

Recognizing Communities: Local Level Responses to the Pathfinder's Grand Challenge

POLICY REPORT CONTRIBUTING TO THE CHALLENGE PAPER ON INEQUALITY AND EXCLUSION

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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.² Specifically, the Pathfinders are engaged in a discussion on the grand challenge of inequality and exclusion, including exploring operational and policy options to address these.

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Introduction

Following discussions at a September 2018 retreat on inequality and exclusion, this paper reviews the experience of community-driven development (CDD) programs in address exclusion and supporting lagging regions and vulnerable groups. The paper complements inputs on recognition and social protection, but focuses on the community rather than household or individual. This paper contributes to the discussion by showing how approaches that involve, reinforce, and engage with communities not only form a different, 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.

The concept of CDD as used in this paper refers to an approach to national development programming that emphasizes community control over planning decisions and investment resources, anchored in principles of participation, transparency, and accountability. CDD creates opportunities for poor people to have a say in how their lives can be improved. Over the last decade, CDD has been recognized as an effective component of poverty reduction and sustainable development. 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 199 ongoing projects in 78 countries with investments of \$19.7 billion, with an additional \$12.4 billion in co-financing provided by borrowers and other donors, for total financing of \$32.1 billion. If we unpack the reasons for this success, we see quickly the links between community-based development and the

principle of recognition that forms the underlying architecture of CDD programs. Rather than atomizing individuals as "beneficiaries" to be targeted by public programs, CDD programs transfer decision making to processes that require collective decision making and cooperative action.

Despite inevitable variation across the portfolio, by now there is enough evidence of the impact of CDD projects at a sufficiently high level to justify a more detailed look at their potential for contributing to the goals of the Pathfinders' work. Rigorous evaluations have, for example, shown the ability of CDD programs to provide forums for citizens to participate in development planning; to deliver large volumes of cost-effective, high-quality infrastructure; to increase access to services; and to operate in a broad range of circumstances, including in remote and insecure areas. However, the social impacts of CDD have been relatively less studied and measured well. The nascent work by the 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 supporting the empowerment of women, vulnerable groups, and a new generation of leaders.

To start a discussion of potential impacts of CDD programs in this area, this paper highlights potential 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 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 projects on individuals and communities.

This paper begins with providing an overview of community dynamics and the role of facilitation in ensuring inclusion and preventing elite capture. Then the paper provides three hypotheses for discussion and has suggestions for future research. Each of the hypothesis is then further analyzed based on quotes and anecdotes from the field. The first hypothesis looks at how CDD can contribute to transforming the citizen-state relationship; the second looks at the role of CDD in fostering inclusion, particularly of women and vulnerable groups, and creating a new cadre of leaders; the third focuses on the role of CDD in supporting conflict prevention and recovery. Finally, the paper concludes by providing suggestions for further research, reflection, and policy dialogue.

Understanding community dynamics

Communities are not homogenous.⁴ 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 and 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 state 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 (2018) 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. For development programs, key to this change for the current discussion is the concept of community facilitation to enable inclusion and

collective action. The facilitators must be sensitive to community dynamics of exclusion and marginalization. Bode explains, "Participatory activities must be facilitated in such a manner that the 'disadvantaged', 'marginalized', 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."

This paper argues the importance of the role of the community. The examples below are based on government-led CDD programs, which aim to ensure a facilitation process that enables inclusion of the poor and vulnerable in the community, and a recognition of the complicated dynamics within the community itself. Unless the heterogeneity of communities is considered and fostered through a more 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 three 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.

- 1. Uniting communities, and particularly vulnerable groups such as women, through community-based platforms, can improve people's voice and agency, and enable group action, and even lead to wider sociocultural shifts around the perception of the role of the poor and marginalized.
- 2. Formalizing community institutions can facilitate a change in citizen-state interactions by strengthening citizens' capacities to participate in development planning and implementation and changing how governments view and interact with poor and marginalized groups and communities.
- 3. CDD approaches can change the model of service delivery in fragile and conflict-affected areas, shifting from handouts to a model where communities are at the center of their own development. Within this model, targeted program design and community-level facilitation can help address local conflict and act as a catalyst for social change, increasing cohesion and trust, and reuniting communities fragmented by prolonged periods of conflict.

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

Voice and dignity

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.

— 62-year-old U Sein Hlaing from Shan State, Myanmar

Unlike development approaches which are based on (re)distribution through targeting and top-down transfers, CDD aims to give voice to communities. Its starting point is the recognition that communities are often best placed to prioritize their needs and identify solutions. While exact forms can vary depending on context, this process usually involves providing some neutral facilitation during planning to

ensure broad based participation in community discussions, prioritization of needs, and management and implementation of a priority project through transfer of a community-level grant.

While research has shown an overwhelmingly positive impact of CDD project "solutions", most often small-scale infrastructure, there is less systematic analysis given to understanding the intrinsic value of recognizing 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." 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 themselves." What is suggested here is that beyond the value of the grant and infrastructure, government's recognition of community voice, and particularly recognition of women and vulnerable groups, may in itself be helping to change dynamics, power relations, and the capacity of communities to drive their own development.

Women's empowerment and autonomy

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 from Bihar, India

While there is extensive data on the impact of CDD on women's participation, which shows a widely positive trend, there is less understanding of the quality of women's participation and more broadly its effects on women's social empowerment.⁸ 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." 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." This section will draw extensively on two major and long-running CDD projects from India and Indonesia that specifically target poor and vulnerable women, as well as South Sudan's successful CDD program, to understand contexts through which CDD is enabling women's social empowerment, focusing on autonomy, voice, and policy influence.

The National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM), a widely successful program that has been implemented by the government of India since 2011, is one of the largest CDD programs in the world. NRLM has been supported by the World Bank with a credit of \$1 billion. The program aims 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." NRLM has mobilized 50 million poor rural women into Self-Help Groups (SHGs) and higher-level federations. These groups have leveraged nearly \$30 billion from commercial banks. In addition, the program helps poor women achieve increased access to rights, entitlements and public services, diversified risk, and better social indicators of empowerment.

Bihar, where the NRLM program is locally known as JEEViKA, 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

labor force participation in the country. ¹⁴ JEEViKA's impact on the life of at least one beneficiary, Babli Devi from the city of Gaya, has been "nothing short of miraculous".

"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 I joined the SHG did my life change. JEEViKA became my support system and the women members my family. I still don't own my homestead land, but 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." ¹⁵

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 India 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, it is critical to better understand the potential impact of CDD on women's autonomy and agency, and to systematically try to replicate the programmatic choices that can enable such an impact.

Recognition and representation

For the first time in my life, I felt like I belonged to my community... 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, Boma, South Sudan

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. ¹⁶ Kamala Chandrakirana, the 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." ¹⁷

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." 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." 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.

The government of South Sudan's Local Governance and Service Delivery Project (Logoseed) has had a similar impact since its launch in 2013. Nyanut Malek Ngor, who is a member of Boma Development Committee from Wathok, attended Logoseed training on development planning and communications skills that encouraged her to participate in decision making processes in her community.

"For a long time, it was unheard of for a woman to sit with men in a meeting and express her concerns freely. Previously, when we were asked to attend meetings, it was to prepare food for our husbands and leaders... When I was asked to attend the Logoseed meeting last year, I thought I would be doing the same task, but this time things were different. I sat with men in a meeting, something I had never dreamed of... 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 the Dinka language), 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... 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."20

Policy Influencing

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 mobilized 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."²¹

Women from the SHGs joined together and protested against the capture. They took control of the PBS to prevent such capture in the future and ensure fair distribution.²² Women's groups have demonstrated that community models make the system more responsive to the food security needs of their

communities, monitoring opening of the shops on time, ensuring availability of supplies and uniform pricing, and reporting incidents of corruption. Recognizing 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.²³ JEEViKA is now running 102 Fair Price Shops in six districts of Bihar.²⁴ 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.

Creating a new cadre of leaders

Anecdotes show that CDD programs are helping create a new cadre of leaders who represent the voice of the poor and marginalized. 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. 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. Understanding and systematizing this trend may be a long-term method for ensuring inclusion and voice beyond the framework of CDD programs.

In Indonesia, PEKKA has become an entry point for building women's leadership and organization capacity. As PEKKA leaders emerge from the ranks, they apply their confidence and organizing 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 neighborhood heads, local government officials, and as managers of development programs and health and family welfare centers.²⁷ 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.²⁸

There are similar trends 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.²⁹ 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."³⁰ 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.

2. Supporting transformation of citizen-state relations

This section will offer some theories on how CDD is helping transform the citizen-state relationship. First, CDD can build citizens' capacity to use collective action to engage effectively with government institutions; second, it can operationalize and reinforce changing government attitudes towards citizens and their capacities; third, it can remove barriers to government services for poor and marginalized people; and finally, CDD can create a mutually benefiting environment for both governments and citizens to work in partnership to identify solutions for complex development challenges. CDD programs

strengthen the relationship by building institutions that facilitate citizen-state dialogue and increasingly, countries are linking CDD platforms with local governments to support subnational planning and budgeting³¹ and improve transparency of service deliver.³²

Building citizen capacity to engage with government

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 marginalized. CDD aims to create an enabling environment for citizen-state engagement, which starts with building the capacity of communities, or particular marginalized 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." 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."

Evidence from Afghanistan's Citizens' Charter program also shows that CDD institutions provide communities with a legitimacy that improves government response to citizen demands. The community of Ansari IV in Balkh province prioritized 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 on what they planned to do to improve their community. Jallad Khan, Ansari IV's Community Development Council Chairperson explains:

"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."³⁵

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. The CDD approach is not only amplifying the voice of individuals in the community, but also creating a unified voice within the community to be able to more effectively engage with government.

Changing Government Perception and Attitude Toward Citizens

[PEKKA] not just about microcredit and economic empowerment – it's about changing attitudes. Society must recognize these women as contributors.

— Sujana Royat, Deputy Minister of People's Welfare, Indonesia

CDD is also helping change how governments see their citizens. As the Minister of State for Northern Uganda, Grace Freedom Kwiyucwiny 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." ³⁶

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 delivering 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 marginalized, 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 recognize 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."³⁷

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!" 38

Beyond the scope of the program itself, PEKKA has managed to create an enabling 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.

Improved Access to Services

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.

 Abigail Grajales, Technical Advisor for the National Council for Indigenous People's Development, Panama

CDD can also be a tool to bring government closer to marginalized 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." 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 12 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." 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 percent 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 recognize the rights of native peoples as the backbone of Panamanian culture." 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.

Benefiting Government

Governments are also seeing the benefits of engaging with communities. In many areas, 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 Sierra Leone, Abdul Rahman Koniga, who is the Chairman of the Kono District Council says, "...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." 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 are also benefiting by engaging with communities,

particularly 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." 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 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." better the more described to the program of the program o

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."⁴⁵ These benefits are shared beyond the departments directly responsible for delivery 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".⁴⁶

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 governments' 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 prioritizing development projects, and we have an efficient and transparent financial management system," the Mayor says. Fimilar to the Philippines, Laos has also begun piloting a program to utilize CDD platforms to improve the local planning and budgeting in the country. One key innovation introduced under the 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 Lao 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.

The improved transparency resulting from local government linkages is also helping manage the expectations of communities around the capacity of government. Guinea is currently implementing a participatory budgeting pilot activity, supported by the Third Village Community Support Project. The pilot includes district-level discussions were 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." When communities understand the plans and budgets of their local government, they are better able to hold them

accountable, but also with managed expectations around what the local government can 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.

3. Supporting conflict prevention and recovery

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.

— Mr. Muhmand, 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. CDD has proven to be a useful tool for governments that face a legacy of limited capacity and low legitimacy. CDD moves away from handouts and redistribution to engaging communities and recognizing 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. The 2011 World Development Report provides some insights as to why CDD programs are so popular in fragile contexts:

"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 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."

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." 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 lives, rather than seeing it as a handout. There is a need for more research on the impact of delivering this type of intervention in fragile contexts, and how they impact communities and individuals' sense of dignity and recognition.

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 6 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." 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 center of the process of rebuilding their own lives and their communities.

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, Central African Republic

Any development initiative that introduces new resources into a community risks changing local conflict dynamics and power relations. As Barron et al. (2006) 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." In Indonesia, the sub-district head of Ruteng, Manggarai says, "The implementation of 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." CDD projects alone cannot bring about this change, but complemented by other initiatives, they have a 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 marginalized 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, suggest that all three hypotheses could be correct in explaining how CDD interventions are helping 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.⁵⁷ 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 behavior 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 analyze the roots of their conflict, identify local resources, and then prioritize 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.⁵⁸

"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."

Cote d'Ivoire's Emergency Post-Conflict Assistance Project has had similar impact in reducing local conflict in the country. 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". ⁵⁹ After the country's civil war, the project has helped to bring communities together by giving people a channel 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."

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 change social dynamics despite ongoing fragility in the country. Bertrand Barafa Wikon, a beneficiary of the labor-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." 61

Enabling collective action

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 from Aheer village, Pakistan

The concept of recognition in CDD does not only exist at the individual level, but also recognition of the community as a whole. 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." 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.⁶³

Overcoming what Michael Banfield calls "amoral familism," may explain the impact of NRSP in Aheer. Raghuram Rajan summarizes amoral familism as a social context "where people keep their houses spotlessly clean, but unceremoniously dump the garbage collected inside on the street outside." 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."

There are similar stories from Sierra Leone. In the town of Momboleh, 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."

Conclusion

The quotes and anecdotes in this paper are not intended to be used to make conclusive claims. Merely, the aim is to identify positive trends from CDD programs that should be further studied and rigorously analyzed. This paper does not claim that all CDD projects are or will be a success. However, after decades of institutional knowledge about CDD, there are a number of basics that must be considered and mentioned here as perquisites. First, the CDD model can be adopted and delivered through government systems – even in areas impacted by conflict and fragility. Second, as noted in the introduction, a deep understanding of communities and a facilitation processes that reflects these dynamics are required in order to prevent elite capture. Third, CDD efforts require time and large investment to move from representation to real engagement.

This paper has argued that inequalities, and often the policy failures that have caused them, are best understood by those who experience them. When those who experience injustice and inequality come together, they have more influence than when acting individually. CDD facilitates group mobilization and action, to put communities at the center 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."

Further analysis is required on the three hypotheses presented in this paper, particularly to understand where the impact can be systematic and where it is a positive deviation. Further, understanding the design choices that have enabled these results, will help in how policymakers and practitioners think about the role of the community in tackling inequality and bringing citizens and the state closer. For future researchers however, it will be important to find more suitable, and at times innovative methods

to measure intangible social benefits. Importantly, it will not be possible to find solutions to these problems unless the nature of the problem determines the choice of method, not the other way around. ⁶⁸

Annex 1: Overview of projects cited

Citizens' Charter Afghanistan Project (CCAP)

Objective: 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.

Approval Date: October 27, 2016
Closing Date: October 31, 2021
Project Cost: \$628 million

Components: 1- Service standards grants; 2- Institution building; 3- M&E, knowledge, learning;

4- Project implementation and management; 5- Labor-intensive public works and

social inclusion grants

Previous Iterations: 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 percent of districts in Afghanistan.

Central African Republic: LONDO

Objective: To provide temporary employment to vulnerable people throughout the entire

territory of the country.

Approval Date: July 30, 2015
Closing Date: September 30, 2019

Project Cost: \$20 million

Components: 1- Local governance; 2- Public infrastructure; 3- Socio-economic integration; 4-

Project management

Cote d'Ivoire: Emergency Post-Conflict Assistance Project

Objective: To provide needed immediate support for: (a) demobilizing 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

Approval Date: July 17, 2007 Closing Date: June 30, 2016

Project Cost: \$149.3 million

Components: 1- Economic reintegration; 2- Support to the identification process; 3- Community

rehabilitation; 4- Institution building and project administration

Cameroon: Community Development Program Support Project-Phase III

Objective: To strengthen local public finance management and participatory development

processes in communes for the delivery of quality and sustainable social and

economic infrastructure.

Approval Date: September 29, 2015

Closing Date: June 30, 2022 Project Cost: \$133 million

Components: 1- local development support; 2- Support for the decentralization process; 3-

Coordination, management, monitoring and evaluation, and communication

Guinea: Third Village Community Support Project

Objective: 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.

Approval Date: May 31, 2016 Closing Date: October 30, 2020

Project Cost: \$15 million

Components: 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

Previous Iterations: ?

India: National Rural Livelihoods Project

Objective: 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.

Approval Date: July 5, 2011
Closing Date: June 30, 2023

Project Cost: \$1,171 million

Components: 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

Overview: In

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 institutionalize 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.

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; organization and network development; and advocacy and change.

Lao PDR: Poverty Reduction Fund III

Objective: 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.

Approval Date: May 24, 2016
Closing Date: June 30, 2020
Project Cost: \$36 million

Components: 1- Community Development Sub-Grants; 2- Local and Community Development

Capacity Building; 3- Project Management; 4- Nutrition Enhancing Livelihood

Development

Myanmar: National Community Driven Development Project

Objective: To enable poor rural communities to benefit from improved access to and use of

basic infrastructure and services through a people-centered approach and to enhance the government's capacity to respond promptly and effectively to an

eligible crisis or emergency.

Approval Date: November 1, 2012
Closing Date: November 30, 2021
Project Cost: \$86.30 million

Components: 1- Community block grants; 2- Facilitation and capacity development; 3-

Knowledge and learning; 4- Implementation support; 5- Emergency Contingency

Response

Nigeria: Community and Social Development Project (CSDP)

Objective: 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.

Approval Date: July 1, 2008

Closing Date: June 30, 2020

Project Cost: \$380 million

Components: 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

Pakistan: Third Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund Project

Objective: To ensure targeted poor are empowered with increased incomes, improved

productive capacity, and access to services to achieve sustainable livelihoods.

Approval Date: June 4, 2009
Closing Date: March 31, 2016
Project Cost: \$250 million

Components: 1- Social mobilization and institution building; 2- Livelihood enhancement and

protection; 3- Micro-credit access; 4- Basic services and infrastructure; 5- Project

implementation support

Panama: Support for the National Indigenous Peoples Development Plan

Objective: 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.

Approval Date: March 15, 2018

Closing Date: June 30, 2023 Project Cost: \$85.2 million

Components: 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

Philippines: National Community Driven Development Program

Objective: To empower communities in targeted municipalities to achieve improved access

to services and to participate in more inclusive local planning, budgeting and

implementation.

Approval Date: February 20, 2014
Closing Date: December 31, 2019
Project Cost: \$663.90 million

Components: 1- Barangay (community) sub-grants for planning and investment; 2- Local

capacity building and implementation support; 3- Project administration,

monitoring and evaluation

Sierra Leone: Decentralized Service Delivery Program II

Objective: To support decentralized delivery of basic services in Sierra Leone: (i) strengthen

the Recipient's capacity to manage decentralized services; (ii) improve availability and predictability of funding for Local Councils (LCs); and (iii) strengthen the

Recipients inter-governmental fiscal transfer system.

Approval Date: July 30, 2015 Closing Date: September 30, 2019

Project Cost: \$20 million

Components: 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

South Sudan: Local Governance and Service Delivery Project (Logoseed)

Objective: To improve local governance and service delivery in participating counties in

South Sudan.

Approval Date: March 28, 2013
Closing Date: February 28, 2019
Project Cost: \$98.50 million

Components: 1- Block grants to counties for payam development; 2- Community engagement;

3- Institutional Strengthening; 4- Project management

Sri Lanka: Community Development and Livelihood Improvement "Gemi Diriya" Project

Objective: 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 organizations for downward accountability and

overall project implementation.

Approval Date: March 30, 2004
Closing Date: September 30, 2014
Project Cost: \$174.80 million

Components: 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

Uganda: Third Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF III)

Objective: To provide effective income support to and build the resilience of poor and vulnerable households in Northern Uganda. Approval Date: May 27, 2015 Closing Date: December 31, 2020 Project Cost: \$130 million 1- Labor intensive public works; 2- Livelihood investment support; 3-Components: Strengthening transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption; 4- Safety net mechanisms and project management Previous Iterations: 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.

Yemen: Emergency Crisis Response Project

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

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Endnotes

¹ Tara Moayed is a community-driven 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.

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