



Research Paper

Recognizing Communities

Local Level Responses to the Pathfinders Grand Challenges

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About the Author

Tara Moayed produced this paper under contract as a development consultant with the World Bank. The views expressed herein are those of the author and should not be attributed to the World Bank, its executive directors, or the countries they represent.

This paper aims to contribute to the work of the Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, a group of UN member states, international organizations, and global partnerships which aims to turn the ambition of the SDG targets for peaceful, just, and inclusive societies into reality. Specifically, the Pathfinders are engaged in a discussion regarding the Grand Challenge on Inequality and Exclusion, including exploring operational and policy options to address these.

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About the Grand Challenge

Inequality and exclusion are among the most pressing political issues of our age. They are on the rise and the anger felt by citizens towards elites perceived to be out-of-touch constitutes a potent political force. Policy-makers and the public are clamoring for a set of policy options that can arrest and reverse this trend. The Grand Challenge on Inequality and Exclusion seeks to identify practical and politically viable solutions to meet the targets on equitable and inclusive societies in the Sustainable Development Goals. Our goal is for national governments, intergovernmental bodies, multilateral organizations, and civil society groups to increase commitments and adopt solutions for equality and inclusion.

The Grand Challenge is an initiative of the Pathfinders, a multi-stakeholder partnership that brings together 36 member states, international organizations, civil society, and the private sector to accelerate delivery of the SDG targets for peace, justice and inclusion. Pathfinders is hosted at New York University's Center for International Cooperation.





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Introduction

This paper aims to contribute to the work of the Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, a group of UN member states, international organisations, and global partnerships, which aims to turn the ambition of the Sustainable Development Goals for peaceful, just, and inclusive societies into reality. The Pathfinders are engaged in exploring operational and policy options to address the grand challenges of inequality and exclusion. This paper reviews the experience of community-driven development (CDD) programs in addressing exclusion and supporting lagging regions and vulnerable groups. The paper complements other Pathfinders inputs on recognition and social protection, with a specific focus on the community rather than the household or individual. It also contributes to the discussion by showing how approaches that involve, reinforce, and engage with communities not only form a different and complementary starting point that builds on a country's indigenous strengths, but can lead to very practical policies and actions to foster inclusion and bring citizens and the state closer.

This paper argues that inequalities, and often the policy failures that have caused them, are best understood by those who experience them. Moreover, when those who experience injustice and inequality come together, they have more influence than when acting individually. CDD approaches facilitate group mobilisation and action, to put communities at the centre of development, and work together with their government to find solutions to challenges. What CDD enables is what Nancy Fraser calls *parity of participation*. Participatory parity maintains that to respect equal autonomy and moral worth of others, they must be included as “full partners in social interaction.”¹

The concept of CDD as used in this paper refers to an approach to national development programming that emphasises community control over planning decisions and investment resources, anchored in principles of participation, transparency, and accountability.² CDD creates opportunities for poor people to have a say in how their lives can be improved. Building on the strengths of communities for collective action, CDD has come to be recognised as an effective component of poverty reduction and sustainable development. Specifically, CDD has become an important operational strategy for many governments around the world due to its ability to engage citizens and deliver infrastructure and services both quickly and cost-effectively. The World Bank currently supports 219 ongoing projects in seventy-nine countries with investments of \$21.6 billion, with an additional \$12.1 billion in co-financing provided by borrowers and other donors, for total financing of \$33.7 billion.

If we unpack the reasons for this success, we quickly see the links between community-based development and the principle of recognition that forms the underlying architecture of CDD programs. Rather than atomising individuals as “beneficiaries” to be targeted by public programs, CDD programs transfer decision-making to processes that require collective and cooperative action. While the public funds transferred to communities in a CDD project are subject to public review by auditors, in nearly all operations, the first order of accountability is community oversight and reporting.

Despite inevitable variation across the portfolio, by now there is sufficient evidence of the impact of CDD projects to justify a more detailed look at their potential for contributing to the goals of Pathfinders. Rigorous evaluations have, for example, shown the ability of CDD programs to provide forums for citizens to participate in development planning;³ to deliver large volumes of cost-effective, high-quality infrastructure;⁴ to increase access to services;⁵ and to operate in a broad range of circumstances, including in remote, underserved, and insecure areas.⁶ However, the social impacts of CDD have been relatively less studied and have not been measured well. The nascent work by Pathfinders thus offers an opportunity to look at the impact of CDD programs as they relate to fostering political inclusion, changing citizen-state relations, and transforming delivery of services, including in post-conflict and fragile contexts.

This line of inquiry builds on an increasing recognition of the importance not just of service delivery in state legitimacy and effectiveness in general, but the impact of how services are delivered on, for example, conflict prevention. The 2018 joint United Nations-World Bank *Pathways for Peace* study, for example,



highlighted the central importance of exclusion and unfairness – including perceptions thereof – in generating grievances that can lead to violent mobilisation and conflict. The study argued that effectively addressing these grievances required greater attention to lagging regions, excluded groups, and perceptions of fairness, particularly in relation to the state and service delivery. To this end, the Pathways study recommended that governments should seek innovative ways of delivering services and strong community involvement in development efforts, and a reorientation of service delivery systems to “make people partners in the design and delivery of public services.”⁷ This echoes other work in the peacebuilding field that highlights the importance of service provision, including in quality, inclusion, and effective feedback mechanisms, to building the legitimacy of the state and fostering peacebuilding.⁸

To start a discussion of potential impacts of CDD programs in this area, this paper highlights areas of research, taking as a starting point the voice of community members, particularly the poor and vulnerable. The stories and quotes in this paper have been largely compiled from publicly available material, using secondary sources. The paper did not start with a presumed set of answers, but rather looked at themes that emerged from the voice of communities to formulate six hypotheses about the impact of recognising communities in development. The hypotheses presented are thus not intended as conclusive claims, but rather aim to provoke debate and engage researchers and practitioners on different frameworks for understanding the social impact of CDD programs on individuals and communities.

This paper begins by providing an overview of community dynamics and the role of facilitation in ensuring inclusion and preventing elite capture. Then it provides six hypotheses for discussion and as suggestions for future research. Each of the hypotheses is then further analysed based on quotes and anecdotes from the field. The hypotheses fall into three categories. The first two focus on voice, agency, and inclusion of marginalised groups. The second two focus on the citizen-state relationship, including the benefits of the CDD approach for governments. The final two hypotheses relate to the potential role of CDD in fragile and conflict-affected areas.

Understanding community dynamics

Communities are not homogenous. Within a single community, there are often divisions along class, ethnic, and gender lines. Further, not all communities are the same. Dynamics from one community to the next can widely differ, including power relations, land allocations, gender dynamics, mobility, and the level of government influence. James Scott, in *Seeing Like A State*, showed how much of the vocabulary of state administration carries with it the mechanisms to disempower local authority and invest it in state agents who can then wield state authority. Rebalancing this relationship requires finding ways to overcome the monopolies over information, decision-making, and convening power that state agents have, particularly in systems that emerged from an extractive colonial context. Ignoring these dynamics when designing a CDD project will most likely result in elite capture, and possibly lead to local conflict, increased inequality, and erode trust between citizens and the state.

Bode argues that it is critical to understand these local political dynamics, and then to find ways to turn the diagnosis of community heterogeneity into an operational program.⁹ For development programs, key to this change for the current discussion is the concept of community facilitation to enable inclusion and collective action. Facilitators, in principle, provide a “brokerage” function. They explain the “rules of the game” and can share information upwards and downwards. But their success or failure depend on their ability to turn community participation into an agreed decision over how to spend the grants provided by the government. The facilitators must therefore also be sensitive to community dynamics of exclusion and marginalisation. Bode explains, “Participatory activities must be facilitated in such a manner that the ‘disadvantaged,’ ‘marginalised,’ and ‘excluded’ people and groups gain trust in the facilitators. This is to ensure that the facilitators succeed in bringing the poor into the development process.”¹⁰

This paper argues the importance of the role of the community within the Pathfinders discussion over inequality. The examples below are based largely on government-led CDD programs that aim to ensure recognition of the complicated dynamics within the community itself. Unless the heterogeneity of



communities is considered and fostered through an inclusive design and facilitation process, no program or project can hope to impact inclusion, empowerment, and the citizen-state relationship. A deep understanding of community dynamics and good facilitation are prerequisites for any CDD model to have a positive social impact.

Themes for Discussion

This paper offers six hypotheses on the importance of community recognition. These hypotheses are based on anecdotes and beneficiary statements from CDD programs around the world and represent themes that are often not captured through results frameworks and traditional evaluations. The anecdotes are used to formulate questions about whether these hypotheses reflect outliers, or can become systematised through appropriate design, facilitation, and implementation.

Fostering voice, agency, and inclusion of the poor and vulnerable:

1. Uniting people, particularly vulnerable groups such as women and the poor, through community-based platforms, can improve their voice and agency, and enable group action, even creating wider sociocultural shifts around the perception of the role of marginalised groups in society.
2. Community facilitation and empowerment can enable representatives from previously underserved groups to create a new cadre of leaders who are responsive to the needs of the poor and marginalised.

Supporting transformation of citizen-state relations:

3. Formalising community institutions can facilitate a change in citizen-state interactions by strengthening citizens' capacities to engage with government; removing barriers for service delivery for the poor and marginalised; and enabling government and citizens to work in partnership to identify solutions to complex development challenges.
4. In places where government legitimacy has been weak in the past, CDD can be used as a part of a package of services to improve the legitimacy of government through the establishment of formal mechanisms for engagement and dialogue.

Social capital in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States:

5. Targeted program design and community-level facilitation processes can help address local conflict and act as a catalyst for social change, resulting in increased cohesion and trust.
6. Recognition of the voice and ability of communities can enable collective action and reunite communities fragmented by prolonged periods of conflict.



1. Fostering voice, agency, and inclusion of the poor and vulnerable

Voice and dignity

“ For the first time in my life, I felt like I belonged to my community. You may not understand how this approach of including women in this meeting has changed our lives, but let me tell you, we are at a level we have never been in our lives. If you ask these women, they will tell you that they never thought a day would come when they sit with men to plan for the community. We are used to decisions being made for us, but this time, we were given an opportunity to be heard and decide on what can make our lives better. I never imagined that one day someone will call me beny (a term that indicates respect in Dinka), back in the village, I am now called beny Nyanut, this has made me feel important in the village. This was a name that was only set aside for our male leaders and now my community sees me at the same level as them. ”

—Nyanut Malek Ngor, Community member, Boma, South Sudan

Unlike development approaches which are based on (re)distribution through targeting and top-down transfers, Community Driven Development (CDD) projects aims to give voice to communities. Its starting point is the recognition that communities are often best placed to prioritise their needs and identify solutions. It valorises local knowledge, both technical and social. But as noted above, communities are themselves stratified with their own politics of exclusion. However, a working hypothesis for CDD programs is that such localised divisions can be overcome, at least temporarily, through a mix of facilitation and program rules, particularly since village-level meetings do not usually pose mobility constraints, as higher-level meetings would, and can usually draw on existing local traditions. While the exact forms can vary depending on the context, this process usually involves providing some neutral facilitation during planning to ensure broad-based participation in community discussions, prioritisation of needs, and management and implementation of a priority project through the transfer of a community-level grant.

While research has shown an overwhelmingly positive impact of CDD project ‘solutions’, most often small-scale infrastructure,¹¹ there is less systematic analysis given to understanding the intrinsic value of recognising communities as the agents for change. As 62-year-old U Sein Hlaing from Shan State, a beneficiary of Myanmar’s National Community Driven Development Project, says, “This is the first time in my life where I’ve witnessed a project which is chosen by the communities – not from the top authorities, but from the bottom. For our village, we selected to upgrade the water supply system. Water is important for our village.”¹² Scott Guggenheim, a pioneer of the CDD model, explains, the significance of CDD isn’t “just that people got a water pump, [but] that they selected a water pump and [the government] then gave them the money to build it or whatever else they felt they most needed themselves.”¹³ What is suggested here is that beyond the value of the grant and infrastructure, government’s recognition of community voice, and particularly recognition of marginalised groups, may in itself be helping change dynamics, power relations, and the capacity of communities to drive their own development.

Poor people do not want charity but opportunity. CDD allows communities, and when facilitated well, the most vulnerable members of the community, to be a part of their own development. Geographically, the poor are often relegated to marginal areas and unproductive land.¹⁴ This can prevent them from accessing forums for dialogue and participation because of distance and mobility.¹⁵ CDD can be a tool for resetting the rules and boundaries of participation at the local level. From remote and hard to access areas of Myanmar and Mongolia, to vulnerable women in India and Indonesia, to conflict-affected communities in South Sudan and Afghanistan, CDD aims to bring development to the very areas that in the past did not have access to it.



A 2018 evaluation of Nepal’s Poverty Alleviation Fund found that the program has helped to increase social dignity, self-esteem, and self-confidence among women, Dalit, and other marginalised groups.¹⁶ The evaluation explains, there is “a sense of feeling personal pride by being able to speak in public and meetings, being able to write their names and do their ‘signature’ and being able to make demands for services and their entitlements from the public service agencies.”¹⁷ One female community member explained, “I can also share the financial burden of the family together with my husband, I learned to earn and I realised that I can also earn from my involvement in the [Community Organisation] activities.”¹⁸ This is linked to the evaluation’s finding that during the duration of the program, the activities helped to change family dynamics, and help women be seen “as earning members of the family and hold more respect and dignity within the family.”¹⁹

In South Sudan, Nyanut Malek Ngor explains the importance of the project in giving her a voice in the community, and being recognised as *beny*, a term reserved for men in her community. For Nyanut, South Sudan’s Local Governance and Service Delivery Project (Logoseed) provided her with the skills to be confident in taking up a leadership role, and as a result helped to change the community’s perceptions about her, and perhaps even women’s capacity to participate in decision making. In particular, it is important to see the impact of Logoseed on the changing gender dynamics in Boma considering that South Sudan has some of the worst indicators on gender, including among the highest infant and maternal mortality rates in the world, low rates of girls’ education, and alarming rates of violence against women, including the use of sexual violence as a weapon against women.²⁰

In Indonesia, CDD played a critical role in supporting reconstruction after the natural disasters that devastated the country between 2004 to 2010. The disasters caused massive loss of life, destroyed hundreds of thousands of homes, and devastated access to services and livelihoods. More than one million people were displaced. Traumatized survivors were left to rebuild their lives and their communities. In response to these disasters, the Government of Indonesia, international partners, and the World Bank created the Rekompak approach, a community-driven model to involve the beneficiaries directly in delivering reconstruction. The model helped to rebuild houses much more quickly than other programs, and it also provided communities with an opportunity to participate in their own development.²¹ George Soraya, the World Bank’s lead on the project, explained, “The government had the option of hiring 1,000 contractors to build 300 houses each. Or we could have 300,000 people working to build one house each - their own homes.”²² As one beneficiary of the project explained, Rekompak helped people rebuild their communities and their lives. “We had choice, we could design the house ourselves, add to it if we wanted to and had the money. Rebuilding the house was like rebuilding our lives. The houses were better, they were stronger, we were stronger.”²³ From oversight of the quality of construction material to the colour of the paint, community members themselves were responsible for the work.²⁴ This gave people confidence and trust, but it also helped them to move forward by establishing a sense of control in the aftermath of a catastrophe.

“ *This is the first time in my life where I’ve witnessed a project which is chosen by the communities – not from the top authorities but from the bottom.*

—U Sein Hlaing, Community member, Shan State, Myanmar

I can share the financial burden of the family together with my husband, I learned to earn and I realised that I can also earn from my involvement in the [Community Organisation] activities.

—Community member, Nepal

Now our local government listens before spending the money. They advise us on business loans, contract us for services and labour. I feel our voices are being heard.”

—Purevjav, Community member, Mongolia

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“ *We have learnt that our strength lies in numbers. We have joined hands irrespective of what caste we come from. Together we decide what is best for us and our family. We then work towards attaining it.*

—Bimla Devi, Community member, India

It is clear to everyone that Afghanistan is a country that has suffered a lot from so many wars. Like many, I was born here but fled to refugee camps in Pakistan... But when we came back, there was nothing left. It was all destroyed. Now with projects like this, we can build our lives again, and are so very grateful.

—Saied Rafiq, Community member, Nangarhar, Afghanistan

I used to see neighbours take tea and wonder what was there in the tea – but now I can afford to have my own tea with sugar.

—Community member, Uganda

When the company let us down, we only imposed a fine. We must be firm with companies and with vendors, otherwise they fail to fulfil their end. This is how to move the project forward.

—Indigenous woman, Bolivia

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Women's empowerment and autonomy

“ *My husband died and left me and my only child, my daughter, in large debt. My in-laws distanced themselves from me and my own parental family was too poor to support us. I worked hard to educate my daughter, but it is only when due to persistent efforts by Jeevika did my life change when I joined the SHG [self-help group]. Jeevika became my support system and the women members my family... I have now taken a loan to rent a shop. This was unthinkable a few years ago. I can say with confidence for us widows and deserted women, Jeevika is life changing. From the brink of suicide to a life with a purpose, my story is nothing short of a miracle.*”

—Babli Devi, Community member, Bihar, India

In many parts of the world, women are not able to access public spaces. Often women have limited influence over household-level decision making, and even less influence on community-level decisions. Many CDD programs have adopted specific facilitation methodologies to increase women's participation.²⁶ There is extensive data showing the positive impact of CDD on women's participation. Further, some CDD programs also aim to increase the quality of women's participation and foster social empowerment. CDD can be a useful tool for bringing women through formal or informal groups and intuitions. These social networks can bring women out of the house and provide a space for both financial and social support – serving as a critical step for social and economic empowerment.

The World Bank defines empowerment as “the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.”²⁷ More specifically, “Social empowerment is understood as the process of developing a sense of autonomy and self-confidence, and acting individually and collectively to change social relationships and the institutions and discourses that exclude poor people and keep them in poverty.”²⁸ This section draws on experiences from programs in India, South Sudan, and Afghanistan – three countries where social norms often prevent women from attending meetings with men, let alone to be able to stand up in front



of them and express their opinion – to understand contexts through which CDD is enabling women’s social empowerment, focusing on autonomy, voice, and policy influence.

Babli Devi describes the impact of India’s National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM), known locally in Bihar as Jeevika, as “nothing short of a miracle.” Across India, NRLM has mobilised 50 million poor rural women into Self-Help Groups (SHGs) and higher-level federations. The program helps poor women achieve increased access to rights, entitlements and public services, diversified risk, and better social indicators of empowerment.²⁹ These groups have leveraged nearly \$30 billion from commercial banks.³⁰ Bihar, where Babli Devi is from, is one of India’s least developed states, with low levels of female literacy, the highest rates of violence against women in India, and the lowest female labour force participation in the country.³¹ By focusing on economic, social, and political empowerment of women, Jeevika has had a transformational effect on the lives of poor and previously underserved women in almost every aspect of their lives. In a context like India, where widows like Babli Davi are often abandoned by their families and communities, NRLM has provided women with resources for economic empowerment and served as a critical platform to enable social empowerment.

Similarly, In South Sudan and Afghanistan, CDD projects have provided Nyanut Malek Ngor and Mahajan Khairzad with training on development planning and management, helping them have their voices heard in community-level decisions for the first time. South Sudan’s Logoseed and Afghanistan’s National Solidarity Program (NSP) also provided women with a specific space for participation. This has helped them to become involved in local planning and participate in their communities’ decision-making processes. Considering the context of both countries, where decades of war have resulted in some of the worst development indicators for women, it is a major achievement that women like Ngor and Khairzad can feel that their voices are heard. Beyond the personal impact, the programs are also creating role models for young girls in the community to feel empowered about their future, as Ngor explains: “The involvement of women in this project, has given hope to girls who are in school right now. They now see that leadership is not only for men, but women too can take part in leading their communities and do it successfully.”³²

“ *In a country where most of the women end up as housewives, the National Solidarity Program has managed to improve mobility for women, giving them somewhere legitimate to go on a regular basis, uniting women with a single purpose for the first time.*

—Mahajan Khairzad, Community member, Balkh, Afghanistan

The involvement of women in this project, has given hope to girls who are in school right now. They now see that leadership is not only for men, but women too can take part in leading their communities and do it successfully.

—Nyanut Malek Ngor, Community member, Boma, South Sudan

Now us women have rights which we did not before. My official name is on the land title now, whereas before I was just referred to as my husband’s wife.

—Claudi Arandia, Community member, Temporalcillo, Bolivia

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Recognition and representation

“ *In the beginning, men were under the assumption that women are not capable of performing at the councils because they have spent most of their time at home, but when men saw how they performed, their misconception about women’s capabilities changed. Now we women get together every month to identify problems concerning us and find a way to solve them.* ”

—Qudsiya, Community member, Afghanistan

CDD can enable community members to have their voice heard. Over time, this voice and agency can translate to recognition and representation. This is particularly critical for women, from India to Afghanistan to Indonesia to South Sudan, who can use their collective voice to be recognised. In Indonesia, approximately 9 million households are headed by women, representing around 14 percent of the population. After a recognition that female-headed households were largely being left out of the development process under the country’s flagship CDD program, the Women-Headed Household Empowerment Program, better known by its Indonesian acronym Pekka (Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga), was launched. Pekka has been transforming the lives of poor women across Indonesia for more than 17 years, helping strengthen their voice, representation, and economic autonomy, as well as improving access to services.³³ Kamala Chandrakirana, the former Chair of Indonesia’s National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan), who was involved in designing and launching Pekka, explains:

This recognition first came in little ways like, ‘I can write my name.’ It meant so much to write their names and put them on name tags. Or, for example, we gave them cameras, and asked them to take pictures of their day-to-day lives. Instead, some took pictures of themselves. We asked them why, and they answered: ‘Because no one ever knew we existed.’ That camera and having a place to show their pictures was transformational.³⁴

Over time, this better sense of self also translated to how the women were seen from the outside. Nani Zulminarni, the National Coordinator of Pekka explains: “Their political participation is really expected. A lot of leaders who would like to run for the district head, always want to have dialogue with Pekka. Because in some areas, Pekka members control over 20% of voters... So, if one leader wants to win, they need to have support from Pekka.”³⁵ Chandrakirana points out, “The main impact of Pekka is that there is now a new constituency of citizens who are rural, female, and decision-making heads of households. This did not exist before.”³⁶ This represents a complete shift in Indonesia, where a unified voice from female-headed households is not only helping give women voice and agency, but it is also impacting how they are seen more broadly by their community and the wider society.³⁷

In India, the sense of voice and agency, enabled with the help of NRLM, is helping women to hold intuitions accountable and influence government policies. In Bihar, women’s groups mobilised through Jeevika advocated for a complete overhaul of the Public Distribution System (PDS) in the state. The PDS in India distributes basic food staples and fuel through Fair Price Shops. However, the system suffers from capture and corruption, and is largely controlled by men from more affluent families. In Bihar, where Jeevika platforms have helped women come together, discuss common concerns, and take collective action, women demanded change to the PDS structure. After years of unfair distribution and a lack of access to kerosene and grains, Hemanti Devi describes how the women of her community took action against the former head of the fair price shop who was not distributing the goods as intended:

One day all the ladies got together and went to the [kerosene] dealer (Fair Price Shop). He claimed he didn’t have any kerosene oil. But we insisted he arrange it from somewhere. So, all the women started protesting and asked him to give them their share. Some of the women searched his house and found two drums of oil. I started disturbing it amongst all the women there.³⁸



Women from the SHGs joined together and protested the capture. They took control of the PDS to prevent such capture in the future and ensure fair distribution.³⁹ Women’s groups have demonstrated that community models make the system more responsive to the food security needs of their communities, monitoring the opening of shops on time, ensuring the availability of supplies and uniform pricing, and reporting incidents of corruption. Recognising the success of these women-led institutions, the Government of Bihar has made it their central strategy for partnering with and leveraging these women’s institutions in tackling Bihar’s rural poverty.⁴⁰ Jeevika is now running 102 Fair-Price Shops in six districts of Bihar.⁴¹ The ability of Jeevika beneficiaries to bring about such a major policy shift in India shows the potential impact of CDD in empowering communities and vulnerable groups to advocate for better policies both locally and nationally.

“ *Because the project decisions affect everyone and are made under the supervision of everyone and in cooperation with everyone.*

—U Kyaw Thiha, Community member, Myanmar

They used to mockingly call us, pekkak, which means deaf.... Now they know us and take us seriously. We stand solid.

—Pekka group leader, Indonesia

Earlier people used to say, ‘women shouldn’t venture out, they shouldn’t speak up.’ Recently, I bought a tractor for \$16,000. The men were asking, ‘Is this your tractor? And do you drive it?’ I said, ‘Yeas, why not, it’s my tractor.’

—Kiran Devi, Community member, Bihar, India

We have brought in winds of change. We now take part in decision making at the family level and are no longer merely informed of decisions taken by the men. The same husband who used to order us indoors when officials came to talk now tell us to go to the BDO, SDO and even the District Magistrate when there is a problem.

—Radhadevi, Community member, India

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Creating a new cadre of leaders

“ I took an initiative to motivate other women too to form SHGs. I helped them get the right information from the block office so that they too can avail the benefits like we did. I have also been selected as an Active Woman (CRP) of my block and have learned a lot in these few months. I share my experiences with the women and motivate them to come together as a group so that they can also earn a better living for themselves and their family, like I have. ”

—Nijora Saikia, Community member, Assam State, India

Anecdotes show that CDD programs are helping create a new cadre of leaders who represent the voice of the poor and marginalised. In India’s state of Bihar, in the past, women’s participation in national, regional, and state politics was very low. Some women occupied positions due to mandatory reserved seats for women. However, Jeevika has helped women from poor and vulnerable households run for office. These women use their leadership position to shift the focus to transparency and oversight of public services.⁴² Samina Khatun, a ward member from Muzzafarpur, explains that confidence to come out of poverty and contest for Panchayat elections is because of “her sisters” from Jeevika. She says she wants to encourage and groom younger women from her community to follow in her footsteps.⁴³ There are similar trends in Andhra Pradesh, where 25% of women elected to office in the 2006 Panchayat elections were involved in the Andhra Pradesh Poverty Alleviation Project.⁴⁴ Understanding and systematising this trend may be a long-term method for sustaining inclusion and voice beyond the framework of CDD programs.

In Indonesia, Pekka has become an entry point for building women’s leadership and organisational capacity. As Pekka leaders emerge from the ranks, they apply their confidence and organising skills to help bring about wider social change. Thousands of Pekka-trained cadres and members have crossed into leadership roles in society, including as village and neighbourhood heads, local government officials, and as managers of development programs and health and family welfare centres.⁴⁵ In 2007, Petronella Peni, a widow who had joined Pekka only a year earlier, was elected to become the head of her village in Flores.⁴⁶ She was one of the first women in the area to head her village, as the traditional custom, *adat*, in many parts of Indonesia prevent women from taking up the position. In the case of Petronella Peni, community elders agreed to modify the *adat* after she was elected with more than 80% of the votes. During her term, Ms Peni delivered basic infrastructure in her village, and helped to establish a council to change costly traditional practices that were perpetuating poverty in her community. She was re-elected for a second term in office, without the issue of *adat* even being raised.

There are similar trends in Bolivia, Philippines, and Myanmar. In Myanmar, a 2019 study of the National Community Driven Development Project (NCDDP) operations in conflict-affected areas found that village committee members went on to be elected as village or village tract administrators in over half the research villages visited.⁴⁷ In the Philippines, where Kalahi CIDDS is providing villagers with the opportunity to access information, engage in decision making, and influence government – empowering community members.⁴⁸ DSWD Secretary Corazon Juliano-Soliman says, “Kalahi CIDDS trains villagers in project planning, technical design, financial management and procurement, thus building a cadre of future capable leaders at the local level.”⁴⁹ Future research should try to assess the extent to which these new leaders later go on to fight for the rights of their communities and groups, and to what extent their position relies on the support from their community or group. It is likely that a project design focused on inclusion is a prerequisite to help new



leaders emerge from the community level. In Bolivia, the Community Investment in Rural Areas Project (PICAR) used a CDD approach to fight extreme rural poverty among small landholders, particularly among indigenous populations. Traditionally, the indigenous communities are male-dominated, and women have less access to education. However, with the support of PICAR, women are challenging these constraints and taking on leadership roles and making decisions about community investments.⁵⁰

“ *You seek help. You find help. Then you help others who need help. That is the heart of Pekka*
—Community member, Sungai, Indonesia

As a woman, as a mother, I encourage parents, especially the other mothers, that they should not just stay at home, or taking care of their family, but they can also serve in the community. What a man can do, a woman can do too.

—Angelita Albarina, Community member, Philippines

We are very happy with this project, because we keep learning. And now, women are becoming the leaders of our community.

—Brigida Alberto, Community member, Sirpa Challapampa, Bolivia

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2. Supporting transformation of citizen-state relations

The World Bank's publication *Voices of the Poor* (2000), which is based on the voices of over 40,000 poor women and men in 50 countries from the World Bank's participatory poverty assessments, found that poor people "experience the state as ineffective, irrelevant, and corrupt."⁵¹ The paper sheds light on the reason behind the discontent that exists between state institutions and the poor. The first finding from the paper shows that even where government programs exist and contribute in some way in meeting the most basic needs for survival, these programs do not help people escape from poverty. Second, corruption is a greater barrier for poor people, and limits their access to basic services from health and education to justice and security. Third, the nature of the relationship between poor people and the state often makes people feel disempowered and humiliated, often caused by bureaucratic hurdles and incomprehensible rules and regulations. Finally, the participatory poverty assessments in *Voices of the Poor*, demonstrate a close connection between social exclusion and poverty. The most vulnerable groups are often cut-off from networks that provide access to power and resources, resulting in a cyclical reinforcement of poverty and exclusion.

This section will offer some hypotheses on how CDD is helping transform the citizen-state relationship by creating platforms that enable participation of poor and vulnerable groups. First, CDD can build citizens' capacity to use collective action to engage effectively with government institutions; second, it can operationalise and reinforce changing government attitudes towards citizens and their capacities; third, it can remove barriers to government services for poor and marginalised people; and finally, CDD can create a mutually beneficial environment for both governments and citizens to work in partnership to identify solutions for complex development challenges. CDD programs strengthen this relationship by building institutions that facilitate citizen-state dialogue. Countries are increasingly linking CDD platforms with local governments to support subnational planning and budgeting,⁵² and improve transparency of service delivery.⁵³

Building citizen capacity to engage with government

“*In the past, we tried to raise these concerns to the provincial and municipal authorities individually or in small groups. But this was not effective, and we did not get any support from them. With the arrival of Citizens' Charter, the best thing to happen was the solidarity and social cohesion built into the various CDC election and community development planning processes. With a CDC in place, with a formal mandate for local community development, we could now approach these same authorities much more confidently as elected representatives of our community.*”⁵⁴

—Jallad Khan, Community member, Balkh, Afghanistan

Even where local government institutions are present, citizens are not necessarily able to access them, either because of lack of knowledge, confidence, or mobility. In particular, this can be the case for the poorest and most marginalised. CDD aims to create an enabling environment for citizen-state engagement, which starts with building the capacity of communities, including marginalised groups within communities, to engage more effectively.

Nigeria's Community and Social Development Project (CSDP) is helping entire communities to better engage with government. Oyintonyo Eve Oboro, who managed the Community and Social Development Agency of Bayelsa State says, "CDD doesn't just produce an output. It improves the capacity of the community to think for themselves, put ideas together, and interact with governments."⁵⁵ This is an impact also noted in the Implementation Completion and Results Report (ICRR) from Sri Lanka's *Gemi Diriya* Project. Based on the beneficiary survey and a stakeholder's workshop, the ICRR concludes that the project gave communities, "A greater confidence and sense of empowerment to talk to government agencies."⁵⁶

The Afghanistan's Citizens' Charter program also shows that CDD institutions can provide communities with a legitimacy that improves the government's response to citizen demands. The community of Ansari IV in Balkh



province prioritised the construction of a road through their Citizens' Charter block grant. However, due to the width of the road and location of the community, their block grant amount was not sufficient to complete the road. The additional resources required were beyond that of the community's own resources. The community then approached the municipal and provincial authorities, as elected Community Development Council (CDC) members with a clear proposal of their community improvement plans. As Jallad Khan explains, approaching the municipality as representatives of their entire community resulted in the municipal government providing Ansari IV with additional resources to complete their road, something that they had previously not done.⁵⁷ The CDD approach is not only amplifying the voice of individuals in the community, but also creating a unified voice within the community to more effectively engage with government.

“ CDD doesn't just produce an output. It improves the capacity of the community to think for themselves, put ideas together, and interact with governments.⁵⁸

—Oyintonyo Eve Oboro, Community and Social Development Agency, Bayelsa State, Nigeria



Delivering services to underserved groups

“ Before we had this bridge, our living conditions were very harsh, our agricultural production could not catch up with the season. When it rained, we could not go to work or go to the hospital if we were sick. Sometimes it become dangerous, it was difficult when we were sick. ”

—Vanthong, Community member, Lao PDR

From Panama to Afghanistan to Laos to Indonesia, CDD programs are being used by governments to bring services, often for the first time, to populations who have been left out of the development process. This is also helping bring government closer to marginalised groups and communities. Building on the example of Pekka, the program has become a tool for the local and national government in Indonesia to deliver services to female-headed households, improve targeting, and ensure sustainability. H. Muda Mahendrawan, the Regent (Bupati) for Kubu Raya Regency says, “...from the government's perspective, a lot of the problems of poverty and underdevelopment are caused by a lack of access. The existence of Pekka can open up access for those who have lacked access.”⁵⁹ In Indonesia, Pekka serves as a broader mechanism for delivering nutrition, education, and legal services for underserved populations.

In 2018, The Government of Panama launched a CDD program to support the implementation of the Comprehensive National Plan for Indigenous Peoples of Panama. The program which aims to improve infrastructure, healthcare, education, and water and sanitation services in twelve indigenous territories, was designed based on priorities established by indigenous communities themselves. Abigail Grajales, the Technical Advisor for the National Council for Indigenous People's Development explains, “It is going to be us, based on our points of view, our world view, who are going to ask for what we really need.”⁶⁰ The program also represents the government's long-term commitment to work together with indigenous leaders to meet the needs of the country's indigenous peoples, who make up 12% of the population. Panama's Interior Minister, María Luisa Romero, says, “this government has been firmly committed to defending and promoting human rights in which increased participation of Indigenous peoples and state policies to improve their quality of life are central issues... We recognise the rights of native peoples as the backbone of Panamanian culture.”⁶¹ The Comprehensive National Plan for Indigenous Peoples will serve as a tool for the government to work together with indigenous communities to deliver services to a segment of the population that had previously been left out of much of the country's development.



“ We left because of the Taliban and came back to nothing, nowhere to live, no food. At times we felt that we didn’t matter to the world, but now look: We have a school, clinic, donkeys, and a nice road. It’s a miracle.
—Nabi, Community member, Bamyān, Afghanistan

It is going to be us, based on our points of view, our world view, who are going to ask for what we really need.⁶²
—Abigail Grajales, National Council for Indigenous People’s Development, Panama

In the past many people had to borrow money from loan sharks. Now everyone can borrow from the community. With these funds, they can improve their livelihoods and start small business that make their families live happily compared to before.
—Nuriyah, Community Savings Group Member, Pattani, Thailand

From the government’s perspective, a lot of the problems of poverty and underdevelopment are caused by a lack of access. The existence of Pekka can open access for those who have lacked access.⁶³
—H. Muda Mahendrawan, Regent, Kubu Raya Regency, Indonesia



Government perspectives

“ In this process of democratic and cultural revolution that we are living in, it is very important to reach women with different interventions. That is why, we are undertaking interventions to benefit more women today. In the past, only 10 percent of newly cleared land was benefiting women. Today, we have increased that to 46 percent.
—Dr. Cesar Cocarico, Ministry of Rural Economy and Lands, Bolivia

Governments are also seeing the benefits of engaging with communities. The quotes above show that these government officials are proud to be able to better meet the needs of citizens. This is particularly key for local government officials, who interact with citizens much more closely. In places where government legitimacy has been weak in the past, government representatives may see the improved interaction with communities as a means to increase their own legitimacy. Further, local and national governments also benefit by engaging with communities, particularly with improved effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery; improved processes for planning and budgeting; and managing community expectations.

In Myanmar, the country’s CDD program has facilitated communities to engage with government to raise their concerns, encouraging officials to deliver better. The Minister of Livestock, Fisheries and Rural Development, U Ohn Myint says, “By allowing the public to speak out when they are unhappy, we create a good environment. It helps officials work well when they cooperate with and satisfy the needs of the public.”⁶⁴ The country’s CDD program has created a shift in how the government of Myanmar engages with citizens and delivers services, including senior government officials who now engage directly with communities. Kyaw Kyaw Soe from the International Rescue Committee, an implementing partner of the program in Chin state, says, “This event is incredibly important for Myanmar. We witnessed senior government officials, including the Vice President, discussing directly with villagers. It truly is a bottom-up, people-centred process.”⁶⁵



According to Florencio Abad, Philippines Secretary of the Department of Budget and Management, CDD approaches improve governance and the delivery of public services. “By involving citizens in governance – from the formulation of policies that best promote their interests, to ensuring that programs improve their lives – we are making the government more responsive to the needs of those who are at the grassroots.”⁶⁶ These benefits are shared beyond the departments directly responsible for delivering CDD programs. Ma. Theresa Golosino from the Department of Education in Caraga, Philippines, notes how a joint project between the Department of Education and Kalahi-CIDSS for indigenous communities in Mindanao has helped speed-up the construction of classrooms in the area. “The Lumad students are now inspired to go to school because of the newly-built classrooms”.⁶⁷

CDD is also helping local government improve their planning and budgeting processes by engaging with communities. For Balangiga Mayor, Viscuso de Lira, Kalahi-CIDSS is not only empowering local communities in delivering services and creating jobs. The real gain, he stresses, is in the community and local government's capacities in planning and budgeting. “Planning and programming is no longer a hit-and-miss activity. We know how to do participatory situational analysis, we have a system of prioritising development projects, and we have an efficient and transparent financial management system,” the Mayor says.⁶⁸ Similar to the Philippines, Laos has also begun piloting a program to utilise CDD platforms to improve the local planning and budgeting in the country. One key innovation introduced under Laos’ Poverty Reduction Fund pilot is a series of face-to-face meetings between village representatives, local officials, and relevant development partners to create a more participatory and inclusive discussion around planning and budgeting. “The planning system of Laos’ PDR is a combination of top-down and bottom-up processes. This pilot represents a good experiment of how to link the top-down targets and the bottom-up proposals from villages in an interactive and participatory manner,” explains Mr. Lienthong Souphany, Deputy Director General of the Department of Planning, Ministry of Planning and Investment.⁶⁹

The improved transparency resulting from local government linkages is also helping manage the expectations of communities around government capacity. Guinea is currently implementing a participatory budgeting pilot activity, supported by the Third Village Community Support Project. The pilot includes district-level discussions where community members vote for their development priorities. “Now we understand better what the council does with the budget,” a representative from one of the districts notes. “We have identified what we wanted to see in our commune, but we learned that the council did not have enough money, so we decided to contribute with our own money.”⁷⁰ When communities are able to understand their local government's plans and budgets, it provides them with the context to hold them accountable where needed, in addition to managing their expectations on what the local government can actually deliver. This can help improve relations between communities and government by managing expectations. In the case of Guinea, it can also drive communities to take action using their internal resources.

CDD is also helping change how governments see their citizens. As the Minister of State for Northern Uganda, Grace Freedom Kwiwucwiny explains,

The Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Program (NUSAF) did a lot of rehabilitation of schools [and] roads... but increasingly the government has thought it is the person to be rehabilitated. It is the person who is the agent for change. It is the person who is the agent for production. NUSAF 3 is focusing on the person and on production in that family and income in that family so that we can have a meaningful livelihood for that person.⁷¹

Uganda’s NUSAF project is creating a shift in how the government engages with citizens more broadly. This means the government doesn’t just deliver services for the sake of services, but rather on the specific needs of individuals and families to improve their quality of life.

In Indonesia, Pekka is not only changing government’s attitudes toward female-headed households, but also that of the wider society and the private sector. This change is directly impacting the ability of female-headed households to access services. Mr Sujana Royat, who was the Deputy Minister of People’s Welfare and oversaw Indonesia's Programme for Community Empowerment (PNPM), says:



In our culture, women have been marginalised, especially widows. They are cut off from both their own family and their husband's family. This is why Pekka is so important: it's not just about microcredit and economic empowerment – it's about changing attitudes. Society must recognise these women as contributors. Just a few years ago, women could only access funding from banks with a letter of permission from their husbands. So, for widows there was no access. They could not qualify for microcredits from banks because they were considered high risk. Now, thanks to Pekka's example, we can discuss with the Bank of Indonesia how to change this. We are insisting that banks remove this precondition. Pekka groups are responsible for this because they have shown that they can manage microcredit borrowing better than men.⁷²

Mr Royat continues and explains how his perceptions about widows in Indonesia changed.

I first went to a PEKAA meeting centre in Adonara Island, where I stayed for three days. I saw how estranged these women had become from the culture, their families, and society. I also saw that the women had big dreams and that in their dreams there was big power. I changed my perception of widows and now I don't want anyone to stop their dreams. I also learned this: don't underestimate the widows!⁷³

Beyond the scope of the program itself, Pekka has managed to create a supportive environment where female-headed households have better opportunities, access to services, and respect, even if they are not direct beneficiaries of the project. If this model can be replicated for other contexts, it has the potential to create systematic shifts that support the most vulnerable populations around the world.

“ We have spoken to a lot of women, to a lot of people in the rural communities. They are very happy. And when they are happy, as the chairman of the council, we are also happy because we are creating a positive impact on the lives of people in rural communities.⁷⁴

—Abdul Rahman Koniga, Chairman of the Kono District Council, Sierra Leone

By allowing the public to speak out when they are unhappy, we create a good environment. It helps officials work well when they cooperate with and satisfy the needs of the public.⁷⁵

—U Ohn Myint, Minister of Livestock, Fisheries and Rural Development, Myanmar

By involving citizens in governance – from the formulation of policies that best promote their interests, to ensuring that programs improve their lives – we are making the government more responsive to the needs of those who are at the grassroots.⁷⁶

—Florencio Abad, Secretary of the Department of Budget and Management, Philippines

Planning and programming is no longer a hit-and-miss activity. We know how to do participatory situational analysis, we have a system of prioritising development projects, and we have an efficient and transparent financial management system.

—Viscuso de Lira, Mayor, Balangiga, Philippines

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3. Social capital in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States

Empowerment in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States

“Citizens’ Charter was a good beginning and foremost guided us on the ways of development. We did not need to be given fish from others, we needed to learn how to fish. Citizens’ Charter taught us that.”

—Muhmand, Community member, Ansariha, Afghanistan

Over 60 percent of countries on the World Bank’s fragile state list are using CDD programs to deliver services and opportunities to their populations. While CDD is not designed to fix the underlying problems that drive insurgency, such as injustice, political infighting, or radicalisation, the model has proven to be a useful tool for governments that face a legacy of limited capacity and low legitimacy.⁷⁷ CDD moves away from handouts and redistribution to engaging communities and recognising their own capacity to deliver. In addition to empowering communities in fragile areas, the nature of CDD programs also allows them to move quickly and be part of a post-conflict re-engagement that is less divisive. A 2016 independent evaluation of the World Bank’s engagement in situations of fragility, conflict, and violence found that CDD programs were by far the most popular type of intervention employed by the World Bank.⁷⁸ The 2011 World Development Report provides some insights as to why CDD programs are so popular in fragile contexts:⁷⁹

Attributes such as participatory planning and decision making, cooperation between local authorities and the committees selected by community members for the purpose of a CDD program, and community control of funds mean the programs can signal a change in the attitude of the state to communities, even before physical projects are completed. They can thereby enhance state-society relations, increase citizen trust in institutions, and contribute to longer-term institution building.

The 2018 UN-World Bank Pathways to Peace study further highlighted the potential role of CDD approaches in preventing and ending violent conflict. As noted above, the study highlighted the importance of focusing on lagging regions, involving excluded groups, and addressing perceptions of fairness, particularly in relation to the state and service delivery to prevent conflict. In this context, the study identifies three contributions that CDD operations can make in preventing conflict: (i) the ability to deliver services cost-effectively, including in remote and insecure areas; (ii) the ability to generate a high degree of social acceptance of the fairness of distribution; and (iii) the ability to create meaningful opportunities for community involvement in service delivery through CDD processes.

In Afghanistan, Mr. Muhmand, who is a beneficiary of the program, explains, “Citizens’ Charter was a good beginning, and foremost guided us on the ways of development. We did not need to be given fish from others; we needed to learn how to fish. Citizens’ Charter taught us that.”⁸⁰ CDD programs like Citizens’ Charter are creating broader impacts that enable communities to drive their own development, often more effectively in fragile contexts than centrally delivered programs. Communities also own the programs, knowing they have made the change in their own lives, rather than seeing it as a handout.

In Yemen, the government’s Emergency Crisis Response Project has helped Haja Fatima, who is one of only three female farmers in the town of Lahd, to support her family. After the death of her husband and eldest son, Fatima was left with the task of raising six children alone. Her farm was her only source of income, but the conflict forced her to stop farming. With the help of the CDD project, Fatima received a grant that allowed her to start farming again and improve the productivity of her crops. She says, “The support gave me hope and the strength to continue farming and raising my family.”⁸¹ Stories like these of Mr. Muhmand and Haja Fatima show that there may be untapped potential of using CDD methodology in fragile contexts as an important early step for rebuilding trust between citizens and the state by putting citizens at the centre of the process of rebuilding their lives and their communities.



“ Since we directly implement the project we value it more. Then we know exactly what is going wrong with it or how to do maintenance. Also our capacity has increased and we know how to do effective financial management.

—Rain Thar Laing, Community member, Myanmar

The support gave me hope and the strength to continue farming and raising my family.

—Haja Fatima, Community member, Yemen

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Social Cohesion

“ The project has created social cohesion among us, the youth, whereas in the past we had not been accepting of each other. Persons hired to work on the project sites represent all ethnic groups and religions. Being in each other’s company all day long has created a bond among us.

—Bertrand Barafa Wikon, Community member, Central African Republic

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Any development initiative that introduces new resources into a community risks changing local conflict dynamics and power relations. As Barron et al. note, the challenge for development projects and particularly CDD projects is “to ensure that these conflicts are constructively addressed so that they do not become violent but, rather, become part of a force for progressive social change.”⁸² In Indonesia, the sub-district head of Ruteng, Manggarai says, “The implementation of the Kecamatan Development Program (KDP), through the coordination of groups, has increased levels of trust between different clans, ethnic and religious groups as well as between the rich and poor.”⁸³ CDD projects alone cannot bring about this change, but complemented by other initiatives, they have the potential to enable communities to improve their overall cohesion by creating the necessary space for dialogue.

In particular, this can be important in areas impacted by migration, conflict, and fragility. In the case of Indonesia, Barron et al. provide three hypotheses for how CDD can impact social cohesion. First, CDD introduces collective decision making to communities; second, CDD encourages participation from marginalised groups; and third, CDD may change norms, attitudes, and expectations about how disputes should be resolved. The examples below from South Sudan, Cote d’Ivoire, and the Central African Republic, speak to all three hypotheses in showing CDD interventions helping community groups better manage conflicts and prevent exasperation of local disputes.

In Rumbek Town of South Sudan’s Lakes Region, Logoseed is using a CDD approach to integrate governance, service delivery, peacebuilding, and community participation. The program has helped communities in Amongpiny Payam, one of the areas of South Sudan where inter-communal conflict has resulted in thousands of deaths, deal “with many issues in a peaceful and constructive way,” as Stephen Makoi explains.⁸⁴ Makoi’s brother was killed in 2016. His grieving family wanted revenge, but instead, Makoi chose to visit the suspected killer and engage with him through dialogue. His response helped stop his clan from retaliating and causing further bloodshed. The suspect was also eventually detained, allowing the judicial system to handle the case. Makoi says, “I did this because I wanted to teach my people we can handle such things differently.” He says Logoseed was a major reason for his actions. “[the project] has helped our communities deal with many issues in a peaceful and constructive way.” Jonas Njelango, the Project Manager with Across, one of the implementing partners of Logoseed, observes the transforming effect the project has had on the dynamics of conflict. Njelango says that community perceptions and behaviour are shifting away from conflict as participation in local development grows. “The fact that this issue did not



escalate into conflict is, in itself, a big deal.” If this impact of CDD in a context such as that of South Sudan can be replicated, there is major potential for expanding the model in post-conflict areas to enable social cohesion and introduce tools for better conflict management and mitigation.

The facilitation model adopted by Logoseed first engages communities to analyse the roots of their conflict, identify local resources, and then prioritise their development needs. The process of conflict mapping is particularly vital in this context. “When we carry out conflict analysis, we start by asking them about the issues that affect their community,” says John Malou, Rumbek Project Officer for Logoseed.⁸⁵ “They respond by initially listing many problems driving conflict, such as livestock thefts, the elopement of girls, and armed robberies. After this, we take them through deeper analysis, where they isolate key drivers of conflict and suggest ways of addressing them.” In some areas, the process has helped communities encourage the voluntary disarmament of civilians. “The voices for disarmament have come from communities themselves,” Malou says. The impact of the facilitation process is not only having a positive impact within communities, but also between communities. “With community engagement, some communities got to interact with each other for the first time,” explains James Biith, a local development committee chairperson in Jiir *payam*. Biith says that before Logoseed, three *payams*—Amongpiny, Jiir, and Matangai, were constantly fighting. “For a long time, we could not come together and sit next to each other like this,” he explains. “You could not even sit for 15 minutes without hearing gunshots. The project talked to all of us equally and eventually brought us together.”

In Cote d’Ivoire, through the Emergency Post-Conflict Assistance Project, the establishment of Village Development Committees has ensured the involvement of communities in implementation of local investments and “therefore reinforcing social cohesion and promoting sustainable social development.”⁸⁶ After the country’s civil war, the project has helped to bring communities together by providing a channel for people to start talking to each other. Yeo Pefougne, the M&E Specialist for the project says, “Building infrastructure brought communities together. By showing how to mediate internal conflicts, CDD contributes to conflict resolution.”⁸⁷

There are similar lessons from the Central African Republic’s Londo project, which is helping create thousands of short-term jobs, maintain basic infrastructure such as roads, and changing social dynamics despite ongoing fragility in the country. Bertrand Barafa Wikon, a beneficiary of the labour-intensive public works program, says that in addition to the job he received, Londo has also improved social cohesion in his community by bringing young people together to work side-by-side. “The project has created social cohesion among us, the youth, whereas in the past we had not been accepting of each other. Persons hired to work on the project sites represent all ethnic groups and religions. Being in each other’s company all day long has created a bond among us.”⁸⁸

“ *Each community member used to be alone before, but now we share equipment and knowledge with other community members. We learn, exchange, and make decisions together. And I am more confident and inspired.*

—Jeyaranjini, Community member, Sri Lanka

The NSP was our project and we had a deep respect for it. It not only gave us roads, schools, and irrigation canals, it also established CDCs and unified us.

—Besmillah, Community member, Afghanistan

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Enabling collective action

“ The road is our children’s future. If it gets damaged our children will go back to square one. So we must think of this as our road and protect and maintain it. ”

—Punchi Banda, Community member, Pradeshiyasaba, Sri Lanka

The concept of recognition in CDD does not only exist at the individual level, but also at the community level. Pakistan’s flagship CDD program, the National Rural Support Program (NRSP), has created a shift in how communities work together and take ownership of development challenges. In the village of Aheer, public apathy was leading to social conflict. With the support of NRSP, the community built a 300-meter network of pathways and a drainage system which has helped to stop the mud, sewage, and garbage which previously flowed through the streets. Gujar Khan, explains, “Before the pavement, it was so bad because dirty waters brought diseases to our village... there could even be fights between neighbours about all this filth.”⁸⁹ Through enabling collective action, NRSP helped to improve both the environment and the social dynamics in the village. “Each day when I walk down this path, I feel so much pride in myself and my village. Together, we worked so hard to make this little road... None of us could have done this alone, but together we managed it,” another beneficiary, Ahmed, explains.⁹⁰

Overcoming what Michael Banfield calls “amoral familism,” may explain the impact of NRSP in Aheer. Raghuram Rajan summarises amoral familism as a social context “where people keep their houses spotlessly clean, but unceremoniously dump the garbage collected inside on the street outside.”⁹¹ In Afghanistan, where decades of conflict have eroded social trust, a female member of an urban Community Development Council (CDC) from Mazar-e-Sharif tells a similar story: “before Citizens’ Charter, we all were living in one area and none of us was counting ourselves responsible for it. The hard times had spoiled our confidence.” Even in communities where strong religious obligations facilitate collective action in some situations, extreme public apathy may exist around public-good activities, and here is where CDD may help to shift social norms. The CDC member from Mazar continues, “But through the formation of the development council all men and women were gathered together as a group, and everyone was led to take on their responsibility to the area and find solutions to their problems. Our area was improved to become a beautiful environment, safe from poverty and poor practices.”⁹²

There are similar stories from Sierra Leone. In the town of Momboleh, where the Decentralised Service Delivery Program helped rehabilitated a water well. Sama “Mame” Turay, who is 80 years old, and a member of the Community Monitoring Group, has volunteered to clean the water well every morning since it was rehabilitated. She explains that “it is her way of giving back to the community.”⁹³

“ My father, grandfather, every man, woman, and child in this place can be proud of their village now. We all worked to do this and it makes us proud. ”

—Altaf Hussain, Community member, Pakistan

Each day when I walk down this path, I feel so much pride in myself and my village. Together, we worked so hard to make this little road... None of us could have done this alone, but together we managed it.

—Ahmed, Community member, Pakistan

Before Citizens’ Charter, we all were living in one area and none of us was counting ourselves responsible for it. The hard times had spoiled our confidence.

—CDC member, Afghanistan

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Conclusion

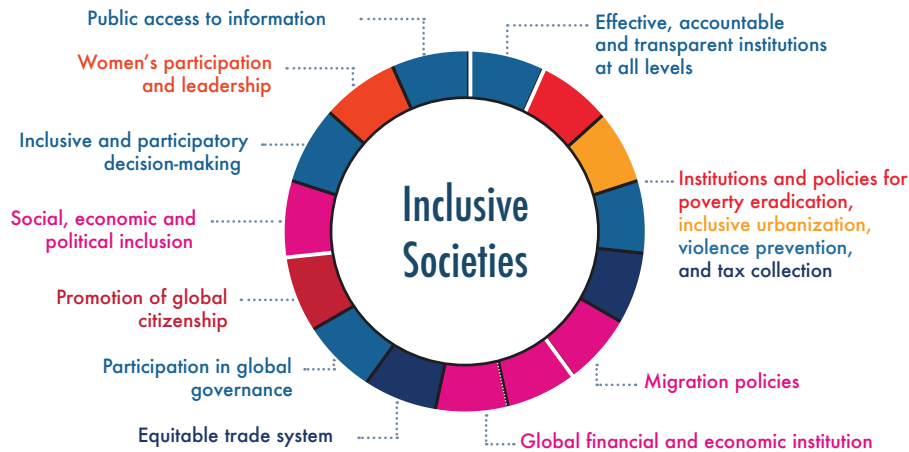
The quotes and anecdotes in this paper aim to provide positive examples from the World Bank's portfolio of CDD programs, using the voice of community members who directly experience inequality and exclusion. The paper highlights quotations that demonstrate how CDD has the potential to include communities as "full partners in social interaction."⁹⁴ However, the examples in this paper are not intended to make conclusive claims, rather to put forward suggested topics of discussion and research. The hypotheses provided at the beginning of this paper should be further studied and rigorously analysed to understand how they can contribute to the Pathfinders' conceptual armory in tackling inequality and exclusion.

The potential of CDD programs to become a central part of the work of Pathfinders is high. First, the CDD model can be adopted and delivered through government systems – even in areas impacted by conflict and fragility. This especially matters in countries without the kind of high-quality targeting statistics that cash transfers and other safety-net programs require, or which lack large networks of national NGOs. Second, CDD programs build large amounts of "last mile" infrastructure, the roads that connect villagers to markets, the canals that bring irrigation to poor farmers. That is, they use redistribution to increase productivity. And third, CDD programs build the cultural and organisational skills that poor people will increasingly need overtime to gain a political voice in the higher-level arenas where decisions about growth and inequality are being played out.


This paper does not claim that all CDD projects are or will be a success. Understanding the design choices that have enabled these results will help policymakers and practitioners think about the role of the community in tackling inequality and bringing citizens and the state closer. Further, the paper also does not claim that CDD can replace structural reforms, critical governance programs, larger infrastructure investments, the critical role of the private sector, and sectoral programs such as justice and health. CDD is a tool that can be used along with other development programs that can, in particular, be effective in reaching the most underserved populations and support their inclusion in wider development activities.




The Grand Challenge on Inequality and Exclusion is an initiative of the Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies



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Annex 1: Overview of Projects Cited

Citizens' Charter Afghanistan Project (CCAP)	
<i>Objective:</i>	To improve the delivery of core infrastructure and social services to participating communities through strengthened Community Development Councils (CDCs). These services are part of a minimum service standards package that the Government is committed to delivering to the citizens of Afghanistan.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	27 October, 2016
<i>Closing Date:</i>	31 October, 2021
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$628 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Service standards grants; 2- Institution building; 3- M&E, knowledge, learning; 4- Project implementation and management; 5- Labour intensive public works and social inclusion grants
<i>Previous Iterations:</i>	The Citizens' Charter program was building on the successful National Solidarity Program, which was launched in 2003, and provided \$2 billion in grants to over 36,000 communities, covering more than 95% of districts in Afghanistan.

Bolivia: BO PICAR Community Investment in Rural Areas	
<i>Objective:</i>	To improve access to sustainable basic infrastructure and services for the most disadvantaged rural communities selected in some of the poorest municipalities of Bolivia
<i>Approval Date:</i>	21 July, 2011
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 April, 2020
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$107 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Community capacity building; 2- Community-driven development investment; 3- Coordination, monitoring, and evaluation

Central African Republic: Londo	
<i>Objective:</i>	To provide temporary employment to vulnerable people throughout the entire territory of the country.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	30 July, 2015
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 September, 2019
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$20 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Local governance; 2- Public infrastructure; 3- Socio-economic integration; 4- Project management



<u>Cote d'Ivoire: Emergency Post-Conflict Assistance Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To provide needed immediate support for: (a) demobilising and reintegrating about 45,000 individuals including ex-combatants, child soldiers and special groups, (b) rehabilitating or reconstructing social and economic infrastructure in the communities most affected by conflict, (c) restarting of economic activities by vulnerable groups, and (d) strengthening social capital throughout the country
<i>Approval Date:</i>	17 July, 2007
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 June, 2016
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$149.3 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Economic reintegration; 2- Support to the identification process; 3- Community rehabilitation; 4- Institution building and project administration

<u>Cameroon: Community Development Program Support Project-Phase III</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To strengthen local public finance management and participatory development processes in communes for the delivery of quality and sustainable social and economic infrastructure.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	29 September, 2015
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 June, 2022
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$133 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- local development support; 2- Support for the decentralisation process; 3- Coordination, management, monitoring and evaluation, and communication

<u>Guinea: Third Village Community Support Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To strengthen the local government financing system and improve local service delivery in rural communes and to provide an immediate and effective response in the event of an eligible emergency or crisis.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	31 May, 2016
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 October, 2020
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$15 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Local investment fund; 2- Institution and capacity building for sustainable local governance and community participation; 3- Project coordination and management; 4- Immediate response mechanism

<u>India: National Rural Livelihoods Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To establish efficient and effective institutional platforms of the rural poor that enables them to increase household income through sustainable livelihood enhancements and improved access to financial and selected public services.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	5 July, 2011
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 June, 2023
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$1171 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Institutional and Human Capacity Development; 2- State Livelihood Support; 3- Innovation and Partnership Support; 4- Project Implementation Support



Indonesia: Kecamatan Development Project, National Program for Community Empowerment, Village Law, Pekka	
<i>Overview:</i>	<p>Indonesia has been a pioneer of Community-Driven Development, since the Kecamatan Development Project (KDP) was piloted in 25 villages in 1997. In 2007, KDP was scaled-up by the government and renamed as the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM), which reached more than 70,000 villages across the country with billions of dollars in grants. In 2014, a new Village Law was passed by the government, to institutionalise the CDD platforms under local government structures. After the completion of PNPM, the Government of Indonesia is beginning work on using the PNPM platforms for implementation of the Village Law.</p> <p>At the time of the KDP, a sister program was designed to particularly target female-headed households who had been left out of the benefits of the flagship CDD program. In 2001, the Women-Headed Household Empowerment Program or, in its Indonesian acronym, Pekka (Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga), was launched in response to the plights of widows of the conflict in Aceh Province. The programs had four pillars: Visioning; capacity building; organisation and network development; and advocacy and change.</p>
<u>Lao PDR: Poverty Reduction Fund III</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To improve access to basic services for the Project's targeted poor communities. It will be achieved through inclusive community and local development processes with emphasis on ensuring sustainability.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	24 May, 2016
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 June, 2020
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$36 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Community Development Sub-Grants; 2- Local and Community Development Capacity Building; 3- Project Management; 4- Nutrition Enhancing Livelihood Development

<u>Myanmar: National Community Driven Development Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To enable poor rural communities to benefit from improved access to and use of basic infrastructure and services through a people-centred approach and to enhance the government's capacity to respond promptly and effectively to an eligible crisis or emergency.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	1 November, 2012
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 November, 2021
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$86.30 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Community block grants; 2- Facilitation and capacity development; 3- Knowledge and learning; 4- Implementation support; 5- Emergency Contingency Response



<u>Nigeria: Community and Social Development Project (CSDP)</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	to sustainably increase access of poor people to social and natural resource infrastructure services. The key performance indicators are:- Increased number of poor people (of which 70% are women) with access to social services.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	1 July, 2008
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 June, 2020
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$380 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Overall Project Support and Coordination; 2- Capacity Building and Partnerships Development in State Ministries and LGAs; 3- Community-Driven Investments Facility; 4- Vulnerable IDP Groups Investments Facility

<u>Pakistan: Third Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To ensure targeted poor are empowered with increased incomes, improved productive capacity, and access to services to achieve sustainable livelihoods.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	4 June, 2009
<i>Closing Date:</i>	31 March, 2016
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$250 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Social mobilisation and institution building; 2- Livelihood enhancement and protection; 3- Micro-credit access; 4- Basic services and infrastructure; 5- Project implementation support

<u>Panama: Support for the National Indigenous Peoples Development Plan</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To strengthen: (a) the capacity of Indigenous Authorities and the Borrower to jointly plan and implement development investments for Indigenous Territories; and (b) the delivery of selected public services in those Indigenous Territories, as identified in the National Indigenous Peoples Development Plan.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	15 March, 2018
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 June, 2023
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$85.2 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Institutional strengthening and governance capacity for the Government of Panama and Indigenous Authorities; 2- Improved quality and cultural pertinence of select public service delivery in the education, health, and water and sanitation sectors in Indigenous Territories; 3- Project Management, Monitoring and Evaluation

<u>Philippines: National Community Driven Development Program</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To empower communities in targeted municipalities to achieve improved access to services and to participate in more inclusive local planning, budgeting and implementation.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	20 February, 2014
<i>Closing Date:</i>	31 December, 2019
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$663.90million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Barangay (community) sub-grants for planning and investment; 2- Local capacity building and implementation support; 3- Project administration, monitoring and evaluation



<u>Sierra Leone: Decentralized Service Delivery Program II</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To support decentralised delivery of basic services in Sierra Leone: (i) strengthen the Recipient's capacity to manage decentralised services; (ii) improve availability and predictability of funding for Local Councils (LCs); and (iii) strengthen the Recipients inter-governmental fiscal transfer system.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	30 July, 2015
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 September, 2019
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$20 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Grants to Local Councils; 2- Capacity Development and Technical Assistance to Strengthen LCs, Ministries, Departments, and Agencies capacity; 3- Results and social accountability; 4- Project management

<u>South Sudan: Local Governance and Service Delivery Project (Logoseed)</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To improve local governance and service delivery in participating counties in South Sudan.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	28 March, 2013
<i>Closing Date:</i>	28 February, 2019
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$98.50 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Block grants to counties for payam development; 2- Community engagement; 3- Institutional Strengthening; 4- Project management

<u>Sri Lanka: Community Development and Livelihood Improvement "Gemi Diriya" Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To enhance incomes and quality of life of the poor households in the poorest divisions in the country while building capacity of government agencies, local governments and community organisations for downward accountability and overall project implementation.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	30 March, 2004
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 September, 2014
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$174.80 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Intra-village development; 2- Inter-village connectivity development; 3- Public, private, and people sector partnerships; 4- Project management and monitoring; 5- Convergence and policy support

<u>Uganda: Third Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF III)</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To provide effective income support to and build the resilience of poor and vulnerable households in Northern Uganda.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	27 May, 2015
<i>Closing Date:</i>	31 December, 2020
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$130 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Labour intensive public works; 2- Livelihood investment support; 3- Strengthening transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption; 4- Safety net mechanisms and project management
<i>Previous Iterations:</i>	NUSAF III builds on the successes of the first two phases of the program, which were launched in 2003 and 2010, amounting to \$233 million in total investments. The first two phases of the project focused on revamping of schools, roads and health facilities. NUSAF III focuses largely on economic empowerment and improving livelihood of beneficiaries.



<u>Yemen: Emergency Crisis Response Project</u>	
<i>Objective:</i>	To provide short term employment and access to selected basic services to the most vulnerable; and preserve implementation capacity of two service delivery programs.
<i>Approval Date:</i>	19 July, 2016
<i>Closing Date:</i>	30 September, 2019
<i>Project Cost:</i>	\$50 million
<i>Components:</i>	1- Labour Intensive Works and Community Services; 2- Project Management and Monitoring; 3- Emergency Cash Transfer



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