference to an earlier publication in 1983 and 2000 with Joe Holland, calls an insertion. Peter Henriot discussed in detail how one use of the five stages of analysis finds entry points to the community culture, mindset and ontology. This exercise would help the expert come to a proper understanding of the significant needs (Henriot 2005, p. 15). The whole exercise could take six months to a year before coming up with solutions.

Rick Davies’ participatory methodology used in this thesis has also helped us to understand what Paulo Freire meant by ‘People can only be liberated with their reflective participation in the act of [self] liberation.’ He combined the social analysis approach to discerning challenges communities faced with a collective participation. He used the different stories, narratives and experiences together to come up with what he called Most Significant Change needs. It is arrived at by asking people to record what they thought was significant to their well-being. After meetings and due process, people can arrive at what they agree on as Most Significant Change needs.

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Even though the example came from the Kayole Slaughter House, the data analysed from the agencies that acted as donors like K-REP and IMANI were also capable of making the same mistakes as the well-intentioned young student. There was no clear indication that they were not conversant with this participatory tool in their programmes.

The data analysis brought out important conclusions on the effectiveness of CFBOs in meeting capabilities and the well-being of their clients. Attention has been drawn to the fact that both Faith-Based Organizations and secular agencies strive for the same goals when it comes to reducing poverty. They have experienced similar success stories and faced similar challenges over the years. However, there are specific observations to be drawn from this particular experience that took place in the context of the four case studies. The question directed attention to the effectiveness of the processes and initiatives to move the poor out of poverty.

Data analysis revealed that there was a tendency to lose focus on the holistic approaches during challenging periods and to focus solely on mission objectives. Holistic means taking a step back and helping to bring in the ethical dimension that forms a person. The following observations were made during an interview in chapter 6 with the JCP Business advisor at CTC:

JCP urged CTC and Maria to intensify the education on values where dignity and hard work ethic would ground them to trading with money well. They key lay in the Gospel Living experience where these values would be cultivated.

The loan disbursement has been a tool for encouraging the poor to be more organised and focused in supporting their household livelihoods. Some women have been encouraged to start an enterprise in order to qualify for a loan because without a clear sign that one can actually run a business that generates income no loans would be disbursed.

Once a loan has been given to a client it is recorded that some of the clients will become active because they know that the credit officer is on the way. It is known to the JCP field officer that some clients would borrow retail shop staff from their friends across the street to show progress in making use of
the loan. They were only discovered when the same items seen the previous months were the same ones on the shelf of two kiosks. CTC discovered the trick late but there could be more tricks known by the officers.

This further highlights the complex nature of a holistic approach to development in a multidimensional analytical process. The analysis also revealed the difficulty in defining how each agency should approach a partnership with group members, sponsors and donors. The communities IMANI was working with were not all faith-based nor were they committed to Christian values. There were levels of deceit by clients of the Job Creation Programme when they did not use money for what the loan was meant.

IMANI being an FBO was supposed to act better in correcting errant behaviour but because of poor participatory tools it found itself on the back foot when the credit lending team discovered what was happening. It raised questions about the type of evaluation the programme was using and whether it proved to be effective.

As explained earlier, if they adopted the MSC methodology they would have found entry points into what clients saw as significant in providing for their needs. The loan became active only when the credit officer was coming. The same clients went even further by hiring a kiosk for borrowing stocks from another shelf to be seen to be doing well, when in actual fact they had used money for basic needs like food:

It is known to the JCP field officer that some clients would borrow stuff from their friends [with kiosks] across the street to show progress in making use of the loan. They were only discovered when the same items seen the previous months were the same ones on the shelf of two kiosks.

It proved that there was a need for a pro-poor programme to constitute an ongoing evaluation and reflection at every stage. Secondly, it proved that even the best intentioned FBO will not offer full answers to the poverty situation in each household. They can only act as catalysts of change by being present in the lives of the poor.
The case of JCP also revealed the tension that exists when a Faith-Based Organization like IMANI wanted to bring about holistic transformation in society but the staff members were not conversant with the social justice issues. For example, Maria House and CTC had a Gospel Living programme at the centre of their activities but there was very little to deepen an appreciation of Gospel values and social justice. A balanced approach to well-being can be difficult to find within the proposed community development programme that attempts to address body, soul, belief and action, and human life. There were signs of pride among the staff who thought Gospel Living was not for them. It called for humility by both practitioners and participants if they were to grow and control the outcomes of the transformative process. The Christian approach to holistic transformation is founded on a vision that has come from the faith passed on from past generations that can only be enriched through daily inspired Gospel reflections. If the staff members are ill-prepared to handle challenges outside their own mission goals how will they assist their clients faced with injustice that demands a transformative holistic model? Again, Paulo Freire’s participatory methodology could help both the staff and clients to discern what promoted social justice.

This is where capacity building and capability could be combined. Beringer and Chouchane (2007) observed that from Sen’s works, capabilities include various combinations of functioning (beings and doings) that a person can achieve. Capabilities can be defined as a set of vectors of functioning, reflecting the freedom to choose and lead one type of life or another (Sen, 1992, p. 40). What happens when communities are not able to choose and decide on the next step? It means the agency has to develop the right capacity to reflect on what is at stake which if not handled properly could destroy their well-being.

The data analysis from Kitui challenged the role of NGOs in promoting well-being. The self-determination of the members paid off when they realised they could be self-reliant after
many years of sitting back and waiting for manna from NGOs. The experience of Mwenda Andu members came near to exploitation by the different NGOs that had worked there for 30 years. They discovered their full potential by taking over the development of the community. The results were very encouraging according to the data analysis report from chapter 5:

The group claimed that many reputable NGOs had been working in the district for over 30 years or more. There is very little to show what they did to alleviate poverty. They felt disappointed that they had spent valuable time depending on these organisations to help them whilst the NGOs were busy using them as a bridge to self-enrichment. One cluster leader lamented as the others nodded:

“Look at the project managers, the kind of cars they drive, the houses they have built for themselves. Why are they doing so well and we so badly? Why did they not help us reach where they are? We thank God for Mwenda Andu. Our eyes are open and we shall succeed...” they said in agreement.

The group experienced an exaggeration of figures. The project leaders gave an example that explained there was a water tank built in Mutomo where they used 300 bags of cement while actually only 52 bags were used. The NGOs earn big money, big salaries of Ksh.200,000 to 300,000 p/m and at times claim that they spent sh.1 million on fuel when they did nothing to help the people.

The question that the leaders were trying to answer is what would stop them from repeating the same mistakes by empowering themselves with funds coming from donors and forgetting their community members, especially the cluster groups which relied on them. The answer was that their Christian faith gave them that sense of community and self-governance where accountability, transparency, participation and sharing took precedence over selfish ends. The culture too did not encourage dishonesty. Dishonesty was punished severely.

There was an observable limitation to the credit lending organizations like K-REP when it came to promoting human development as Amartya Sen and OPHI had indicated in their data analysis since 2007. For OPHI, human development went beyond economic growth alone. Human development (HD) was a multi-dimensional phenomenon which covers all aspects of
well-being: individual (and community) well-being, social relationships and changes in society which bring about social justice. The concept of capability is related to functionaries and includes notions of opportunity and freedom. It means a range of opportunities a person can choose from.

For instance, K-REP was faced with challenges when they could not answer every need of the individual based on their own mission objectives. When people formed groups of 5, they were supposed to meet and collect weekly loan repayments under the Watano scheme (5 members). These 5 people were together because they were united willingly or unwillingly to guarantee each other with the loan. The question was what would happen if anyone defaulted. The other four would divide the loan among themselves and pay K-REP. This penalty of default forced the members to meet and regularly review how the business was doing, in order to manage the loan. What did not feature in these meetings was relationship building.

The K-REP Juhudi group members in Kawangware had observed:

Client K-REP 03 SG: said that, “In terms of betterment, I must say K-REP has kind of bettered us financially considering our initial financial bases were truly wanting. But in terms of personal and institutional development, we must say K-REP has failed dismally.”

The group members were just affirming what OHPI had acknowledged about missing dimensions which each community will come across in their own time. How an agency would incorporate them in the existing intervention remained unclear. K-REP found that as a money lending organization there should be more flexibility by encouraging inclusivity of the social aspects of the groups, and personal needs like prayer and family concerns within the weekly credit review meetings.

147Interview G no.16. Kawangware market: one of the 4 clients interviewed on October 3rd 2008.
At the same time, K-REP proved that it was willing to collaborate with the local community and answer their Most Significant Change needs. For instance, K-REP has worked well with experts under the K-REP Development Agency (KAD). Since 2010, KDA has embarked on research and produced programmes that reached across communities in the districts of Kisumu East, Lugari, Gem, Siaya, Rachuonyo, Homa Bay, Kakamega Central, Bungoma North, Bungoma South and Kisumu West. These are some of the districts for the marginalised communities of Kenya. The first of the improved programmes is the Smallholder Poultry Agribusiness Development Project (SPADE) (KDA 2014) implemented by TechoServe and supported by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA).\textsuperscript{148}

The programme seeks to sustainably improve the livelihoods of 12,000 small holder poultry producers of indigenous chickens and, in so doing, help 50,450 individuals improve their livelihoods.

The participation of the clients has depended on the programme experts to instil discipline and work according to what the donor found significant. There is still room for improvement in bringing in those they serve for decisions made about them. What K-REP has done is to develop an active participatory methodology embedded in the belief that in human agency the people can choose how they live through a process of reflexive inquiry. The path suggested by Rowan (2006) could help K-REP and IMANI in providing support for community member reciprocity with no parties excluded or alienated from processes which affect them as they exchange ideas and take actions.

K-REP can still learn from the Mlango Kubwa group supported by IMANI. This group started as a prayer group to enrich each other spiritually and in the process responded to individual needs. They started being reflective on the social action to take when individual needs were not met. The goal of the group was not money, nor just income, but the person.

\textsuperscript{148} KDA projects by 2014 at \url{http://www.krep.co.ke/?page_id=48} cited 7/4/14.
The focus became the person in need of spiritual nourishment defined as meeting basic capabilities. In the analysis of the Mlango Kubwa group, their approach was more effective in reaching Most Significant Change needs than those groups because of an objective other than spiritual nourishment which answered individual and community needs. The same path has been taken by K-REP as it has been trying to reach out to groups in Western Kenya and Nyanza.

For Sen, reaching well-being is a holistic continuum that has no end. Each group would have to join the holistic continuum of human development. A group that looked into well-being as a continuum produced a relational connection which included physical safety, the environment one lived in, the ability to move about freely, and the psychological and subjective well-being.

7.5 Capacity Building and New Challenges

The data analysed from IMANI, K-REP and Mwenda Andu revealed challenges that required developing the right capacity to address new emerging concerns which are beyond what he programme can handle as part of the core objectives. It meant helping clients develop their own skills that can handle other challenges not necessarily related to the programme supported needs. e.g. the dangers of an unattended boiling water and fires in the home, street wise skills in the area of what builds the wellbeing and what is harmful on top of receiving credit support from IMANI or K-REP. The multidimensional nature of well-being required not only being aware of what the agency was doing but also what the people were concerned with. For instance, IMANI had skill training for clients and offered opportunities to improve their capabilities and well-being at the respective centres. Maria House provided mothers with an opportunity for literacy, skills development and also nutrition for the children. There
was a caretaker employed to feed and play with the children as the mothers went through their classes in dressmaking, knitting, and hairdressing.

The system that developed around the social worker was very impressive. The social worker received clients, conducted a process so that those who needed counselling were separated from those who needed medical vouchers, especially mothers who attended the pre-natal and post-natal clinics. The social workers acted as the gateway to IMANI programmes. They listened to cases and made home visits. The report from the home visits provided important data for bringing their clients into the programme.

However, when it came to outreach groups away from the centre, the staff members were inadequately prepared. This is where the Society of Mary members would have excelled because of their social teachings and training but they were too few to carry on the work demanded by the groups. The founding philosophy of the Society of Mary was built around the desires of the community more than what the society wanted to do. When the foetus was found in the murky water of Nairobi River, the Brothers found it appropriate to reflect on the meaning of life and what it means to give others new life. It meant coming up with a radical programme of social transformation like IMANI in which all aspects of human development would be covered. This was a different line of thought compared to what they had been used to in organizing teaching lessons to high school boys. The foetus experience opened them up to discernment and reflection built on Gospel Living. Now they made a big about-turn by not only moving into an informal setting but also being men working for marginalised women.

But the staff members that were employed were not conversant with the questions of social justice and what it meant to reach out to people in greater need of social justice. For instance, the Kayole Slaughter House community had benefited from IMANI training. But the
challenges the community was faced with did not reflect what the two programmes of IMANI, JCP and Maria House were about.

IMANI trained over 30 Kayole women with the expectation that they would carry on the work of setting up enterprises in the community and support family incomes. They also thought that by training 30 women the knowledge gained would be passed on to the other 24. But they had forgotten a fundamental point that helped create IMANI. This was that the 54 women were not necessarily from the same ethnic group or religious background. They were a good example of representation of Kenya in one place. What bound them together was not enterprise nor the same faith practices. They were united because of the past experience of land. They had been squatters on land that was not theirs. Without the land issue being resolved, the training in skills did not get rid of the anxiety to live a good quality life. For them the biggest need for capability and well-being was land first then other needs could follow. IMANI management had missed out on this fundamental point, yet it was at the core of their foundation, as expressed in the Society of Mary’s Mission Statement: 149

Empowered by the Holy Spirit and inspired by the dynamism of their founder's Charism, the Society of Mary dedicate themselves to the following of Jesus Christ, Son of God become Son of Mary. They are commissioned to making Christ present in every age and culture by forming persons and communities of apostolic faith that advance justice and reconciliation. Committed to education, they minister with youth and in solidarity with the poor (CORAT Report, 1994).

They were committed to education as an important part of developing the person in self-reliance. But the core of the mission guided them on social justice, bringing the redemption of Christ in ‘every age and culture by forming persons and communities of apostolic faith

149 CORAT conducted an evaluation of IMANI in 1994 and 2004. CORAT stands for Christian Organizations Research and Advisory Trust for Africa (CORAT Africa). It is a Pan-African, not-for-profit organization established in 1975. The purpose of CORAT is to enable effective leadership, management and accountability of Churches, Church related bodies and Christian organizations in a Christian and professional way.
that advance justice and reconciliation.’ It came out that the leaders who were mostly laypersons had not been given the right skills to offer support in this direction and as they were also struggling with similar issues themselves that they did not see the need. Therefore, the capacity to handle concerns beyond the mission statements and objectives of the four cases proved to be a challenge. It also confirmed the fact that effectiveness is assessed according to how agencies lived by their own mission statements and objectives.

Davies’ writings about effectiveness built around finding the MSC of clients and agencies helped to look afresh at what agencies like IMANI were focussed on as their mission against the Most Significant Change needs of clients. The study by Davies (1996) brought the discourse of development studies and organisational learning closer, being informed by a body of theory known as evolutionary epistemology first discussed by Campbell (1969) and enriched by ‘differences that make a difference’ theory of Bateson (1979). It is this wider area of concern that brought in the participatory methodologies of Paulo Freire in the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972), Chambers et al. (2004) on theory in Immersion and Wijsen et al. (2006) on the pastoral cycle approach to community participation.150

The data analysed also uncovered new challenges in defining poverty. The question of poverty produced new data that continues to inspire debate. The perception created was that societal poverty can be easily detected from the measures provided for. One example that captured attention in the data analysis was Mama Nyaga from the Kayole Slaughter House who in all aspects of poverty was seen to be the poorest of the poor. Having two mentally handicapped children and selling Napier grass by the roadside did not represent poverty:

For Mama Nyaga, poverty is not about feeling how poor one is but working to overcome it, and that poverty is not necessarily inheritable when you have hands, legs and brain to do things. She had hands, legs and a good mind, why should she be called poor? To her, the poor are those who did not have limbs or were not in a sound

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state of mind...Her definition of poverty was most unexpected but equally challenging to anyone who would meet her face to face. We are used to experts defining poverty for us, not the poor like her (Interview January 4th 2009).  

She made it clear that ‘those who had hands, legs, eyes, and a healthy body like herself could not be called poor.’

At the founding of IMANI, the founders (Brother Timothy and Brother Peter Daino) differentiated the poor from the needy. That is why the programme is called Incentives from Marianists to Assist the Needy to be Independent. The poor were drug addicts, the homeless, street mothers, drunkards, and people with no formal education. The needy were people who were literate, job seekers, persons who could express themselves, school drop-outs at primary, secondary school, even college and university drop-outs, and men and women who were employed but earned low wages. The programmes were designed for these kinds of people while the poor needed specialized counselling and support, so that with time they could fit in the training programme of IMANI. There were centres like Undugu Society that handled street families and addicts were taken to other centres nearby.

Therefore, for IMANI the distinction between the poor and the needy could be explained better. The poor were the homeless, those who slept in trenches, street families, handicapped, mentally challenged, the blind, the drunk, drug addicts and those who had lost hope in life. The needy were persons who had hands, legs, skills, educated, new graduates, the jobless who needed a caring hand to lift them out of their misery. The response resonated well with the four themes especially when one looks at capability and wellbeing, participating in developing skills which give them ground to start off (JCP, CTC and Maria House programmes), they would apply a strong faith dimension as their entry point to life of self

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151 See chapter 6 on question 3 of 6.4 in an interview between the researcher and Mama Nyaga conducted on January 4th 2009.
reliance and growth. By doing this IMANI would be helping the Kenya Government balance out the rural urban migration (circular migration as used in the thesis).

Poverty was to be deprived of basic entitlements so Mama Nyaga told the interviewer. OPHI glanced at some outstanding literature dating back to the 1970s that reflected on people’s own deprivation profiles to provide an integrated view of the situation. The ‘counting approaches’ was the most widely used multidimensional poverty measure since the 1970s. However, in 2007, OPHI through the Director, Sabina Alkire together with Professor James Foster, created a new method for measuring multidimensional poverty that they referred to as the AF measure after Alkire Foster. The resulting measure produced aggregated data to reflect societal poverty broken down by regions and groups and, importantly, it assisted in knowing who the poorest of the poor were (OPHI 2013).

7.6 Concept of the Community and Individual Well-being

The data analysis further brought out an interesting debate. The question was whether one can develop as an individual and not belong to a community. The four case studies had tried to reach out to their respective communities by initiating programmes that would build the capabilities of individuals with the intention of achieving well-being. However, there were situations when it appeared the case studies were not able to draw the line between community and individual concerns on well-being. For example, IMANI trained individuals at its respective centres of Maria House and Chaminade Training Centre. These individual students were then handed over to the Job Creation Programme for job placement, job
creation or employment opportunities. Once they got jobs or started their own enterprise would the idea of the community remain?

The spirit of living together and continuing as a community became relevant for urban communities if they shared a past history. The women who had thrown a foetus into the river began meeting weekly to reflect on their own experiences. That part of the experience did not exist in the modern IMANI clientele. But the Kayole Slaughter House women’s group who shared a history met weekly and contributed money to their needs. The prayer meeting combined with merry-go-rounds proved to be popular with individuals because they immediately knew that if each week they attended a meeting and contributed some money to the group the bond between them would be stronger. The weekly meetings were about building a community that cared for each other. Credit lending came in as a secondary activity and not as the main purpose of the meeting. Therefore, the individual was better supported in a community of faith than when left on their own with no group.

Another aspect of building a community came out of the data analysis of households where families had been ravaged by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Mwenda Andu had found an answer by creating small Christian communities among the cluster groups. The cluster leader would act as the guardian of households in which the orphans lived alone or with grandparents. On average, each household had 6 family members headed by one adult. In some homes, like that of the cluster leader, Mrs. Esther Kavila (80 years old), there were 13 children under her care. They comprised grandchildren whose parents had died from HIV/AIDS. They would also work together against drought, persistent famine and now the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The idea of a community built around a cluster setting was very inspirational.

The cluster idea provided shelter to the children left on their own but had a community to fall back on. The children would have found the same favour of being close to the family and
relatives if they lived in a home which was commercially run. Moreover, the experience of Mwenda Andu with NGOs had been very negative. The leaders had waited for over 30 years to get water drilled in their backyard after so many failed promises yet when they tried on their own they had boreholes within a month. As a community they realised their full potential to achieve greater deeds. Mwenda Andu came up with a mission statement to address how to ‘finish’ ‘umasikini’ (poverty) and how they could lift each other in times of low spirits through sharing, reflecting and praying together.

7.7 Distinction between FBOs and Secular Organizations

The place of Faith-Based Organizations in human development has caught the attention of the international community, especially as a new millennium beckoned. Of importance to this study was to look at what creates distinctions between the secular and religious agencies on poverty and well-being. Secular agencies have been at the forefront of defining poverty and giving it the required ingredients to finding solutions. The important indicators of poverty have continued to be used in most surveys where income measures tend to be at the heart of any solution to poverty. When many, especially economists, use the word “poverty” they are referring to these measures. Poverty to them is what can be measured. Religion has championed ethical thinking in the way we treat each other. It can transform the way society looks at each other and the well-being of every person. Ter Haar (2011) in Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World brings out this perspective. There are those who see religion as a divine calling to do good. Harper, Rao, and Ashis (2008) in Development, Divinity, and Dharma: The Role of Religion in Development Institutions and Microfinance, have emphasised the divine calling as part of well-being. It means for people of faith, spirituality is not complete unless it also improves the well-being
of the created being. Hayes (2007) in *Sub-Merge* also supports this view on the importance of faith in society.

The data from IMANI and Mwenda Andu found that they followed a similar pattern of secular organizations by pointing out the importance of income in most households. For instance, IMANI set up a credit facility run by the Job Creation Programme to address this important component of its human development programme. However, IMANI was not founded to provide credit to its clients like K-REP, but had been founded to help the ordinary people find their own capabilities which should be developed to improve their well-being. Income was going to play an important role in that process but was not the only factor for offering a quality life.

The founders of IMANI, Brother Peter Daino and Brother Timothy Phillips, discovered that building a community around faith values cemented better relationships in the group. Relationship building through acts of shared faith in the daily and weekly prayer gatherings improved the spirit of discernment on each other’s needs. While IMANI staff did not amplify the place of faith in the programme, the clients (mostly students) were exposed to making faith at the heart of their activities. There were many examples of motivation which women and disenfranchised youth could seek help from the scripture readings about women and men who went through great challenges but ended up succeeding in their mission. Bornstein (2005) in *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe*, argues that faith NGOs from the Protestant community keeps the people of Zimbabwe going through difficult moments during the Mugabe regime. There is also a caution why there should be a good balance between faith and development. Alkire and Edmund (2005) in *What Can One Person Do? Faith to Heal a Broken World*, discuss why faith alone is not enough where society suffers from poverty. The well-being of people can improve where religion holds great importance in daily living without ignoring it.
The challenges the IMANI clients were facing about land, sanitation, and justice from broken promises did not mean sitting and waiting but taking action. If the poor there suffer, IMANI and other agencies should feel the pain too. This is in addition to working within the objectives only making sure there is a peaceful relationship.

Myers (2011) saw that peaceful relationships are not simply referring to those living in poverty, but also to development practitioners and those he refers to as ‘non-poor’ who might feel removed from the plight of the poor they serve (Myers, 2011). Individual transformation and fixing broken relationships are for everyone:

The poor suffer from marred identities and the belief that they have no meaningful vocation other than serving the powerful. The non-poor, and sometimes development facilitators, suffer from the temptation to play god in the lives of the poor, and believe that what they have in terms of money, knowledge, and position is the result of their own cleverness or the right of their group (Myers, 2011, p. 17).

These broken relationships must also be addressed not just between individuals, but also in the greater sphere of social organization – between churches, governments, Faith-Based Organizations and NGOs. Many Christian community development organizations operate from the results-based paradigm that has originated in mainstream development. For instance, K-REP wanted to help fight poverty through credit lending and not so much about making faith practices at the heart of its activities. Some of the K-REP clients complained that they did not receive that opportunity to do both faith and credit lending in their weekly meetings. It is not that K-REP was insensitive to faith matters but faith was more a personal endeavour that did not fit into the business model.
When some of the K-REP clients were asked about the importance of faith in their daily living they felt that it was very important yet neglected. Q.10 asked how they built the inner spirit to enhance personal growth. Two of them answered on behalf of the rest as follows:

K-REP 06: “To be honest, we are spiritually undernourished. I guess the K-REP programme is to us a financial empowerment thing. The collectively is there for individual profit. There is no God-speak in this thing.”

K-REP 01 HK: “I think spirituality is a matter of individual belief and motivation. We [hold it] as a rule not to bring spirituality into our financial dealings.”

Faith-Based Organizations (mostly religious groups) have brought in the aspect of relationship-building as the main cause of poverty that causes negative well-being in society. The religious dimension of poverty also brings in a deeper value, which is spirituality one cannot measure with a mathematical formula but can be experienced by ordinary people. There are many arguments emanating from Hebrew, Christian and Greek traditions on doing the morally good. Most faiths have been driven by this understanding of doing good for others. These different faiths have one thing in common despite their differences. This is the golden rule of loving your neighbour as yourself.

Denuelin & Bano (2009) summed up this belief as the driving force behind any development. Development is the intrinsic good of what faith practices are about. They pointed out that those who believe cannot see their neighbours without food, medical care, and shelter and sit back. They will certainly swing into action and help. Religion cannot be ignored in communities:

Voices of the Poor present a challenging conclusion, one that has dramatic consequences for development practice if implemented. Considering religion as an intrinsic component of wellbeing alongside health, education, shelter, material security and others, transforms conventional development practices which have so far ignored the religious dimensions (Denuelin and Bano 2009: 44).

152 Appendix 2 Interview G. No 17 at Riruta Gathondeki Area: 2 Clients on October 5th, 6th and 7th 2008.
There were examples from Asia, Africa and the Middle East, where Christian, Islamic and Hindu FBOs are, in fact, important stakeholders in the development enterprise. FBOs are crucial in managing international aid, by providing services including health and education, advocating and supporting human rights, and upholding ideals of democratic governance. Arguing that faith communities will be central to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, this study overturns previous perceptions of the role of religion and its impact on civil society. Moreover, in the *Third World Quarterly* 2007, Clarke adds that recent donor discourse points to the potential of Faith-Based Organizations as ‘agents of transformation’, mobilizing the moral energy of faith communities in support of the Millennium Developments Goals.\(^{153}\)

What IMANI and Mwenda Andu are doing in Kenya is inspired by a similar discourse of freeing people from their own bondage of poverty. However, the challenge of Christian holism in development is to widen the scope to cover the process of human transformation (Myers, 2011). The framework for transformational development is designed to address material, social, and spiritual poverty that Myers (2000) argues is inherently caused by our fallen nature as human beings: “Poverty is a holistic idea that describes the breakdown of this constellation of relationships. Each form of broken or unjust relationship creates different expressions of poverty” (Myers, 2000, p. 64). He touches on perspectives that share similar principles with transformational development, such as Robert Chambers’ description of poverty as entanglement, with various dimensions that create a complex trap for individuals,

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and his belief that the goal of development is responsible well-being, achieved through increasing individuals’ livelihoods, security and capabilities (Myers, 2011).

Myers also references Amartya Sen’s proposal that freedom is both the means and end of development. The goal is to create an environment in which individuals can seek a better future, and this is accomplished through removing impediments, or ‘unfreedoms’ which stand in the way and empowering the poor to be the actors in this process (Myers, 2011). This is what the two FBOs have tried to address as programmes in their respective communities. The founders of IMANI, the Society of Mary, were concerned about removing these ‘unfreedoms’ which push those in poverty far away from the means that can free them. Mwenda Andu in Kitui County discovered that people cannot just sit and wait for ‘help from outside.’ A relationship was built between members of the faith so that between the leaders and families there was one people.

7.8 Relational Well-being and Human Development

The question on how FBOs can contribute to well-being was to show a different dimension to poverty which concerns relationship building. The belief of Faith-Based Organizations has been that by answering the relationship issues the major concerns of the poor can be answered. The case of Kayole Slaughter House is an illustration:

We walked back into the Church hall and sat down. But I had included them in the interviews how could I have forgotten their contributions. Phyllis expounded on some key issues that affected the expansion of their capabilities and wellbeing. They felt that just mentioning education, income and healthcare as poverty indicators was not enough. The key poverty issues that the group lacked were ‘Umoja unity, Upendo’ Love and ‘Uvumilivu’ tolerance/Perseverance, Uwasiliano communication and ‘Uongozi’ leadership. Without the five values being reflected in the programme there will be schools, hospitals and credit facilities but the community will still languish in poverty unless they were addressed. The five Us were well pronounced. She explained that for two years the candle
business had stalled yet each one of them knew how much money is invested in it. The 54 women also knew the financial potential of the project of about Ksh. 3 to 5 million a year. The previous owner was making enough candles for local and outside market. If it was being owned by one person this person would own buses and rental houses. This is explained in the bad leadership, unity, poor communication, lack of love and perseverance. Phyllis explained that leadership is not certificates and much training on it but better ‘mawasiliano’ communication.

The experience by the Kayole women is an indicator that no matter how good you are in development do not assume that your way is right by being blinded from the realities of the group. One would wonder how building relationships could contribute to the well-being of society. But we argue there that if it is not addressed, the intervention put forward to improve well-being may not work. Few people would take advantage of the confusion and control of the resources leaving the concerned community in poverty. As the research was coming to an end, the Mwenda Andu project had been taken over by a new NGO run by experts. They had fresh ideas from textbooks on how to improve the lives of the cluster community. After observing for a year, the cluster leaders realised that they were going back to the past 30 years of inactivity by NGOs while money flowed in:

One cluster leader lamented as the others nodded:
‘Look at the project managers, the kind of cars they drive, the houses they have built for themselves. Why are they doing so well and we so badly? Why did they not help us reach where they are? We thank God for Mwenda Andu. Our eyes are open and we shall succeed…’ they said in agreement.

The group experienced an exaggeration of figures. The project leaders gave an example where a water tank built in Mutomo used 300 bags of cement while actually only 52 bags was the actual total. The NGOs received big money, big salaries of Ksh.200,000 to 300,000 p/m and at times the staff claim that they spent Ksh.1 million on fuel when they did nothing with the cars to help the people.

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154 This translates to $US dollars 21,000 to 36,000 per year.
155 Interview F no.10 Fs/Interviews with IMANI women Clients of Kayole Slaughter House January 2nd 2009.
In a community where there is a strong relationship built around faith, there was bound to be a level of honesty and integrity if the members were held accountable to each other. The social relationships and the economic measures have not found a good balance. With time, they might just bring out the balance if agencies start looking at what brings about better well-being as OPHI researchers are doing. Schluter (2006) made a strong case why a relational well-being programme through a faith-based perspective can have an impact on society to improve capabilities. He quotes Robert F. Kennedy in a speech read at the University of Michigan, in 1968:

‘[G]ross national product (GNP)…measures neither the health of our children, the quality of their education, nor the joy of their play. It measures neither the beauty of our poetry, nor the strength of our marriages. It pays no heed to the intelligence of our public debate, or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our wit nor our courage, neither our compassion nor our devotion to country. It measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worth living, and it can tell us everything about our country except those things that make us proud to be a part of it.’

Robert Kennedy pointed out the important values that make people human rather than taking economic growth only as the sole indicator. He sees GNP missing out in measuring wisdom, learning, epistemology, courage and valour, compassion and how we care for each other. It misses out on measuring ‘those things that make us proud to be a part of it.’ It implies that communities start by relating before embarking on big issues of society which in effect help answer their basic needs so contributing significantly to their well-being.

For Schluter et al. (2006) the relational approach can enhance well-being:

The word ‘development' describes a journey of economic and social change, but is often implicitly taken to define the destination as well.

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Economic growth is generally regarded as the purpose as well as the means of this social change. However, the biblical emphasis is on the quality of social, political, and economic relationships, which may be summarised as ‘relational well-being’ (RWB). National aspirations should not focus primarily on levels or distribution of income, nor on individual freedom and choice. Rather, Christians should re-examine policy and project goals in both high-income and low-income societies from a relational perspective, so as to tackle relational deprivation as well as material poverty.\footnote{Michael Schluter, 2006, What charter for humanity? Defining the destination of development, vol. 15, no. 3, September 2006.}

The ongoing transformation in K-REP to give credit lending a human face is a good example of what Schluter is trying to explain as the difference between an agency committed to development and one that is conscious of relational well-being. If agencies ‘focus primarily on levels or distribution of income, nor on individual freedom and choice,’ they may lose the core value of creating an enabling environment for experiencing well-being in totality. K-REP programme has started this journey of self-re-examination and transformation which should be encouraged. It has been leading in providing credit schemes to clients. Their philosophy has been to fight poverty through credit-lending. But the collaboration with FAHIDA programme in Kakamega has opened their eyes to the most significant needs of their clients living with HIV/AIDS. UNICEF 1986 came up with a famous cliché ‘development with a human face.’ K-REP too has come to give credit-lending a human face by supporting small business owners who suffered from severe physical and psychological obstacles due to the AIDS pandemic. Unlike before, K-REP staff members have been designing, testing, institutionalizing, and replicating effective microfinance models in areas with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. They provide training in basic business start-up and management, business counselling, and group leadership skills to improve the standard of living of vulnerable groups. But they also encourage and promote value-adding support mechanisms with partner strategic organizations (NGOs, CBOs, and hospitals) on socio-mitigation agendas countering the HIV/AIDS pandemic. They have come to realise that when
a member of the family passes on, the project should not collapse. They could train and support a family member to become a better entrepreneur as the next of kin.\textsuperscript{158} They have found a way of giving psycho-social support to clients and their communities both economically and socially. K-REP too has found value in working with community groups to serve as support groups for individual members during weekly meetings.

IMANI too had struggled to find the right balance on whether they should abandon their charity approach to those in need of basic capabilities like shelter, food, and clothing to making credit available so that people can learn to trade with money and meet their daily demands.

\textbf{7.9 Ethics and Lessons of the Centre and the Circle}

The revelation of what development is to the Akamba people introduced the cultural explanation through the imagery of the circle and the centre. The centre of the community was God and the people who served one another were in the circle. It meant that there was a continuum of a relationship between members of the community because in this relationship only the centre occupied by God is the greatest. The rest of the people learnt how to serve each other better. The circular nature of the community created an impression of a deeper relationship than one finds in most organizations. The synergy portrayed by every member of the community was a testimony of how the idea of capabilities and well-being started by thinking of the other as an equal. This is how Mr. Patrick Kutu equated the Kamba cultural understanding of causes of poverty with the Christian worldview on poverty as an injustice to humanity. The community understood that there was an ethical dimension in the understanding that when \textit{God is the centre of the community} everyone works for the other by

\textsuperscript{158} \url{http://www.fsdinternational.org/node/456/cited} 4/4/14.
sharing things in common. However, they also see that when man is the centre of development the chances are that the individual person will accumulate wealth for himself rather than be part of the wider circle of relations where that wealth is shared equally among all people. As a hunting community, it was plausible that when the hunter brought his prey home from hunting he did not eat alone but shared a piece with everyone in the village. The next hunter would do the same. One did not only exist for himself but also for the community. The collective nature of development in this case supports the overriding view that to eradicate poverty is a communal, group responsibility and effort because ‘man does not exist on his own’ in any society but for each other.159

Relationships can also be built around shared pain. The data analysis showed this profoundly in the IMANI programme where women came in looking disoriented and tired of life but the shared stories and backgrounds built in them a new spirit of hope and encouragement. The songs sung by the group motivated the members to form new communities of those who suffered from similar situations:

Mambo in sawa sawa ayeh!  (All is okay okay!)
Mambo ni sawa sawa ayeh,  (Everything is really okay)
Uki weka imani yako kwa Mungu Baba  (If you have faith in your God)
Nawe utabarikiwa  (He will bless you)
wetu....sote ayeh’  (Persevere and you will be successful: all is okay...) x 4

The Kayole Slaughter House Group too was united by a common fate of losing their houses to arsonists and being evacuated to a new land far away. Most of the women and men worked as home-helps in the rich suburbs of the city. By moving to Kayole, they had lost a vibrant

159 Karl Barth (1886-1968), in his theocentric thinking of development, critiques the popular belief rife in 1950s and 1960s that ‘man was the centre of development’ instead of God. Karl Barth Centre Princeton Theological Seminary Conference paper On June 22-25, 2008 discussed various reflections on Karl Barth’s virtue of an analogia relationis between God and humanity, the shape of the Christian life that puts Christ in the centre of life. http://www.ptsem.edu/library/barth/obedience/cited April 15th 2014.
source of employment, and income but this history gave them the energy to be united in a common cause of social justice.

In conclusion, the relationship dimension of well-being suggested by Schluter should be evaluated in terms of development as ‘personal functioning and capability’. While discussing Sen’s idea of development and capability, Schluter (2006) interprets ‘functioning’ as what a person manages to do or be. For instance, goods can enable functioning but here functioning could also mean what contributes to significant change needs for the person. It does not have to be goods. That is why Sen emphasises the importance of choice at all levels be it cultural liberty, democracy and even the type of development. It implies that individuals and communities that have a close relationship have their own patterns of choices they value most to contribute to well-being. Agencies which can bring out this value are seen to promote effectiveness in their programmes.

7.9.1 Rural Urban Circular Migration

The data analysis on rural urban connection was important because it underlined the long-held opinion that the urban offers more opportunities than the rural. Circular migration captured the rural urban theme from the findings, especially from the Kitui County case studies. The youth from Wikiliye village were accused of absconding from community duties and running to the city. They only came back during planting and harvest time. In chapter 5.7, we discussed circular migration in this context:

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The Mwenda Andu youth were practising circular migration and moved to the urban centres when life and conditions in the village became unbearable. They returned around harvest time to assist their family members. They may return to the city with some of the harvest as food or a source of extra income generation in the city.

The relationship between the rural and the urban is a mutual one. The rural cannot do without the urban and the urban without the rural. Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* argued that there was a natural progress of opulence by moving from a rural agricultural society to an urban industrialized trading nation. This distinction created the impression that the urban very much relied on the rural for its economic growth through the industrialization process.\(^{161}\) Aspromourgos (2008) shows that Smith’s chapter 8 of book 1 in *Wealth of Nations* was concerned with wages and the labour market, and these were affected by population. Woude, Hayami and De Vries (2003, p. 105) gave the impression that the elite would extract the rural surplus labour force to be consumed in cities.\(^{162}\) Allowing wage labourers in urban centres helped bring about a good balance. But from the Kitui County data and the IMANI data analysis, we found that the youth were restless and looking for opportunities to improve their well-being. There were signs that those who came into the city were there for a short time. Programmes like IMANI helped to give refuge to youth who might have not skills when they entered the city.

Mwenda Andu programme too encouraged its youth to move to and fro as opportunities for work arose. But the youth were also cautioned not to forget their community. Smallholder farming practised by Mwenda Andu households was an enticement when life in the urban centres became challenging. Rather than live in the urban settlements in abject poverty without work, the village provided that comfort required by the rural urban migrants in Kitui.

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However, the analysis by Lele (1975) for the World Bank explained why most Kenyans have both urban and rural homes. In any case, over 80% of Kenyans lived in rural areas (Congress Report 2010). The urban was not recognised as home but the rural was home. The wage labourers only came home when planting had taken place and planned their leave when harvest was near. Modern Kenya too has an urban house and a rural home. Material poverty was measured in terms of not having a rural home. Therefore, it is an honourable fit to have a rural home when living in the urban areas. That brings us to another point of analysis: slum dwellers that do not have any rural connection are seen as poor. Otherwise the perception held that slums dwellers are poor demeans the understanding that the urban is a dormitory to most workers and the rural is the home.

7.9.2 Conclusion

This chapter reflects on challenges and solutions pro-poor agencies face in the new millennium. This discussion was conducted by looking at Christian Faith-Based Organizations as the effective leaders compared to secular organizations. What emerged was that well-being does not belong to a particular agency or faith in a multidimensional approach to human development. Each agency selects its own sphere of concern when addressing well-being. However, there are key tools which require each agency to apply in order to bring out positive results. The understanding of well-being and capabilities and the participatory processes help well-meaning agencies find entry points into a community where most significant change concerns were found to be important. Then the distinction between Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) and secular NGOs was brought out to explain why the international community committed itself to FBOs as important partners in the war on poverty despite an ambivalence created over time about faith and development. The
differences were apparent in the work of K-REP in relation to IMANI. In Kitui, we saw a similar difference when Mwenda Andu discussed why it came into being because of past disillusionment with NGOs that worked for 30 years but did not produce results.
Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the discussion by looking at how the effectiveness of interventions was achieved by the respective case studies. It gives a summary of and a synthesis of empirical findings on the effectiveness of interventions. It brings out new findings that contribute and critique the theoretical framework developed around the current debate on well-being, participatory methodologies, rural urban discourse and distinctions between CFBOs and NGOs on well-being. The chapter brings out policy implications of the findings on how to approach poverty in a developing country like Kenya. Recommendations and a strategy for implementation of the findings are followed by the relationship between the conceptual framework and the findings. A concise conclusion brings the discussion back to the start to appreciate what has been achieved.

8.2 Setting the Research Study in the Context of Kenya

The study looked at poverty challenges and solutions in Kenya. It used a case study approach to examine the effectiveness of Christian Faith-Based Organisations (CFBOs) in their efforts to eradicate poverty in urban and rural Kenya. Attention had been drawn to the effectiveness of processes and initiatives of change run by CFBOs in addressing capabilities among different communities in both the urban and rural settings of Kenya. The background of this study was informed by the outcomes of the 2000 UN World Bank led Millennium Summit in New York. This Summit was concerned with rising levels of global poverty worldwide. The document produced the famous 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which summed
up the concerns. The summary of the document was that if every country would tackle poverty as a major impediment to human capabilities that promote equality, justice and prosperity then the world would become a better place for all its inhabitants to lead a happy and dignified life. However, the current poverty situation in Kenya was alarming and it was feared that, due to a lack of organisation, experience and resources, the government was not able to tackle the problem on its own. The question which had not been discussed during the 2000 Summit was the correct definition of poverty by breaking away from the past to offer alternative solutions. It was proposed that an alternative interpretation of poverty should be conducted through an in-depth study and evaluation of the involvement of Christian Faith-Based Organizations (CFBOs) known to promote human development and improvement of capabilities that enhance well-being. Before and after independence in Kenya, CFBOs had been very active in running schools and healthcare facilities to promote self-reliance among the rural communities. The UN Secretary General had not been wrong in praising the efforts of CFBOs worldwide. An evaluation of the processes and initiatives currently used by CFBOs was needed to ensure to discover missing dimensions from a faith-based perspective to arrest poverty. However, finding solutions to poverty was not a preserve only for FBOs.

From this study, we found that poverty ranged from a lack of basic needs like income to a multidimensional measure of capabilities and lack of relational well-being. Sen (1992) and OPHI (since 2007) advanced the research to create an understanding of poverty as a lack of capabilities due to multidimensional factors: age, religion, geographic location, culture, physical safety, and employment. In each culture there were certain hindrances to enjoying well-being. The argument was that if society focused on poverty as a single dimension measure like the lack of income then it missed hidden factors that matter most to the people concerned.
However, the limitations of CFBOs as newcomers into development economics were not taken for granted. It was important to seek comparable answers to how poverty is presented by both secular and Faith-Based Organizations in relation to local cultures.

8.3 Theoretical and Empirical Setting

The discussion provided a synthesis of the empirical findings from the study with respect to the research question of the effectiveness of the interventions. Attention had been drawn towards the effectiveness of processes and initiatives of change run by CFBOs in addressing capabilities among different communities in both urban and rural Kenya.

We had observed from the scholarly contributions that the capability approach was the best way to fight poverty. The improved standards of living and quality of life among those identified as poor went beyond economic growth alone.

8.4 Findings and Evidence of the Synthesis

The data analysis and findings on the missing dimensions were summed up from each case study. In chapter 3, IMANI provided the history behind the founding of the Society of Mary. It gave an analysis of the hard questions the Society faced in the process of transition from formal to informal education. The transition from formal education to serving poor communities in the informal settlements was intended but how the idea evolved into what they call IMANI was significant.

Three observations were noted: first, the routine of their pastoral work as part of their seminary training, the Damascene experience when the foetus was discovered under the bridge in Kinyago, and the new experience of founding IMANI. Second, the people society calls poor did not like being called poor but needy. Mama Nyaga from Kayole defined her
poverty in terms of poor community relationships. Third, the Society of Mary had been trying to build a community that cared and supported each other like the Women of Kayole had discussed when defining poverty as a lack of capabilities. From these three points, the analysis challenged the existing literature on the effectiveness of interventions when handled from only the perception of the agency.

The data analysis and findings from K-REP revealed how K-REP had improved credit delivery in helping society fight household poverty. The transition from only credit to including social needs was an indication that the collaboration between clients and staff was narrowing. The transition saw K-REP include basic needs the client regarded as significant to their daily living. For example, K-REP Development Agency and FAHIDA Project in Western Kenya sought to empower low-income people especially those infected or affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and promote their participation in the development process to enhance their quality of life (FSDI2008).\footnote{FSDI-Foundation for sustainable development, Kenya focus project: K-REP Development Agency (FAHIDA Project) Kakamega, \url{http://www.fsdinternational.org/node/456} cited 4/4/14.} The scheme had expanded to offering the training to include another member of the household to continue running the enterprise when the client who had been active was deceased. However, like IMANI, there was room for improvement in the level of participation by the clients at every stage of their growth.

The data analysis and findings on Mwenda Andu and KICABA formed the bulk of chapter 5. Both programmes used credit lending to empower households financially and give each household dignity in trading with money. The allocation of roles between the two programmes was well defined. Mwenda Andu co-ordinated the leaders of the clusters with 10 to 15 households, while KICABA supported the training of the members of those households. The running of households under cluster leadership was a major finding because it helped to
bring the discussion of orphanages in rural settings to the fore. Mwenda Andu programme had used its small Christian community structure to support orphans. The children found a home within the wider community of faith. Also, being a semi-arid and arid land region the running of the programme by the local community brought benefits to the group after 30 years of active NGO presence with little to show. Their digging of boreholes was a great achievement. They made sure that within a radius of 5 households there was access to clean water for their own use.

The defining and expression of morality and ethics of the community stood out. The analogy of the centre and the circle introduced the importance of cultural belief and religion in any given society. The belief in the centrality of God in their community was equivalent to God as the centre of any development with everyone else being part of the big circle of service. It brought out a deep community relationship like a woven thread around every person. It even included strangers who came into the community. They were welcomed and asked to join the circle. The circle is a continuum where each person joins to serve God. Perhaps this was the wrong perception colonialists found when they entered Africa and were well received only to realise that the visitors wanted to own land and not to share the resources with them. The idea of the circle and the centre has challenged the perception that man is the centre of development. If man was the centre of development then he does not need others to share his wealth. Corruption, greed, hatred, war, and insecurity become the vices of this kind of thinking. The cultural norms and Christian teachings merged well in the community. It underlined what David Bosch (1992) called the importance of the enculturation of the Gospel with local culture.

Meeting basic needs within both the urban and rural households called for diversifying the accumulation of wealth and balancing the Gospel’s value of loving your neighbour as yourself. It was found to bring about a holistic approach to social transformation:
a. Relational well-being widens the concept of poverty. To start a community project there is the need to learn how to relate first before engaging in development activity. Most agencies start with the project and forget to introduce social dimensions into the groups. The examples cited from Mwenda Andu and Kayole Slaughter House demonstrated that the starting point should be to know what is affecting the community that could end up being an obstacle to the people’s success in the proposed intervention.

b. Their savings and capital outlay are significantly important but not everything. Nearly all households in the study felt that diversification only enhances their ability to survive and serves as a source of insurance against indebtedness if servicing a loan. Nevertheless, the need for borrowing more capital is still an important part of the communities interviewed. However the Mwenda Andu case study found its clients neither worried about credit nor income even though they were being encouraged to borrow and practise smallholder dairy farming in their compounds. The findings provided a modest daily expenditure of Ksh.50 per day. If we were to measure this in terms of the standard poverty measure then over 70% of the population would be under the poverty line of $2 per day. Now the drilling of boreholes has meant easy access to water and helped them grow basic foodstuffs for daily use. Those who keep a grade cow or grade goat can now drink milk daily and also sell in the local shopping centre. However, the K-REP and IMANI JCP clients tended to be measured in terms of daily income and expenditure.

c. Circular migration and financial scarcity: Many of the sampled households depend on traditional herbal clinics, for no other reason than that they are far less expensive than
the modern medical treatment. This pattern cannot be an indication of accumulation, especially when individuals cannot provide for their basic necessities of life in spite of their diversification.

8.5 Theoretical Implications to the Debate on Poverty

The contribution and implications of these syntheses with respect to the research focus impinged on the existing theories on poverty. First, in Kenya, over 80% of the population still live in rural communities. Yet, despite much talk about bringing development and improving human capabilities, poverty levels in Kenya are over 47% by 2013 (World Bank Report on Kenya 2013). While this decline in poverty compares well with other Sub-Saharan African countries, it can still be considered high in comparison to neighbouring countries such as Tanzania (about 36%) and Uganda (about 31%). In rural areas, overall poverty declined from 53% to 49%, while in urban areas, poverty declined from 49.2% in 1997 to 34% over the same period. It implies that earlier development policy of Kenya of creating a balance between the rural and the urban should be developed further. Sessional Paper 10 laid down the theoretical and policy approach to future development in Kenya which had not been handled well by subsequent governments (Opata 2004).

Second, the study has brought the general view based on the circular migration pattern that 80% of the population living in the rural areas do not regard the urban house as their home. They want to work in the cities and keep their rural smallholdings. The one-sided industrialization in the urban centres has been found to hinder rural development. The Swynnerton Plan (1954) had laid down a clear policy guideline on rural based agriculture to contribute to economic growth (Swainson 1980).

In our findings, relationship building has emerged as a new dimension, without which some communities in Africa find themselves in poverty and lacking basic capabilities. Follow-up examples were explicit where capabilities went beyond economic safety to include culture,

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geographic location, environment, physical safety, and psychological and subjective well-being. Supported by this argument, the data analysis was explicit in challenging the universal approach to poverty and well-being without the specificity of the intervention within a region. For instance, the communities of Kayole Slaughter House slum in Nairobi and Kitui County did not see how on their own, education, healthcare, income were primary concerns of reducing poverty without the handling of relational concerns which act as an impediment to interventions. The multidimensional approach to poverty opened up a critique to how the agency with good intentions could help its own clients discover what Most Significant Change needs were which if not handled would affect their well-being.

From this context of self-reflective inquiry, it emerged that a literature review on poverty and well-being specifically in the context of Africa was inconclusive on several vital questions within the multidimensional approach. Most of the available literature fell short of bringing out a holistic narrative how the well-being of those in poverty could be achieved. So, the methodological concerns stood out in the analysis of the data if we were going to take a multidimensional approach to how different communities define capabilities which enhance well-being rather than the popular participatory methodologies framework. The works of Paulo Freire (1974) and Rick Davies (1996) fitted well with the self-reflective inquiry they proposed when deciding the Most Significant Change needs the group, individuals and community discerned to reduce poverty and improve well-being.

Lele (1975) and University of Wageningen studies in the 1980s and 1990s made a strong case for the challenges the rural people faced. The data on Kitui by the University of Wageningen in collaboration with the Kenya government from the 1980s revealed that the county was an arid and semi-arid land region. It was prone to long spells of drought, famine, characterised by low or no rainfall in the year, where arable land was scarce and with poor family credit schemes from the over-burdened government and NGOs. Kitui, like most ASAL regions of
Kenya, was at the mercy of FBOs to develop the area. It required huge investments by the government and not just small groups like Mwenda Andu and KICABA. It called for a policy overhaul where Mwenda Andu and KICABA can act as catalysts of change using the reflective inquiry that we have found useful in empowering communities to become protagonists regarding their own needs.

Then the question of experts with the knowledge about smallholder farming in rural Kenya was important. In the case of Kitui, there was a lack of personnel who understood modern techniques despite the goodwill of the leaders to apply a smallholder farming strategy to improve household nutrition and improve income.

8.6 Policy Implications

The research findings challenged in particular the existing policies on development in Kenya. The first observation has brought attention to a policy change where there is a balance between rural and urban development. This can be achieved through the implementation of devolution in Kenya. The New Constitution of Kenya 2010 provided for the decentralization of development from central government in Nairobi to the rural areas.

Second, the policy on advancing capabilities as a means to fight household poverty requires a review of how poverty should be defined. The multidimensional measure of poverty as a lack of capabilities means developing participatory working methodologies. It will mean that the implementation of the MDGs too would have to address what the client sees as contributing the Most Significant Change needs.

Third, the cultural dimension to well-being according to Galia (2002) based on the responses of the Church in Kenya to community needs was reactionary rather than research-based with a long-term sustainable development objective in mind. The data analysis benefited from the
experience of Eric Beinhocker (2007) among the Maasai pastoralists in *The Origin of Wealth* who clarified Galia’s findings by including a dimension of wealth from the cultural perspective among the pastoralists. Beinhocker visited the Maasai in 2007 and learnt that there was a culturally located understanding of wealth based on what they valued most, i.e. keeping cattle. Poverty was in terms of whether one had cows or not. As an economist from New York, he found that to be very strange when asked about how many animals he owned. The elders were shocked too and decided to each contribute a cow for him even though he was a visitor for the evening. From the data analysis, it was easy to apply the framework of MSC to challenge different perceptions. The argument shows that policy makers would have to re-adjust their view of the community and adapt the right tools of self-inquiry. Therefore, by implication, both the government development arm and the church would have to adopt this policy in order to bring about the desired social transformation in Kenya.

### 8.7 Recommendations

The scale of this debate is extensive and multifaceted even at the local level. To generate achievable policy strategies and development targets with regards to diversification, there is a need for more case studies at the local level to allow further assessment of local dimensions of the subject. Exploring the following as future research strategies can facilitate the attainment of this goal:

The introduction of MSC in the participatory research methodology has opened up advocacy questions on systems analysis on how the MSC is reflected in every sector of human development. Systems are structures of operation involving human beings e.g. educational, religious, political, cultural etc. The response would be to organise public forums, workshops, and seminars with the community leaders to learn how to apply the MSC in their programmes.
in order to measure effectiveness. The measure of effectiveness is now an emerging methodology which will be applied in community based programmes. There is a need to introduce the effectiveness theoretical framework as part of the training or teaching programme in public and private institutions in Kenya.

It has become evident that a review and revamping of the Million Acre land redistribution policy in Kenya proposed under the Swynnerton Plan (1954) would help re-organise rural development in Kenya.\textsuperscript{165} The policy review would look at the core areas of the recommendation: A million acres would be redistributed annually. It was to create family holdings large enough to keep the family self-sufficient in food and also enable them to practise alternate husbandry and thus develop a cash income. Lord Swynnerton had envisioned that in 20 years (by 1974) 600,000 African families would have farming units of approximately 10 acres a family, which would raise their average productivity in cash. The redistribution can help most families who live as squatters.

Mwenda Andu model could be duplicated to other parts of Kenya to allow rural families affected by the death of parents to continue receiving community support. They could be supported by local church groups to develop smallholder farming to improve food production, education, and psychological comfort to children and provide a strong base for human development.

The study offered an evaluative perspective on an important national development policy programme, conducted in an urban and rural environment through sampling farm households. As a direct consequence of this methodology, the study encountered a number of limitations,


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which need to be considered. For example, the dilemma I encountered helped me ask: why would someone who has over 10 acres of land in the rural areas live in slums in the urban city of Nairobi in abject poverty? There were families who lived in slums but went home occasionally (circular migration) but some refused to make use of the rural land. A follow-up and a policy on investment could be developed to help them.

8.8 Conclusion

In spite of what is often reported about the benefits of pro-poor sustainable livelihoods and diversification in theoretical and policy debates, livelihood diversification in practice has only offered some solutions to the prevailing and persistent household vulnerability and deprivation in Kenya, even amongst diversified households. The benefits of diversification have been shown to be neither comprehensive nor sustainable in the long-term. But equally so, there was an advancement in sustainability of basic needs when run under a small Christian community that valued a spirituality of loving and serving the neighbour. Without that value of relationship building the communities would be perpetually in poverty. The research has presented an intriguing debate on the inclusion and contributions of Faith-Based Organizations in the war on poverty. The structuring of the research both in the urban and rural areas of Kenya enriched the multidimensional measure of poverty by bringing on board other dimensions like relationship building, culturally located dimensions on value and appreciating different perceptions. But the faith perspective helped to cement deeper relationships in society. The example about community governance directed by cluster leadership proved to be very effective in providing for households that had children or grandparents as heads of families. Therefore, it does not mean that faith alone makes a
difference, nor do we say when we know the type of poverty to be solved then well-being is achieved. More is required to be worked on to achieve a holistic and transformative society.
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Appendix 1 Questionnaire and Focus Questions

This is a sample questionnaire adjusted for clients, and IMANI staff

PART 1 Preliminary Questions
1. Name of organization: ---------------------------------------
2. Field(s) of activity (what they specialize in)------------------
3. Year of establishment: and why ------------------------
4. Members of the board of directors: and qualifications, if possible
5. Number of members:------------- Number of volunteers:------ Telephone:
6. Fax: --------------- Email address:
7. Website:------------ Postal address:

PART 2 Questions
9. How many staff are involved in the empowerment programme____
10. What is the education level of your staff? If any
   a) High school diploma ----- people
   b) Bachelor’s Degree ------ people
   c) Master’s Degree ------ people
   d) Ph.D. ------ people
   e) None of the above.....specify......
   f) Does your organization have a research department?
   g) Yes ☐ No ☐ If the answer to this question in negative, please go to the next question.
   h) Does your organization carry out research activities?
   i) Yes ☐ No ☐
11. Please name your donors:
   a) Domestic (e.g. Government, Church etc.)
   b) International
   c) UN agencies (please be specific)
   d) World Bank Yes ☐ No ☐
16. List the names of experts and program officers in your organization that are active in the field of community empowerment, together with their email addresses.
17. List all the community-based projects your organization has carried out and explain briefly about each one.
18. List all the community-based projects your organization is carrying out and explain briefly about each one.
19. Briefly describe your best and worst experiences in community-based projects. Are you satisfied with the support/services provided by your main sponsor?

PART 3 Case Study Specific Questions for Each Chapter

Specific Questions adjusted to suit the situation each field assistant was faced with

Set of questions that were asked to different programmes in line with the research topic
Chapter 3 IMANI Founders and Staff Direct Questions
Q. 1. Brother Timothy what did you mean by building an inner spirit? Could you elaborate on this?
Q. 2. What were the duties of CTC staff like?
Q. 3. How did JCP assist clients of the programme to market their products?
Q. 4. How did JCP go about improving what clients produced for the market?
Q. 5. How do you (JCP Client) see the IMANI training benefit you?
Q. 6. Would you have succeeded in joining IMANI without your guardian’s support?
Q. 7. How important are guardians contributing to the empowerment of the youth at CTC?
Q. 8. Did the students have any rural links as they went through the programme?
Q. 9. How has CTC assisted you and other women in your aspirations as mothers?
Q. 10. How did CTC help you reach your goal?

Chapter 4 K-REP Questions as used in the Interviews
Q. 1. Sir, could you elaborate on the strategy adopted to give better service to the ordinary people?
Q. 2. How has K-REP benefited the clients and how they think it could work better for them?
Q. 3. What did you see as the greater benefit of K-REP in meeting your capabilities and well-being?
Q. 4. How do you see the management of K-REP and support to you?
Q. 5. Do you know the mission statement and objectives of K-REP?
Q. 6. Have you been exposed to different markets outside Kenya? How have you been exposed to them?
Q. 7. Do you have any issues with project managers?
Q. 8. Do you experience a top-down approach with less participation from you?
Q. 9. Is K-REP the only group you are associated with in meeting your capabilities?
Q. 10. How do you build the inner spirit and enhance personal growth?
Q. 11. What has been your impression of service delivery and support from K-REP?
Q. 12. Did you have challenges in finding market for your goods?
Q. 13. Do you have any rural connections while in Kawangware area of Nairobi?
Q. 14. What has K-REP done to improve on meeting the capabilities and well-being of clients?
Q. 15. How has K-REP handled some of the questions about meeting people’s capabilities and well-being?

Chapter 5 Questions directed to Mwenda Andu Leaders and Clients in the First Field
Q. 1. Mrs. Mary Wambua, you are the co-ordinator of this vast programme could you tell us its background please?
Q. 2. How did you now move from being a dependency people to a people empowered to self-reliance?
Q. 3. How did you fit into the main district development plan with your new found holistic development approach?
Q. 4. What have you noticed as the pattern of movement of residents between your village and the city of Nairobi?
Q. 5. What policy is the county working under to improve agriculture?
Q. 6. Could there be a policy of combining farms to make room for better production?
Q. 7. Would the change in policy have a bigger impact on urban migration?
Q. 8. To the programme coordinator: What have you done to address these challenges?
Q.9. What ties your group together despite many problems most groups face in managing themselves?

Q.10. What makes CFBOs more credible in terms of performance in project service delivery?

Q.11. Do farmers understand the obstacles to find market for their produce outside Kitui?

Q.12. Did small holder farmers know the market environment well to sell their products at a good price?

Q.13. Could you explain what you have found out as benefits of being under Mwenda Andu programme?

Q.14. How did you go about the process of improved household incomes?

Q.15. When there is no bank or donor giving you financial support, how do you raise the financial support for your members?

Q.16. You mentioned water as key to meeting basic needs. How did you manage to bring water to your cluster households?

Q.17. What do you see as new challenges affecting your organization?

Chapter 5 KICABA questions

Q.1. What is Kitui Creative Arts Business Appraisal (KICABA)?

Q.2. When was KICABA started and did your faith play any role in its foundation?

Q.3. What kind of help did you receive to clarify your own thoughts about the project?

Q.4. When did you graduate and what did you write about?

Q.5. What would you consider as the core values of KICABA?

Q.6. How did you reflect these core values in practice?

Chapter 6 Feedback Specific Questions

Q.1 (IMANI Outreach programme) Mama Nyaga you have two sick children, you sell Napier grass by the road do you consider yourself poor?

Q.2 Mama Nyaga, if you see yourself not poor how would you see the village as a whole? You live in a sewer, surrounded by a slaughter house and many vultures. Is this good for you?

Q.3 Mama Nyaga What would be your most significant change in your life?

Q.4. (Group leaders) After IMANI helped you there came a new donor to give you a hand. Could you tell me more about the donor and what you as a community did to improve your livelihood in the slum?

Q.5. What was JCP doing to help the Kayole group and other groups in credit lending?

Q.6. What structures were in place to support the clients once they left their daily skill training classes at IMANI?

Q.7. Do you think you can influence the donor and the agency like IMANI to listen to you and serve your needs?

Q.8. Does JCP impose policies on you or no credit to you if you do not abide?

Q.9. What did you see as significant to your own wellbeing that you missed from the presentation?

Q.10. What did the students think of the findings about CTC and what needed to be improved?

Q.11. How do you deal with such cases when they arise?

Q.12. Do you as client have a say on what you want to do under the Mwenda Andu programme or the leaders have become active like any other agency?
Part 4 Examples of Interviews during Phases 1 and 2 of the Survey

Between May 20th and December 20th 2006

A. Set of Interviews coded No.1 conducted by by Reginald

(Taped and transcribed materials) Interviews Rome from 20th May to May 26

1. FS/01May 24th 2006 in Rome with Bro. Timothy Phillips founding member of IMANI.
2. Fs/02 May 25th 2006 in Rome with Brother Timothy Phillips, SM.
3. FS/03 May26th in Rome with Brother Timothy Phillips, SM.
4. Fs/04 May27 2006 With Brother Timothy Phillips in Rome
5. BroTim/IMANI/2006: Interviews with Brother Timothy Phillips, SM, as a founding member of IMANI. The interviews were conducted at his residence in Rome, at the Marianist Generalate from May 24th to 1st June, 2006.
7. BroTim/IMANI/2008: Email interviews on Founding of the Society and Mission of IMANI.
8. FS/02 Follow up interviews to clarify collected information: April, September and December 2007;

B. Sets of Interviews No.2 IMANI Interviews Between June 1st and July 9th 2006

2. Fs/FrGabriel/IMANI: Interviews with Fr. Gabriel, the new director of IMANI when the field survey was starting and continued to be present throughout the study. Dates: 3rd June, 7th June and 8th July 2006
4. Fs/Accounts/IMANI/june 9th 2006: interviews with 2 people:
5. Fs/IMANI/June9th 2006 with Finance administrator and accountant on loans disbursement
7. Fs/MH/Cordi/IMANI: Maria House Coordinator 2006
8. Fs/Interviews with Maria House Instructors and subordinate Staff
11. Fs/FLG/6th June 2006 Field notes and tape recordings from the field
12. FS/Metalwork/7th June 2006/ Fiona 5 graduates of metal work

D.K-REP Interviews

1. Fs/KREP Interviews with the K-REP Chief Executive, Mr. Mutua and planning of other interviews.
2. Fs/K-REP clients/Kawangware/Nairobi/January 2007
3. Fs/K-REP Interview with MD February 2nd 2007
4. FS/K-REP Interviews with clients from February 5th to March 30th 2007

E. KICABA and Mwenda Andu Interviews
1. Fs/Kic/Kutu/ founding and growth June 15th 2006
2. Fs/Kic/Clients interviews: Winnie/June 20th 2006
3. Fs/Kic/clients interview: June 10th, 12th, 14th 2006
4. Fs/Mwenda Andu Interviews/ Mary Wambua/June 4, 5, 6, 7 June and July 4th 2006
5. Fs/Mwenda Andu Cluster leaders/female leaders/ Esther Kavila/June 5th 2006
6. Fs/Mwenda Andu 30 Cluster leaders/June 27th 2006 and July 9th 2006
7. Fs/Mwenda Andu/ cluster leader Mary Nyamai/Interview/June 8th 2006

F. IMANI Clients and Staff Feedback
8. Fs/JCP/Cordi/IMANI Second interviews between November 19/2008 and January 12/2009
9. Fs/Interviews with Maria House Clients sample of 10, November 20th 2008
10. Fs/Interviews with IMANI women Clients of Kayole Slaughter House January 2nd 2009
11. Fs/IMANI Clients/ Kayole slaughter house/ Mama Nyaga January 4th 2009
13. BroFrank Damm/IMANI/2008: Email exchange on Place of Money and Charity in IMANI.

G. Feedback K-REP Clients in Kawangware by Dr. Nganga Gichumbi
15. Route 46: 4 clients September 29th 2008
17. Riruta Gathondeki Area: 2 Clients October 5th, 6th and 7th 2008.

H. Archival Materials from Agencies
2. Fs/ 02 IMANI Strategic Planning Report 2000 by Dr. and Mrs. Gordon Brown
3. Fs/ 02 IMANI Strategic Planning Report 2005
4. Fs/03 IMANI JCP Credit lending report over 10 years 2009
5. Fs/04 IMANI CTC Annual Report 2006
6. Fs/05 Mwenda Andu Reports and photos 2006, 2009
7. Fs/06 KICABA Annual reports 2006-2009
8. FS/06 K-REP Annual Reports materials website 2006-2009
10. Fs/KREP/Reports/Agencies: on K-REP by Other agencies e.g. USAID 1994 evaluation
11. Fs/KREP Reports/ April 4th and 5th 2014/updated website materials

I. KICABA Reports and Written Materials
18. 2002: KICABA Concept Proposal
19. 2006: KICABA Client Reports
20. 2006 Mwenda Andu Annual Reports and Written materials

K. Secondary Data Reports from Archives

L. Part 2 of Feedback Interviews November 11\textsuperscript{th} 2008 and January 26\textsuperscript{th} 2009
1. Fs/IMANI Clients at Kayole Slaughter House November 12\textsuperscript{th}, 2008
2. Fs/IMANI Clients at Kayole Slaughter House of the 54 women November 20\textsuperscript{th} 26\textsuperscript{th} 2008
3. Fs/IMANI clients/Mama Nyaga at Kayole Slaughter House November 21\textsuperscript{st} 2008
4. Fs/IMANI Clients at Mlango Kubwa November December 14\textsuperscript{th}, 20\textsuperscript{th} 2008
5. Fs/IMANI Clients at Bahati and Jogoo Road Market December 26\textsuperscript{th} 2008
6. Fs/IMANI Clients in Mukuru Kwa Njenga: January 1\textsuperscript{st}, 10\textsuperscript{th}
7. Fs/IMANI Clients in Eastleigh St. Teresas and Mathare Valley 4A,3B 12\textsuperscript{th}, 13\textsuperscript{th} 15\textsuperscript{th}.2009

M. Feedback by IMANI Staff Data Follow-up
1. FS/04 JCP Jericho Feedback: 13\textsuperscript{th} November 2008 to 26\textsuperscript{th} January 2010
2. FS/05 JCP Business advisor CTC Feedback: December 20\textsuperscript{th} 2009
3. Fs/JCP Coordinator: December 15\textsuperscript{th} 2008, YMCA
4. Fs/Phone interview with Maria House Coordinator: January 10\textsuperscript{th} 2009
5. Fs/CTC Co-ordinator January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009.
6. Fs/IMANI Director, Fr. Gabriel November 15\textsuperscript{th} 2008
7. Fs/ JCP Coordinator/ data sent email February 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2009

N. Feedback from Kitui Chapter 5 Between 2008-2009 Mwenda Andu and KICABA by field assistant Mr. Richard Mutua
1. Fs/KICABA: The Coordinator January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009
2. Fs/Kitui/Mwenda Andu: Mary Wambua/ January 18\textsuperscript{th} 2009
3. Fs/Kitui/Mwenda Andu by programme Co-ordinator January 19\textsuperscript{th} 2006
4. Fs/Fs/Mwenda Andu with 14 Board members in second interview January 19\textsuperscript{th} 2009
5. Field/Survey/ 2006: The First full Field Survey raw data Reports from Kitui (unedited)
6. Fs/Mwenda Andu: 12 cluster members January 15\textsuperscript{th} , 17\textsuperscript{th}, 19\textsuperscript{th} 2009
7. Fs/4 household members of the cluster January 16\textsuperscript{th} 2009
8. Fs/4 cluster leaders and 4 programme leaders January 16\textsuperscript{th} 2009
9. Fs/Mwenda Andu Project Coordinator January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009
10. Fs/Patron(ACK clergyman) January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009
11. Fs/Treasurer of Mwenda Andu ,January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009
12. Fs/Cluster group social worker, January 15\textsuperscript{th} 2009

O. Important References to Faith-Based Organizations in UK
1. Fs/White Chapel Mosque Human development gathering March 10\textsuperscript{th} 2009
2. Fs/02 Mohindra Singh Bhai Ji (Sikh Spiritual leader in Birmingham): 14\textsuperscript{th} October 2009
3. FS/03/Faith matters/the launch of Tony Blair faith Foundation series of lectures, London between September 21\textsuperscript{st} to November 12\textsuperscript{th} 2009. Different reflections by
different leaders of FBOs came forward to make their points why faith matters in development. (See www.tbff.org/launch2009).

Appendix 2 Methodology and Research Design

Field Research Design
8 field assistants were co-opted by the author between 2006 and 2009 to help collect data both in Nairobi and Kitui. 5 of the 8 collected data in Nairobi and 3 were based in Kitui. The case studies were selected from urban settlements of Nairobi and a rural district of Kitui. The Nairobi City case studies were namely an NGO called Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme (K-REP) and a CFBO called Incentives from Marianists to Assist Needy [to become] Independent (IMANI). Kitui had Mwenda Andu (a CFBO) and a community-based organisation (CBO) called Kitui Integrated Creative Arts and Business Appraisal (KICABA). KIHBS (2007) defined a household population as 5 members. By virtue of being cluster leaders they were in charge of between 80-120 individual members under their care. Therefore, Mwenda Andu project alone had over 3,600 people under its care ((for 80 to 120] x30 clusters = 2400 to 3600 people). The whole field survey targeted 400 respondents spread out in the four case studies but only 300 respondents were reached out in the interviews. Of this total, IMANI had 216 interviewees as follows: CTC 52, Maria House 50, IMANI management 10 (included the director, the finance officers together with 3 coordinators), JCP’s 40 clients spread out in Mathare, Mlango Kubwa, Eastleigh, Bahati, Jogoo Road Market, Mukuru. The Kayole Slaughter House group had 74 men, women and youth as respondents. K-REP had a total of 3 groups of 5 with 3 representatives making a total of 9 interviewees. Kicaba had a total of 30 including the 10 from management of the project. Mwenda Andu had 33 including the cluster leaders who doubled as officials.

The cluster leaders doubled up as clients whom Mwenda Andu relied upon for the initiatives that promoted human development in the project. Meanwhile, Mwenda Andu was part of the wider development programme within the Anglican Diocese of Kitui. That means that as a small Christian community group, they lived within the ethos and mission objectives of the wider Anglican Communion in Kenya.

Kitui District focused on clients of KICABA and Mwenda Andu around Kitui Town and the rural area. Mwenda Andu interviews were concentrated in the suburbs of Kitui town in an area called Wikiliye. This village was strategically placed on the edge of the urban town of Kitui with a rich rural life. Living here was considered important for the smallholder farmers who delivered their farm produce to Kitui town where at a good price. In exchange they bought and replenished their household kitchen stuff. KICABA followed the same approach by collaborating with Mwenda Andu in many aspects of their work. They particularly paid special attention on the local youth, the orphans and the households led by grandparents (gerontology model for households affected by HIV/AIDS).166

Both projects brought out the Kamba community ontological mindset and community ethos on core values. These values were built from the ‘centre and the circle’ in the community. As discussed in chapter 7, the concept of the ‘centre’ and ‘the circle’ means an organizational structure which is circular with the centre as ‘sacred’. It precludes the well known language

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166 Most homesteads with orphans were led by ‘grandparents’ after the parents of the children died from disease, HIV/AIDS and accidents. The overturning of the cultural heritage value of having children who could bury you was a psychological challenge to the grandparents.
of the top-down and bottom up approach to empowering communities replacing that with to a more circular organisational structure.
The different stages of the preparation required the following steps to be undertaken.

**Data Collection Instruments**
Data collection was aided by:
- A review of relevant international and national literature and the main sources of Faith-Based Organizations/NGO on methodology used to help the poor;
- Mapping (identification of Faith-Based Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations locating them in relation to the communities they target, and identification of the main channels for transferring knowledge;
- Textual analysis of written (included primary sources, secondary sources and oral materials recorded on tapes. Most interviews were recorded unless the client was not willing to be recorded. In that case a simple discussion would ensue focusing on the three sections of the questionnaire;
- Interviews: individual and group interviews with religious leaders and teachers and representative groups of 'members' in selected locations (youth, men and women).

i) Use of Questionnaires
a) Application of the questionnaire: using open ended and closed questions.
The preliminary questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first part was a preliminary interrogation about the client, the second part addressed the anti-poverty intervention by the client supported by an agency and third part asked more or less questions of satisfaction with the type of support from the agency like IMANI, K-REP. This question helped to shape the thinking within the thesis where we created an argument that perhaps agencies pursue their mission objectives rather than helping the client fulfil their own objectives. The last part helped to gauge what clients saw as most significant change (MSC) e.g. 6 IMANI clients at Jericho Market felt they did not need to carry on with tailoring because the market was ‘saturated’ with secondhand clothes. But since the loan offered was about tailoring they could not change the objective of the loan as per the requirements signed on paper. The inflexibility nature of the agencies created a wrong impression on what they would define as success of the project. Was it when all loans were paid or when the client changed their entrepreneurship prowess with the market needs?

The questionnaires were administered only when necessary because some clients felt intimidated by the paper work. Because of that preliminary experience the field assistants had the 3 sections of the questionnaire in mind when engaging a client in conversation. For example, taking Maria House as one of the 3 IMANI programmes there was a combined group and individual interviews. JCP clients were mostly happy with individual interviews by nature of their project activities, while at CTC some clients were at home with group discussions about their problems i.e the FLG compared to students attending classes who were happy sharing about their problems in private.

a) Flexibility was important.
b) Recording gadgets i.e. tape recorders, notebooks and collecting hard copies of reports from the agency concerned.
c) Hiring qualified field assistants for the two regions in Kitui and Nairobi.
d) Organising a workshop and training for field assistants for 3 days before embarking on the field survey with the aim of learning the complications found in appreciating the questions about effectiveness.
e) Planning weekly interviews and end of week meeting with field assistants to share with them most recent observations and how that experience could influence the key question on assessing effectiveness.

f) Holding 2 training workshops with field assistants on the key question of effectiveness that struck them most during the 6 weeks of intensive field survey interviews (June 1st to July 9th, 2006).

The weak points and strong points of both the agency and client were shared. They were also asked to point out what they saw as MSC within the client and the agency. The result would support the complications of effectiveness in relation to the mission, goals and objectives of the agency (e.g. IMANI, K-REP).

3 crucial observations were made on the methodological questions.
The demand on CFBOs to demonstrate effectiveness is greater because of the holistic and transformative nature of their call to service in society. The CFBOs aspire to see their society as just, equitable, sharing resources with less fortunate, distribution of skills to help clients to be self-reliant. Their pro-poor programmes are able to fulfil these needs and provide holistic overview of the major problems which other agencies do not have as part of their programme.

**Methodology adopted for 2nd Field Survey**
The most appropriate methodology was to apply the effectiveness model. This model was developed by Rick Davies (1996) and refined in 2003 to address what he called the Most Significant Change needs of those targeted by the agency. Chapter 2 has given details of the methodology as part of the popular participatory methodologies. The effectiveness testing model was used to assess what the client said about achieving capabilities and well-being or Most Significant Change in an individual or group.

The model puts the beneficiary on one side while the agency is in the middle of the table. The questions asked to the client against what the agency is proposing helps to bring out the measure of effectiveness. The analysis followed this model to bring out the voice of the clients in search of the most significant change needs in the proposed intervention. Chapter 2 has details of the model.
Appendix 3 Examples of Interviews cited in Chapters 3, 4, 5

1. Case analysis 1 (IMANI) Society of Mary
2. Case analysis 2 Challenges Women face in the slums
3. Case analysis 4 (IMANI) CTC Spiritual Social Office supports clients in need
4. Case analysis 3 Challenges the Kayole Slaughter House faced
5. Case analysis 6 KICABA in Kitui
6. Case analysis 8 Mr. Kutu on Kamba ontology from the concept of the circle and the centre

NB: Mwenda Andu and K-REP case study examples were included in the main text.

Case Analysis 1
The Society of Mary or Marianists, a Catholic Religious Missionary order with roots in France, was founded 2nd October 1817. It was the second foundation of what was called the Institute of Mary since the Marianist Sisters; the Daughters of Mary (Immaculate) were the first of that institute to be founded by May 25th, 1816. Both had arisen out of the Sodalities which had spread throughout South Western France. The Sodalities were begun by Padre Joseph Chaminade in Bordeaux at the end of 1800. Chaminade was a diocesan priest from the diocese of Perigueux where he was born in 1761. During the French Revolution (1789) he moved to Bordeaux (1790) until his death. There was a short spell of refuge in Spain at place called Saragossa from 1790-1800. He had three brothers, John, Louis and William, who became ordained priests working in Seminary school nearby in the town of Mussidan (between Perigueux and Bordeaux). But it was while at Saragossa that the Society of Mary was founded. It is claimed that he had a revelation from Mary that gave him inspiration to found the community of religious. He began Marian Sodality, what today might be called Small Christian Communities (SCC) or a youth movement. The movement had a mix of married men and women, young lay women and priests. Today these groups are called Marianist lay communities. The founder of the women’s Marianist Sisters was Adele de Batz de Trequelleon, who was at one point leader of one of the affiliated sodalities. She had come to contact with Fr. Chaminade in 1808. By 1816 she and a number of lay women in the Association were interested in religious life and founded the Daughters of Mary in 1816 at Agen. The male community of religious started with a member of the Bordeaux Sodality group, Jean-Baptiste Lalane, 21 years old who went to meet Fr. Chaminade, 56 years old then, to offer himself as a collaborator. From his meeting a Society of Mary community began. Chaminade and Lalane recruited four others from the sodality to the idea and at end of discernment the society of Mary was founded in 2nd October.

In 1849, 6 Marianists left France for USA to teach in a German-speaking Primary School in Cincinnati, Ohio. There was no contact with Africa until 1957 when a group of Marianist Missionaries went to Asaba in Nigeria to teach in a High School there. In 1960, others went to Malawi (or Nkhata Bay then) to take over a High School there. The Marianists are established in the Koronga region of Malawi where they run a very successful High School.

In 1961, the Marianists arrived in Kenya and took over Mangu High School and Aquinas High School (formerly St. Thomas Aquinas High School) from the Holy Ghost Missionaries who had been in Nairobi since 1890. It was not until 1977 that the first African professed Marianists started working in Kinyago slums in Nairobi.
By the time of the starting of IMANI the Marianist Regional Superior who gave the go-ahead to the project was Brother Frank Damm, 1986 to 1992. The involvement in Kinyago was part of the Marianist training programme. By 1983, there were no Marianists involved in the teaching programme but community work only. They have since remained on the boards of Mangu and Aquinas High Schools and continued to support various education initiatives in Kenya.

Case analysis 2 Challenges Women face in the Slums
The leader has the final word when matters are to be presented to an organisation. It is not sure if everyone agrees with the leader at that time until you find out after the meeting. In the case of Kayole Slaughter House group, the leader, Phyllis, had the final word and they all agreed because while talking she asked them questions to respond in agreement. In one session on 6th June 2006, this was experienced. The meeting began with a prayer. Phyllis Musau, the chair lady led the prayer. It was a prayer of praise and thanksgiving to God for them all and the visitor who had come to meet them. The question was about challenges they faced. They were not interested in many long questions and answers. Phyllis Musau said that their problems were that they did not know how to chase poverty out of the village. There were 54 women of which 30 women were recognised as active members of the group. Most of them had been trained by IMANI. The training was based on skills development in dress making, knitting, tailoring, glass bead-melting and making, and candle-making.

Phyllis expounded on some key issues affecting the women not to progress with their work: the group lacked ‘Upeundo’ love and ‘Uvumilivu’ perseverance, Mawasiliano communication and ‘Uongozi’ leadership. They wanted to open the candle business which had stalled over 2 years because of bad leadership, lack of love and perseverance. Phyllis said that leadership is not certificates and training but better ‘mawasiliano’ communication. This bit has not been well co-ordinated to assist people to be one family. The candle-making education was being spread now to the youth in the area who are enterprising enough to start a candle-making ‘factory in the locality. They also cry that the candle-making, while supposed to help women has not done that.

The women in their meeting wanted to find the way forward with the candle project which had stalled. They asked many questions like: Who should benefit from the candle project? Who should be trusted with the daily collection from sales and how should they divide the daily expenditure from income? How were members of the group going to benefit? Should the women be trained in candle-making other than the 10 who already trained with IMANI? In 1995, a fire burnt down the Spring Valley slum making it hard for them to rebuild on the same piece of land. After an intervention by the churches, the government was obliged to give these people a piece of land to stay on. They moved to Kayole Slaughter House area. They have since come to be known as Exsvak. In 1999, IMANI got involved with the group when some of the women were recommended for assistance at Maria House. A sponsor from Ireland was found who assisted with general education and skills development of the girls and mothers. Because the number was large and full of potential, some MH training programmes moved to the centre. The donor helped buy sewing machines, embroidery and gospel living was introduced too. It became a very vibrant outreach project. With the help of JCP, the group started a candle-making enterprise with the machines kept in Kayole. Then followed the glass-melting project for the Kayole women, as well as new in-coming IMANI clients. The IMANI board was pleased and approved a considerable budget to help the women in candle-making and glass-melting to make beads, ashtrays and other models. In
1998, Sr. Rita Esposito, Comboni Sister, came to IMANI to work there. She immediately realised that women were required to be creative in order to succeed in their income generation. Knowing the background of IMANI with Society of Mary brothers, Sr. Rita gave it a go. She came across a British woman who had the equipment for making candles. The business was worth Ksh. 5 million (£34,000). Sr. Rita convinced her to sell at Ksh.500,000 (£3,400) with the hope that the women would benefit from it. She got a donor through Fr. Christy Burke, CSSP. The candle-making machines were in place supervised by IMANI’s Maria House. The business then collapsed the moment the group experienced poor leadership, disunity, poor communication, and love for the neighbour. No one was willing to help the other. This is the narrative that had not featured in the earlier data when the women noticed there were gaps in presenting data about them. The candle-making project was worth Ksh.500,000 ($7000). If marketing would go right and sales improved the group would be making around Ksh. 200,000 a month.

However, there was a change at IMANI of two important people to this project: Maria House co-ordinator and JCP marketing officer, Sr. Rita. Those who took over did not understand well the details of the project and what its objectives were. The Kayole women leaders say that they were overcharged for fuel of the vehicle taking goods from to the market, and what appeared to have been a loan was never recorded well to show entry and expenditure. Women began quarrelling over money and leadership issues. There was no one to fall back on. To date, the project cannot explain whether the group made any profits or not. The machines are still locked up in their store in Kayole.

Those interviewed between June 7th and 28th 2006 were the executive committee of the slum namely: Mutukku Chairman, Phyllis women’s chairman, Didikus secretary and church matters, Mwaura vice chairman, Mwongela education matters, Caroline committee member. All their meetings started with prayer and ended in prayer. They thanked God for the day to day things in the village and sought his intervention as far as land matters were concerned. Their hope was placed in the property their main donor from Ireland had acquired on their behalf nearby in 2002. However, due to logistic and land ownership problems, they were not able to move to that piece of land. The 10 acre land cost Ksh.5 million ($120,000) for 165 families from Spring Valley and 17 families from Kiambu, outside Nairobi. However, the donor left for Ireland and the politician who had burnt down their Spring Valley slums had agreed to compensate them by helping to pay the difference of Ksh.5 million. But the politician was not doing much to help them. The man who had sold the land to them passed away and his sons had taken over the estate. However, the matter was with the lawyer of the deceased who was suspicious of dealing with politicians on a delicate matter like land. But the group was hopeful.

**Case analysis 3 Challenges the Kayole Slaughter House faced**

This is an example of challenges Pro-poor agencies face when the objectives and goals of their programme become convoluted with their own interests and not of the client.

The group experienced a number of problems. In the interview of June IMANI charging was exorbitant where those concerned from IMANI had doctored invoices and vouchers. The IMANI vehicle consumed all their profits, they claimed. They said that a certain Kimeu was a ‘Mjanja’ than the women were. Sr. Rita and Anne Gakuru had done a very good job in helping the group receive the necessary skills. Sr. Rita moved to Kariobangi Women’s
project and Anne Gakuru moved on to Botswana. The candle teacher who had been doing a very good job passed away mysteriously and the candle job stopped. The group would not employ anyone but themselves. They would agree on the day when all the women would join hands and make candles together. Those trained by IMANI in candle-making were chased away by the group and the project stalled.

IMANI had trained the women too in other skills: dress-making, embroidery and knitting. The machines bought by a donor are still available but little done as a group using the machines. The group of women concluded their meeting by stating that they would start the candle factory in a week’s time. They would all work as a group on a chosen day in the week. They would do a stock-taking to know what was available in the store. The committee in charge of the candle business would seek a new mandate to win over more women. They would then register the committee as a self-help women’s group, through the office of the local government and government at Nyayo house. No one from outside the group would sell candles.

Then came NGOs into the village without fully involving them (clients). The NGOs have their own mission to fulfil and get out. So they would do things to please a donor and not the villagers. The villagers claim that they are just stepping stones for the NGOs to use and get money. Once that is done they forget the beneficiaries meant to be assisted.

Currently they have a project called ESVAK (ex-Spring Valley Kayole Group) registered in their name as an NGO yet they hardly know what it really should do. ESVAK is registered NGO, it has an account in the name of the director, Malie (MA). They claim that any money collected in their name is kept by MA. ESVAK is the bridge for her support and well-being. In my own terms, I call this the ‘Boomerang effect’ meaning that the donors are the target, the proposal is the boomerang which is propelled by the poor people. The people will never get to the target nor the boomerang. ESVAK management has come up with a divide and rule strategy, they say. There are seminars for leaders but cleverly done to disorganise the people. They claim that MA says so and so is a very bad person and will not work with him or her because she is too inquisitive and independently minded. They claim that she wrote a proposal which said she was supporting street people. They are not street people but persons who have been burnt out of their slum residence in Spring Valley. Since there is no evidence of this, it shows how when clients are not involved in the proposal writing things can easily be misunderstood.

Case analysis 4 CTC Spiritual Social Office supports Clients in need
If we hear the same story the first day, the same story second day and the third day then we go out and do some research on the case. There is evidence now that the case must be needy before any help can be offered in material form or through training at CTC. This is one of the many cases recorded where CTC tries to be involved on a daily and weekly basis. It is a bit extreme but gives a clear picture of the diversity of trying to meet the client’s needs. This is a recorded interview which gives a first-hand experience of what the social workers go through: Kero is married and had 3 children but one passed away. She broke down into tears and explained how the child died. That she was boiling water on a kerosene cooking stove ‘jiko’. The children ran and knocked themselves against the hot water spilling it on them. When the child screamed she went and removed the clothes which came off with the child’s skin. Her brother had given her Ksh.100 ($1.33) for transport and supper for when she goes back home. So with the money she had, she took she took the child to Kenyatta National
Hospital in Nairobi, where one of the attendants demanded Ksh.20,000 ($266.70) for the admission fee. She did not have the money and therefore opted to take the child home. But out of sympathy they let the child stay on the ward. Her brother was able to raise Ksh.4000 ($53.33) which facilitated the beginning of the child’s treatment. After two weeks, the burns had begun healing but the child was having difficulties in breathing. The doctors explained that his chest was in bad condition after spending several days without being covered, the child contracted pneumonia. The chest treatment had not begun by the time the child succumbed with his mother, Kero, by the bedside. Because the child burnt while they had gone to visit her brother, her husband accused her of having colluded with his in-laws to kill her child. During this incident, CTC gave her money to organise the funeral which covered the coffin and transport back to the rural home. Some of the CTC staff were so touched by this incident that they gave Kero moral support by travelling to the rural home for the funeral. Now Mary continues to receive counselling at the social office.

Case analysis 5 CTC Client
This is an example of what students in the IMANI programme aspire to.
I used the interview with a metalwork student at CTC.
This is a sample interview focusing on what the student thought was contributing the most significant change in his life as he pursued the metalwork course at CTC.
The interview with one metal work student revealed the following:

F (interviewer): I stay with my mother. My father passed away.
What does your mother do?
St (student). Business.
F: What kind of business?
ST: Retail and selling whitebait or ‘omena’ which are small fishes from Lake Victoria commonly eaten by the poor in slums. A tin of 500g would cost Ksh.20 unlike a kilo of meat which would cost Ksh. 300 then.
F: How much is rent at your house?
St: Ksh.6000, we have water and electricity.
F: What is your motivation at CTC? Employment?
St.: To run my own business.
F: What challenges do you do face as a student?
St: fees, travelling costs etc.
The recorded problems were generally experienced by most of those students interviewed.

Case analysis 6 KICABA in Kitui
Client 1: Anna Fundi, 10 October, 2008
Anna Fundi is a shopkeeper from a household of 9 members (brothers and sisters). Her aspiration was to be a nurse but she did not get enough education to attain that dream. She reached Primary 7. She has built her livelihood from being a shopkeeper. She chose to open her shop in Kitui because in the rural area many customers really like to buy items on credit. One of her brothers is a teacher, who also helped his father to educate the rest of the family up to Form Four. The second wife of her father disunited the family, meaning that she, as the last born, did not have (acquire) an education. The best option was to get married. Anna Fundi is married and her husband works at Central Veterinary. Together they have 4 children, 2 in college, 1 in secondary and 1 in Primary 8. They have 1 orphan from her brother-in-law and his wife who passed away leaving 1 child. The orphan is in Form Two in a
local secondary school. Her source of income is the shop and the salary from her husband. They have a problem in the family with school fees. Anna Fundi’s case is one of many in Kitui. One can tell that when Mwenda Andu children fail to get a higher in education and cannot enter a polytechnic then the best they could do is look for an enterprise which could generate income. KICABA becomes an important player in providing credit to the needy like Anna. The other option is to get married and hope that things will improve in a new home. However, most come to realise that this is not the case. Fees and other needs in the household take their toll on the breadwinner.

In her own family, the elder brother had been helping his father pay fees. This is a common phenomenon in most Kenyan homes. Without the support of a brother, sister, cousin, uncle or aunt children do not get an education. There is a belief that children are part of the community and that they carry the spirit of the family, meaning that helping them is like helping your own. This act of love has seen many go through education in Kenya and IMANI’s CTC project experienced this too. Many of its clients were either supported by uncles or an elder brother or sister. From the sample of 30 cases, 6% were supported by uncle/aunt or elder brother/ sister. It goes beyond Christianity but has become part of the Christian sharing faith of loving thy neighbour as thyself.

An important point too is the aspiration expressed by Anna. She wanted to be a nurse. Had she received the necessary education she would have made it. But the usual family let-downs become an excuse to deny another the education they (she) wanted. The marrying of a second wife made their father not have enough money to support the first family. I am sure that if Anna would still go back to school she would make a good nurse and perhaps a good social worker too from this experience. The impressive thing is that her own children have gone through secondary education and moved on to college and still aspire to reach higher.

Case Analysis 8 from Kitui County

Ontology of the Kamba on union with God and working for each other from Patrick Kutu, Saturday, June 19, 2010

Dear Kutu, The feedback data you sent me had interesting discussions about God in the centre and everyone else being on the circle. Could you explain what you meant by saying that this circle seems to be endless in accepting new members as part of the community. Where is the origin of this ontological and tautological input? They mention the circle in the concept of the central pole in the Kamba home. Describe it this way: What is of significance why Kamba homes are rounded? How does it extend to the community thinking? What role of the father, community leader in building a new house symbolic of the larger community?

The central pole and importance of leadership, the fear of the sacred and God in the community, the importance of sharing in such a community.

Case Study 9 Response from Mr. Patrick Kutu sent by email on Sunday June 20th 2010

Dear Reg.
The Kamba homes are rounded with walls made of mud and sticks or unburned bricks. Traditionally, they were thatched houses with central pole holding the centre of the house.
This pole is called "Kitui kya ua" meaning the pole from which the strength of the house holds. At the bottom of the centre pole is the fire place of the 3 stones with 1 protecting the centre pole from fire. It is also the cooking area.

The father of the home and his kinsmen were responsible for building the house wall and putting the centre pole and the roof. No women would be left to do this. However, the grass coovering was always done by women. The centre pole holds the strength of the family. It is where the man of the house offered sacrifice in the morning, the common fire place for tales and the eduction of children. It is where parts of the maize combs for planting were tied to dry. Being of such importance, people were not allowed to touch it or hold it to support themselves to stand.

Everything to Kambas is associated with God. Daily work, entertainments, socialization, there is always fear and respect for God. This spirit build a very humble community. Kambas say "Kasele katune katunivaswa ni kunengelanilwe," that is a shared calabash turns brown, and brown is beautiful! This tells all about sharing in the community.

The format of a round house is also the design for sitting in a chief's baraza. The chief in this circle has authority but is one part of the big circle. All rules were made by the community in the presence of the chief and his advisors.