ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE KARU URBAN UPGRADING PROJECT, NASARAWA STATE, NIGERIA

BY

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AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in the thesis entitled "Assessment of Community Participation in the Karu Urban Upgrading Project, Nasarawa State, Nigeria" has been performed by me in the Department of Urban & Regional Planning under the supervision of Dr. Ma'aruf Sani and Dr. Joy Ukoje.

The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of reference provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at any university.

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……	…….	……
Name of Student	Signature	Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled "ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE KARU URBAN UPGRADING PROJECT, NASARAWA STATE, NIGERIA" by Fashanu, Okanlawon Taofeek meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Science of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contributions to knowledge and literary presentation.

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ABSTRACT

The community-based urban development project in Karu delivered some basic municipal facilities in the beneficiary communities but it was not clear whether these gains have resulted from effective community participation and partnering in the project. The main objectives of the research were to assess the community participation component in the Karu project and identify the factors that explained the level of community participation that has occurred. The study sourced data on the level of community awareness in the project and community involvement in project implementation activities. Household survey and stakeholders interviews were used to gather data for the study. The study also explored official documents and reports on the project. Simple description and interpretation of the response patterns to survey and interview questions was used to draw inferences on summarized data. Research findings revealed that beneficiary communities had significant involvement in the selection of projects and identification of sites for implemented projects, while awareness in the project; involvement in project execution and monitoring; and contributions to counterpart funds were poor. Communities however had fair involvement in the take-over, and operation and maintenance of completed facilities. The study concluded that the level of community participation in the Karu project was largely poor. The level of participation was tokenistic, adopting mostly manipulative committee approach. The level of participation that occurred in the project was traced to limited access of the larger public to project related information, technical nature of subprojects implemented and poor logistics on counterpart fund contributions.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following definitions, being standard meanings for these words or phrases in all World Bank intervention projects and programs where they apply, are adopted for this study.

1. Participation.

Participation has been defined as "a process through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions, and resources that affect them" (World Bank, 1996).

2. Partnership.

Partnership is a level of community or citizen participation where the members of the community and outside decision-makers agree to share planning and decision making responsibility (Arnstein(1969), Chogull(1996)).

3. Community.

Three basic characteristics are assumed in all World Bank participatory interventions to define community. First, the community is generally understood to mean a group of people who share broad developmental goal. Second, in the community, social behavior and relationships are governed by social norms that are expected to provide solidarity. Third, by extension, those who do not belong to that community are "excluded" (World Bank, 2003).

4. Community Based/ Driven Development

Community based / driven development is broadly defined as giving control of decisions and resources to community groups. It links participation, community management of resources, good governance and decentralization (Rosanna and Dahiya, 2004).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Rapid urbanization, increasing urban poverty and the declining capacity of municipal government to cope with demands associated with increased in-migration has manifested in deteriorated environmental and physical conditions in many urban areas. With more than 47 percent of the world's population already urban, and estimates showing that about 60 percent will be by 2030(UN Habitat,2003), the challenges of access to basic urban infrastructure and services remains a daunting task, especially in developing countries where according to Manuel(1983), the fastest and most dramatic process of urbanization is taking place.

Although considered to be among the least urbanized when compared with countries of America, Europe, and Asia, Nigeria has been associated with "over-urbanization" in which case cities grow faster than jobs, urban infrastructure, housing and water supply, and social services such has health and education. This situation is more so in sub-urban communities which suddenly had to provide affordable accommodation for the working and migrant population of big cities around them. Because these communities are hardly equipped with necessary capacity for urban infrastructure and service provisioning and maintenance to cope with the population influx, existing infrastructure and services readily become overburden, and conditions which characterize slum proliferation become manifest.

Attempts at meeting urban infrastructure and service challenges, including reducing the impact of urban poverty has been through the traditional "top-down" supply-driven approach. Federal, States, and Local Governments identify problem areas, award and implement projects through line-ministries, agencies and departments. While some successes have been achieved through this approach, the sustainability of the gains of the various urban development projects poses new challenges as the financial capacity of government for the wholesome provisioning, operation, and maintenance of urban infrastructure reduce.

The participatory, "bottom-up", approach, championed through the community-based/driven development (CBD/CDD) interventions have recorded meaningful achievements in addressing urban challenges globally. Although share benevolent and progressive leadership in some countries with highly centralized structures of governance has also led to good performance of "top-down" approach to urban challenges(UN-HABITAT,2006), the bottom-up approach seem to provide more reliable options for addressing these challenges, and ensuring project sustainability.

This is essentially because the participatory approach does not only ensure the involvement of communities in decision-making on issues that will affect their lives and livelihoods, but that outcomes of projects jointly provided by communities and government, especially local governments, will be better maintained and protected by the people. Bottom-up and participatory approach is however not without its limitations of elite capture, time and resource wastage in ensuring effective participation and other associated problems. The idea then is to find a suitable approach that fits our peculiar circumstances in addressing urban development challenges.

1.2 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

The community-based approach to urban development attempts to link participation, community management of resources, good governance, and decentralization towards an effective and efficient planning and management of municipal infrastructure and service delivery, and other developmental objectives, particularly in poor communities. Central to the community-based approach to urban development is community participation. Katz and Sara (1997), Isham and Kahkoen(1999) and Khwaja(2001) have shown community participation in urban upgrading and other development projects to be associated with improved service delivery and sustainability of implemented projects.

The application of this approach in the Karu urban upgrading project, officially referred to as community based urban development project, were to establish partnership between communities and the local government so that sub-project proposals are developed jointly by them; to deliver basic municipal service in the communities; and institute a sustainable approach that will enable the local government to move away from total financial dependency for infrastructure investment, operation, and maintenance.

The community-based urban development project in Karu was able to deliver some basic municipal facilities in the beneficiary communities. Yet, very little information was given whether these gains have resulted from effective community participation and partnering in the project.

Like any other community-based and driven project, the Karu project aim of facilitating participatory decision-making with respect to investments in infrastructure development and service provision can only be effectively achieved where genuine levels of community participation is reached thereby putting in place the basic prerequisites for

guaranteeing the sustainability of implementation outcomes. It therefore becomes necessary to assess the process of community involvement in the project on its merit, and remove any fear that the project is indeed a 'top-bottom' or at best paternalistic approach in disguise. To do this, there is need to investigate the Karu urban upgrading project against the extent of community participation that occurred in the project.

This research seeks to answer the following questions;

i. What is the extent of community participation in the project proposals development and implementation?
ii. What factors explain the level of participation that has occurred?

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to assess community participation in the implementation of the World Bank Assisted Karu Urban Upgrading project.

1.3.2 Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

i. To review the World Bank community-based approach to urban development, and Karu urban upgrading project.
ii. To assess the level of community participation in the Karu project.
iii. To identify factors that explain the level of community participation that has occurred.
iv. To make recommendations for future interventions in urban upgrading and development programs in Nigeria.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESEARCH

Different urban upgrading approaches have been applied in the treatment of blight and improving urban infrastructure and service delivery in Nigerian cities since the introduction of community involvement in the Olaleye-Iponri urban renewal scheme of 1982. The approaches have ranged from those contained in the intervention programs of the various international development partners, and those applied through various line ministry interventions in towns and cities. Lessons learnt from these urban upgrading projects have revealed that community participation was critical for outcomes of their implementation process and sustenance.

Urban communities in Nigeria are not lacking in well spirited individuals, community organizations, and non-governmental organization for effective engagement with government and its representatives at all levels to enhance the efforts and processes of urban upgrading. But the social capital within these communities, particularly in poor urban communities where environmental and physical conditions are most appalling, and levels of infrastructure and service provisioning most critical, need to be better organized and the collaboration environment and procedures between communities and state made more amenable for the kind of participatory approach at the core of the CBD/CDD interventions to urban upgrading. This is especially so as the structures of governance, through which non-state stakeholders can hope to legitimately engage with the state, in the country is only being restored after long years of military rule.

Urban upgrading and related CDD approaches are only viable within an institutional framework that provides for a decentralized local government that will facilitate community participation. The overall objective of the World Bank Assisted Karu Urban Area upgrading project was to facilitate partnerships between poor urban communities

and local governments for decision-making on public expenditure in slums, and to demonstrate the relevance of inclusive and replicable approaches for the sustainable delivery of municipal services in these communities.

The result of this research is to show the extent to which available social capital in Karu Urban Area has been explored to enhance community participation in the implementation of the urban upgrading project, and by extension the factors that influenced the level of community participation that occurred in the project. Also the result of the research will show whether the community-driven development approach represents the best option for urban upgrading exercise in Nigerian cities.

1.5 SCOPE OF STUDY

This study covered the extent to which community residents and groups have been involved in the community based Karu urban upgrading project. Assessment of the residents of Karu Urban Area in the project was carried out only in the communities of Mararaba and New Karu which are the beneficiary communities.

1.6 STUDY AREA

Karu Urban Area is made up of rapidly urbanizing communities in Karu Local Government Area of Nasarawa State. The local government shares a common boundary with the federal Capital Territory, Abuja along the Abuja-Keffi Express way. With an urban area comprising Mararaba, Koroduma, Ado, New Karu, New Nyanya, and Masaka communities, and a number of other rural communities, Karu Local Government Area population was put at about 216,230 people by the 2006 national population and housing census(FGN, 1991).

Karu Local Government Area, particularly the urban areas, has witnessed tremendous growth in population, economy, and social conditions. Much of this growth is attributed to the Local Government Area's proximity to the Federal Capital City (FCC), Abuja. The lack of adequate and affordable housing in the FCC for the teeming numbers of people migrating into Abuja from other parts of the country forced large numbers of low and medium income government workers and operators of businesses to settle in Karu Urban Area. Karu Urban Area is within the economic footprint of the Federal Capital City, and the social life in its communities has witnessed transformation from predominantly indigenous tribe dominated communities in 1991 to heterogeneous ones.

1.6.1 Location

Karu Local Government Area is located in the North Central geopolitical region of Nigeria (figure 1.1) and shares boundaries with Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) in Abuja to the west, Keffi Local Government Area in Nasarawa to the south, and Jaba local Government Area in Kaduna State to the north. The urban communities of the Local Government Area exhibit a linear growth pattern along the Abuja-Keffi expressway forming a conurbation about 20km from Nyanya in Abuja to Masaka in Nasarawa(figure 1.2).

NIGERIA MAP

MAP: KARU URBAN AREA

1.6.2 The People

In-migration of people from other parts of the country is basically responsibly for the increasing population of Karu. In Karu urban area, 20% of the total population came to the area between 2000-2002, 37% in 1996-1999 and 43% before 1996 (Zubairu and Yari, 2002). Karu has a cosmopolitan outlook with many ethnic groups living together. The major indigenous groups in the area are Gbagyi, Koro, Yeskwa, Gwandara and Gade. There are also many settler populations like Mada, Eggon, Hausa, Fulani, Ibo, Tiv, Yoruba, and other Nigerian ethnic groups that migrated to Karu to take advantage of its economic potentials, particularly its proximity to the Federal Capital Territory.

1.6.3 Karu Economy

The economy of Karu is driven by the informal sector. About 98% of the labor force of Karu works in the informal sector which generates almost 95% of the GDP (Zubairu and Yari, 2002). A 2001 report by CASSAD on the economy of Karu classified the economy of Karu into six main clusters: trade and commerce (31%), artisan (29%), construction (11%), manufacturing and fabrication (16%), hotel and restaurant (9%) and others (4%). There are equally a few small-scale formal establishments referred as more of intermediate than formal by the CASSAD report. Establishments in his sector range from hospital and pharmacy shops to hotels, private schools, poultry farming, automobile engineering, law firms and banking. Mararaba has the largest concentration of economic activities in Karu.

Agriculture is a significant occupation in Karu Local Government Area. Yam, rice, beans and groundnuts are produced on subsistence levels. The status of farming as a major source of employment has however declined greatly with increases in commercial and

service activities in the area. Most farmlands near the large settlements have been taken over by urban developments (CASSAD, 2001).

1.6.4 Administrative Structure

There is no formal municipal management system for the urban areas of Karu. Karu Local Government Council is responsible for administration, urban services provisioning and the collection of taxes and other revenues in both urban and rural areas of the LGA. The Local Government Council is headed by an elected Chairman who presides over the Executive Council. The executive council oversees the day-to-day management of the local government area. A Legislative Council headed by the Speaker makes policy and legislation for the development of the area.

Nasarawa State Government has some concurrent responsibilities, for instance on education and public health, with Karu LGA. In an effort to guide development of the fast developing urban area, the State Government in March 2001 enacted the "Karu Urban Planning Area" through a law passed by the State House of Assembly. The law empowers the Governor to allocate and control the use of land within the designated urban area (CASSAD, 2001).

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITRATURE REVIEW

2.1 Participatory Approach and World Bank Community-Based Interventions

Practical efforts by the UN-HABITAT, the Cities Alliance, and International Development Partners and financiers like the World Bank towards achieving sustainable urban development has been hinged on two focal strategies: City Development Strategies(CDS) and Urban Upgrading.

These strategies, in some instances a combination of them, have been applied in addressing urban development challenges in many cities, particularly in communities of developing countries. The Mauritania's Urban Development Program (2002–2006, 2007–2011), Kabul's Urban Reconstruction Project (2004–2009), Bahia, Brazil's Poor Urban Areas Integrated Development Project (2006–2011), Vietnam's Urban Upgrading Project (2004–2012), Ecuador's Low-Income Neighborhood Upgrading & Urban Land Management Project (2007–2012) and Dar es Salaam's Community Infrastructure Upgrading Program (2005–2008) are some of the cities where international development partners have and are applying such approaches in intervention projects for urban upgrading.

Central to the success recorded in sustainable urban development strategies in case study cities across the globe is the concept of participatory approach. The participatory approach as an international campaign for sustainable urban development started off as an "enabling approach", whereby local governments 'empower' the residents by helping them acquire needed training, and financial and management support (Raymond and Giddings, 2009). Although the World Bank had explored the concept in the Kampung

Slum Upgrading Program in Indonesia, particularly in Surabaya between 1974 and 1982, participatory approach only got to the level of international diplomacy for the promotion of sustainable human settlements in the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (commonly known as Agenda 21) at Rio de Jeneiro, Brazil, with its inclusion in chapter 7 of Agenda 21.

Participatory approach to development has become increasingly important in the works of most development partners in addressing urban planning and management challenges. The reasons for the appeal of participatory approach, as observed by the World Bank, emerged from the disappointing results of the "top-down" "supply-driven" approaches that were common before the 1980s. Many believed this approach could be improved upon by engaging the communities themselves in planning and managing local service delivery and in the process make development programs more responsive to the needs of communities and incorporate local knowledge into the performance of such programs.

Participatory approach provides for a partnership among the public, private, and community sectors (including community residents, CBOs, NGOs, and trade associations) in the improvement of social, economic and environmental quality of human settlements and the living and working environment of all people, in particular those of the urban and rural poor. It emphasize community participation in the decision-making process by community groups, women, indigenous people, the elderly and people with disabilities on issues that may affect their lives and livelihoods (Tibaijuka, 2003).

2.1.1 Classification of Participatory Approaches

Participatory approaches supported by the World Bank in its interventions can be categorized in six. They are the four kinds of Community Driven Developments

(including Enabling Environment, Community Control and Management of Investment Funds, Community Control without Direct Management of Investment Funds, and Local Governments), Community Based Development, and Social Funds (World Bank, 2003). According to the World Bank Participatory Sourcebook:

1. Enabling Environment refers to participation where policy and institutional reforms are oriented towards increased control of decisions and resources by communities.

2. Community Control and Management of Investment Funds refer to participation where community groups make decisions on planning, implementation, operation and maintenance (O&M), and manages investment funds.

3. Community Control without Direct Management of Investment Funds refers to participation where community groups make decision on planning, implementation, O&M, without directly managing investment funds.

4. Local Governments refer to participation where democratically elected local governments make decisions on planning, implementation, O&M in partnership with different community groups.

5. Community-based Development (CBD) refers to participation where less control over decisions and resources are given communities but nevertheless participatory encompassing information sharing; consultation; collaboration; and empowerment levels of participation.

6. Social Funds overlaps with CDD and CBD. It allows poor people and communities to become actively involved in their own development. Social Funds support small projects

ranging from infrastructure and social services to training and micro-enterprise development, which have been identified by communities and presented to the social fund for financing.

These six categories of participatory approaches are however not mutually exclusive. A particular project can have both CDD and CBD components.

2.1.2 Defining Community Participation

Community participation, according to Theron(2005), is a means of empowering people by developing their skills and abilities so that they can negotiate with the development delivery system and make their own decision in terms of developmental needs and priorities. The levels of this participation, as observed by Mukwena(2005), may mean *"just attending a meeting even if one does not say anything at the meeting; contributing money to a community project; providing one's labor to a community project; and providing information and opinion in a survey".*

Participation has been defined as "a process through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect them" (World Bank, 1996). As an operational concept of the World Bank in community development, the CBD and CDD interventions both emphasize the importance of the participation of local people in project design and implementation. Participation is considered to be both "a means" and "an end" in development projects, and can take many forms. The different forms of participation according to Marilee (2000) can refer to: i) "Where" in the project or support cycle participation occurs, e.g. in planning; implementation; monitoring and evaluation; and take-over, ii) The quality, intensity or extent of participation, e.g. as passive beneficiaries; informants; cost-sharers; consultees;

and counterparts, and iii) the Societal levels, e.g. at local or grassroots; regional or provincial; and national.

Bhatnagar and Williams (1992) and Oakley (1991) summarized the objectives of participation. Theses objectives include:

i. Efficiency: to promote agreement, cooperation and interaction to achieve a smoother flow of project services and minimize overall costs.
ii. Effectiveness: to help achieve the project objectives through the involvement of beneficiaries in project design and implementation.
iii. Beneficiary capacity: to build the capacity of beneficiaries to share in and take responsibilities for the tasks of projects.
iv. Self-reliance: to break the mentality of dependence, to promote self-awareness and confidence of rural people and help them learn how to plan and implement so that they have great control over their lives.
v. Empowerment: to achieve a more equitable sharing of power and a higher level of political awareness and strength for the disadvantaged.
vi. Sustainability: to help ensure that local people maintain the project's dynamic.
vii. Coverage: to increase the numbers of rural people who potentially benefit from development (Oakley 1991).
viii. Cost sharing: to involve the beneficiaries in sharing the costs of a project by contributing labor and capital or through "self-help" to maintain the project (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992).

2.1.3 Benefits of Participation

Bhatnagar and Williams (1992) has also observed that participatory approaches can allow governments to:

i. Collect more accurate and representative information about the needs, priorities, and capabilities of local people, and the impact of government initiatives and programs.

ii. Adapt programs to meet local conditions so that scarce resources can be employed more effectively.

iii. Deliver better quality and demand-responsive services.

iv. Mobilize local resources to augment or even substitute for scarce governmental resources.

v. Improve utilization and maintenance of government facilities and services.

vi. Increase public recognition of governmental achievements and legitimacy.

2.1.4 Levels of Participation

A characteristic definition of participation with the intention of ascertaining the level of stakeholders' participation that has been brought to bear in development projects was provided in Namrata & Brown (1997) work. An effective definition of participation, Namrata & Brown revealed, will derive from the 'processes' of participation itself. Drawing from the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development identified mechanisms for facilitating participation in community projects, Namrata & Brown noted that the process of participation may involve the elements of:

i. information sharing mechanisms which make information widely available to local stakeholders;

ii. Consultative mechanisms which provide opportunities for information from stakeholders at different stages;

iii. Joint assessment which engages stakeholders and beneficiaries in analyzing situations and potential projects;

iv. Shared decision-making which uses participatory planning and public reviews to enable widespread influence on project design;

v. Collaborative mechanisms such as joint committee and task forces which enables stakeholders to play key roles in program activities;

vi. Empowering mechanisms such as capacity building with stakeholder organizations which increase their ability to contribute effectively to project.

The first three mechanisms according to Namrata & Brown (1997) promote joint learning and stakeholder input, providing a base on which more active participation may follow. The last three mechanisms enable influence and shared control over development initiatives, decisions and resources. The study noted that an ideal definition of participation will includes all of the six elements since the first three do not in themselves fulfill the definition of participation, as information exchange is not the same as genuine 'influence and shared control' over critical decisions.

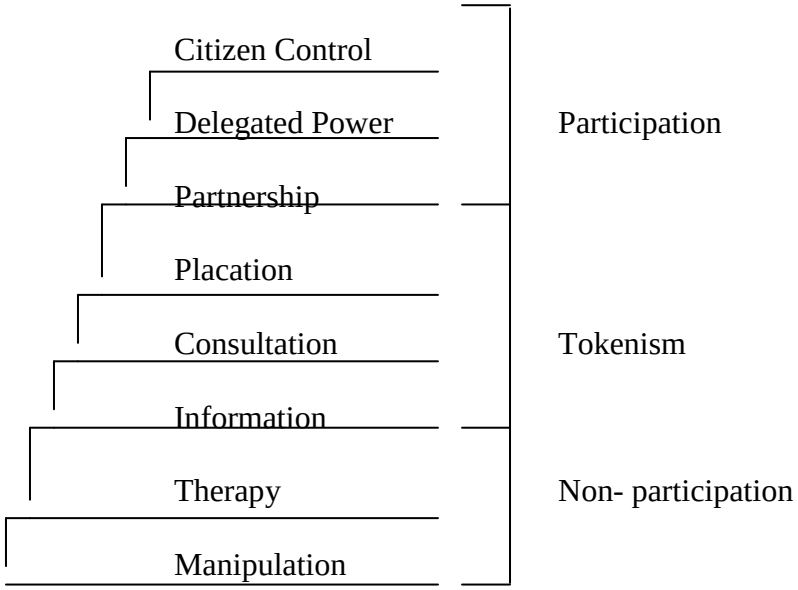
Namrata & Brown's definition of participation may have had inspirations from Arnstein(1969) seminar work on citizen participation. In this work, Arnstein defined citizen participation as *'the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future'.* Using a 'ladder of citizen participation', Arnstein presented an eight-rung ladder (fig.2.1) representing the levels of participation citizens can achieve in a typical developmental effort. From the greatest to the least level of participation, the ladder has citizen control; delegated power; and partnership at the upper level, placation; consultation; and information at the middle level, and therapy; and manipulation at the bottom level.

Arnstein used the concept of "citizen participation" in the context of power. But Chogull has argued that the concept of "community participation" would be of much more relevance in the context of underdeveloped countries, where the expectation is for more than a voice in decision-making but also for access to a minimum level of basic services to which communities may be willing to contribute.

Chogull (1996) modification of Arnstein's model equally defined eight-rung ladder of citizen participation (fig.2.2). At the upper levels are empowerment, where community members have genuine power in decision-making bodies; partnership, where members of the community and outside decision-makers agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities; and conciliation, frequently a paternalistic approach, where government devises solutions that are eventually ratified by the people. At the middle levels are dissimulation, where in a bid to achieve a semblance of participation, people are placed on "rubber stamp" advisory committees; diplomacy, where government, for lack of interest, financial resources, or reasons of incompetence, expects the community to make the necessary improvements only to provide a limited amount of resource later when the community have been able to do so; and information, a top-down initiative of one-way flow of information from the government to the community with no feedback.

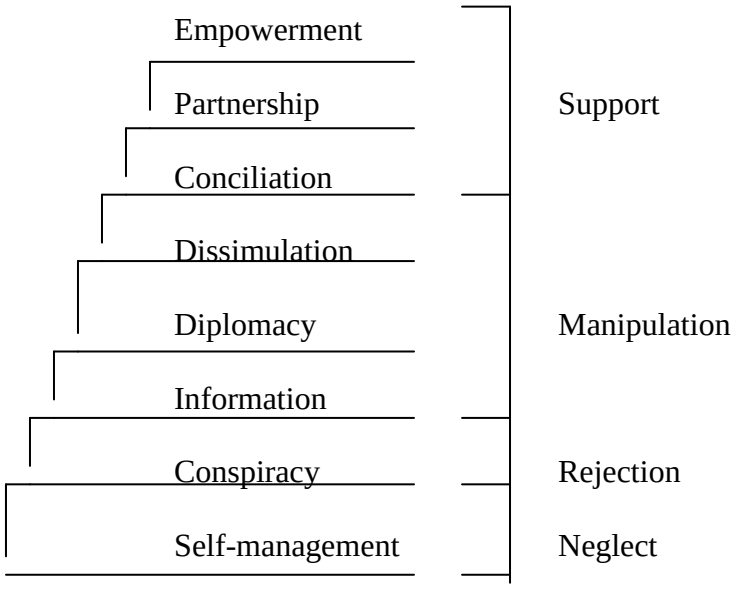
At the bottom level are conspiracy, where no community participation in the formal decision-making is considered and the government rejects the idea of helping the poor; and self-management, when government does nothing toward solving local problems and the communities plan initiatives on their own (World Bank,2003). Chogull classified the upper levels as 'Degree of Support', the middle level 'Degree of Manipulation', and the bottom levels 'Degree of Rejection/Neglect'.

Figure 2.1: Arnstein's Model of Citizen Participation



Source: World Bank, 2003.

Figure 2.2: Chogull's Developing Countries Model



Source: World Bank, 2003.

Cautions have however been raised over unregulated application of this concept in community projects. Some have argued that the participatory process is simply shifting the cost of service delivery to potential beneficiaries. Bowen (1986) and Ribot(1995) in Asia and Africa respectively, described participation as a form of forced labor , with the poor pressured into making more substantial contribution than the rich.

2.2 Community Participation for Sustainable Urban Development Projects

Participatory and enabling approaches are not entirely new. There has been some application of the concept using different approaches in different parts of the world. One such application is the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) developed in the United States by John Kretzman and John McKnight in 1993. With applications mostly in the USA and some developed countries, the Asset-Based Community Development approach seeks to uncover and highlight the strength within communities as a means for sustainable development.

The basic tenet of the Asset-Based Community Development approach is that while there are both capacities and deficiencies in every community, a capacity-focused approach is more likely to empower communities and therefore mobilize citizens to create positive and meaningful changes form within (Tibaijuka, 2003). The approach however has very limited application in developing countries. This has been attributed to the fact that while developed countries normally have fewer institutional barriers to “self-starting” and “self-correcting” communities, in developing countries even the most basic assets can be withheld or taken away from the urban poor by government agencies, and greedy private developers (Tibaijuka,2003).

Another participatory approach that has been applied for sustainable urban development is the Community-Based and Driven Development (CBD/CDD) approach. The CBD/CDD approach, unlike the Asset-Based Community Development approach, has found wide application as an intervention approach for urban upgrading and development, particularly in developing countries.

2.3 The Concept of Community-Based/Driven Development Approach

The World Bank support for participatory approaches in development programs has largely been manifested through design and implementation of projects featuring community participation either as community-based development (CBD) or community-driven development (CDD). No clear distinction between these two approaches exists in literature except that Community Driven Development is a more recent variant of Community Based Development.

In a descriptive form, while community-based development is an umbrella term for projects that actively increase beneficiaries in their design and management, community-driven development refers to community-based development projects in which communities have direct control over key project decisions, including management of investment funds (Ghazala and Rao, 2004). For the convenience of this exercise, as in most literature, community-driven development is used as the working term.

2.4 CBD/CDD: Definition, Characteristics, and Operational Concepts

2.4.1 Definition of CBD/CDD

Community-driven development is broadly defined as giving control of decisions and resources to community groups. It links participation, community management of resources, good governance and decentralization (Rosanna and Dahiya, 2004), all key

elements of urban management in urban development efforts. It is essentially a World Bank concept which put communities in charge of their own development in order to harness their considerable potential and social capital to improve the livelihood of the people (World Bank, 2003). In this light, it has been viewed as a means to achieve a broad and comprehensive development agenda, including the provision of infrastructure services, the organization of economic activity and resource management, the empowerment of the poor, the improvement of governance and the enhancement of the security of the poorest (Dongier et.al, 2002).

2.4.2 Characteristics of CBD/CDD Approach

According to Strand et.al (2003), Community-driven development is characterized by:

i). Its "bottom-up", demand-driven approach to development and poverty reduction, based on the participation and empowerment of economically poor people. While in other development strategies of national and regional governments, poor people are often viewed as the target of poverty reduction effort, the CDD approach by contrast, treat poor people and their institutions as initiators, collaborators and resources on which to build. Also, because development efforts are bottom-up, the relationship between communities, NGO's, local communities, and Central governments becomes strengthened and applied for project performance.

ii) Its being amenable to handling diversity. Because the framework for operating the CDD approach is a decentralized one, it enables projects to be shaped in accordance with the concrete needs and challenges in poor communities. Its flexibility makes for tailored approaches at addressing different community problems.

iii). Its capability for rebuilding community trust. The efforts within CDD on community action and capacity building encourage processes where internal differences and mistrust can be bridged through defining and prioritizing communal needs. The process of community decision-making, project planning and implementation in development efforts therefore have a potential not only to meet the needs of rebuilding social and economic infrastructure, but also to start a process where social capital can be reconstructed.

iv. Increased awareness of local capacities. A developmental focus on community can create greater awareness of local capacities and facilitate processes where local knowledge and skills can be used to promote development and change. Treating local people as resource persons, therefore builds confidence and feeling of worth, and may improve commitments to common good.

2.4.3 Operational Concepts

There are four recurring terms in literature and field application of CDD approaches. These terms are Participation, Community, Social Capital, and Empowerment. Because these terms also occur frequently in social science concerns, it becomes necessary to clarify them as they relate to the notion of CDD.

I. Participation.

Participation has been defined as "a process through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect them" (World Bank, 1996). As an operational concept of the World Bank in community development, the CBD and CDD interventions both emphasize the importance of the participation of local people in project design and implementation. Participation is

considered to be both a means and an end in development projects, and can take many forms.

These different forms according to Marilee (2000) can refer to: i) Where in the project or support cycle participation occurs, e.g. in planning; implementation; monitoring and evaluation; and take-over, ii) The quality, intensity or extent of participation, e.g. as passive beneficiaries; informants; cost-sharers; consultees; and counterparts, and iii) the Societal levels, e.g. at local or grassroots; regional or provincial; and national.

The objectives of participation as summarized by Bhatnagar and Williams (1992) and Oakley (1991) include:

ix. Efficiency: to promote agreement, cooperation and interaction to achieve a smoother flow of project services and minimize overall costs.
x. Effectiveness: to help achieve the project objectives through the involvement of beneficiaries in project design and implementation.
xi. Beneficiary capacity: to build the capacity of beneficiaries to share in and take responsibilities for the tasks of projects.
xii. Self-reliance: to break the mentality of dependence, to promote self-awareness and confidence of rural people and help them learn how to plan and implement so that they have great control over their lives.
xiii. Empowerment: to achieve a more equitable sharing of power and a higher level of political awareness and strength for the disadvantaged.
xiv. Sustainability: to help ensure that local people maintain the project's dynamic.
xv. Coverage: to increase the numbers of rural people who potentially benefit from development (Oakley 1991).

xvi. Cost sharing: to involve the beneficiaries in sharing the costs of a project by contributing labor and capital or through "self-help" to maintain the project (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992).

According to the World Bank (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992), participatory approaches should allow governments to:

vii. Collect more accurate and representative information about the needs, priorities, and capabilities of local people, and the impact of government initiatives and programs.

viii. Adapt programs to meet local conditions so that scarce resources can be employed more effectively.

ix. Deliver better quality and demand-responsive services.

x. Mobilize local resources to augment or even substitute for scarce governmental resources.

xi. Improve utilization and maintenance of government facilities and services.

xii. Increase public recognition of governmental achievements and legitimacy.

Cautions have however been raised over unregulated application of this concept in community projects. Some have argued that the participatory process is simply shifting the cost of service delivery to potential beneficiaries. Bowen (1986) and Ribot(1995) in Asia and Africa respectively, described participation as a form of forced labor , with the poor pressured into making more substantial contribution than the rich.

II. Community

The “community” is seen as a driving force of development, and encompasses a variety of social process and organizations, including symbols, ideas, values, and ideologies

(Cohen, 1985). The term is both descriptive and prescriptive. A community could be defined administratively, geographically, or using socio-cultural criteria such as demographic, professional and occupational characteristics. To this end one could have an academic community, an "ethnic dominated" community, communities identified by administrative or political wards, and geographic boundaries. But in reality, urban communities are often very diverse and heterogeneous in nature, stretching beyond most geographic, administrative, and economic boundaries.

Also, defining community based on geographical boundaries may become problematic as administrative boundaries can be meaningless where settlement pattern are distinct from such boundaries or where increasing mobility or temporary migration have transformed community boundaries (Ghazala and Rao,2004). However diverse and heterogeneous communities can get, it is essential that a community posses the required drive to work together for common good, and that the local structures of economic and social power on which development interventions can be built, exists.

The World Bank (2003) however identified basic community characteristics which form the broad criteria that have been adopted for describing community in the context of the Bank's Community Driven Development interventions. These characteristics are that i) community is a group of people who share broad development goals, ii) in a community, social behavior are relationships are governed by social norms that are expected to provide solidarity, iii) by extension, those who do not belong to that community are "excluded" because since community members often live in a particular area and/or share a common interest (e.g Landlords Associations) and are governed by a set of norms, the members of a community are in a best position to identify their most pressing needs and problems.

III. Social Capital

Along with the Community Driven Development interventions broad goal of improving infrastructure and service delivery, and reducing poverty in communities, is the target of building forms of social capital that enhance local capacity for cooperation in order to address community needs and stimulate economic development. Dongier et.al(2002) defined social capital as the ability of individuals to secure benefits as a result of membership in social network. Describing social capital, Feldman and Assaf(1999) noted that while community often refers to social unit, social capital is tied to the dynamics and quality of relationships within and outside that unit, and refers to the socio-cultural coherence of society, and the values and norms that governs interaction among people and their institutions. Social capital has also been identified as the "missing-link" in development (Fine,2001), through which investment made in people at the grass root in the form of information and empowerment can be tapped for project performance and sustenance.

IV. Empowerment

Definitions from the World Development Report 2000/2001 sees empowerment as strengthening the capacity of poor people to affect decisions that have a bearing on their lives , and removing barriers that prevent them from engaging effectively in political, social, and economic activities(World Bank,2003). Matzen(2002) earlier definition however expands the scope of the target by addressing "empowerment" as "the enhancement of assets and capacities of divers individuals and groups, so that they can engage, influence and hold accountable the institutions that affect their well being". The central theme is therefore that people are able to have more access to information, enjoy improved inclusion and participation, ensure accountability, and improved local organizational capacity within community development programs.

At the core of the concept of empowerment is power either in its forms (as influence, coercion, and control) or its uses (as for individual or community ends, economic or political ends). Meanwhile, based on the World Bank's definition of empowerment, Community Driven Development intervention projects seeks both to generate power in terms of knowledge and information, and to transfer power, from the state to communities, in terms of control over resources and decision-making in issues that concern them most (Strand et.al,2003) and thereby redistributing power and transforming institutions as part of the bottom-up decentralization process.

2.5 Principles of the CBD/CDD Approach

There are nine basic principles guiding effective and sustainable CDD interventions. These principles according to World Bank (2002a) include that:

1. An enabling environment must be established through relevant institutional and policy reforms.
2. Investments and development efforts within communities must be responsive to informed demands which most community members can relate with.
3. There is need for building participatory mechanisms for community control and stakeholder involvement in development programs.
4. Social and gender inclusion in programming must be ensured.
5. There must be conscious investment in capacity building of CBOs.
6. Community access to information on all resources and decisions on their utilization for development efforts must be guaranteed.
7. Simple rules and strong incentives, which are supported by project monitoring and evaluation, must be developed for interventions.

8. There must be flexibility in the design of intervention arrangements depending on peculiar circumstances of communities. The utilization of either multi sector or single sector operations must consider community resources and capacity for application.
9. there should be a design for scaling-up either in replication at the same level of intervention that has worked in one community in several others, or in bringing the benefits of an intervention to more people more quickly in a manner that it does not compromise the principle of flexibility.

2.6 The CBD/CDD Approach and Related Notions

2.6.1 CBD/CDD Approach and Improved Infrastructure and Service Delivery

It has been found that community-driven projects are better maintained than project managed by the local government. This is evident from the work of Khwaja (2001). Khwaja however observed that community participation in technical decisions reduced the quality of project maintenance, while community participation in non-technical decisions significantly improved maintenance of project.

Also Katz and Sara (1997) in an analysis of the performance of water systems in some countries found that performance was significantly better in the communities were household were able to make informed choices about the type of system and level of services they required, and where decision-making was democratic and inclusive. Result from the analysis also revealed that although projects constructed with community supervision tended to be poorly managed despite community participation, the reason was often that of inadequate technical support. This finding corroborates Khwaja's (2001) findings that community driven project will not perform adequately without adequate support on technical matters.

While Khwaja (2001) and Katz and Sara (1997) studies revealed that CDD approach to project implementation leads to improve services delivery, some other studies have identified drawbacks of the approach. Ghazala and Rao (2004) while reviewing Isham and Kahkonen analysis of water projects in India and Sri Lanka (1999a) and Indonesia (1999b) noted that though greater community participation in water projects in the countries is associated with better water supply, differences in project effectiveness are explained largely by a community's ability to engage in collective action, with high levels of "social capital" improving participation in design and monitoring. This assertion is similar to Rao and Ibanez (2003) findings that a community's capacity for collective action influences its ability to successfully apply for funds from the Jamaica Social Investment Fund. There studies revealed that poorly organized communities are not only less likely to obtain development project but are also more likely to mismanage projects that are allocated to them.

2.6.2 CBD/CDD Approach and Project Sustainability

Khwaja's (2001) study on community driven projects in Northern Pakistan suggests that project management by communities are more sustainable than projects managed by local governments because of better maintenance. However, Ghazala and Rao (2004) in a review of finding of studies on water projects in sub- Saharan Africa noted that even if communities are initially successful in implementing the project, they may lack the material resource and connections to sustain their effort. This is similar to Mosse (1997) conclusion in a study of irrigation tank management in South India that maintenance of community infrastructure is often critically dependent on external agents, stressing that the need for a well functioning State apparatus does not disappear with active community involvement in project implementation. Ghazala and Rao(2004) noted that while

community-driven development projects have the potential to be more sustainable than "top-down" projects, they also appear to suffer neglect by line ministries or authorities once they are completed, and that it is therefore obvious that unless communities can lobby for continuing support for marginal input and training, their ability to sustain implemented projects may be limited.

Studies by Buba et al(1998) and Tom(2004) on the sustainability of International Partners supported urban development projects in Nigeria also attributed failures in the sustainability and replication of project gains to poor public participation, collapse of cost recovery mechanism, and lack of effective administrative and technical capacity developments for the projects. Although theses projects were not developed on community-based approach, lessons from their implementation still echo the importance of public participation in project sustainability.

Equally linked to the issue of CDD approach and project sustainability is the matter of social cohesion in communities. Wood(2002) in an evaluation of urban renewal and community renewal programs in Australia observed that while participation was often described by community residents as important aspect in making programs sustainable, they could not explain why they believe this to be so. It seems though that this is dependent on the individual stakeholders' view on the value and role of their participation in the process. From Wood's evaluation however, for experts involved in the urban renewal, particularly private developers, getting the right level of private development and required amenities were considered more important, from the sustainable point of view, than community participation. What emerges from this, Wood (2002) noted, is the notion that encouraging residents to participate in community renewal projects develops a local skill base that is necessary to tackle ongoing problems

in the community and therefore prevent the locality from slipping back and losing any gain that might have been made through the renewal process.

Although the underlying believe that residents involvement in some form is a necessary component of renewal, and its supposed benefit both in mediating the process of change and renewal; or on the longer term well being of residents and communities involved has remained unquestioned, Wood (2002) is of the view that whether or not the process of community participation in renewal is a necessary or sufficient condition for achieving sustainability in renewal programs remains to be seen.

2.8 Community-Based Approach to Urban Upgrading Projects: Experience from other Projects.

The application of community participation from the early involvement of the World Bank in urban upgrading exercise and the experience and results indicating that the approach actually gives communities a high degree of direct control over implementation decisions, created the impetus for the improvement of the approach itself in the Bank involvement in urban upgrading projects that followed. Some of these projects have been implemented with vital lessons learnt.

2.8.1 The Bombay Sewage Disposal Project (BSDP), India, 1995-2003

The main objective of the BSDP project was to improve the sewage system of the city and to strengthen the capacity of the municipal corporation to provide sewage services in the country. As part of the project component, a pilot Slum Sanitation Program (SSP) was designed specifically to test possible solutions to the sanitation problems of slum dwellers.

The first phase of the SSP involved program learning on the framework for project implementation based on demand-driven and participatory approach between communities and municipality, the and development of appropriate mechanisms for delivering sanitation services to slums in a sustainable manner. The second phase of implementation focused on the practical challenge of formalizing the partnership through institutional arrangement for scaling-up the project. This included incremental modification to relevant regulation, from procurement to mainstreaming for the formal registration of CBOs (Rosanna and Dahiya, 2004).

2.8.2 The Kampung Improvement Program (KIP), Indonesia, 1969-1982.

Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) in Jakarta, Indonesia, launched in 1969 is the world's first urban slum upgrading project. The KIP worked to provide basic urban services, such as roads and footpaths, water, drainage and sanitation, as well as health and education facilities in the densely populated, un-serviced, low-income urban homes scattered around the city (UN-Habitat, 2006). The KIP was a long-term program which embodied not only slum upgrading, but social uplifting in which the degree of community participation varied from one kampung to another. Community participation in the project ranged from involvement in decision-making in implementation of small infrastructure projects (in the case of Surabaya) to simply witnessing the construction activities (in the case of Jakarta).

In Jakarta (capital city of Indonesia), the "top-down" approach was adopted for the urban upgrading with little participation from the residents. This according to Njamwea (2003) reflected the financial stability in the country at the time, which enabled the Central government to boost the local councils to determine projects and carry them out. By 1974

when the World Bank got involved in the project, an estimated 1.2 million people had benefited from improved infrastructure, and additional funding by the Bank's involvement up till 1982 led to expansion of the upgrading project, and improving conditions for close to 5 million urban poor (Njamwea, 2003; UN-Habitat, 2006).

In Surabaya, where Kampung improvements on sewage and storm water drain system dates back to 1974, the contribution from official authorities was not noted and the successes of the Kampung improvement laid in the resident's participation in approving the type of work to be done, carrying out the activities and contributing funds (Njamwea, 2003). The Surabaya Kampung improvement operated a "bottom-up" approach which was adopted by the World Bank in 1976 when it took up the funding of the projects to facilitate expansion of several aspects of social services and infrastructure. Although the KIP has gone through various stages over the years, its change from a physical approach to community-based development was made possible by support from the population, institutions and politicians.

2.8.3 The Caracas slum Upgrading Project, Venezuela.

The take-off appraisal for the Caracas project identified the absence of collective action mechanism to provide public goods as a key factor hindering the development of barrios (local name for slum communities in Venezuela). The CDD intervention therefore set as a major objective, the establishment of an enabling framework that would allow the slum dweller in communities to effectively express their demands and participate in the relevant decision-making process (Rosanna and Dahiya, 2004) and thus impact on the implementation and sustenance of the upgrading project.

In implementing this objective, a three-tier approach was adopted. These according to Rosanna and Dahiya included: i) the establishment of Local Co-management Groups comprising professional staff and community leaders to manage upgrading activities; ii) the preparation of Neighborhood Improvement Plans, a coordination tool for the delivery of a selected package of services, and iii) the implementation of Social Assistance Outreach program to mobilize communities at all stages of implementation.

As a way of further supporting the CDD intervention when it stated in 1989, the Central government introduced a program of decentralization and electoral reform in the country, although Venezuela has witnessed a process of re-centralization which has drawn the CDD interventions backward. Also the lack of social intermediaries (NGO's) who could work with communities independently from government influence, and the difficulty of the planned Local Co-management Groups to function effectively in larger neighborhoods affected the impact of the intervention. In addressing this challenge, Neighbor Inspectors were appointed instead, and were able to effectively function as community representatives responsible for the supervision of construction works in the barrios.

2.8.4 Lessons Learnt

Experience from the application of participatory, community based/driven interventions in the aforementioned countries have revealed vital lessons. Among these are that partnership between poor communities and other stakeholders, especially the local authority, is important to project success. Also crucial for success in participatory processes is that partnership requires investment of time over a lengthy initial learning and demonstration phase in which stakeholders learn to understand, trust ,and work with each other.

Among other lessons are the importance of early involvement of communities in project design and development; the potential of ensuring sustainability of project outcomes and spin-off effects on other urban sectors even from single-sector infrastructure improvements; and the flexibility of the approach both at meeting peculiar developmental challenges of communities, and at addressing incidental issues in the course of project implementations. This revelation is consistent with the observations of Katz and Sara (1997) and khwaja(2001) on similar projects.

Literature review provided an overview of the Community-based Karu upgrading project. It traced community participation from the participatory and enabling approach of the United Nations as a strategy for enhancing sustainable urban development. It also looked at the definition of community participation and the mechanisms for facilitating participation in community projects. The notion of community-based and driven approach was reviewed with examples of projects the approach has been applied in addressing urban development challenges in other cities.

2.9 The World Bank Assisted Karu Urban Upgrading Project: An Overview

2.9.1 Project Rationale

In 1999, the World Bank carried out a baseline study on Nigerian cities. City profiles of most of the large and medium cities revealed critical issues in the administration and management of urban settlements. These have made it impossible to achieve meaningful physical and economic growth in the urban areas even with huge capital investments by governments over the years. These issues according to World Bank (2002b) include:

i. Rapid urbanization, increasing urban poverty, and social unrest in cities.

ii. Infrastructure deficiencies, especially in low-income neighborhoods, due to inadequate investment in new facilities and negligible maintenance of existing facilities.

iii. Poor utilization of existing resources due to lack of systematic application of screening criteria, such as cost-effectiveness; financial; economic and social returns on investment; affordability; and actual demand, in the prioritization of capital investments.

iv. Inadequate fiscal decentralization leading to an unacceptable level of dependency on Federal resource flows to maintain and increase recurrent and capital expenditures. The high dependency puts Local Governments at risk from reduced resources when Federal finances are impacted adversely by external economic and political factors, especially the international price of crude oil.

v. Inadequate access by Local Governments to financing for infrastructure investments due to poor internally generated revenues.

vi. Inadequate technical and management capacity at both State and Local Government levels, coupled with poor urban information systems.

It therefore became instructive that addressing these problems will require a change of approach in the provisioning mechanism for urban infrastructure and services. In its intervention program, the World Bank proposed a community-based approach for the upgrading of municipal services and poverty reduction in major cities in the country. The approach is to enable municipal governments develop a system of infrastructure provision that promotes demand-led and participatory planning techniques for public expenditures on infrastructure within budget constraints, especially in poor urban neighborhoods. This is expected to promote better utilization of resources. The approach

is also to assist States develop long-term, realistic and workable financing strategies for scaling-up upgrading interventions in their cities in the future. Central to this approach, as emphasized in similar intervention projects across the globe, is effective community participation in project proposals development and implementation.

The community-based intervention project in Karu is built on the expectation that community-driven development approach to urban development will improve governance by aligning public expenditures with community demand, and that the sharing of information will lead to greater transparency and accountability (World Bank, 2002b).

2.9.2 Preparation of the Karu Project

The planning stage of the Karu project was marked by different degrees of participation. The participatory process in the project involved:

i. information sharing on key design principles and concepts about the project with IDA through informal meetings with members of the communities and formal meeting with traditional leaders;
ii. consultations with State and local governments, CBOs and representative members of the communities; and
iii. collaborative efforts of state government, local government and civil society in carrying out necessary surveys for needs and priorities assessment.

A city-wide stakeholder's consultation was also embarked upon to ensure that decision-making on the project is inclusive of all beneficiaries and important stakeholders in the communities (World Bank, 2002b).

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At the preparation stage of the Karu project, the Karu Local Government in collaboration with Nasarawa State Government, Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Urban Development Bank of Nigeria, Karu Area Planning Development Authority (now Nasarawa Urban Development Board), and the local communities supported a quantitative and qualitative analytic work and stakeholders consultation in Karu to develop a City Development Strategy. The development process of the Development Strategy (a component of the Karu project) was initiated and managed within the Cities Alliance framework with technical and financial support from UN-HABITAT and the World Bank. The World Bank technical support focuses on the Economic and Employment Trends while the UN-HABITAT technical support focuses on Urban Governance, Land Use Management, and Urban Services Management (Zubairu and Yari, 2002).

The Karu Development Strategy (KDS) aimed at guiding orderly growth, stimulating economic development and addressing the problems of deteriorating living conditions of the area. According to Zubairu and Yari, the KDS preparation process had two parallel tracks: information gathering and analysis on the areas of technical support, and stakeholders' consultations. The stakeholder consultation itself was at two levels:

i. Constituency Consultations for stakeholders in the three main settlements of Mararaba, New Karu and Masaka.
ii. A broad-based Consensus Building Consultation, where all stakeholders in Karu would meet to review and build consensus on the strategies emanating from the information gathering and analysis, and those discussed at the constituency consultations.

2.9.3 The Constituency and Stakeholders Consultations

2.9.3.1 Constituency Consultations

Constituency consultations were conducted in Mararaba, New Karu, and Masaka communities in February and March 2002. The report of the consultation on Economic and Employment structure of Karu was prepared by CASSAD, the World Bank consultant, while a team of National Consultants produced the technical report on Urban Governance, Land Use Management, and Urban Services Management for the UN-HABITAT component.

2.9.3.2 The Karu Stakeholders Consultation

A two-day stakeholders consultation organized by the Consultation Committee, with the assistance of the National Consultants and the UN-HABITAT, was held on October 2nd and 3rd, 2002 at the Karu Local Government secretariat compound. The objectives of the consultation, according to Zubairu and Yari, were:

i. To validate the documented findings from constituency consultations;
ii. To confirm participation of the people and commitment to the preparation of a development strategy;
iii. To agree on the elements of the Karu Development Strategy;
iv. To obtain commitment by all, including FCT, FCDA, Federal Government agencies and external partners to support the implementation of the KDS in an inclusive participatory manner; and
v. To agree on the way forward.

Participants at the stakeholders' consultation included representatives of relevant federal and state institutions, Karu Local Government, local communities, the private sector,

trade associations and community-based civil society organizations. Among notable participants at the consultation was the Honorable Minister of State for Works and Housing, the Executive Governor of Nasarawa State, HRH Etsu Karu, representative of the World Bank, and the Chief, UN-HABITAT Regional Office for Africa and the Arab States. A total of 551 participants were registered formally for the stakeholders' consultation, with attendance at the opening ceremony estimated to be 796 people.

2.9.3.3 Stakeholders Consultation Working Session

The working session of the stakeholders' consultation commenced on 2nd October, 2002. Four discussion groups based on the four themes (Governance and Management Institutions, Economic and Employment Trends, Land Use Management, and Urban Services Management) of the consultation were set up. The discussion groups clarified issues and generated strategic goal posts for each of the four themes. The strategic goal posts were to determine the orientation for development of post-consultation action plans.

Representatives of Karu communities made presentations at the working sessions. A summary of the communities' presentations is shown in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Summary of Community Representatives' Presentations at the City-Wide Stakeholders' Consultation at Karu.

COMMUNITY BACKGROUND	URBAN SERVICE CHALLENG	COMMUNITY PRIORITIES	COMMITTMENTS
MARARABA			
• a small village, grew spontaneously. • Cosmopolitan population. • On the east, mararaba fuses with FCT. • Land values are high	• Most of the internal roads are narrow and not motorable. • No organized solid waste management, refuse dumped in undeveloped plots. • State Government had executed many projects.	• Water supply- 20 boreholes needed. • Refuse disposal facility required. • Provision of 10 No. public conveniences. • Rehabilitation of Township roads. • Provision of more secondary and Primary schools. • Provision of modern abattoirs. • Provision of village market.	• Community will participate in the planning and implementation processes. • There is strong willingness to pay for these services. • The revenue potentials are high.
NEW KARU			
• A resettlement town. • Established in 1977 when people where moved from Old Karu to give way for development in FCT. • The settlement was properly laid out with adequate roads, drainages and community facilities.	• Most roads are not tarred. • The roads are affected by erosion. • Buildings are constructed too close to the roads. • Sources of water includes: Boreholes; rain harvesting; wells; water vending.	• Water supply- public stand pipes needed in about 14 locations. • Electricity. • Hospital. • Technical school. • Drainages.	• Community generally willing to pay for services provided. • Will be responsible for operation and management of the services. • Will ensure proper use to guide against abuse and misuse. • Willing to pay taxes to generate revenue for loan repayment by authorities.

• Many workers in Abuja reside here.	• Lack of maintenance has caused existing assets to deteriorate significantly. • Population pressure has made people to build more rooms for rent thereby increasing density.		
MASAKA			
• A traditional settlement expanding rapidly without planning. • Accommodates many low income workers from Abuja. • Has large regional market. • Market a source of revenue for Karu Local Government.	• Boreholes sunk by government and maintained by the community: inadequate and cannot satisfy water demand. • No defined hierarchy of roads. • No organized solid waste management.	• Need for the roads to be clearly setout. • Need for town plan to guide rapid urban growth. • Need for adequate water boreholes. • Need for solid waste management services.	• Masaka already used to managing and maintaining boreholes provided by government. • People are willing to pay for priority urban services.

Source: Zubairu and Yari(2002).

A summary of Karu communities' commitment to the preparation of the urban development project revealed their desire to be involved in the planning and implementation processes of such endeavourer, and willingness to provide financial support for services that will be provide. The communities also showed strong interest in the operation and maintenance of services that will be provide as well as guiding against abuse and misuse of such services.

The community's urban services priorities were reflected in the identification of subprojects under the infrastructure upgrading and delivery component of the project.

2.9.4 Karu Urban Upgrading Project: Aim and Objectives

The Karu Urban upgrading project was aimed at facilitating demand-led and participatory decision-making with respect to investments in infrastructure development and service provision. It also aims to establish sustainable recurrent expenditures for operation and maintenance with respect to economic infrastructure, and for supplies and salaries with respect to social infrastructure.

The development objectives of the Karu project are:

i. to establish partnership between communities and the local government so that sub-project proposals are developed jointly by them.

ii. to deliver basic municipal services in Karu communities.

iii. to institute a sustainable approach that will enable the Local Government to move away from total financial dependency for infrastructure investment, and operation and maintenance(O&M).

2.9.5 Karu Project's Approach

The Karu urban upgrading project is built on a "bottom-up" participatory approach to urban infrastructure and service delivery. It is conceived as a multi-sector project involving many project components in water supply, roads, waste management, and other service delivery, and multi-institutional (Yari et.al,2002). In its strategic plan, the Community-based approach hopes to facilitate partnership between poor urban communities, the Local Government, and State Government for decision-making on issues relating to community infrastructure, thereby fostering good governance, transparency and accountability.

It is also hoped that out-sourcing operations and management of markets; lorry parks; public toilets; and public water and stand pipes to private sector, as well as the out-sourcing of civil works to private contractors will contribute to private sector development and also make the execution of public works more efficient than through direct labor. Lastly, the project is based on the concept of replication of implementation outcomes in other urban areas in the State, knowledge sharing, and subsequently scaling-up (World Bank, 2002b).

2.9.6 Karu Project Components

The Karu project, according to World Bank (2002b) was developed to finance the following components:

i. Upgrading of basic municipal infrastructure in Mararaba and New Karu communities of Karu Urban Area. A total of US$6.01 million was proposed to be invested in water supply, access roads, solid waste management facilities, public toilets, abattoirs and a land fill.

ii. Upgrading Fund. Under the Upgrading Fund component, participating States were to competitively access additional funds for the provision of more facilities in the communities under the project.

iii. Capacity building and training, City Development Strategy (CDS), and knowledge sharing networks. The objective of the training component is to build capacity of PIU staff, the Local and State Governments, and the Community Technical Committees (CTCs) through acquisition of skills to enable each participant to competently perform her or his duties in support of the project's development objectives. The content of training was to include: financial management; budgeting; monitoring and review; internal and external audit procedures; management practices and effective leadership; monitoring and evaluation; monitoring and quality control of civil works; infrastructure planning for sustainability; operations and maintenance planning; revenue improvement, environmental management and planning and any other types of training, that will be identified by the State. Also, training beyond the core courses were to be provided, as the project proceeds, in response to requests.

iv. Implementation Support for the Project Implementation Units (PIU) and the Federal Project Coordination Unit (FPCU), and M&E through the provision of basic office equipment and facilities, and support for impact evaluations for all subprojects.

v. HIV/ AIDS Awareness campaign.

vi. Project Preparation Facility.

2.9.7 Project Stakeholders and their Roles

A number of stakeholders were identified for the preparation and implementation of the Karu project. These stakeholders, according to FGN (2002), World Bank (2002b), and Yari et al. (2002) include:

i. Nasarawa State Government represented by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development; Karu Area Planning Development Authority, now Nasarawa State Urban Development Board(NUDB); Ministries of Finance, Planning/ Statistics/ Budget, Transport, Environment, and Information; Water Corporation; Department of Health; Department of Education; Department of Local Government; and Attorney General's Office.
ii. Karu Local Government.
iii. Project Communities represented by the Community Technical Committees (CTCs).
iv. Traditional Heads
v. Community Based Organizations (including Trade Associations, Town Unions and Cultural Associations).
vi. Non-Governmental Organizations.
vii. Project Implementation Unit (PIU)
viii. Federal Project Coordination Unit (FPCU)
ix. International Development Association(IDA)

2.9.7.1 The Nasarawa State Government

The State Government was to:

i. Ensure political commitment to the project.

ii. Pay counterpart contributions for investment cost.

iii. Ensure that all line ministries that will inherit investments financed are represented in the PSC to ensure approval, ownership, operation and maintenance, and coordination of the subprojects with all sectoral plans for the State.

iv. Review the Environmental Impact Analysis and Environmental Management Plan (EMP) in the detailed engineering report for the subprojects, through a staff member from the State Environmental Agency designated by the PSC, and, with support from the PIU, implement the specific recommendations of the EMP.

2.9.7.2 Karu Local Government

Karu Local Government was to:

i. Ensure political commitment for the project.

ii. Pay counterpart contributions for investment cost.

iii. Prepare and implement Revenue Improvement Action Plan (RIAP) and improve financial management procedure that would generate additional internal resources for recurrent expenditure.

iv. Establish Operation and Maintenance fund to ensure adequate maintenance of the improved infrastructures to ensure its sustainability.

2.9.7.3 Project Communities represented by the CTCs

Mararaba and New Karu project communities, through the CTCs, were to:

i. Pay counterpart contributions for investment cost.

ii. Be proactive in seeking information on all aspects of project preparation and implementation from the Local Government Community Development Officer of the Project Implementation Unit, with a view to developing an in-depth understanding of the project's concept and objectives, and share all information with the beneficiary communities through regular meetings.

iii. Support the CDO in mobilizing the community for surveys, and meetings.

iv. Meet with the PIU Procurement Officer to develop a working understanding of the International Development Association, procurement processes for the hiring of contractors and consultants and their role in the process.

v. Participate as an observer in the PIU for the evaluation of contractors and consultants, and then in the Project Steering Committee as a member of the committee that ratifies the recommendations of the Project Implementation Unit.

vi. Resolve project construction related conflicts between contractors and members of the communities, and raise any concerns or grievances about any aspects of project preparation or implementation with the Project Implementation Unit.

2.9.7.4 Traditional Heads

The community traditional heads are members of the Project Steering Committee which provides overall policy guidance for the Karu project. Due to the large number of community based organizations (particularly town unions and cultural associations) in the project communities, and its attendant lack of organization for effective engagement

in the project, the traditional heads also spoke for these groups in the project. The large numbers of these organizations created management challenges for the Project Implementation Unit in their involvement in the project implementation. As such, their participation in the Karu project was expected to be channeled through their respective Traditional or Ward Heads.

2.9.7.5 The Private Sector

There are numerous private trade and business units in Karu. Most of these businesses are concentrated in Mararaba. The business units include trade and commerce; general services; manufacturing; construction; tourism and hospitality; agriculture and mining; and educational. Each of these business units has elected representatives. In order to increase reach and mobilization of these units for the involvement in the project, they were organized into a group known as Business Economic Development Committee (BEDC). The Karu BEDC itself is a creation of the City Development Strategy process of the project. In the course of project implementation, the Karu business community, through the Business Economic Development Committee, has been actively involved in the construction of an abattoir and 3,000 stalls in Karu (FGN, 2002).

2.9.7.6 Project Implementation Unit (PIU)

The PIU, as the technical secretariat for the Project Steering Committee, has the prime responsibility for ensuring day-to-day implementation of project activities through the procurement of consultants and contractors. It is responsible for guiding, promoting, facilitating, monitoring, evaluating and reporting of project activities. The PIU consists of a project coordinator; the project engineer; an accountant to head the Project Accounting Section (PAS); an internal auditor; a procurement officer; a community development officer from the LG; and a human resources development officer (HRDO).

2.9.7.7 Federal Project Coordination Unit (FPCU)

The FPCU was to:

i. Organize and facilitate inter-state meetings for the exchange of experience between PIU staff in all the states participating in the project.

ii. Document lessons learned on a continuous and systematic basis.

iii. Prepare quarterly reports of financial, physical progress, procurement, and special account statement/ reconciliation, and submit to International Development Association.

iv. Monitor and report on project activities through visits to project site as necessary.

v. Screen sub-project proposals to ensure they meet eligibility criteria.

vi. Coordinate the knowledge network and ensure its regular update.

vii. Ensure a Project Impact Assessment through an External Evaluator at the end of the project.

2.9.7.8 International Development Association (IDA)

The IDA, represented by the World Bank, in the Karu project was to:

i. Monitor all aspects of project implementation through quarterly supervision.

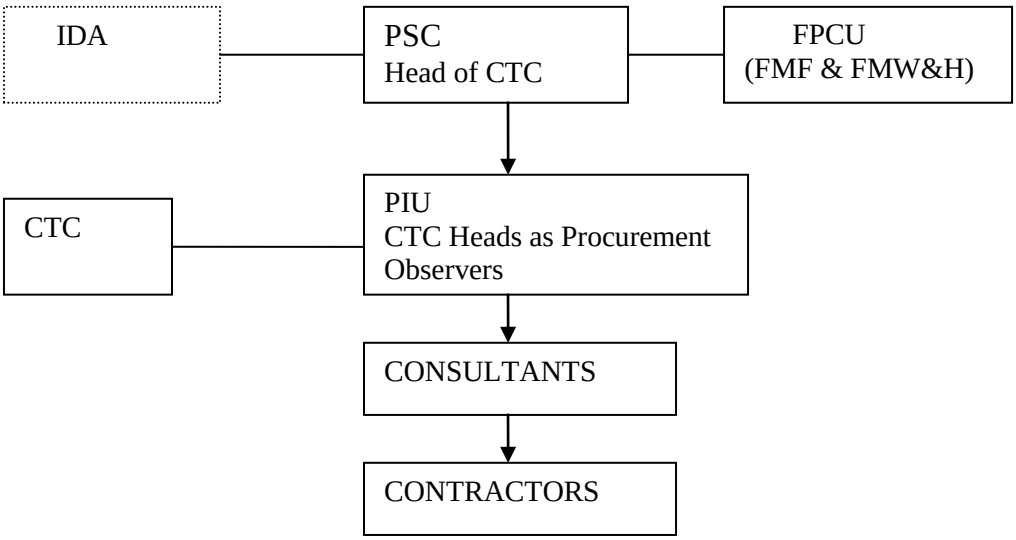
ii. Review and issue prompt no objection to proposals submitted by Project Implementation Units as appropriate.

iii. Update the project's web site quarterly.

iv. Synthesize knowledge and experience and ensure that it is systematically shared.

2.9.8 Project Implementation Organization Chart

Figure 2.3: Project's Organization Chart



SOURCE: FGN (2002).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This study is aimed at assessing community participation in the World Bank Assisted Karu upgrading project. It seeks to find out the extent of community participation that has occurred in its project development and implementation, and the factors that may have influenced the level of participation that occurred.

3.1 Data Requirement and Sources

The study sourced data on the awareness of the project among residents of Karu, and the sources and quality of information on the project activities. Data was also sourced on community involvement in the project through subproject selection, communities' involvement subprojects execution and monitoring, communities' involvement in project related conflict management, community involvement in completed subprojects operation and maintenance, and communities' financial and non-financial contributions to the project.

Data sources for the study included those from documents such as the Karu stakeholders consultation report; the project appraisal document, project's quarterly audit reports from the Project Implementation Unit, project mid-term review report, and project monitoring and evaluation report. Also, stakeholders minutes of meetings, photographs, and other documentary evidence of community activities in the identification, execution, and take-over of implemented subprojects were explored. Interviews and household survey were also used to gather data for the study. Details of the data gathered and the sources are contained in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Data Requirements and Sources

Indicators	Variables	Data Sources
Level of community awareness in the project.	Level of residents' knowledge of intervention in the community. Source of residents' knowledge of the intervention. Residents' knowledge of the CTCs & LG CDO. Channel and quality of information on project activities.	Household survey. // // Household survey, CTCs, Traditional Heads interview.
Community involvement in subprojects implementation activities.	Nature of Community Involvement in the Project. Communities' involvement in the subprojects selection and site identification. Communities' involvement in subprojects execution and monitoring activities. Communities' involvement in project related conflict management. Community Involvement in Completed Subprojects Operation & Maintenance. Communities' financial and non-financial contributions to the project.	CTCs, Traditional Heads and LG CDO interviews Household survey, CTCs, LG CDO and Traditional Heads interview. CTCs and traditional Heads interviews. // // Household survey, CTCs and Traditional Heads interview.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

Attempt at assessing community participation in the Karu project was made at two levels: individual and community levels. The individual level involved household survey while the community level assessment involved stakeholders interview sessions with the Karu Local Government Community Development Officer(CDO) in the PIU, Traditional Heads or Ward Heads of project communities, the Karu Business Economic Development Committee (BEDC), and the Community Technical Committees of beneficiary communities.

Beyond the survey and interviews, the study availed itself of information from desk review of project documents, physical assessment of project outcomes, and literature on participatory processes. This was with a bid to avoid making description and judgments about the participatory processes in the project purely on opinion, and reveal local circumstances that may have influenced community participation and sustainability in the project.

3.2.1 Sampling Frame and Size for Household Survey

Sampling frame for the household survey covered selected adult residents in the communities of Mararaba and New Karu where upgrading projects have been implemented. The 1991 Census Locality figures for Karu Urban Area showed that Mararaba and New Karu had a population of about 9,772 persons (FGN, 1991). The project's 1999 baseline report showed that urban centers in Nigeria had been growing at the rate of about 7-10 percent per annum (World Bank, 2002b). Using a 7 percent per annum growth rate, the 2011 population for Mararaba and New Karu has been projected to be about 37,818 persons.

Using the 6(six) persons household size prevalent in the communities, the total number of household amount to 6303. 100 households representing 1.5 percent of the total households in the communities were sampled as only rough estimate of community residents' opinion on the project was needed to complement stakeholders' interviews, and factual assessment from desk review.

3.2.2 Sampling Technique for Household Survey.

A probability sampling method was used for the household survey. It adopted a combination of multi-stage sampling procedure and random selection. A two-stage cluster sampling techniques was used. The 1st-stage cluster sampling was used to divide the communities of Mararaba and New Karu into 6 and 4 residential sectors A-F and G-J respectively as illustrated in figure 1. A random sampling was used to select 3 sectors (C,D,F) in Mararaba and 2 sectors (G,J) in New Karu respectively. The 2nd-stage sampling was used to divide the 5 selected residential sectors into 4 residential clusters C1-4; D1-4; F1-4; G1-4; J1-4. The 2nd stage sampling produced 20 sampling clusters. 10 sampling units were then selected by randomly selecting C2&3; D1&3; F1&2 in Mararaba and G2&3; J1&4 in New Karu.

A larger survey sample was taken in Mararaba community because Mararaba is relatively larger than New Karu community thereby requiring more samples from Mararaba community to enhance better access to opinion on the project from residents of the project beneficiary communities.

A simple random sample was used to select 10(ten) household heads from each of the 10 sampling units. Questionnaires were then administered on the 10(ten) household heads in each of the 10 sampling units. A total of 100 questionnaires were used for the household

survey. Areas within beneficiary communities where the questionnaires were administered are as indicated on figure 3.1.

MAP: HOUSEHOLD SURVEY AREAS

3.3 Interviews with Community Leaders and other Stakeholders.

The Purposive sampling technique was used for collecting data at the community level of study. This was instructive from McBurney (2001) description of purposive sampling to mean selection of research units to meet a particular definition or criteria. The criterion for the selection of interviewee in this study was that identified community stakeholders in the Karu project will provide adequate data for the study.

Interview sessions were conducted with the Chief of Mararaba; Sarkin Hausawa (Mararaba); Chief David Geri, Tiv leader (Mararaba); Joseph Akuso, Koro leader(Mararaba); Maiangwa Muazu Shawulu(New Karu); and Ezeikiel Jezhi, Maiangwa Magaji Karu. Interviews were also conducted with Al-Mustapha Sani, Secretary Mararaba CTC; Mr. Bitrus Freeman, Chairman New Karu CTC; Alh. Sadisu Ibrahim, Chairman BEDC; and Mr. Nuhu Haruna, Karu Local Government's Community Development Officer (LG CDO).

3.4 Method of Data Analysis, and Presentation.

Data collected from the household survey was summarized using the SPSS tool to present a frequency and percentage distribution, and cross tabulations of surveyed data. Simple description and interpretation of the response patterns were used to draw inferences on the study variables without recourse to any inferential techniques.

Analysis of community level interview data involved the generation of memos on interviewee response to interview questions. The memos were compared to highlight common views and striking departure on recorded responses to interview questions. Inferences were drawn on the response patterns as it concerns each study variable. The

inferences were then used to make judgment on the level of community participation in the project.

The qualitative information from the interviews was examined in conjunction with summaries from the household survey that was based on a representative random sample. Summarized data from these interviews and survey was supplemented with field observations on the executed subprojects.

Presentation of summarized data employed the use of tables and charts to visualize relationships among data variables.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Extent of community participation in the Karu project was investigated by assessing the level of community knowledge of the project, and community involvement in subproject implementation activities.

4.1 Level of Community Awareness on the Project.

Level of community awareness on the community based project was assessed at both the project preparation and implementation stages.

4.1.1 Community Awareness on the Project at Preparation Stage

Effective implementation of the community based urban development project in Karu began in 2008. The preparatory aspects of the project however started in 2002 with the Constituency and City-Wide Stakeholders' Consultations in Karu communities. Details of these consultations have been discussed earlier in the work. Though basically a process of the Karu City Development Strategy (CDS), the consultations that took place helped created the some awareness for the World Bank Assisted Urban Upgrading project among the resident and other major stakeholders.

Karu Stakeholders Consultative report, 2002 showed that participants at the 2-day city-wide stakeholders' consultation were key stakeholders of Karu including the representatives of relevant Federal and State institutions, Karu Local Government Council, local communities, the private sector, trade associations and community based civil society organizations. The Honorable Minister of State for Works and Housing, Chief Garba Madaki Ali was the Special Guest at the occasion, while the Executive

Governor of Nasarawa State was Chief Host. A total of 551 participants were registered formally for the Stakeholders Consultations (Yari et al. 2002) (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Karu Resident's Representation at the Stakeholders' Consultation

Estimate population for Karu District* by 2002	Attendance at the Consultative Forum	Percentage of Karu Population at the Forum
75271	796	1.06

* Karu Urban Area was captured as Karu District in the 1991 Census Figures.

Source: Yari et al. 2002

The table shows that the 796 people of Karu communities were at the city-wide stakeholders' consultation. This represents about 1 percent of the estimated 75271 people in the Karu District in 2002.

The inventory of individuals and groups at the consultation however revealed that the major communities in Karu, and other stakeholders such as market women, civil society, artisan, private and public organizations were represented. Details from the Karu Stakeholders consultative report revealed that community representatives presented priority areas of developmental concerns and made commitment to support the World Bank project that was then in preparatory stage. Knowledge of the project at the preparatory stage of the project was therefore basically among the communities' representative groups who made inputs to the consultation, and was expected to make necessary feedback to their constituencies.

4.1.2 Community Awareness on the Project at Implementation Stage

4.1.2.1 Community Residents Knowledge of the World Bank Intervention

Knowledge of the intervention among community members and groups in the beneficiary communities is quite high. Result of a household survey on table 4.2 shows that 97 percent of respondents are aware of the infrastructure upgrade projects carried out in their communities being World Bank assisted.

Table 4.2: Residents' knowledge of World Bank intervention in the community

Knowledge of intervention	**Respondents**	**Percent**
Aware	97	97.0
Not Aware	3	3.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2011.

Although awareness of the intervention among community residents seems high, the source of their first knowledge of the intervention raise questions on the dissemination of project related information. Household survey result in figure 4.1 shows that 86 percent of the respondents had first knowledge of the intervention from the signs on project sites. Only one respondent said that he heard about the intervention at a community meeting.

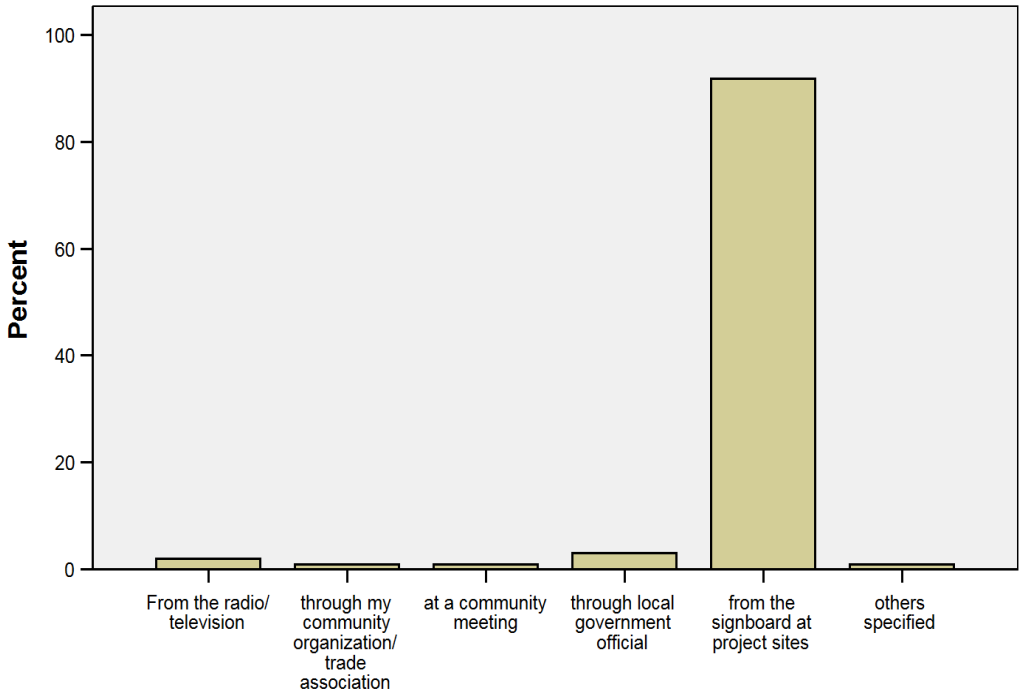


Figure 4.1: Sources of community residents' first knowledge of the intervention.

Source: Household Survey, 2011.

4.1.2.2 Knowledge of the Existence of the CTCs & LG CDO

There is ignorance of the existence of the Community Technical Committees (CTCs) and the Community Development Officer (CDO) who were expected to coordinate community participation in the project among community residents. Survey result on table 4.3 shows that 94 percent of the respondents are not aware of the existence of a Community Technical Committee or the Community Development Officer.

Table 4.3: Knowledge of the Existence of the CTCs & LG CDO.

	Respondent	**Percent**
Aware of Community Technical Committee/Community Development Officer	6	6.00
Not Aware	94	94.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Household Survey, 2011.

4.2 Quality and Channel of Information on Project Activities

Good access to information on development project activities, especially where the project is community based or driven, ensures accountability of expended funds and material, and removes any speculative conclusions on the project. For ease of residents' access to project related information, the Community Technical Committee was to liaise with the Community Development Officer to gather project information and paste such at accessible locations within the communities apart from the regular community level meetings where updates can be provided on the progress of project implementation, and feedbacks received.

Survey result on table 4.4 showed that 7 percent of the respondents said they received some form of project related information while 93 percent of the respondents claimed they have not received any information on the project.

Table 4.4: Resident's Access to Project Information

	Respondent	**Percent**
Have Access	7	7.00
Don't Have Access	93	93.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Household Survey, 2011.

Information on table 4.5 however revealed that only 3 of the 7 respondents who received project related information received such through the Community Development Officer or members of the Community Technical Committee officially mandated to provide such information. This result may be associated with the ignorance of the existence of a CTC or the Community Development Officer among residents of the beneficiary communities.

Table 4.5: Source of Project Related Information

Sources	**Respondents**	**Percent**
Community Development Officer	2	2.00
Community Technical Committee	1	1.00
At a Meeting	0	0.00
Community Leader	1	1.00
A Friend	3	3.00
None	93	93.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Household Survey, 2011.

Survey result also showed that there was low knowledge of any community level meeting to discuss the progress of project with community residents and groups. Table 4.6 revealed that only 3 percent of the respondents said there was a community level meeting while 97 percent of the respondents said there was none.

Table 4.6: Knowledge of Community Level Meetings

	Respondents	**Percent**
Yes, there were meetings	3	3.00
No, there was none	97	97.00
Total	100	100.00

Source: Household Survey, 2011.

Although community leaders interviewed confirmed that they were aware of the CTC to coordinate community participation in the project, they had noted that there were no

community level meetings to keep the communities abreast of developments on the project. Project related meetings, they said, were usually between the Community Technical Committees and Project Implementation Unit officials as shown in plate I.



From left:Yusuf Abdullahi K, CTC Chairman Mararaba; Freeman Bitrus, CTC Chairman Karu; Mustapha Sani, CTC Secretary Mararaba; Jibrin Mairiga, Procurement Officer(PIU); Nuhu Haruna, Project CDO(PIU).

Plate I: A typical meeting between the PIU and the communities represented by the Community Technical Committees.

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

The community leaders' assertion contradicts the claim by the CTCs that there were quarterly community level meetings with community representative including community leaders. Even if some meetings did occur, survey data on tables 4.5 and 4.6 indicated that the outcomes of such meetings were hardly shared with other residents and groups in the communities.

4.3 Community Involvement in Subprojects Implementation Activities

4.3.1 Nature of Community Involvement in the Project

Beneficiary communities' residents and groups' mobilization for involvement in the Karu project occurred more at the level of representation.

A. Individual Level

Information from the local government's Community Development Officer (CDO) on how community members and groups have been carried along in the project revealed that no individual contact was made with residents in the communities for involvement in the project. The Community Development Officer noted that members of the Community Technical Committees were residents of the communities who had shown interest and supported community development efforts in the past, and that they carry the interest of many other community members in the project. Community residents, according to the CDO, provided paid labor for the construction activities during subprojects implementation.

The CDO also revealed that the Community Based Urban Development Project is a World Bank project with laid down technical standards. Most of these standards he noted can only be achieved through the engagement of specialized contractors and consultants rather than resulting to self help under which residents could have carried out works directly.

A cross tabulation was attempted to ascertain if there was gender bias in the involvement. Table 4.7 revealed that two male respondents said that they had some personal involvement in the monitoring the execution of the subproject around them. The table

revealed that there was no significant involvement of any particular gender in project execution.

Table 4.7: Personal Involvement in Project Activities

Gender	Personally Involved in Project Activities		
	Involved	Not Involved	Total
Male	2	69	71
Female	0	29	29
Total	2	98	100

Source: Household Survey, 2011

B. Community Based Organization (CBO) and NGO Involvement

Survey results on table 4.8 showed that 16 percent of the respondents belonged to a Community Based Organization, mostly age-group and tribal union groups. Further analysis revealed that all 16 respondents who belonged to a CBO or group said that their CBO was not involved in any of the project activities.

Table 4.8: Respondent's Membership of a CBO or Group

	Respondents	**Percent**
Member of a Community Based Organization	16	16.0
Not Member of a Community Based Organization	84	84.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2011

Community Development Officer interview however revealed that Community Based Organizations in the beneficiary communities were un-organized for them to be effectively mobilized for direct involvement in the project. The CDO noted that *"since most of the CBOs are traditional or tribal associations in the communities, the Traditional Leaders Forum speaks for them in the project".*

The Chief of Mararaba Gurku in an interview confirmed that CBOs in Mararaba have been represented by the leaders of the various tribal groups in the community who were briefed from time to time on the project activities. Minutes of meetings also revealed that the Mararaba CTC consulted with leaders of tribal groups in Mararaba when taking decisions on where subprojects were cited in the community as well as securing appropriate sites for some of the subprojects. Twelve tribal leaders were present at a June 14th, 2003 meeting presided over by Chief of Mararaba, Mallam Allayayi Zakwai.

Interview with the Mai Angwa Magaji also revealed that the community leaders in New Karu represented the CBOs in the project, and were consulted by the Community Technical Committee particularly in securing sites for the subprojects and monitoring of project works.

Interview with the LG CDO revealed that a Non Governmental Organization in Karu, Adolescent Action Pact (AAP), was involved in the project as a consultant in the development of the health Centers in Karu and as a manager of the health Centers facilities.

C. Private Sector

The private sector groups in Karu have been involved in the project under the Business Economic Development Committee (BEDC). The BEDC is made up of private businesses and trade concerns like financial institutions, artisans, traders, butchers and other private sector groups operating in Karu. The Business Economic Development Committee was formed during the Karu City Development Strategy aspect of the World Bank project.

The Business Economic Development Committee chairman, in the stakeholders' interview, noted that the group was involved in the project from preparations to take-over stages. The group, the chairman noted, had been involved in all aspects of the project provided technical and economic advice as member of different committees in the project activities. According to the chairman, the Business Economic Development Committee was involved in initiating economically viable advice during the provision of the public conveniences and abattoir, particularly measures for operation and maintenance of completed subprojects through private facility managers and adoption of user charges to generate maintenance funds.

The World Bank supported the BEDC by providing vehicle, office equipments, and capacity building to the BEDC secretariat. The chairman was also sponsored to an international conference on Local Economy Development. According to the chairman *"The idea was to make us have a global view of the effort in Karu, and understand other countries policies towards urban development"*.

The group has been registered as Karu Business Economic Development Committee Integrated by the Corporate Affairs Commission to sustain efforts under the project.

4.3.2 Community Involvement in Subprojects Implementation Activities

Assessment of community involvement in project has been made on their involvement subprojects selection and citing, subprojects execution and monitoring, and project related conflict resolution, community involvement in completed subprojects operation and maintenance, and communities' financial and non-financial contributions to the project.

4.3.2.1 Communities' Involvement in Subprojects Selection and Site Identification.

Community's early involvement in the project at the community and stakeholders consultation stages provided opportunity for the beneficiary communities to make informed input into the preparation of the project. The community representatives in their presentation at the gathering presented the infrastructure and service challenges they believed needed urgent attention. Some of the priority areas highlighted at the gathering included the provision of quality access roads, water supply, and solid waste management as contained in table 2.1.

The construction of solid waste Landfill Site, Township Roads and Youth Friendly Centre were projects undertaken in phase I of the project. A look at the phase I items of executed projects reflects the priorities of the communities as presented by their representative at the 2-day stakeholders meeting. Early community involvement in the project therefore aided the preparation of the project to conform to some priorities of the communities in the areas of municipal infrastructural and service needs.

During the phase II implementation stage of the project, the beneficiary communities where again given opportunity to select subprojects they would want financed under the

project. Interviews and documentation on the project revealed some level of community involvement in the selection of the subprojects executed in the communities.

In New Karu, the subprojects executed was said to have been selected by community members in a meeting at the Esu Karu chamber. Groups and stakeholders represented at the meeting, according to Chairman of the Committee, included "Women and Youth representatives; Traditional Council; Title holders; Politicians; and Market leaders".

Minutes of a meeting held between the Mararaba Community Technical Committee and tribal leaders in June, 2003 showed that the community leaders were involved in the selection and identification of suitable sites for the subprojects executed within Mararaba community.

There are however indications that the meetings were more for the ratification of subprojects choices presented by the Community Technical Committees rather than for articulation of needs. The minutes of meeting from Mararaba CTC showed that the meeting was convened to brief community tribe representatives on what the World Bank has planned for Mararaba Community. According to the minutes of meeting between the CTC and tribal representative:

> *The Mararaba CTC Chairman told the members that the following projects would be executed in Mararaba. Thus A. 7 numbers of boreholes, B. Rehabilitation of 26 streets with drainages and culverts, C. Abattoir, d. Public conveniences, E. Waste…..the most important thing at this moment is to confirm the sites for the projects which we have to do now.*

The meeting unanimously agreed that the following locations should be used as a particular project site: A. Location of abattoir –behind Royal Dream Hotel, part of NANET land…….

Even though the executed subprojects were a reflection of generally needs of the communities as contained in their presentation at the city-wide consultative meeting, there are strong indications that selected subprojects under phase II did not come out of well articulated and wider consultation by the CTCs. This is especially so as the community leaders and other residents have said that there were no community level meetings during the implementation of the project. Executed subprojects in the communities may have been agreed upon by the Community Technical Committees and the Project Implementation Unit.

4.3.2.2 Subproject Execution and Monitoring Activities

A. Subproject Execution

Community Technical Committees and the Project Implementation Unit interviews, and household survey result showed that the community residents were not involved in any unpaid labor in the execution of selected subprojects. The LG CDO interview revealed that all subprojects were executed by contractors who then engaged community residents engaged to provide paid labor in construction activities.

Interview with the Business Economic Development Committee and Project Mid-term report however revealed that identified business and economic groups in Karu communities, were involved in the public convenience and abattoir subprojects as well as the construction of 3000 stalls. The Business Economic Development Committee chairman in an interview noted that the government provided policy arrangement for

allocation of land while the BEDC divided the land among the business clusters for development, and that members paid the cost of allocation of the land.

According to the project's mid-term review report:

> *the participants were overwhelmed by the bottom-up approach of the project. It was agreed that the Karu project as not about investment capital, nor about the provision of infrastructure for urban development but about a community that was internally motivated.*

B. Monitoring Activities

Monitoring of subproject activities in the communities, according to the LG CDO, were carried out by project monitoring subcommittees in addition to the Project Implementation Unit's appointed consultant. The subcommittee included members of the communities selected based on their proximity to the site or their role in securing the sites.

Mararaba Community Technical Committee Chairman in an interview noted that subprojects construction activities in Mararaba were monitored through constant supervision and interaction with the PIU and the consultant. In New Karu, interview revealed that although there was some level of project monitoring, it was not as effective as the Committee would have expected. According to the Committee chairman, community subcommittee members on project monitoring often failed to show up for monitoring exercise.

Though the level of subproject monitoring may not have been effective enough, CTCs records showed some activities of subprojects monitoring in the communities. The New Karu Community Technical Committee in a letter to the PIU, for instance, had noted:

> *We resolved that the PIU be formally informed about the noticeable failed portions or part of road and drains constructed: 1. Drains and roads close and within T-junction opposite family residence Late Esu Karu, 2. ……. 'The CTC calls on the PIU to put machinery in motion for the repairs of boreholes, public convenience, drains and roads before the 'Defects and Liability' period elapse. Our people in the community are worried* **.**

Interviews with community leaders also revealed that even individuals who were not members of the community subcommittee on monitoring had provided unsolicited project monitoring on sites close to them. When asked how he has been involved in the project implementation, the Mai Angwa Magaji, Karu had replied *"I have been involved in the monitoring of subproject construction. I made input and complaint about project work, particularly about the depth of the water borehole".*

4.3.2.3 Project Related Conflict Resolution

Most community development projects are bedeviled with conflicts arising from personal, group and institutional interactions and interest. Areas of conflicts in the course of subproject implementation have been said to be in disagreements over quality of works and adherence to better standard for road construction.

Project related conflicts, as revealed by the CTCs interviews, were basically between the Project Implementation Unit and the Community Technical Committees, but sometimes between the CTCs and the contractors and consultant. CTCs interview revealed that project related conflicts in the beneficiary communities were usually resolved through

dialogue meetings. A documented case of project conflict which the community was directly involved in resolving was that associated with the Mararaba-Kabayi road construction.

Extract from minutes of meeting held in October, 2010 between community stakeholders towards resolving the conflict, revealed that Mararaba/Kabayi residents had complained that:

> *it was the contractor that doesn't have human feeling or doesn't want to do his job because , he will block the road for several weeks after working for 2days and leave the site while motorist, pedestrians and motorcyclist doesn't have alternative routes to their abode….*

The same minutes of meetings also revealed Project Implementation Unit official noting that:

> *The contractor as a person is not safe as well as his workers.. They were beaten by road users several times…. The contractor is even suspecting some juju apart from physical harassment on himself and his workers as any Grader he brought will quench the same day…….*

Minutes of meeting of December, 2010 however revealed that the conflict was resolved through dialogue meetings between the community leaders, Okada Riders Union representatives and the contactor at the instance of the Community Technical Committee, and the construction work continued.

4.3.2.4 Community Involvement in Operation & Maintenance of Completed Subprojects

Interview with the Business Economic Development Committee chairman showed that the private sector group was involved in initiating economically viable advice during the provision of the public conveniences and abattoir, particularly measures for operation and maintenance of completed subprojects through private facility managers and adoption of user charges to generate maintenance funds.

CTC interviews revealed that the Mararaba and New Karu CTCs jointly entered a MOU with facility managers for the Operation and Maintenance of some completed subprojects (see Plate II). Mararaba CTC Secretary noted that Lumana Global Resources Limited was appointed by the CTCs to manage the water boreholes, public convenience and the abattoir.

In a letter to the PIU in 2005 over Operation and Maintenance, the CTCs noted that:

> *The two CTC'S have unanimously approved for the appointment of Lumana Global Resources Limited, a company limited by shares to manage, operate and maintain the 3 public conveniences, 1 no. Abattoir and water sited at Mararaba and Karu subject to a Memorandum of Understanding to be drawn at a letter date*.

Mararaba Community Technical Committee Chairman also noted that in the case of the abattoir, the meat butchers relocated from smaller abattoirs in Karu into the facility were allowed to carry out daily activities in the abattoir under the supervision of Lumana. The reason for using one company for all the facilities the Community Technical Committee Secretary noted was for easy dealing and transaction.

Community Technical Committees interview also revealed that the Karu Youth Friendly Health & Recreational Centers are managed by the Adolescent Action Pact, a Non Governmental Organization in the community, under the supervision of the State's Ministry of Health. Adolescent Action Pact had coordinated the implementation of the Centers under the HIV/AIDS component of the project.

The Local Government Community Development Officer interview revealed that the solid waste Dumper Placers, and the Final Dump Site at Kodape part of Karu were inherited by the Nasarawa Urban Development Board. Solid waste collection has been seen carried out with the Dumper Placers procured under the project, by men of NUDB. Solid waste management in Karu urban area and other municipalities in Nasarawa State are managed under the State's Task Force on Environmental Sanitation. The Nasarawa Urban Development Board is represented on the task force.



Sign post at the Karu Youth Friendly and Recreation Center indicating AAP as managers of the facility.



Men of the NUBD using the procured Dumper Placer to cat away solid waste.



First from the left, an attendant engaged by the facility manager attending to customers at one of the boreholes



Attendants engaged by the facility manager at one of the Public Conveniences.

Plate II: Operation and Maintenance Measures Adopted for Completed Subprojects.
Source: Field Survey, 2010.

Community stakeholders in Karu have been involved in the operation and maintenance of completed subprojects in the beneficiary communities. Community involvement was felt in economic advice provided to the Project Implementation Unit by the Business

Economic Development Committee in the execution of some of the subproject, and on viable operation and maintenance options adopted for some of the completed subprojects.

Operation and maintenance of completed subprojects in the communities have been well supported by the residents. Interview with the LG CDO revealed that the project was unable to set up and fund a Revenue Improvement Action Plan (RIAP) and facilities maintenance fund as contained in the project implementation plan. User charges have however been introduced to generate fund for the maintenance of the completed subprojects.

The operation and maintenance of these facilities by community stakeholders through appointed facility manager meant that every user access the facilities through payment of certain prescribed charge. User charges were however not placed for accessing roads, drainages and refuse bins completed under the project.

4.3.2.5 Community Contributions towards Project Implementation

The study assessed both the financial and non-financial contributions of beneficiary communities to the project implementation.

A. Financial Contribution

Beneficiary communities in the Karu project were expected to make a total of ₦14,964,900.00 as counterpart fund contribution to the project. Information from minutes of meetings between the World Bank team, Project Implementation Unit and Community Technical Committees in 2003 revealed that the World Bank Team had urged the stakeholders in the project, particularly beneficiary communities, to make

serious commitment to the remittance of their counterpart contribution toward the project as it is a major condition for benefiting from the credit facility.

The Team had noted that *"since the project is a community based project there was the need for the two (2) communities and the Local Government Council should make a commitment. This will help the communities to take ownership of the project''* **.** There was however no mention of how the contributions were to be raised from the communities.

The need for the communities to pay counterpart contributions was treated as a major issue, particularly by the PIU, in the course of project implementation. Correspondence between the PIU and the CTC's gave credence to this. At one of the meetings, the Mararaba CTC discussed about letters reminding the communities of counterpart fund contribution to the project. When asked about the counterpart fund obligation, the New Karu CTC chairman noted that New Karu community was able to raise some money as counterpart contribution for the project. The undisclosed amount, he said, was used to take care of the accommodation needs of critical PIU staff when the project started. According to the chairman:

> *The money was raised through voluntary contributions from community residents and businesses at the initial stage. The contribution was however stopped by the government over complaints from community members and groups that since the project is supported by the World Bank, it is expected to be free of charge* **.**

Mararaba Community Technical Committee also claimed that the community was able to raise some money as counterpart fund through a community fund raising.

PIU quarterly reports and project midterm report however revealed the contrary on the claims of the beneficiary communities on counterpart contribution. At project midterm in 2008, while the Nasarawa State government was able to pay a total of ₦76,000,000, neither the Karu LGC nor the beneficiary communities contributed to counterpart fund (FGN, 2008).

Table 4.9 reveals the position of stakeholders' contributions to counterpart fund at close of the project activities by December 2010.

Table 4.9: Counterpart Contributions by Stakeholders

Stakeholders	**Required Contributions**	**Actual Contributions by 2010**
State	₦135,225,000.00	₦189,267,000.00
Local Government	₦30,110,100.00	₦8,000,000.00
Beneficiary Communities	₦14,964,900.00	Nil
Total	₦180,300,000.00	₦197,267,000.00

Source: PIU Quarterly Report (2010)

Information on table 4.9 reveals that the beneficiary communities did not contribute financially to the capital investment in the communities. The State Government obviously paid all required contributions under the project even though the Local Government made some contribution.

Information from minutes of meeting also revealed that Mararaba community agreed to approach any of the banks and financial institutions within Mararaba for possible loan facilities, and also that businessmen, companies and stakeholders in Mararaba shall be contacted towards generating the funds. There was however no further documentation to

show that the community was indeed able to generate such fund or secure a loan from any bank.

CTCs interviews revealed that no specific arrangement for the remittance of community's counterpart contribution under the project existed. This coupled with the fact that no clear guideline on how the money was supposed to be raised from the communities may have influenced beneficiaries' poor performance in counterpart fund contribution. The communities saw the project as free assistance from the World Bank.

Contributions to counterpart fund in most community based projects were to encourage beneficiary community's commitment to the project and as well measure the community's ability to mobilize resources from within to found similar projects. Observed implication of the beneficiary communities in the Karu project's inability to make contribution to counterpart fund is therefore that the communities still lack the ability to mobilize financial resources from within to support community projects.

Interview with the Local Government Community Development Officer had revealed that the Karu LGC was unable to meet its obligation for counterpart contribution towards the project. No official reason was given for the Local government's failure but project's midterm review report had associated the noticeable trend to lack of political will on the part of the Local Governments.

B. Non-Financial Contributions

Interviews with the Community Technical Committees have shown that beneficiary communities contributed towards the implementation of the project in other ways. According to the Mararaba Technical Committees, Mararaba community has contributed

in kind by providing sites for subprojects without demanding compensation. The chairman of New Karu Technical Committees also claimed that the community provided sites for the Health Centers and Youth Friendly Center subprojects in the community without charging any money (Table 4.10).

Records from minutes of meeting between the World Bank, PIU, and the CTCs revealed that the CTC Chairman for Mararaba had requested the World Bank to treat the contribution of all the land provided free by the two communities for sitting subprojects as their counterpart fund contribution to the project. The willingness of the communities to contribute towards the project was demonstrated in kind donations of land and survey services for sitting of the subprojects without charge.

Table 4.10: Non-financial Contributions to Project Implementation.

Community	**Non- financial Contributions**	**Size**	**Financial Worth (₦)**
Mararaba	Land for Abattoir.	About 1 Ha	10,000,000*
	Land for Public Convenience/ Bath.	About 500sqm	1,200,000*
New Karu	Land for Youth Friendly Centre.	About 3000sqm	3,000,000*
	Land for Clinic/ Maternity.	About 500sqm	1,000,000*
	Land for pubic conveniences/ Bath.	About 350sqm	700,000*
			30,000**
TOTAL	Payment for survey services.		**₦15,930,000**

Source: CTCs Interview, 2011.

***estimate value of donated land as provided by estate valuers in the areas.**

**** cost as contained in CTC's minutes of meeting.**

Table 4.10 shows that the estimated worth of all land donated by the Mararaba and New Karu communities for sitting of subprojects is about ₦15,930,000. This is about ₦925,100 more than the ₦14,964,900 expected as counterpart fund contribution from the beneficiary communities. Though the beneficiary communities did not make financial contributions to project implantation, the financial worth of their non-financial contributions to the project indicates that the communities have made substantial commitment to the project.

4.4 The Extent of Community Participation in the Karu Project

4.4.1 Level of Community Awareness on the Project

Project documentation revealed that robust public sensitization was made during project preparation stage. Stakeholders and city wide community consultation was used to inform the communities about the project, and community stakeholders and representatives were able to contribute to the needs assessment prior to project design. Information gathered also revealed that 1.06 percent of the Karu urban Area population was in attendance for the consultative forum.

During project implementation stage, survey revealed that 97 percent of respondents are aware of the infrastructure upgrade projects carried out in their communities being World Bank assisted. Eighty-Six (86) percent of these respondents however only had first knowledge of the intervention from the signs at project sites as against through the LG CDO and Community Technical Committees officially recognized to provide such information under the project.

Research findings have also shown that 94 percent of the respondents are not aware of the existence of a Community Technical Committees to coordinate their participation in the project while 93 percent of the respondents claimed they have not received any project related information. 97 percent of the respondents said there were no community level meetings to update community on the project.

Applying the matrix rating method, the study attempted to aggregate the various levels and quality of residents' knowledge of the project by adopting a rating scale of:

Less than 40 % = Poor Knowledge of the Project

41% - 60% = Fair Knowledge of the Project

61% above = Good Knowledge of the Project

Table 4.11: Rating of Residents Awareness on the Project

Residents Awareness on the Project	**Maximum Score**	**Actual Score %**
Knowledge of Intervention	100	97
Knowledge of the CTC/CDO	100	6
Accessed Project Information	100	7
Source of Project Information	100	3
Community Level Meetings	100	3
Total	500	116

Rating of Aggregate Residents Knowledge of the Project = $\frac{\text{Actual Score X 100}}{\text{Maximum Score}}$

$= \frac{116 \text{ X } 100}{500}$

$= 23.2\ \%$

Matrix rating score achieved for residents' knowledge of the project is 23.2 percent. This revealed that community residents' knowledge of the Karu project was poor.

Although there was considerable public awareness of the project at the project preparation stage, the momentum of publicity was not maintained during the project implementation stage when updates and feedbacks necessary to inform and benefit from salient inputs from the project communities were necessary.

4.4.2 Communities' Involvement in Subprojects Selection and Site Identification

At the preparation stage of the project, community representatives presented the infrastructure and service challenges they believed needed urgent attention in Karu communities. Early community involvement in the project therefore aided the preparation of the project to conform to some priorities of the communities in the areas of municipal infrastructural and service needs.

Findings of the study showed that some community leaders, representatives of youths and market leaders in the beneficiary communities were invited by the Community Technical Committees to further select specific projects they would want financed, and decide on the locations of such within the communities. Beneficiary communities were therefore involved in the selection of subprojects choices and identification of suitable sites for the subprojects.

Research findings revealed that beneficiary communities through their representatives and community leaders had good involvement in the selection and identification of sites for subprojects financed under the project.

4.4.3 Community Contributions towards Project Implementation

Research findings show that the beneficiary communities were unable to make any financial contribution as counterpart fund contributions which would have made them

own the project. Although the communities made other non-financial contributions to the project, their inability to raise the expected counterpart fund meant that the communities still lack the capacity to mobilize funds from within to finance project replication in the future. Community performance and by extension involvement in counterpart fund contribution to the project was poor.

4.4.4 Subproject Execution and Monitoring Activities

Information on project activities revealed that all construction works in the implementation of financed subprojects were carried out by contractors who had won bids for the jobs. Although some Community Technical Committee members and community residents were members of the project monitoring subcommittees, the subcommittees were not successful in their task.

Research findings revealed that subprojects execution and monitoring activities were carried out by contractors and consultants appointed by the Project Implementation Unit. The lack of persons with relevant technical expertise among CTC members made it impossible for the communities to have any real involvement in this aspect of the project. Community involvement in subprojects execution and monitoring was poor.

4.4.5 Project Related Conflict Resolution

Conflicts in the course of project implementation were basically between the Project Implementation Unit and the Community Technical Communities, but sometimes between the CTCs and the contractors and consultant. The conflicts were often associated with the quality of project information, slow pace of work, and quality of construction work on sites.

Research findings revealed that community stakeholders including the Community Technical Committees, community leaders, and trade associations were well involved in resolving such conflicts through dialogue meetings.

4.4.6 Community Involvement in Operation & Maintenance of Completed Subprojects

Cross-sectoral municipal facilities including small scale water works, health centers, waste management and public convenience facilities, electricity transformers, classroom rehabilitation, recreation facility, roads and drainages were provided in beneficiary communities under the project.

Research findings revealed that the project communities were able to take over the operation and maintenance of water boreholes, health centers, abattoir, and public convenience facilities through private sector facility managers in the community. The Community Technical Committees and Business Economic Development Committee also successfully transformed into corporate entities to be able to carry out operation and management of the completed facilities efficiently to ensure sustainability of the facilities.

Research findings however did show that the project was unable to set up and fund a Revenue Improvement Action Plan (RIAP) and Facilities Maintenance Fund as contained in the project implementation plan. This may not be unconnected with the lack of capacity within the communities to coordinate fund mobilization. Although user charges on completed facilities have been adopted to maintain facilities taken over by the community, the lack of dedicated fund for the maintenance of the facilities may eventually strain the user charges and jeopardize sustainability of the facilities over time.

Community involvement in the take-over, and operation and maintenance process of the project was largely fair. How the community is able to effectively carry on with the operation and maintenance of the facilities is however yet to be seen.

In summary, community involvement was felt largely at committee and representation levels. Community involvement in the Karu project was only good in the subproject selection and identification of sites for the subprojects within the communities. Community involvement was fair at take-over, and operation and maintenance of some completed facilities, while it had poor involvement in access to project information, subproject execution and monitoring, and counterpart fund contributions (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: Assessment of Community Participation in the Karu Project

Type of Involvement	**Level of Involvement**		
	Good	**Fair**	**Poor**
Access to Project Information			•
Subproject Selection & Sites Identification	•		
Counterpart Fund Contributions			•
Subproject Executions & Monitoring			•
Take-over, and Operation & Maintenance		•	

Information from table 4.12 revealed that community participation in the Karu project was largely poor.

4.5 Factors that Explained the Level of Community Participation in the Project.

Analysis of data on aspects of community involvement in the Karu project revealed that the community technical committees, the private sector groups, the non-governmental organization, and community leaders were involved at the different stages of the project, particularly during subproject selection and identification of sites for the subprojects within the communities.

There was however a lack of full understanding of the project among community residents because of paucity of project related information at community level. Very few members of the communities were able to participate in the implementation activities as subprojects were executed through contractual arrangements which only provided opportunities for paid labor. PIU Quarterly Report at the close of project also showed that beneficiary communities were unable to make financial contributions toward the project.

The following factors largely influenced the level of community participation that was achieved in the Karu urban upgrading project.

4.5.1 Limited Access of the Larger Public to Project Related Information

There was lack of full understanding of the project among community residents. Residents of the beneficiary communities did not have adequate information concerning the project activities. Although many of the residents knew that the road infrastructure and other facilities provided under the project in the communities were sponsored by the World Bank, such information were largely accessed from sign boards at project sites and from labels on completed subprojects.

Failure of the Local Government Community Development Officer and members of the Community Technical Committee to make project related information available to the generality of the people either through designated information locations or through general meetings denied residents from having adequate knowledge of project activities, making input, and owning the process and outcome.

The non involvement of existing community based organization directly in the project greatly affected the flow of project related information to the resident, some of who belong to these organizations. The traditional or tribal representatives that represented the Community Based Organizations were unable to share the little information they received.

4.5.2 Technicalities of Subprojects Implemented

The technicalities involved with the types of subprojects executed in the communities made it impossible for community residents to be directly responsible for the construction activities. Even the CTC had noted that lack of persons with adequate technical knowledge of some of the subprojects affected their involvement, particularly in the water borehole, electricity transformers, and roads/ drainage subprojects.

Community residents and group involvement in the actual subprojects implementation activities was limited to paid labor. Self help measures in the execution of subproject works was therefore replaced with technical expertise provided by the contractors and consultants in the project.

4.5.3 Poor Logistics on Counterpart Fund Contributions

The project appraisal document specified that 20 percent of the improvement cost in Karu should come from the state as a counterpart fund, and delegated the Nasarawa state government to arrange how the Local Government and beneficiary communities will make their contributions. While minutes of meetings showed that percentages to be contributed by each stakeholder were resolved, no clear arrangement was made on how the contributions were to be raised particularly by the beneficiary communities. Beneficiary communities clearly exhibit a lack of capacity to mobilize fund from within for community projects.

Research findings also revealed that there was no specific arrangement for the remittance of community's counterpart contribution under the project. This coupled with the fact that no clear guidelines on how the money was supposed to be raised from the communities may have influenced beneficiaries' poor performance in counterpart fund contribution. The communities therefore saw the project as free assistance from the World Bank.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE INTERVENTIONS

The following recommendations are made for effective community participation in future community based urban development projects:

Better mechanisms of informing sharing like landlords meetings and town hall meetings, particularly among residents who may not be privileged to be members of committees, on project activities should be designed for future similar intervention or replication of the project. Publicity tools such as information boards, pamphlets, and radio and television announcements should be employed to let the public at large understand the essence of the projects and follow the progress to foster community feeling of ownership of the project.

Effort to involve local well established contractors to handle infrastructure projects should be considered to improve the local content and community ownership of the process and techniques for future interventions.

Most of the tasks, including the bidding of contracts; design; construction; and evaluation, in the project were performed by consultants. The Community Technical Committees were unable to be involved in any technical aspects of the project because of the lack of technical competence among the members of the CTCs. Selection of members of the CTC for future intervention should take cognizance of technical competences to ensure that community is adequately represented and fully involved in all critical tasks.

Significant community stakeholders' involvement was observed in the operation and maintenance of completed water boreholes, health center, public conveniences, and the abattoir in the project. Project's final evaluation report has also shown that these are facilities in which communities will have very little technical challenge in executing. The fact that the communities are able to develop operation and maintenance measures for these facilities and that community residents are willing to pay user charges for these facilities suggests that future community based interventions should be focused on these types of subproject. Road infrastructure and other technically inclined subprojects in execution and operation and maintenance should be left for line ministries to handle.

The private sector, when organized and motivated as in the case of the Karu Business Economic Development Committee, is a potential local capital for urban revitalization and development. The success of the Business Economic Development Committee in Karu should be replicated in other urban areas for future interventions.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Community stakeholders' involvement in the Karu project was limited to organized groups in the communities. There was no involvement in the project activities at individual level, even community based organizations were represented by traditional leaders or tribal representatives.

Project information sharing and consultations on project activities were basically between the Community Technical Committees, the Business Economic Development Committee and community leaders. The inability of these community representatives to effectively disseminate project information to the larger public however denied many community

residents and groups' full understanding of the project and possible input to project activities.

Community involvement in the Karu project was only good in the subproject selection and identification of sites for the subprojects within the communities. Community involvement was fair at take-over, and operation and maintenance of some completed facilities, while it had poor involvement in access to project information, subproject execution and monitoring, and counterpart fund contributions. Community participation in the Karu project was largely poor. The participation that occurred can best be described as tokenistic, adopting mostly manipulative committee approach.

The level of participation that occurred in the project was traced to limited access of the larger public to project related information, technical nature of subprojects implemented and poor logistics on counterpart fund contributions.

Improving access to project information and providing adequate feedback mechanisms will improve involvement and enhance better ownership of the process in future interventions. Providing clear framework on project activities and financial involvement at community level will also enhance community commitment and ownership of project outcomes.

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APPENDIX A

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY GUIDE

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

"Assessment of Community Participation in the Karu Urban Upgrading Project, Nasarawa State, Nigeria".

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire is designed to collect data on how much community members and groups in Mararaba and NewKaru have been involved in the preparation and implementation of the Karu urban upgrading project. Information is sought on level of community knowledge of the project, community contributions towards project activities, community involvement in project activities, project performance and outcomes, and ownership and sustainability of project gains.

Your views will make an input to a research work in pursuit of a Master of Science degree in Urban Management, and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Date:……..

Time:…….

Place:…….

Interviewee:……...

Interviewer:…….

1. Gender

   Male ☐ Female ☐

2. Tribe (Please indicate)

3. Occupation

   Trader ☐ Farmer ☐ Business ☐ Craftsman ☐ Civil Servant ☐

4. Location

5. Have you heard of the World Bank Assisted urban upgrading project in the community?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

6. How did you first know of the project?

   a. From the radio/ television
   b. Through my Community Organization/ Trade Association
   c. Through an NGO
   d. At a community meeting
   e. Through Local Government officials
   f. Through the Community Technical Committee
   g. From the signboard at project sites

7. What is your understanding of the project?

8. Are you aware of a Community Technical Committee(CTC) to coordinate your participation in the project in the community?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Did you receive updates on the following from the committee or community representative?

ITEMS	Yes	No
Project objectives and criteria		
Technical Standards		
Selected projects to be executed		
Evaluation for bids of contracts		
Progress of construction and other project activities		
Take-over and management of completed projects		

10. Did you provide any input or make any complaint about the project activity?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

11. If yes, what type of information did you provide?

12. How did you receive information or make inputs/complaints concerning the project activities in your community?

    a. At organized meetings
    b. Through the Community Development Officer
    c. Through the Community Technical Committee
    d. Through the community leader
    e. Through a Friend
    f. None

13. Were there meetings at the community levels to discourse about the project activities?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

14. If Yes, what was the regularity of the meetings?

15. Were you or any member of your household asked to make contributions of money or materials during the construction of the projects?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

16. If yes, did you make money contributions to the project?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

17. Did you make any non-financial contributions to the project?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

18. If yes, what kind of non-financial contribution did you make?

19. Are you a member of a community organization or group in the community?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

20. Was your organization or group involved in the project activities in any way?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

21. If yes, in which activity was your organization or group involved?
22. In which of the project activities were you personally involved?

23. Did the community have a meeting to decide about the subprojects executed?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

24. If Yes, what was the extent of your participation in the project selection. Did you or your group:

A. attend the meeting	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. Speak at the meeting	Yes	☐	No	☐
D. Prefer another project	Yes	☐	No	☐

25. What was the result of the meeting for projects selection? Did the community members and groups:

A. Agree on the subproject choice	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. simply ratify proposal brought by PIU or World Bank	Yes	☐	No	☐

26. Who had the most important role in deciding the types of subprojects that were financed in the community?

Community members and Groups	☐
CTC	☐
PIU Officials	☐
Local Government Officials	☐
World Bank Officials	☐

27. What will you say were the three biggest problems facing the community before the World Bank intervention?

28. Will you say that the projects executed in the community addressed the community problems as regard infrastructure and services needs?

Yes ☐ No ☐

29. If No, what needs of the community should have been addressed?

30. Which of the following facilities provided under this project have you been using?

A. Roads	☐
B. Water bore hole	☐
C. Public toilet/bath	☐
D. Health Centre	☐
E. Refuse bins	☐

31. Which of the facilities have you been paying user charges to use?

A. Roads	☐
B. Water bore hole	☐
C. Public toilet/bath	☐
D. Health Centre	☐
E. Refuse bins	☐

APPENDIX B

COMMUNITY TECHNICAL COMMITTEE INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What will you say were the four biggest problems facing the community before the World Bank intervention?

2. Will you say that the projects executed in the community adequately reflect the priorities of the community as regard infrastructure and services needs?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

3. If No, what priorities of the community should have been taken care of?

4. How were the subprojects financed under the project selected?

5. Which people, groups or stakeholders were represented for the subproject selection?

6. What was the result of the meeting(s) for projects selection? Did the community members:

A. resolve all disagreements	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. Agree on the subproject choice	Yes	☐	No	☐
C. simply ratifies proposal brought by PIU or World Bank.	Yes	☐	No	☐

7. Who had the most important role in deciding the types of projects to be financed in the community?

Community members and Groups	☐
CTC	☐
PIU Officials	☐
Local Government Officials	☐
World Bank Officials	☐

8. What was the level of attention given to the following aspects in selecting the subprojects?

A. Addressing local priorities	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
B. Creating local ownership	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
C. Ensuring sustainability	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
D. Involving community	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
E. Building community capacity	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐

9. How has community involvement in the selection of the subprojects impacted on their performance?

10. How was community involved in evaluation of bids for subprojects contracts?

11. How did the community monitor subprojects construction activities?

12. Were there conflicts in the course of subproject implementation in the community? Between who were the conflicts?

13. How were the conflicts resolved?

14. In what other ways has the community been involved in the implementation of subprojects?

15. In which of the subprojects will you say that community involvement have had some limitations?

16. What were the limitations?

17. How has community involvement in the implementation activities impacted on the performance of the subprojects?

18. In what other ways do you think community members and groups could have been better involved in the project?

19. Was the community able to raise the expected counterpart contribution for the project?

19. What strategies were used to raise the required contributions in your community?

21. What were the challenges faced in raising the contributions?

22. How were the challenges overcome?

23. What was the arrangement for the remittance of counterpart contributions by the State government, Local government, and project communities?

24. Please specify other ways the community has contributed towards the executed subprojects.

25. How will you assess community access to information on project activities from the PIU?

26. How was information on project activities transmitted to community members and groups?

27. What type of project information have been provided to the community

ITEMS	Yes	No
Project objectives and criteria		
Technical Standards		
Selected projects to be executed		
Evaluation for bids of contracts		
Progress of construction and other project activities		
Take-over and management of completed projects		

28. How were feedbacks and complaints concerning project activities received from community members and groups?

29. Were there meetings at community levels to discourse progress of the project? What was the regularity of such meetings?

30. What was the cross-section of attendance at such meetings?

31. What challenges have been faced in accessing and providing project information in the course of the implementation?

32. What types of municipal infrastructure and services have been provided in your community under the project?

33. What new social capital (group, association or organization) has been created in the community as a result of the project?

34. How has the outcome of the community-based development project differ from other government projects in the past?

35. How are the completed subprojects presently being operated and maintained?

36. What strategy has been adopted or is being considered to involve project communities in the operation and maintenance of completed subprojects?

37. What type of capacity building and training has community members or groups received under the project?

38. Which community members or groups have benefited from the capacity building and training?

39. Do you think the training you have received were relevant to the aim and objectives of the project?

40. How has the capacity building and training enhanced your involvement, or that of other community members and groups who have received same, in the project?

41. Judging by the capacity building and training, and experience gained in the project; do you think your community is now capable of taking charge of its development activities in the following areas?

A. Preparing a community development project	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. Mobilizing resources from within the community	Yes	☐	No	☐
C. Implementing a community project	Yes	☐	No	☐
D Operating and maintaining the project	Yes	☐	No	☐

42. What measures are you taking to ensure that knowledge gained from the World Bank intervention is used to take charge of future community development?

APPENDIX C

TRADITIONAL & WARD HEADS INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Have you heard of the World Bank Assisted urban upgrading project in and around your community?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

2. How did you first know of the project?

   A. From the radio/ television
   B. Through my Community Organization/ Trade Association
   C. Through an NGO
   D. At a community meeting
   E. Through Local Government officials
   F. Through the Community Technical Committee
   G. From the signboard at project sites

3. What will you say were the four biggest problems facing the community before the World Bank intervention?

4. Will you say that the projects executed in the community adequately reflect the priorities of the community as regard infrastructure and services needs?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

5. If No, what priorities of the community should have been taken care of?

6. Are you aware of a Community Technical Committee to coordinate your participation in the project in the community?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Did you receive updates on the following from the committee or community representative?

ITEMS	Yes	No
Project objectives and criteria		
Technical Standards		
Selected projects to be executed		
Evaluation for bids of contracts		
Progress of construction and other project activities		
Take-over and management of completed projects		

8. Did you provide any input or make any complaint about the project activity?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

9. How do you receive the information or make input/complaints concerning the project activities in your community?

    A. At organized meetings
    B. Through the Community Development Officer
    C. Through the Community Technical Committee
    D. Through the Local Government
    E. Others specify……..

10. Were there meetings at the community levels to discourse about the project activities?

11. What was the regularity of these meetings, if there were meetings?

12. Will you say that the CTC has adequately carried you along at ensuring community participation in the project?

13. Were you or any member of the community asked to make contributions of money or materials to support construction of the subprojects?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

14. If yes, was the contribution mandatory or voluntary?

    Mandatory ☐ Voluntary ☐

15. Did any community member or groups make complaints to you as regards such contributions? What were the complaints about?

16. How were the challenges of raising the counterpart funding overcome?

17. Is it correct to say that you speak for the many town unions and cultural associations in your community on decisions taken under the project?
    Yes ☐ No ☐

18. How were the subprojects financed under the project selected?

19. Were you present or represented at such project selection meeting?

20. Which people, groups or stakeholders were represented for the subproject selection?

21. What was the result of the meeting(s) for projects selection? Did the community members:

A. resolve all disagreements	Yes ☐	No ☐
B. Agree on the subproject choice	Yes ☐	No ☐
C. simply ratify proposals brought by PIU or World Bank	Yes ☐	No ☐

22. Who had the most important role in deciding the types of projects to be financed in the community?

Community members and Groups	☐
CTC	☐
PIU Officials	☐
Local Government Officials	☐
World Bank Officials	☐

23. What was the level of attention given to the following aspects in selecting the subprojects?

A. Addressing local priorities	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
B. Creating local ownership	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
C. Ensuring sustainability	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
D. Involving community	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
E. Building community capacity	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐

24. How do you think community involvement in the selection of the subprojects has impacted on their performance?

25. In which ways have you been involved in any of the subprojects implementation activities in the community?

26. How do you think your involvement have impacted on the performance of the subproject construction?

27. In what other ways do you think community members and groups could have been better involved in the project implementation?

APPENDIX D

KARU BUSINESS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Is your group aware of the World Bank Assisted urban upgrading project in the community?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

2. How did you first know of the project?

   a. From the radio/ television
   b. Through my Community Organization/ Trade Association
   c. Through an NGO
   d. At a community meeting
   e. Through Local Government officials
   f. Through the Community Technical Committee
   g. From the signboard at project sites

3. What is your understanding of the project?

4. Is your group aware of a Community Technical Committee to coordinate your participation in the project in the community?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Did your group receive updates on the following from the committee or community representative?

ITEMS	Yes	No
Project objectives and criteria		
Technical Standards		
Selected projects to be executed		
Evaluation for bids of contracts		
Progress of construction and other project activities		
Take-over and management of completed projects		

6. Did your group provide any input or make any complaint about the project activity?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

7. If yes, what type of input did you make?

8. How did you receive the information or make input concerning the project activities in your community?

    a. At organized meetings
    b. Through the Community Development Officer
    c. Through the Community Technical Committee
    d. Through the community leader
    e. Others specify……..

9. How will you assess the performance of the CTCs in coordinating communities' participation in the project activities?

10. Were there meetings at the community levels to discourse about the project activities?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

11. If yes, what was the regularity of the meetings?

12. Was your group asked to make contributions of money or materials during the execution of the subprojects?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

13. If you did make financial contributions, how was the money raised?

14. Which other non-financial contributions did your group provide towards project activities?

15. Was your group or member(s) of your group involved in any of the project activities?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

16. If yes, how was your group involved in the project activities?

17. Was your group involved in the selection of the subprojects executed?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

18. Did the community have meeting(s) to decide about the subprojects?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

19. If yes, what was the extent of your group involvement in the subproject selection? Did your group:

A. Attended the meeting	Yes ☐	No ☐
B. Spoke at the meeting	Yes ☐	No ☐
D. Preferred another project	Yes ☐	No ☐

20. What was the result of the meeting for subprojects selection? Did the community members and groups:

A. Agreed on the subproject choice	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. simply ratifies proposal brought by PIU or World Bank.	Yes	☐	No	☐

21. Who had the most important role in deciding the types of subprojects to be financed in the community?

Community members and Groups	☐
CTC	☐
PIU Officials	☐
Local Government Officials	☐
World Bank Officials	☐

22. What do you think were the impacts of your involvement in the project activities?

23. What were your limitations or challenges in the course of participating in the project activities?

24. In what other ways do you think your group or other community groups like yours could have been better involved in the project implementation?

25. What will you say were the three biggest problems facing the community before the World Bank intervention?

26. Will you say that the projects executed in the community addressed the community problems as regard infrastructure and services needs?

Yes ☐ No ☐

27. If No, what needs of the community should have been addressed?

28. Did your group benefit from any capacity building or training under the project?

Yes ☐ No ☐

29. If yes, what type of capacity building and training has your group benefited from the project?

30. How has the capacity building and training enhanced your participation in the project?

31. Do you think your community is now capable of taking charge of its development activities in the following areas?

A. Preparing a community development project	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. Mobilizing resources from within the community	Yes	☐	No	☐
C. Implementing a community project	Yes	☐	No	☐
D Operating and maintaining the project	Yes	☐	No	☐

APPENDIX E

LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICER INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What will you say were the four biggest problems facing the communities before the World Bank intervention?

2. Will you say that the projects executed in the communities adequately reflect the priorities of the community as regard infrastructure and services needs?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

3. If No, what priorities of the community should have been taken care of?

4. Did the Local Government meet its obligation for counterpart funding for municipal infrastructure and services provide under the intervention?

   Yes ☐ No ☐ Not Sure ☐

5. If No, what were the challenges?

6. What was the arrangement for the remittance of counterpart contributions by the State government, Local government, and project communities?

7. In what other ways has the Local Government contributed towards the executed subprojects?

8. Was the Local Government involved in the selection of subprojects that were constructed in the communities under the intervention?

   Yes ☐ No ☐ [Skip to 10]

9. Who had the most important role in deciding the types of projects to be financed in the community?

   Community members and Groups ☐
   CTC ☐
   PIU Officials ☐
   Local Government Officials ☐
   World Bank Officials ☐

10. What was the level of attention given to the following aspects in selecting the projects?

A. Addressing local priorities	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
B. Creating local ownership	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
C. Ensuring sustainability	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
D. Involving community	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐
E. Building community capacity	High	☐	Some	☐	None	☐

11. What type of technical support has the Local Government provided towards the maintenance of the completed subprojects in the communities?

12. What is the position of the Revenue Improvement Action Plan (RIAP) for the operation and maintenance of completed project and subsequent replication of the initiative in other parts of the urban area?

13. How are the completed subprojects presently being operated and maintained?

14. What strategies have been adopted or being considered to involve project communities in the operation and maintenance of completed subprojects?

15. What capacity building and training has the Local Government officials benefited in the project?

16. How has the capacity building and training impacted on the Local Government roles in the project?

17. Do you think your community is now capable of taking charge of its development activities in the following areas?

A. Preparing a community development project	Yes	☐	No	☐
B. Mobilizing resources from within the community	Yes	☐	No	☐
C. Implementing a community project	Yes	☐	No	☐
D Operating and maintaining the project	Yes	☐	No	☐

18. What measures is the Local Government taking to ensure that knowledge gained from the World Bank intervention is used to take charge of future community development?