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No-  
evaluator  
E.P. (?)

The Municipal Development Programme  
for Sub-Saharan Africa (MDP):

A capacity building programme to strengthen local government in  
Africa.

SECOND AND FINAL EVALUATION OF M.D.P. (Phase 1)  
- Eastern and Southern Africa Module -

Uli Locher  
Ron McGill

FINAL REPORT

June 30, 1994

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A preliminary version of this report was presented at the Steering  
Committee meeting in Kampala on May 11, 1994.

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## PREFACE

A preliminary version of this report was presented to the MDP Steering Committee at its May 11, 1994, meeting in Kampala. In addition to verbal comments made at that time, the evaluation team received written comments from four individuals (Mugore, MDP, Zimbabwe; Deby, IDRC, Canada; van Oosterhout, DST/UR, The Netherlands; Wegelin, UMP, Kenya). All of these comments are gratefully acknowledged; they have been given due consideration and have resulted in many changes between the preliminary and final versions of the report.

The responsibility for the report, of course, remains with the evaluation team. Some disagreements between the team and various readers of the report will inevitably remain. An evaluation which is not candid is bound to be worthless. Therefore, we have not tried to hide disagreements or to alter statements which clearly express our perception of what MDP is and does at the present time. In particular, our evaluation should provoke discussion of the following questions:

- Is the "process orientation" - which is one of the important innovations of the programme - being implemented and monitored adequately?
- Is "bypassing the central government" being achieved in optimal ways; is it feasible, necessary, productive?
- If the manpower at PU is of impressive quality, can the same be said of its style of work; are the human resources being used optimally?
- Is the most being made of the opportunities to carry out research, communicate its results and use regionally available data?
- How can the necessary monitoring and research work be made to result in timely feedback and planning of future activities?
- How can the links between research processes and policy processes be made more explicit and more productive?
- How can the programme evaluate and ensure that its actions are and remain relevant for the ultimate beneficiaries?

Our view is quite radical on the latter point. We recommend terminating any programme which cannot prove its legitimacy and relevance in view of those ultimate beneficiaries. The world, and especially the Third World, has tolerated enough irrelevant and counterproductive foreign aid programmes, enough "development tourism" and other forms of parasitic behaviour and waste. We think that MDP represents a break from such useless development schemes

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Municipal Development Programme (MDP) seeks to build performance capacity in the municipalities of Eastern and Southern Africa. It does so through the instrument of the "activity". The dominant feature of the activity is the training workshop, leading to a product.

Training workshops are the culmination of exploratory and learning processes; that is the hallmark of MDP's approach to capacity building. The participating institution is encouraged to discover its latent capacity for formulating policies, strategies, procedures and techniques. This creative process engenders local ownership of both the process and the resulting product. The participating institution ranges from a regional gathering to a local municipality.

Chapter 3 suggests that the products range from policies, strategies and action plans (whether at regional, national or municipal level) to techniques and procedure. Examples of the former include a strategic document to guide the operations of post-independence local government in Namibia as well as a development plan for a national training institution in Mozambique. The only two cases of the latter are the regional workshop on urban planning and management (leading to a workshop report on the techniques) and the municipal consultancy and workshop on developing procedures for THA administration.

Chapter 4 suggests that from the four part strategy to Phase 1, the perceived impact of MDP work has been mixed. The policy research category is well intentioned but lacks a certain rigour to ensure ultimate credibility. The training activity is considered a misnomer. First, its volume is limited (three specific activities out of seventeen, if classed by output). Secondly, and more importantly, "training" is often a means to an end unrelated to the transmission of specific skills - i.e., more policy discussion. The impact of MDP activities on municipalities, as far as it can be estimated, has been of a high quality but of limited scope: two completed activities in Lilongwe and Kwekwe. Finally, MDP agreed to transfer the responsibility for strengthening national local authority associations, to IULA-AS. Organizationally, this move is considered a correct one but its effects have not been studied.

The conclusion to the first part of this evaluation (chapters 1 to 4) is that the capacity building process is relevant, the impact has been mixed, the policy and municipalities focus should be pursued, training is already re-defined in practice and the strengthening of local authorities' associations has been rightly transferred to IULA-AS.

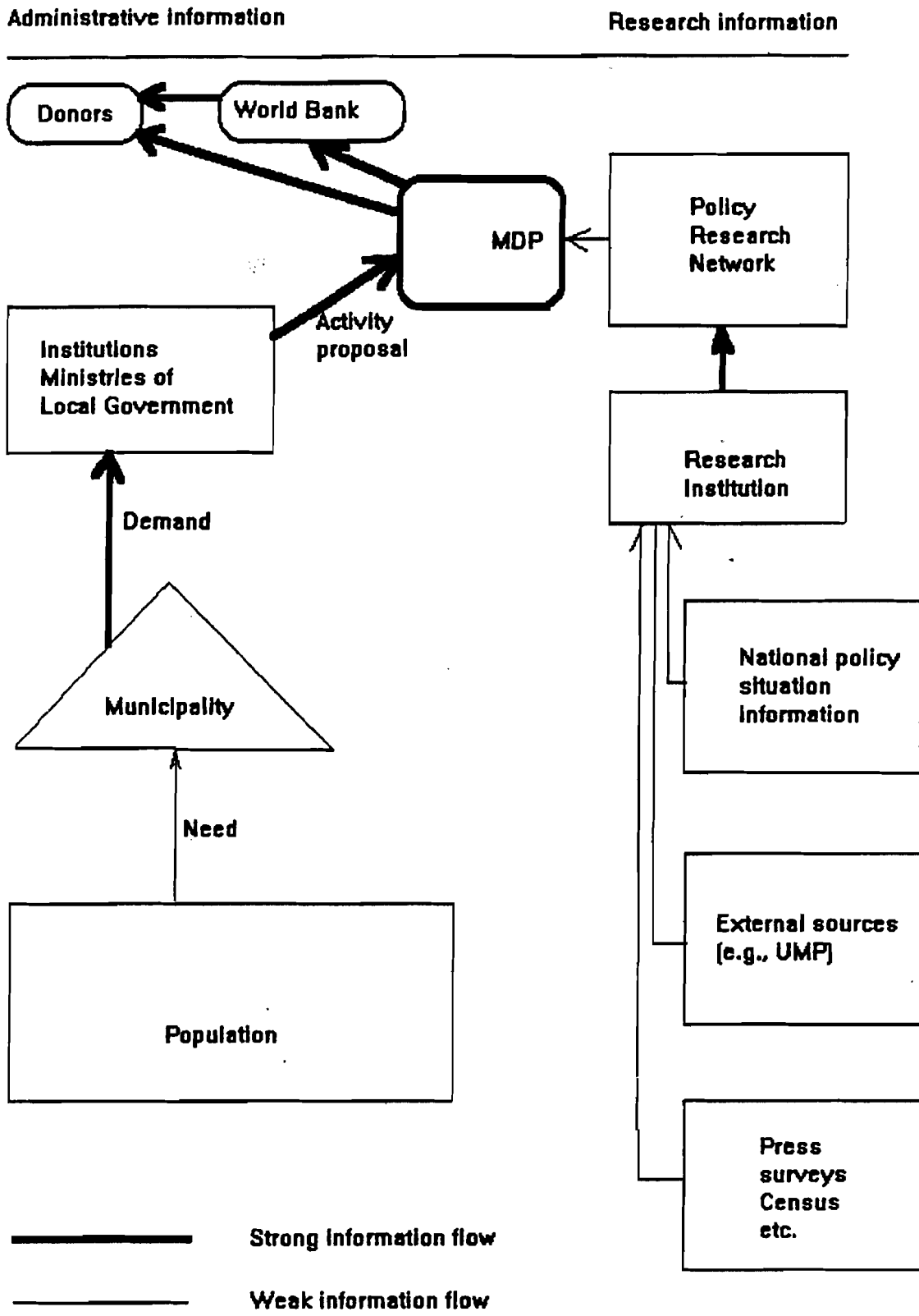
This leads to the second half of the evaluation concerned with program design, contextual issues and the management processes

ultimately, so that MDP can contribute (1) to policy and regulatory reforms and (2) to the strengthening of municipalities. The current state and the ideal system of information and resource flows are illustrated in three diagrams below.

There is no doubt that MDP is a unique and highly relevant capacity building initiative. It seeks to make an impact on the endemic weakness of municipal institutional capacity in Sub-saharan Africa. The vast territory of this weakness and the understandable desire to tackle it head on, have led to a dilution of the potential impact of MDP.

For phase 2, MDP should therefore sharpen and limit its objectives. Ideally, each MDP activity is an iteration in the development process, between policy and practice, each contributing to a greater understanding of the other, on the road to building municipal capacity. If the programme puts limits on its substantive ambitions and geographic scope, the iteration will work well, will be observable and will have measurable impact.

Chart 2 Information flow to determine action



### Comments on Chart 3

The following is the example most often given to this evaluator during interviews with municipal-level officials.

Elements	Activity	Research and monitoring
Output 1	Teaching innovative way of assessing property and collecting tax	Has teaching taken place in an appropriate way?
Impact 1	Officials participate in workshop: teaching and learning take place	What has been learned, retained some time later?
Output 2	Instructions passed to local authorities about how to register urban plots and occupants	Have instructions been given completely and accurately?
Impact 2	Local manpower hired, trained, to do census and assessments	Have tools, schedules, maps been prepared, instructions been given?
Output 3	Census taking; tax collection	Have all areas been covered equally, favours been granted, exceptions made?
Impact 3	Taxes collected	Have taxes been collected fairly, have tax rates and receipts increased or decreased, has increased tax collection resulted in improved services?

Two things should be noted in reference to Chart 3. First, impact can only be measured if a baseline is known. If we find, e.g., that one year after a workshop on innovative ways of assessing property taxes, fifty percent of residents pay property tax, this is not in itself a meaningful piece of data concerning the workshop's impact. If, however, the baseline was known (say, 17%), we can state that in all likelihood the workshop (and coordinated activities) was instrumental in tripling the property tax base. Secondly, if impact assessment is narrow, we gain only partial knowledge. If it is more general, we may learn whether the increased tax revenue has led to improved services - a critical piece of information.

impacts will not only be considered among the direct beneficiaries of MDP activity but also among the populations they are supposed to serve.<sup>1)</sup>

#### 1.4 Summary of MDP goals

The Municipal Development Programme (MDP) is a regional facility whose goal is to foster effective democratic local government and assist in creating local development in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The specific objectives of MDP are:

- to support local governments and other relevant institutions in their efforts to develop their analytical capacity and policy framework, and to introduce appropriate institutional structures to improve municipal governance;
- to enhance the capabilities of municipal governments to run their own operations effectively, through training and effective associations of local government;
- to promote municipal development through improvements in the process of management and community participation; and
- to provide a framework for improved co-ordination and collaboration among local governments, NGOs and organisations working at the municipal level and external development agencies.

#### 1.5 Evaluation criteria

MDP is a rather unique program. An evaluation will have to measure its performance by standards which do justice to its unique design and objectives without neglecting the more traditional performance criteria imposed by the fact that the Program is functioning within a conventional structure of donors, participating institutions and political environments.

Conventional evaluation criteria applying to some aspects of MDP are number of workshops and training-days organized, number of individuals trained, proportion of budget allocated to various program goals and administrative overhead, number of institutions

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<sup>1</sup> The TOR's specific request for independent and detailed treatment of topics such as progress, process, output, impact, effectiveness, etc., has been followed to the letter, among other things by making these topics into report headings and sub-headings. This results in occasional repetition, because the same activities and features had to be scrutinized from different angles. In the interest of making report chapters self-contained, the evaluation team has accepted both the TOR's requests and the resulting occasional repetitiveness (which is actually limited to a very few instances, mainly in chapters 3 and 4).



## 1.6 Contextual issues<sup>2</sup>)

The unprecedented urbanization which has been gathering speed in Africa over the last few decades has caught the post-independence governments virtually unprepared. Despite policies favouring cities in investment planning and strategies of economic development, the urban agglomerations of SSA have often been unable to provide basic infrastructure and services to their burgeoning populations. Foreign donors frequently accelerate urbanization. Their spending in programs large and small (such as MDP) most frequently is concentrated on cities and urban products. This tends to exacerbate urban-rural differentials by increasing the buying power concentrated in the major cities. As a result, these cities attract even more migrants which further increases the pressure on the inadequate urban infrastructure.

This is, therefore, the basic challenge for a program like MDP: how can it help to improve the quality of life despite the fact that its spending pattern will inevitably add to socio-economic stratification and rural-urban migration and, potentially, to anti-rural bias? (Some of these issues are treated in more depth in "From Crisis to Sustainable Growth", a report which provided in part the reason for having an MDP, as well as in various recent WB and IDRC documents. Michael Lipton's book is the classic treatment of the issues in the more academic literature.)

The government vs. NGO polarity is another challenge in the environment surrounding MDP. In spite of all the training workshops, technical assistance consultancies and local government reforms one gets an impression of management incapacity on the governmental side or, worse, sometimes, deliberate opposition to the provision of effective services by central governments and their agencies and employees. The relative viability of urban life which is the reason behind the continued arrival of massive numbers of migrants, is the product of various forms of local institutions, NGOs, self-help networks and cooperative schemes which the people, with or without the help of formal authorities, have been able to put into place (Mabogunje, 1993). The challenge for MDP is to help strengthen the (local level) state apparatus in both its non-elected and elected expressions without doing harm to non-governmental initiatives which frequently are both more effective and more vulnerable. Real decentralization is a revolutionary act; in several of the national contexts of Eastern and Southern Africa, MDP is operating in dangerous territory.

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<sup>2</sup> These are potentially some of the most important and most controversial issues of the whole evaluation. The team has allocated an entire chapter to their analysis (chapter 6), knowing well that even this will be inadequate. Better treatment of some of these topics can be found in the academic literature (e.g., the classic study by Michael Lipton) and in recent papers published by the World Bank and UMP.

institutional capacity in a decentralized manner, on letting the focus be set by target populations themselves and, on looking for models and solutions in a novel, collaborative, regional way.

Convincing and legitimate as it is, this approach has some obvious limitations. First, its success will be hardly perceptible after three years; the time lags for effective capacity building are much longer. Second, the demand-driven approach, if successful, will quickly drown the program in a multitude of requests far beyond its capacity to handle. Third, the regional scope is expensive and requires constant justification of large administrative budgets. Fourth, the variety of activities and the multitude of countries make any continuity and follow-through exceedingly difficult. Finally, a program with few tangible results, with an emphasis on process and progress rather than on clear targets, will have a hard time keeping up motivation among its staff and its clients. There is nothing more exhilarating and motivating than a tangible success, a target reached, and there is nothing more thankless in the long run, than to work in an environment where targets are moving, successes disappearing and problems growing with no end in sight. We shall have to consider in some detail how MDP has dealt with its inherent challenges and limitations.

as potentially leading to successful projects.

- d) The program is process oriented and avoids setting explicit goals, targets and time schedules

In a radical departure from many conventional programs, MDP leaves open exactly what and how much of any output is to be reached. Instead, the PD talks about building capacity, promoting municipal development, providing a framework for improved coordination, linking policy studies to active debate, emphasizing regional issues, strengthening associations, and so on. There is neither a definition of a starting point or baseline for all these expressions of progress, nor is there any target, to be reached with a given effort and budget over a given time period.

- e) MDP is designed to work with intermediate beneficiaries, not the urban dwellers themselves who are to be the ultimate beneficiaries and sole justification of donor-assisted urban development work

The assumption in building institutional capacity at the intermediate level is that it will translate into tangible benefits for the ultimate beneficiaries, with potentially significant multiplier effects. Training programs are frequently one of the means by which the capacity building is implemented.<sup>3)</sup> The question for the evaluation will be to what extent training will result in appropriate management and, management in tangible benefits among the ultimate target populations.

- f) The Program aims at strengthening municipal administrations, i.e. a form of government at the local level

This design feature prompts two questions: is working with government an appropriate form of channelling donor funds in view of the ultimate objectives and, is local government the appropriate level for improving the urban quality of life. The PD justifies the choice of local government by pointing to the proximity of intermediate and ultimate beneficiary, the policy nature of obstacles which have blocked progress in the past and, the crying needs of local governments in view of their increasing functions.

- g) MDP wants to compliment existing institutions and to collaborate with similar efforts, most notably the Urban Management Program and in-country urban projects.

Launched in 1986 as a joint effort of UNCHS, UNDP and the World

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<sup>3</sup> Other aspects of the process of capacity building are addressed in various parts of this report. It is a distinctive feature of MDP that it does not equate capacity building with the imposition of preconceived training contents.

two years have united the PU in a tight, solidary and highly motivated group. Such high level of commitment and motivation is not unusual in NGO circles but virtually unheard of among civil servants and donor agencies.

There is some indication that organizational problems since 1993<sup>4</sup>) have put a slight shadow over this image of a tight and highly motivated group united under a common banner. Two of the three staff members of the original inner circle are no longer with the programme. Positions have been left open, and funding has never been forthcoming at the level and from some of the sources originally expected. While the PU has achieved a high level of freedom in operational decision making, enshrined in a memorandum of understanding somewhat at odds with conventional World Bank procedure, this has not been translated into true autonomy. The result is a situation of some ambivalence. On the one hand, the regional director is the symbol of permanence, ever more widely recognized and respected in the region; for many of the individuals met during the evaluation, he is MDP. On the other hand, this director is not a chief executive, does not have much budgetary discretion, is assisted by a Steering Committee which according to the last evaluator did not do enough steering, and runs an office which is seriously understaffed given the substantive breadth and geographic scope of its mission.

MDP appears to be in a phase of transition, from a phase 1 marked by an intense zeal for democratization and African ownership, to a phase of more routine operation. Indications of this transition are that some of the "founding fathers" in donor agencies have been reassigned to other tasks, that some of the "old guard" in to PU have moved away, that evaluations, audits and routine office work are bound to absorb more energy as time goes by. The programme appears now in need of concentration and the kind of achievement of success without which motivation will be hard to preserve.<sup>5</sup>)

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<sup>4</sup> This paragraph summarizes issues treated in more detail in subsequent chapters.

<sup>5</sup> To master the process of routinization is important, even critical, as the classics in the sociology of organizations pointed out a century ago. It is usually achieved by instituting clear objectives and procedures and by making rewards contingent upon credentials and performance. This is why impact assessment is now becoming indispensable.

people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 45,014; a per capita cost of US\$ 459. No information on the immediate outcome of this activity was available.

### 3. WINDHOEK, 1992.

Namibia local government policy planning workshop; its objective was "to devise a strategic plan for the purpose of implementing the newly promulgated Regional Councils Act and Local Authorities Act". Twenty nine people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 45,777; a per capita cost of US\$ 1,579.

From the PI's resulting workshop report, the immediate outcome was the first strategic document to guide the operations of the new councils in Namibia. A training unit was also established, within the parent Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (MRLGH).

### 4. KAMPALA, 1992.

Uganda local government reform workshop; its objective was "to develop a framework for the implementation of the policy of decentralisation". Two hundred and seventy five people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 55,268; a per capita cost of US\$ 201.

From the PI's activity completion report, the immediate outcome was to get general agreement on the "proposed implementation arrangements for the formal introduction of decentralisation of government services to the district level in Uganda".

### 5. DAR ES SALAAM, 1993.

Regional research on central/local government relations; no details of this workshop, by way of a signed PI activity agreement, an activity completion report or an end of activity report, were available to the evaluation team. (From the phase 2 draft document) seventy people participated in the first component activity, at a total cost of US\$ 62,139; a per capita cost of US\$ 888. No information on the immediate outcome of this activity was available.

## 3.2.2 TRAINING

### 6. MOMBASSA, 1991.

Regional training strategy workshop; its objective was "to develop a regional training strategy which will provide a context within which National Training Institutes, individually, cooperatively, or regionally can carry out training, including research and consultancy, for institutional development to address issues,

10. LILONGWE, 1993.

Malawi ID plan for local government department of staff training college; its objective was "to prepare an ID plan for STC". Eight people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 12,995; a per capita cost of US\$ 1,624.

From the PI's activity completion report, the immediate outcome was that "the details of the composition and structure of the local government department within STC were agreed".

11. LILONGWE, 1993.

Malawi dissemination of THA management procedures; its objective was "to familiarise councillors and THA estate management personnel on all aspects of THA management and administration". (This dissemination arose from the new THA systems and procedures - see activity 15). Eighty five people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 18,076; a per capita cost of US\$ 213.

From the PI's activity completion report, the immediate outcome was first, that "familiarising participants on THA procedures met with considerable success" and secondly, that "Lilongwe (THA) plot allocation committee members advised that they were able to perform their duties more effectively due to better knowledge of the procedures".

12. DAR ES SALAAM, 1993.

Regional urban planning and management workshop; its objective was "to develop tools and techniques for effective planning and development of urban areas for sustainable development". No activity completion report was available to the evaluators. However, the activity proposal identified twenty eight invitees, at a total cost of US\$ 75,000; a per capita cost of US\$ 2,680.

While no information on the immediate outcome of this activity was available, by way of an activity completion report, a major workshop document was prepared. It was technical in nature. The immediate (and unanswered) question is how this activity relates to UMP?

13. SWAKOPMUND, 1993.

Namibia strengthening financial self-sufficiency of LG; its objective was the "training of councillors and local and regional authority personnel on the functions, legal procedures and general administration of such authorities". Twenty seven people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 10,000, excluding any consultant fees; no final activity cost is recorded therefore no per capita figure is offered.

spread the experience to other councils.

### 3.2.4 LOCAL AUTHORITY ASSOCIATIONS

#### 17. MOMBASSA, 1991.

Regional strategic plan for IULA - Africa Section; its objective was to prepare a "strategic and operational plan" for the activities of IULA - AS. Thirty five people participated, at a total cost of US\$ 55,219; a per capita cost of US\$ 1,578.

The PI's activity completion report supplied to the evaluators covered the period October 1992 to September 1993. It listed a number of activities undertaken as a result of the strategic plan, developed through MDP. Travel, training and a start to strengthening nation local authority associations was noted.

### 3.3 Immediate accomplishments from completed activities

Based on the primary information available to the evaluators (activity completion reports, end of activity reports and interviews), a number of outcomes can immediately be identified.

- 869 participants have benefited from MDP capacity building work (inflated by the Uganda [4] figure of 275).
- 58 participants is the average per activity; 42 is the average without the 275 participants from activity 4.
- US\$ 666,232 has been spent on the completed activities (excluding activity 13; no information).
- US\$ 44,415 is the average cost per activity (excluding administrative and fixed overhead costs of MDP as a whole). Taking out the Uganda cost [4], the average cost is still US\$ 43,460.
- US\$ 1,258 per head is the cost for each participant in completed activities; US\$ 1,344 without activity 4.

The various calculations are presented in Appendix 2.

The number of completions and budget share, according to the four categories of MDP action, are as follows:

The number of completions and budget share, according to this output classification, are as follows:

Table 3.4 Budget share by output category

CATEGORY	COMPLETED	BUDGET %
Policy /...plans	9	62%
Training per se	3	17%
Techniques	2	21%

The common mode of capacity building in each case is the training workshop. Therefore, in analyzing the nature of MDP outputs, it is important to distinguish between MDP's own classification of its activities (policy / research; municipal support etc) and the real outcomes (A, B and C above). The same analyses emerges with current and future activities.

### 3.4 Current activities

A list of seventeen current activities was presented to the evaluators (see Appendix 3). Of these, items 4, 7, 13, 15, 16 and 17 were not related to specific PI capacity building (e.g. item 13 was the "MDP first phase final evaluation" !). Item 7 (Kwekwe's plan) was already included in the completed activities schedule (16 above). Of the remainder, the PI based activities can be classed as follows:

Table 3.5 Current activities by process category

Policy / research	=	4
Training	=	3
Municipal	=	1
Associations	=	3

Their brief descriptions are in Appendix 3.

US\$ 552,000 is the total cost of the current PI based activities; with ten items costed. This averages US\$ 55,000 per activity.

As with the completed activities, the anticipated outputs do not match the initial sector classifications. Using the same framework, the anticipated outcomes are as follows:



capacity building). On the face of it, it is difficult to reconcile activities 29 and 31 (on two aspects of regional consultant strengthening) with MDP's municipal capacity building focus. The Kwekwe activity (16) showed MDP's commitment to direct municipal capacity building rather than the use of an external consultant.

### 3.6 Conclusions on programme accomplishments

There are two major conclusions on programme accomplishments.

First, the common element in all the completed, current and future activities is the participatory, exploratory and learning process used in MDP's capacity building. It is this method of institution building, in order to arrive at the specific accomplishments, that is crucial when assessing MDP performance. That is the cutting edge of MDP work; the feature that distinguishes MDP from all other known capacity building initiatives.

This approach to municipal capacity building (whether at the strategic or operational level):

- must be nurtured and strengthened as a mode of ID intervention, and
- must not be lost sight of in the debate on the future institutional status of MDP.

#### Recommendation

That the direct relationship between MDP and its client PI's, and the consequent participatory, exploratory and learning process it employs to build capacity in weak institutions, should be regarded as a major strength, to be harnessed and protected in debates about MDP's future activities and institutional location.

Secondly, is the question of classifying MDP accomplishments. From the completed, current and planned MDP activities, a number of conclusions are offered.

- the classification of activities is more accurately described by accomplishments or anticipated outputs, than initial subject headings.
- MDP outputs are dominated by policy / action / strategic plans, at regional and national levels.
- The central mode of capacity building, which pervades the vast majority of activities, is the training workshop. On the face of it, what does not figure highly is the strengthening of municipalities, to help them improve their delivery of infrastructure and services. The next section, on the impact

of MDP outputs, therefore considers in some detail the question of whether the policy and strategic planning emphasis of MDP at regional and national level:

- is having an impact on MDP's stated objectives, and
- is strengthening municipalities to help them improve their delivery of infrastructure and services.

#### Recommendation

That MDP adjusts its concept of activity classifications from initial subject (e.g. training) to required output (e.g. action plan), as a more accurate reflection of MDP capacity building and therefore, as a clearer focus for subsequent impact analysis, and:

That MDP looks carefully at its low level (though high quality) of support to municipal strengthening, in order to make adjustments to suggested outputs in a phase 2 of the programme, to reflect, more rigorously, the original municipal strengthening goals of the Municipal development programme.

In the meantime, the operational strengths of MDP, in its specific capacity building mode, must be borne in mind as a first test of competence and success. Yet, as all institutional development specialists know, the immediate output is merely the first test; the next two tests concern the practical impact on the institution to which the participating beneficiaries belong, and the resulting improvement in the provision of infrastructure and services for the community at large - the ultimate test. Both questions are addressed in Chapter 4.

## Chapter 4            PROGRAMME IMPACTS

The TOR state that the evaluation should determine programme accomplishments at the end of Phase 1, in terms of the following matters: "planned and anticipated outcomes, contributions to local government policy frameworks, contributions to institutions' definition of needs, performance in fostering African institutions, improvements in management of municipal governments, collaboration among local governments." We shall follow this order, dealing first with outcomes in the four areas of MDP activity, in section 4.1. What distinguishes this section from the previous chapter (3) is that section 4.1 is not organized according to the subject sequence of activities but by the standard set in the Programme Document. Following this, there will be a discussion of impacts achieved in the areas stated in the TOR. Note that an analysis of more general issues and impacts will be presented in chapter 6.

### 4.1 Planned outcomes and degrees of implementation

The Programme Document lists a number of outcomes anticipated by the end of the Programme. We shall list them in a summary fashion, adding each time what we see as having been accomplished.

#### Area 1: Policy studies and policy advocacy

In addition to the formally publishable research (the six studies), every policy workshop has produced a summary policy document which was circulated to all participants and frequently beyond. While such documents may not have the prestige of published research they certainly have a much more immediate impact - they become the property of participants in a substantive sense and may influence their future decision making.

The overall impression from Table 4.1 is that of a programme that is basically on track. Case studies are being carried out, workshops are taking place and dissemination of results has started at least in workshop settings. The reasons for not adhering to the original schedule must be sought in at least three places. First, the Programme Document gave not even a semblance of a calendar for the implementation of these activities. Second, the hiring of task managers was not done according to the schedule worked out in the Programme Document and in SC meetings. A shortage of key personnel must have delayed any implementation schedule agreed upon. Third, training actions appear to have taken precedence in both staffing and programming. This is understandable: both donors and recipients are eager to produce tangible results. Policy research, and the implementation of its results, have longer lag times than training cycles.

Table 4.1 Planned outcomes and implementation stage in area 1

<u>planned outcomes</u>	<u>implementation stage</u>
3 comparative case studies in Zimbabwe, Uganda and Mozambique on central-local government relationships	Studies done on Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania
Regional workshop and review of the studies at national and regional levels	Two regional workshops done (launching of studies and review of results) Three national workshops held in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania
Definition of "best practices" in the Region	Comparative analysis not done and policy conclusions concerning best practices not yet disseminated
Exploration of methods to foster community-based support for municipalities	Kwekwe: community leader involvement in strategy formulation Lilongwe: community development chapter in THA procedures manual Jinja: community participation in urban plan Tanzania: urban plan contains recommendations on community participation (overlap of content with Table 4.3 below)
3 comparative case studies in Kenya, Malawi and Tanzania on human resources and local government capacity building	Case studies not carried out. Regional launching workshop planned for late April, 1994.  Studies in Kenya, Swaziland and Zambia currently being carried out, building on earlier work in Malawi and Tanzania.
Publication and dissemination of research results: six studies and two books	Not yet done. Preparation under way for three studies; eventually there will be seven studies.

Process outcomes in the policy research area are harder to identify in general, especially since it is frequently unclear which of the (substantially overlapping) MDP activities is the causal factor. But in individual cases we have observed considerable satisfaction with these activities. For example, Namibian participants have profited from a regional perspective on some of their problems in organizing local administrations and Ugandan personnel of the Decentralization Secretariat are elated about decentralization research having borne concrete fruits in their draft constitution. For many individuals MDP workshops have been significant in addressing issues of strategic importance. The strongest process impact may well be the sense of ownership which has developed among participants. This generates commitment to the product and maybe also a will to see the policy conclusions turned into action.

At an institutional level there appear to be few discernable

outcomes of these research activities beyond MDP itself. Studies were subcontracted to individuals who completed them largely on their own, without these studies becoming integral parts of the activity of their home institutions. One interesting idea was brought up repeatedly, especially by the Namibian Minister of RLGH. This was the use of MDP sponsored research to constitute a data base on local authorities in the region - their attributes, ways of operating, problems and solutions. Such an output might go some way towards institution building on the basis of MDP products.

## Area 2: Training Activities

Table 4.2 Planned outcomes and implementation stage in area 2

<u>planned outcomes</u>	<u>implementation stage</u>
Regional senior policy seminars	5 seminars held with a total of 519 participants: the proportion of truly senior level participants is not known
Training of trainers	One workshop (#14 in Zambia) identified as such but some participants in other workshops also have training functions and have increased their capacity for effective training
Support to training institutions	Maputo: Centro de formação; Malawi: Staff Training College, Mpemba; Zambia: National Training Institute
Information services	Evaluation and inventory of training materials not done formally. Four newsletters published with limited training content

The training output of MDP has so far been on target. Even though the Programme Document had not set any quantitative targets, the PU clearly had such targets in mind when it planned the various training activities. The total number of individuals trained (215) in formal training activities does not do justice to the overall training effects of the Programme since the effects of activities labelled differently are not taken into account.

Two aspects of the training activity could be improved in the future. First, formal training activities should have a formal way of comparing the before-and-after capacity of participants. This is easily done in areas such as the acquisition of language skills but much harder in other areas. Nevertheless, there is a considerable tradition of evaluating, at least subjectively, what participants take home with them after a workshop and all serious training institutions have expertise and instruments available for this task.

Secondly, training activities should normally be followed up by systematic re-enforcement of skills acquired. This can be done in a variety of ways, the best of which is the full integration of the new capacity into the work schedule and tasks of the newly trained individuals. This evaluation has found little evidence of sequential workshops, follow-up or other efforts to re-enforce what has been learned in training workshops.

Because of these two shortcomings, the true impact of MDP training activities will never be known. In fact, past research on the impact of EDI-supported training activity (Lithwick, 1990) would lead us to assume the "null hypothesis" of no lasting impact at all, in terms of teaching content.

### Area 3: Support to Municipalities

Table 4.3 Planned outcomes and implementation stage in area 3

<u>planned outcomes</u>	<u>implementation stage</u>
Assistance to prepare municipal development plans in view of attracting investment	Zimbabwe: Kwekwe integrated development plan ready; to be adopted in late April 1994. Uganda: Institutional strengthening of Jinja municipal council.
Matching sub-national governments abroad with African municipalities in need of particular services	Profiles of Mozambique cities done; ANCI (Italy) identified. No contract and no disbursements.
Help in developing appropriate standards for infrastructure and services	Lilongwe development of THA procedures completed in 1993 (this may be more appropriately considered a training activity)
Use UMP output in workshop on planning and standards	Not done
Conduct policy support seminars to develop action plans for reform based upon urban sector reviews	Not done. MDP refuses to be driven by such reports.

MDP's direct support to municipalities has been limited so far, but of high quality where it has been implemented. Not only have beneficiaries been positively enthusiastic about the quality of support received, they have also demonstrated a sense of ownership of the products of these efforts which is simply absent in many other instances. This evaluation team has seen urban development plans simply shelved after yearlong efforts and large expenditures, in cities as varied as Port-au-Prince, Santo Domingo, Montreal and Paris, because none of the beneficiaries felt in the least bit involved in what the "experts" had put into glossy binders.

There is evidence that MDP has contributed indirect support to

local authorities even without necessarily receiving much credit for this. For example, the two Namibia workshops have helped to set in motion a process of assessing local needs, defining training strategies and organizing direct support which is now well under way but because of the lack of sustained presence, follow up and resources on the MDP side it is now the German donors, principally the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) and the Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungshilfe (DSE) which receive much of the praise. They probably deserve that praise since they maintain a sustained presence and do good work. Nevertheless, MDP can take credit for having helped to start the process.<sup>6)</sup>

The opinion can be heard in various quarters that MDP should do more in direct support of municipalities. This evaluation team concurs without however putting blame on the PU. The small number of activities completed in this area is attributable to the absence of clear targets in the Programme Document rather than to inefficiencies in the PU.

What can be said in a positive sense is that in those cases where MDP has given support directly to municipalities we have found no evidence of some of the weaknesses of many of the Programme's other activities. There was continuity of effort, with MDP contact and contribution extended over years (in the cases of Kwekwe and Lilongwe; Jinja seems set to follow the same pattern). The MDP role of assuring collaboration with and continuity among other donors, as specified in the Programme Document, was clearly evident in the accounts given by different parties. The municipalities were satisfied with the concrete results obtained and also displayed a good sense of ownership. These were not gifts resulting from donor largesse but achievements based on local determination and input - with a little bit of help from MDP.

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<sup>6</sup> A cautionary note should be added concerning the Namibian case. Both MDP and the German foundations have concentrated much of their effort on regional rather than local councils. Whether these regional councils will survive is by no means clear. Instituted after independence - only three years ago - as a political ploy to neutralize strongholds of the opposition party D.T.A. (Demokratische Turnhalle Allianz), they lost some of their political appeal and *raison-d'être* once this party had been crushed in subsequent elections. Although carefully designed by local wisdom and foreign aid as dissimilar replacement for the homelands of the previous era, the regions have yet to prove their political capacity and administrative appropriateness.

## Area 4: Strengthening Associations of Local Authorities

Table 4.4 Planned outcomes and implementation stage in area 4

<u>planned outcomes</u>	<u>implementation stage</u>
Enhancement of IULA operations in Africa	Activity 17 (Mombasa workshop). A number of IULA-AS activities in 1992 and 1993 indirectly received MDP support.
Strengthening of associations of local authorities along the model of the Association of Urban Councils of Zimbabwe	Not done. Following 1993 SC decision, all association requests are directed to IULA-AS: IULA-AS has not yet acted on these.
Regional meeting on developing effective associations of local government	Done by IULA-AS in West-Africa with FCM support, upon MDP recommendation.
Strengthening of IULA-Africa's capabilities to serve its members	Regional strategic plan for IULA workshop in late 1992.

At first view it appears that MDP has not yet been very active in its fourth area, strengthening of associations of local authorities. Its efforts have all been channelled into IULA-AS, a rather fledgling organization propped up by MDP whose reaction to the evaluation team's inquiries can be summarized as the request for ever more money, more workshops, more infrastructure support, more travel tickets, and so on. This might usefully be interpreted as the negative side of the "demand driven" approach: any agency capable of voicing demands with the right mixture of substantive choice, articulate presentation, appropriate budget, a tinge of African internationalism and good timing is likely to be taken much more seriously than the inarticulate and inept expressions of what should be the ultimate beneficiaries of all such activity.

It would be appropriate to examine how IULA's expenditures on infrastructure, salaries, trips and the like are translated into tangible improvements in the quality of life of African urban dwellers. If a cost/benefit analysis comes out as positive, MDP may want to consider expanding its assistance to IULA. Otherwise this whole area of MDP involvement should be reconsidered.

Several summary conclusions can be derived from this comparison of plan and implementation in the four principle areas of MDP activity:

- First, the MDP approach has been vindicated. Many of the activities have been successful in the eyes of both organizers and participants and there is a sense of local ownership of MDP-sponsored products which suggests a longer term positive impact for local authorities.



- Second, MDP has advanced significantly towards achieving its goals as stated in the Programme Document, especially in the areas of policy research and training.
- Third, MDP support to municipalities has been of high quality but surprisingly low volume. The reason for this is likely to be found in programme design flaws rather than PU inefficiency.
- Fourth, not much progress has been made in the area of strengthening association of local authorities. Reliance on a single intermediary, IULA, has made MDP dependent upon the performance of this organization. IULA performance should be scrutinized; it cannot be taken for granted that African urban populations will reap any benefit from IULA operations.

#### 4.2 Contributions to local government policy frameworks

MDP's impact<sup>7</sup>) on local government policy is likely to be modest and frequently imperceptible since other agencies and programmes, such as the World Bank infrastructure improvement programmes carry vastly more weight in national policy making circles. However, a carefully designed and well focused MDP activity need not be without consequences. Even without precise quantitative targets, a general move towards decentralized authority could be as significant as it could be beneficial for target populations. At least one such move has been observed during this evaluation.

In Zimbabwe, the urban strategy designed for the city of Kwekwe, according to the testimony of individuals directly involved, would not have been achieved without MDP input. This is a contribution MDP can be proud of and which, with careful follow-up, can be replicated in other municipalities. It must be noted that the present and future impact of the urban strategy document is directly proportional to the local input in its elaboration. Farming out the task to an expert might have produced a more elegant document - but one condemned to irrelevance because of insufficient "local ownership".

The Namibian case has already been mentioned. The German contribution there may presently have a higher profile but MDP impact on policy results may well have been significant. What is more important is that both donors have hit upon a needs assessment, policy formulation and training strategy which has been well received, namely, exchange and comparison of experience in the region. The German Foundations bungled with their sponsoring what

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<sup>7</sup> *This statement concerns MDP's specific, independent and causal impact which could be proven only by using an appropriate impact assessment methodology.*

several participants termed "useless" visits to German municipalities. MDP's weakness is the lack of a permanent presence. But both have organized highly successful exchange visits between Namibian and Botswanan councillors and municipal officials. If such visits are termed more useful than the much more glamorous and expensive jetting to Europe, we can assume that their impact will be far greater and more sustained.

In Uganda the MDP workshop on local government reform led to tangible results in that its influence can be found in chapter 13 of the Draft Constitution trying to ensure "that functions, powers and responsibilities are devolved and transferred from the central government to local government units" which had caught the attention of the midterm evaluation of MDP. The country appears firmly committed to decentralization; a decentralization act is in effect. On the constitutional side, however, more time is required. Officially the 1967 constitution is still in effect. The Constitutional Assembly will start debating the new Draft Constitution on May 9, 1994 and is expected to take at least seven months before passing a new constitution. The Draft contains the effects of a multitude of lobbying and advising, such as MDP's efforts; how much of that will survive in the final document is uncertain. While many observers credit MDP with having made a substantial contribution towards achieving decentralization, others see the MDP contribution as merely financial and are convinced that without MDP, Ugandan decentralization would have come anyway.

Other examples could be mentioned for Mozambique (formation of working groups on local government), Kenya (movement in the area of local government financing; present status of the legislation is uncertain), as pointed out in the midterm evaluation, and probably several more countries.

Not all such efforts have been successful. Reforms attempted in Tanzania came to a halt when the Ministry of Local Government was eliminated and its personnel reassigned to other functions. All partners of MDP were lost in this instance, according to reports received by the evaluation team.

What all the examples have in common, however, is that policy successes cannot be attributed with any degree of certainty to MDP action. MDP is one among several players, and a small one at that, and the political process it is trying to influence is a slow and complex one. What we can observe at a minimum is that the general evolution presently appears to be in the direction of MDP's objectives and that central governments by reducing services are playing into the hands of those who think that service provision at the local level will be superior at any rate.

If the absence of baseline studies, performance indicators and clear targets makes impact measurement at this point a highly impressionistic enterprise, it is not too late to make the

necessary efforts and corrections for the next phase of MDP. Time invested in such analytical activity tends to pay off rather well by lending to ultimate policy recommendations, a degree of precision and plausibility which is impossible without a solid empirical base.

#### 4.3 Contributions to institutions' definition of needs

Only one of MDP's activities constitutes a formal needs assessment as recommended in institution building manuals - the training needs analysis for councillors in Tanzania (IDM - Morogoro) scheduled to be completed in late April 1994. Yet there can be no doubt that needs assessments figure prominently in all of MDP's dealings with local institutions. Just as policy research, training and work with local authorities can only artificially be separated in MDP's activities, so it is impossible to separate the formalization of locally felt needs from other aspects of the interaction between MDP and its partners and clients.

It appears to this evaluation team that the MDP approach to the definition of needs is at once the Programme's greatest quality and one of its great risks. The quality consists of the capacity to listen, the refusal to hand out ready made solutions, the partnership in making ideas mature, the logistic support for what is ideally local and indigenous consciousness raising and the patience in waiting for the clients' own articulation of needs. The risk consists of an openness to a vast array of problems well beyond the Programme's capacity to handle or even analyze, the propensity of any demand-driven approach to confuse the demand of a population with that of institutions and individuals claiming to represent it and, the raising of expectations which cannot be fulfilled. To give just a few examples:

Table 4.5      Examples of promise and risk in MDP's approach to the definition of needs

Qualities	Capacity to listen	Centre for Housing Studies. The Institute of Housing and Urban Development Studies (Rotterdam) was perceived as wanting to impose its own agenda. The ensuing dialogue led to a clearer mandate, independent of preconceived solutions.
	Refusal of ready made solutions	MDP has always refused to use UNCHS materials, Sector Reviews, UNDP and other documents as such in training or policy workshops. Existing material is not in itself a reason for having courses.
	Partnership in making ideas mature	Zimbabwe. Kwekwe Municipal Council, after initial talks, took over six months to review options for its development plan. The process of exchange led to a strong perception of local ownership of the new plan.
	Logistic support for raising local consciousness	MDP activities in Uganda and Kenya served mainly to help governments to broaden the base of participation for the elaboration of new plans.
Risks	Problems exceed MDP's capacity	Staff is generally incapable to keep up with an extraordinary travel schedule while at the same time analyzing programme performance.
	Confusion of popular and institutional demand	The research record at the base level is weak. The staff is being informed about the needs of populations only through appointed or, sometimes, elected representatives and civil servants.
	Raising of expectations	The evaluation team has been told in several places of expectations which had to remain unfulfilled.

On ~~balance~~ the promise and quality of MDP's approach make the risks worth taking but there must be constant vigilance. The adherence to the demand-driven approach has probably caused the Programme to cast its net too wide: the central justification of the Programme, development of municipalities, has not always occupied central stage in day-to-day work. The desire for office holders to travel has overshadowed the desire of urban populations for basic services.<sup>8)</sup> The expectations raised among councillors eager to

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<sup>8</sup> *Some of the individuals interviewed saw no problem in pointing to the pleasures of getting around while openly admitting to not having read the workshop literature, not having followed the discussion much and never having shown workshop materials to anyone, upon return. Private companies take great care of distinguishing between receiving "perks of office" and parasitic behaviour. Programs such as MDP should be careful in this respect; tolerating parasites reduces credibility quite rapidly.*

exercise what they perceived to be their functions had to be lowered again, with MDP assistance, to levels permitted in the existing political environments.

Needs are limitless. MDP will be successful to the extent that it retains a precise focus on those needs it can actually satisfy with its approach, staff size and budget.

#### **4.4 Performance in fostering African institutions**

The institutional environment in Eastern and Southern Africa is for the most part young and fragile. This has certain consequences for the operation of the Programme as well as for the choice of collaborating institutions. For its own operations, MDP has chosen to remain and continues to be an outpost of the World Bank: its headquarters and employees in Harare are extensions of the World Bank. Its collaborating institutions are invariably African and are thus subject to local inefficiencies and pressures which MDP does not experience. Hence the question: under what conditions can a privileged expatriate entity sponsor sustainable, autonomous African institutions? Here are four examples of MDP's efforts:

- The Centre for Housing Studies in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), a "once dying institution ... has been rejuvenated" by MDP support for a strategic plan of its activities.
- The Centro de Formaço in Maputo (Mozambique) received support in order to enable it to continue training activities in local public administration.
- The Uganda Management Institute (UMI) was helped into a partnership with the Jinja Municipal Council.
- The Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) received support to develop computer software for local authority accounting systems.

Other institutions could be added to the list, e.g., the Mpemba Staff Training College in Malawi, the Zimbabwe Institute of Public Administration, the Government Training Institute in Mombasa. Even the financing of IULA-AS activities should probably be added to the list even though IULA's character is more international than African. What all the examples have in common is that MDP support figured as a very significant, even critical, shot in the arm. Support from abroad helps to secure their survival, at least the survival at present levels of operation. These institutions may be African in terms of their location, membership and theatre of operations but the external support imposes upon them an agenda and

budgetary rules which are of foreign inspiration. In addition, foreign funding may well suggest a foreign outlook on African issues; it certainly increases a need for ever more foreign funding.

Should MDP support cease, it is quite likely that the Centre for Housing Studies and the Centro de Formação would again be moribund, that UMI could not afford a further collaboration with Jinja and that the UCAZ computers would stop functioning - unless, of course, other donors were to pick up where MDP left off. This is not to say that MDP should necessarily stop supporting African institutions but rather that the way chosen cannot lead to sustainable development. For that to happen there would have to be a level of continuity which MDP can hardly show (by design) and has not had a chance to show in its three year lifespan.<sup>9)</sup>

If by African institutions we mean NGOs, as is clearly the case when the Programme Document<sup>10)</sup> talks about them, the MDP has done a credible job in locating them, negotiating a mutually beneficial relationship and channelling funds into their operating budgets. It is no doubt also true that the Programme gives a prominent place to African decision makers and specialists "that are in the best position to identify the key issues, constraints and solutions". This has helped to "find appropriate African approaches and solutions". But it would probably be unrealistic to hope that in three years such an African NGO orientation would already have found a sound and sustainable institutional expression. Even in the Programme Document of 1991, governmental organization and foreign institutions received considerably more space (approx. 1,220 words) than African NGOs (350 words). Three years later, the Programme has a credible record of collaborating with African institutions, both governmental and NGOs, but we can neither assume nor prove that the operations of these institutions have been permanently altered thanks to MDP support.

A note should be added about the use of "African" institutions. The Programme Document was no doubt correct in assuming that Africans would be closer to their contexts and institutions. However, Africa is large and divided and even Eastern and Southern Africa are by no means homogenous regions. It may be time to give more thought now to controlling not just Western influence but also African outsider influence in what are perceived to be national matters.

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<sup>9)</sup> Longer lasting support would not guarantee sustainability but might increase the chances. Virtually all East African universities and teacher training centres could be cited as examples.

<sup>10)</sup> E.g., in the section on *Using Existing African Institutions*, the PD (on page 9) states: "A number of effective organizations already exist in Sub-Saharan Africa."

#### 4.5 Improvements in management of municipal governments

There are two completed municipal strengthening projects to date. First is the development of systems and procedures to plan for and administer the traditional housing sector in Malawi's urban centres; a responsibility transferred from Malawi's Housing Corporation to urban local authorities. The activity focus was Lilongwe city council. Second was the development of an urban management capability, expressed through an integrated development plan. The activity focus was Kwekwe municipal council (now elevated to the status and dignity of a city).

In the first, it was not a case of improvement. Instead, it was the development of a completely new area of competence. That competence (or institutional capacity) was a direct result of the unique approach of MDP to institution building (getting the PI to explore and construct its own systems and procedures, with external support).

In the second, it was a case of major improvement. The council was locked into its annual budget cycle. That is fine for an administration working in a completely stable environment. The African urban environment is anything but stable. Its growth rates (around 7%) are alarming all policy makers. Kwekwe had the wisdom and foresight to recognise this problem. It sought help from MDP to build its capacity to develop a policy and budgetary planning capability to cope with its urban development pressures.

The importance of the question what have been the "improvements in the management of municipal governments" cannot be overemphasised. The issue is not just the question of capacity building in the specific council. It is the replicability of the increased capacity to other councils.

In the Lilongwe case, the systems and procedures developed for the planning of new, and administration of existing traditional housing areas, have now been adopted by the other three major urban councils (Blantyre, Mzuzu and Zomba). Now, smaller secondary urban centres are also seeking to adopt the systems and procedures originally developed in Lilongwe (but always intended for wider replication).

In the Kwekwe case, the new integrated development plan has only just been completed. No experience or skills transfer system has yet been set in motion to spread Kwekwe's increased capacity to other councils.

A third municipal project is pending; "to support institutional strengthening and financial capacity building of Jinja municipal council, as it puts an enabling framework in place". While no judgements can be made on the activity that has yet to take place, it is clear from discussions with local urban councillors and the

town clerk that the very prospect of the client based workshop has ignited a spirit of intellectual commitment to the process, that has been common to the other two municipal projects.

It is suggested that the lesson from MDP practice to date is two-fold. First, the need for MDP capacity building expertise in the municipal strengthening sector is (in terms of donor funded time scales) infinite. The consequence of this is that the evaluators find it difficult to understand why MDP is only moving into its third project aimed specifically at municipal strengthening, after three years of operation. Secondly, MDP's approach at getting PI's to explore and learn the product of its capacity building process (new housing procedures; new planning techniques) is invaluable. It must be not only sustained but also expanded in relation to MDP's other activities. From this practical perspective, it is therefore necessary for MDP to look very seriously at the weight and importance (in terms of completed, current and future activities - see 3.3 above) currently being given to municipal strengthening activities. In the opinion of this evaluation, there must be a major shift towards a more direct capacity building support to municipalities in the region. The consequence of this is the need to redefine and sharpen the focus of other development activities in MDP.

#### **4.6 Collaboration among local governments**

In the context of supporting municipalities, MDP has generated a collaboration with Malawi's four major urban councils in the dissemination and adoption of the systems and procedures for the planning and administration of their cities' traditional housing areas (see 4.5). The potential for a similar sharing of experience now exists in Kwekwe, with its integrated development plan. There are indications of similar potential emerging from Jinja, with its institutional strengthening project.

#### **4.7 Promotion of municipal development through community participation**

If by community participation we mean the active involvement of the civic community - the population - in questions of planning, representation, decision making and distribution of services, MDP has not been very active in this respect. Most of its activities were defined and negotiated with local government officials, civil servants and political leaders. However, a conscientious effort was made in those activities falling under the heading "support to municipalities" to get some measure of community participation as a means to ensure that there was popular input into the planning documents resulting from the activities (see Table 4.1).

MDP has not elaborated any guidelines on community participation



but the will to ensure such participation is clearly evident in the implementation of a few of its activities. Besides, one of its workshops has defined "guidelines for participative planning processes"; the status of these guidelines for other activities and PIs is not clear.

#### 4.8 Action versus research

Research activity at MDP falls under the component "Policy Studies and Policy Advocacy" which has three distinct objectives: (1) to support policy studies through comparative case studies with the ultimate goal of facilitating decentralization processes, (2) to link these studies to active policy debate, training and other operations and, (3) to provide a regional emphasis in terms of regional networks for policy studies and seminars. What appears to be stressed throughout are the applied, comparative and regional aspects of research activity. MDP wants to cumulate research in order to learn from past experiences and processes and provide a sound empirical base for the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of new policies.

Such assessment of change and change agents requires one to document the target units - populations, institutions and political environments - through baseline studies and impact assessments as well as to satisfy the minimum requirements of any causal analysis: theoretical coherence, time sequencing and the measurement of (statistically) significant variation.<sup>11)</sup> The MDP policy focus on municipalities forces the Programme to carry out comparative studies at the municipal level, treating national factors as attributes of the municipal units of analysis. Without such municipal-level research it will be impossible to attribute observed effects to MDP-stimulated causes.

Like many other development programmes, MDP research has so far violated most of these basic research requirements. The rush to action took precedence over research during most of 1991 and 1992, baseline studies were skipped (even in the Programme Document), conceptual clarification and focus were largely left open and the qualitative and quantitative assessments of programme impact has not yet started.

There is an additional difficulty inherent in MDP: expected

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<sup>11</sup> In the case of MDP it would be of particular importance to give precision to goals stated vaguely in the Program Document, to disentangle factors and relationships and, to monitor change over a prolonged period of time. Comparative studies at regional and national levels are an excellent start towards such ambitious research goals but they are not enough.

outputs, such as the training of municipal councillors, must be sought at an entirely different level from the ultimate impacts desired, such as the raising of living standards in a given municipality. Without the latter (impact) the former (output) will remain irrelevant, an insight which is stated prominently in the World Bank's "Urban Policy and Economic Development" policy paper. Consequently, MDP has two distinct research needs - to monitor the efficiency of its production of outputs and to assess the level and permanency of impacts achieved through these outputs, a matter at the very heart of this evaluation.

The Programme Document identifies two "streams of activities" through which the component objectives are to be attained, the first one comprising relationships between central and local governments and the second one, human resources and local capacity building. The first stream includes research in Zimbabwe, Uganda and Mozambique in the following areas:

- division of fiscal powers between central and local governments
- flow of funds between local and central governments
- municipal legal framework
- administrative power sharing between local and central governments
- systems of financial transfers and local revenue generation
- political structures within which decentralization is occurring.

The Programme has made significant headway in this first stream of activities. A first regional network meeting was held in May 1993 in Harare, followed by three national seminars in Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe in November and a regional workshop in Kampala in March 1994. A further activity consisting of the preparation of the research papers produced in the area of central/local government relations for publication is currently under way. After an initial lag of about two years, MDP has thus advanced well in this particular research area, even adding one case study (Tanzania) to the original list of three. However, it should be pointed out that (a) the Uganda study has not so far been completed, (b) the studies are of uneven quality as indicated in detailed comments by a Canadian consultant, (c) none of them covers even half of the six topics given in the Programme Document at any depth, (d) the comparative analysis of case study results is yet to be done and, (e) the publication and wider distribution of results is still a long way off.

Activities under the second stream of policy research have only

just started with a first network meeting in late April 1994 in Swaziland on human resources development and capacity building. What is more problematic than such understandable delay is the fact that the sequence of activities appears to have been reversed. While the Programme Document intended that an initial study of human resources in Kenya, Malawi and Tanzania should begin developing a reference point for local government reform, MDP actually completed three activities on local government reform in 1991 and 1992, before ever embarking on the research which should inform the discussion of such reform. In addition, the country list for the three case studies was changed to include Swaziland, Kenya and Zambia. Reasons for this change are not evident.

The Programme Document expressed the hope that the initial set of research activities in human resources and local government capacity building would lead to a "reference point" for local government reform. We are clearly far from such a goal. Six country policy studies and two books were the planned research output. Three unpublished country studies is the output so far; how far they can "heighten awareness of municipal governance in Africa" is uncertain.

As a small programme MDP cannot undertake very large amounts of research. Besides, many of its research needs can be satisfied by other institutions such as the Urban Management Programme (which has a considerable research budget), donors other than the World Bank and local universities. What MDP can and should do more of is a systematic stock-taking of what is currently known in the area of its policy activity and a timely and readable dissemination of such research results.

The World Bank strategy paper on urban development lists a number of research topics in its "agenda for the 1990s" and MDP has chosen to focus on one of them: the role of government in the urban development process.<sup>12)</sup> First steps have indeed been taken to increase our understanding of African urbanization issues. MDP now has the opportunity to link such increased understanding to pragmatic action in this field. Much remains to be done, especially if we consider that the ultimate outcomes desired by the World Bank are targeting public expenditures to the poor and revitalizing the urban economy.<sup>13)</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The evaluation team agrees with the priorities set in the WB policy paper even though it realizes that the consultative process which led to, and still guides, MDP includes the priorities of other players. In theory there is no longer much disagreement between the priority lists of various agencies; in practice, the differences in objectives, styles and investment of resources remain considerable.

<sup>13</sup> This orientation deserves much repetition. The evaluation field work revealed that several workshop participants paid hardly any attention to it while rather enjoying the "development tourism" aspects of the programme.

There is no evidence that MDP has made much of an effort to link its research with that agenda. The programme takes pride in refusing prefabricated solutions (see Table 4.3) but may well "throw out the baby with the water". Much high quality research is available but is not being used to inform, justify or strengthen the Programme's own research.

#### **4.9 Key findings on policy development**

Emphasized throughout many of its regional, national and training workshops, policy development has so far occupied a major, maybe a disproportionate place in MDP's activities. Some of this work was done appropriately, with good advance preparation (materials handed out at the beginning of workshops) and with high-calibre speakers. The single most universally appreciated feature was the pairing of researchers and policy makers in many of the events.

On the negative side, much of the research is behind schedule and the communication of results should be more timely in order to be effective. The most significant improvements in policy research will come with the correction of Programme design flaws such as the mistaken choice of unit of analysis (nation instead of municipality), the absence of clear targets and schedules, the neglect of truly comparative research and the frequent lack of backward and forward linkages of policy research (to existing data and analysis, previous and existing policy and policy action, and the like).

#### **4.10 Key findings on training**

In both the nature and impact of training, the first problem is one of definition. Paragraph 3.3 differentiates between training workshops that result in "action plans" and "policy frameworks" on the one hand, and skills transfer on, say, "THA administration" and "LA finances" on the other. In table 4.2, training ranges from senior policy seminars to strengthening training institutions. This conceptual difficulty suggests, further to the conclusions of chapter 3, that training pervades all aspects of MDP activity. Thus, the mode of the training workshop is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The ends are essentially twofold: (a) policy frameworks and strategic plans (whether regional, national or municipal), and (b) capacity building for improved services delivery (essentially but not exclusively) at the municipal level.

#### **4.11 Key findings on support to municipalities**

While the impact of the two completed municipal projects is substantial in the first case and potential in the second, it raises the two part question of:

- a) the need to build on this individually significant but generally very minor success (in relation to need), and therefore
- b) to expand MDP's role in one of the primary areas (and reasons) for its original establishment (in response to the pervasive institutional weakness of local government in SSA, identified in "From Crisis to Sustainable Growth").

#### **4.12 Key findings on strengthening local government associations**

The essential conclusion is that MDP's goal in this arena has been transferred to IULA-AS. Given the wide-ranging challenge of this task, MDP's limited capacity and IULA-AS's need for a tangible role, such a transfer is not only legitimate, but also helps to sharpen MDP's focus on the remainder of its goals.

#### **4.13 Recommendations**

The key findings in the four areas lead to the conclusion that while it appears that MDP is starting to have impact along the lines drawn in the Programme Document, there is no way of ascertaining with any certainty that the observed impacts are attributable to MDP activities - alone or in conjunction with other donors' efforts. It is hard to define a starting point where new training began, where research was original and where support to municipalities became critical. Part of this uncertainty can be linked to an inadequate definition of research tasks, units of analysis, baselines and comparative methodology. Another part is due to the fact that MDP does not usually maintain a sufficient and sufficiently prolonged presence in any of its activity sites.

The following recommendations should alleviate some of these shortcomings.

##### Recommendation

It is recommended that MDP reconsider the distribution of activities over its four areas and justify this distribution in upcoming annual plans.

#### Recommendation

It is recommended that comparative research be centred on municipalities, be closely linked to and made available to all workshops and be published in timely fashion so that interest in MDP's research activity is maintained.

#### Recommendation

That training ceases to be categorised as an activity topic but instead, is recognised as the core capacity building discipline of MDP, pervading both central areas of concern (policy development and municipal strengthening), yet requiring a specialist, as part of a mutually reinforcing team relationship (see 8.6 below).

#### Recommendation

That future MDP outputs raise the profile of direct strengthening to municipalities to be of importance, at least equal to the policy and research component, currently the dominant feature of MDP work (see 3.3).

#### Recommendation

It is recommended that MDP follow its by now established pattern of leaving this field of activity to an appropriate intermediary organization such as IULA-AS. However, the activities of IULA-AS should be scrutinized for cost-effectiveness, impact and concordance with MDP's own priorities.

#### Recommendation

It is recommended the MDP focus on a smaller range of issues and a smaller number of countries (which could follow a five year rotation). The energies freed by such limitation should be invested in (a) better and more appropriate research, (b) better follow-through for individual activities (c) more direct support of municipalities and, (d) careful planning of multiplier effects for each activity.<sup>14</sup>)

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<sup>14</sup> Note that the evaluation team did not see it as its role to provide guidance on which issues or countries to choose. The comments and recommendations made here concern method only: if you choose a given field of activity, make sure you are not overextending yourself, depriving yourself of resources for the indispensable monitoring and scrutiny of outputs and impacts.

## Chapter 5. PROGRAMME DESIGN, STRATEGY AND APPROACH

The TOR states that since its design in 1990, the MDP has evolved from an idea to an operational programme. It hopes that the final evaluation will identify and analyze, in terms of the general programme design, the following matters:

- Strengths and weaknesses of the programme's strategy
- Opportunities and threats to the programme's strategy
- Identifying and responding to demand
- Capacity of programme to respond to needs
- Relevance of institutional building models
- Relevance of institutional development activities
- Follow up and evaluation mechanisms
- Comparisons with other programmes
- Strengths and weaknesses of the opportunities to date

As some of these topics have been dealt with in earlier sections of this report, we shall respond here in abbreviated fashion. However, we shall add a section at the end (5.10) which reviews systematically, in the light of outcomes and impacts discussed in chapters 3 and 4, those design characteristics which were identified as critical in chapter 2.

### 5.1 Strengths and weaknesses of the programme's strategy

If by strategy we mean a general approach put into place to assure that the ultimate objectives are reached - an approach combining objectives and a plan to reach them - , the MDP's strategy is to build capacity at the municipal administrative level in order to improve the quality of life of urban populations. This report addresses this issue at various places, most notably in section 5.10 below.

This evaluation generally agrees with the original authors of the Programme Document, as well as with the midterm evaluation in that it considers the strategy appropriate, though we would add that we consider it also incomplete. Compared with the experiences of earlier programmes whose strategies had aimed at the central government and at urban infrastructure, the MDP strategy has much promise.

While the strategic direction as such is appropriate, its implementation has a weakness which detracts from the value of the strategy itself. MDP has not yet put into place an adequate monitoring scheme which might give irrefutable proof that the strategy works. In the absence of adequate baseline documentation and follow-up, neither the PU nor this evaluation team can state with confidence that the strategy works. What appears to have been achieved so far cannot, beyond any doubt, be attributed to the strategy chosen. To take the example of Ugandan decentralization,

it was the central government of Uganda - more precisely, those individuals who came to form the central government - which was committed to decentralization well before MDP appeared on the scene. MDP activity may have helped the process, accelerated it and helped to advertise the benefits of decentralization. We can now state that MDP appears to have helped the process but we do not know exactly how. Hence, we do not know how the MDP approach could or should be replicated elsewhere.

## 5.2 Opportunities and threats to the programme's strategy

If by opportunities is meant the situations where MDP's strategy might usefully be applied, then there are no doubt many. Most central governments in Eastern and Southern Africa have cut back services in the wave of fiscal decline and structural adjustment of the past decade. Most of the thousands of municipalities are in dire need of the kind of help MDP is set up to supply.

Threats to the implementation of MDP's strategy can come from a variety of sides. Internal strife and civil war are an obvious threat. MDP activities planned for Ruanda will obviously have to be postponed indefinitely. A more common threat comes from one of the design features. Working through central governments and their MLGs may be a condition for working in the Region at all<sup>15</sup>) but it makes the Program partly dependent upon political will, work habits, national priorities, inefficiencies including occasional corruption of ~~these~~ central governments.<sup>16</sup>) This limiting factor is important and imposes upon the Programme a particular way of working and of monitoring its impact. In some situations MDP may be allowed to set up beautiful activities and produce outputs according to plan - without all this being allowed to have a wider impact at all.

## 5.3 Identifying and responding to demand

MDP's way of identifying and responding to demand is dealt with in chapter 3. It is one of the single most excellent features of the

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<sup>15</sup> Civil servants appear to constitute the majority of MDP workshop participants so far, but the evaluation has been unable to verify this impression.

<sup>16</sup> This evaluation has not sought to verify stories heard about governmental corruption. It is our impression that other forms of inefficiency pose a greater threat to reaching MDP's objectives. A \$100 Million training institution doing no valid training is a more significant inefficiency than an official getting a couple of free trips to Paris or London (both cases reported in interviews).



Programme. However, it has to be stressed that spending donor resources on responding to demand is justifiable only if particular care is given to assuring and monitoring the ultimate impact of the response (see chapters 4 and 6).

#### **5.4 Capacity of programme to respond to needs**

MDP does not respond to needs but to demands - organized proposals for action in an area deemed to be appropriate. Needs are for all practical purposes unlimited; demands are not. A considerable effort is made on the part of the PU to generate demands for MDP to consider. Virtually all demand traced by the evaluation team ultimately lead back to invitations to submit proposals (a) during a particular workshop, (b) by the Regional Director in person or, rarely, (c) in a publication such as the Newsletter.

The Programme's capacity to respond to demand is limited by the size of its staff and the type and volume of current activity. So far the PU has had to deal with an increasing though by no means excessive number of proposals. The staff have been open and have been perceived to be open. Expectations have been rising and are unlikely to be met in the near future. This is not unusual in an organization whose practical effect is to hand out resources and to facilitate access to donor resources.

What is more serious is that satisfaction of demand so far has come at a high cost. The geographic spread and substantial scope of the activities has been such that a very large proportion of staff time and financial resources had to be spent on logistics, travel and working up new substantive fields. Working in a small number of countries and on a limited number of issues would have allowed much larger and perhaps, more penetrating, output. It would also have allowed more follow-through and, by implication, a clearer exposition of impact.

On the surface, then, MDP's capacity to respond to demand appears to have been good. Upon closer inspection, the evaluation team finds it most problematic and recommends a considerably reduced focus, both in geographic spread and in substantive coverage, in order to allow a more sustained presence, more in-depth work, more continuity and follow-through and a redesigned research activity (see also section 5.5).

#### **5.5 Relevance of institutional building models**

Institutional building models are taken to mean the instrumentalities of institutional development (ID). As such, the completion of a set of institution building activities does not, of itself, mean the achievement of institutional development. That has a separate theoretical construct (see 1.2).

To date, three institutional building styles have been deployed. These are:

- the dissemination of research material into policy documentation, for application in various organisations;
- training of personnel, in order to develop an awareness of knowledge and techniques in both general (policy) and specific (practice) activities; and
- assisting organisations to develop understanding and therefore capacity for delivering policy and - or operational outputs.

Each is briefly reviewed in turn.

#### 5.5.1 Policy dissemination

The Programme Document puts much stress on communication of its research findings and has, at least in part, done much to make it reality. Repeated probing by the evaluation team in five countries has confirmed that valid exchanges regularly did take place at MDP workshops, that preparatory documents were normally ready on time and that little effort was spared to give participants a sense of contribution and of ownership of the products of the discussions. Newsletters also reached former participants quite regularly and the PU made a good attempt to use those former participants as nodes in a wider network - many of them were sent multiple copies of the Newsletter with the stipulation to distribute among colleagues.

However, in a different area the dissemination of MDP's products has so far been less successful. The preparation of major research pieces for publication has not advanced very far yet. More significantly, truly comparative research appears not to have been carried out. Several participants have indicated that they would have much appreciated being kept informed on a more frequent and regular basis. There is a potential here to form a large network of individuals concerned about, and increasingly well informed of, the issues which drive MDP. It is high time to seize such an opportunity.

This is not to say that MDP should imitate UMP. Its reports will not be as good, as slick, as voluminous, as frequent or as expensive as UMP's. They should have more the character of working documents, rather than polished academic publications. Yet this can equal UMP's in terms of significance for that large network of former participants whose goodwill, interest and enthusiasm will have to carry the Programme in future phases.

A revamped newsletter, distributed six to ten times per year, would go a long way towards disseminating policy research results,

maintaining interest and creating solidarity in a growing "MDP family" - essential building stones in any institution.<sup>17)</sup>

### 5.5.2 Training

Training involves the traditional imparting of knowledge. The test is whether the training is understood, absorbed and turned into practice in the trainee's institution, (whether directly or ultimately) for the benefit of the citizens being served. Paragraph 4.1 has already considered the impact of training. Paragraphs 3.5 and 4.1 go on to recognise that MDP's use of training goes well beyond this traditional definition. In the MDP sense, training is a form of collective self-development which (ideally) leads to improved understanding of either techniques and procedures (e.g. for THA administration) or the planning process and its "discovered" contents (e.g. a development plan).

### 5.5.3 Assisting organisations

Assisting organisations is the third of the primary categories of MDP activity (particularly, but not exclusively) municipalities and local authority association. In practice, as has already been seen from Chapters 3 and 4, the assistance to organisations takes the predominant form of training (as defined in its creative MDP form, above). In conventional institution building circles, such assistance would be the traditional long-term expatriate expert or external consultant. MDP eschews such an approach and rightly so. Instead, the assistance to organisations is through the "training style" of institutional development. For fear of repetition, this is a major strength of MDP's institutional building style.

## 5.6 Relevance of institutional development activities

In current theory, institutional development has a precise meaning. It refers to that point where an organisation can be seen to be of value beyond its immediate outputs. It develops an intrinsic value in the community at large, beyond its mere instrumentalities.

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<sup>17</sup> If MDP were to carry out its research mission there would be ample material to fill six yearly issues. There would be much interest, e.g., in position papers handed out at workshops, reports on the fate of decentralization in various countries of the region and, above all, on how municipalities deal with their challenges. Not all material would have to be copyrighted by MDP. "What Others are Doing" could be a column reporting on other programs' efforts to tackle MDP-type goals and situations. The interest is there; it is up to MDP to be innovative and keep up with the literature.

The relevance of institutional development activities is therefore taken to mean the aggregate outcome of the specific institutional building styles. These strengthen an awareness of and capabilities in the local government system in SSA, to the point where the community at large begins to recognise the fundamental importance of local government to the development process. If this is accepted then the answer is alluded to in Chapter 4. It remains an allusion because first, institutional development is a long-term process (certainly longer than MDP's three year existence) and secondly, it remains difficult to specify or quantify. However, based on the literature's collective view, (culled from McGill's current PhD research), a test would be the raising of the profile of municipal governments in the region to the point where the mass of informed (but not necessarily educated) population identified municipal government as being an external economy - a mechanism that turns resources (institutional capacity) into affordable infrastructure and services for the masses. The answer to the question is therefore, in the opinion of this evaluation team that:

- it is early days and
- that there is a danger that MDP has moved too fast and too far into the national and regional arena, at the expense of the municipal sector.

This view suggests that MDP has a number of institutional building successes that are, perhaps, a first step along the tortuous road of institutional development in the municipal arena. The issue here is whether the first step has been as positive as it might have been, given the very modest support direct to the municipal sector over the first phase of MDP. The clear inference is that it has not been as positive as it might have been. Corrections are therefore needed for phase 2.

## **5.7 Follow-up and evaluation mechanisms**

The follow-up and evaluation mechanisms are a two-stage process. After an activity is completed, the participating institute (PI) must prepare an activity completion report. That must then be followed by an evaluation from the programme unit (PU); in particular, from the task manager. This has come to be known as the end of activity report.

In the early days of MDP, no structure was offered to PI's on what topics were to be covered in an activity completion report. In due course, MDP made the necessary correction by offering advice to PI's. The activity completion report is the first test of MDP intervention in capacity building. It is important. MDP's client assesses MDP's capacity building service. In turn, MDP then completes its evaluation; the end of activity report. This process is sound. However, there are two are two weaknesses.

First; operationally (and based on the material supplied by MDP, recorded in Appendix 1) most activity reports have been completed by PIs. Fewer evaluation (or end of activity) reports have been completed by the PU. It is essential that for each activity, both sets of reports are prepared. It may be helpful for internal management (as well as for future external evaluations), for the PU to hold in files, other than general activity files, the three key documents for each activity:

- the signed activity for funding report
- the PI's activity completion report
- the PU's evaluation report.

Secondly and strategically, while the two immediate completion reports are invaluable, they do not give the PU an opportunity to offer a wider consideration of the specific activity:

- in relation to similar activities in the sector, in order to identify any general principles arising from the capacity building process, and
- in terms of its longer term impact within the PI itself and in the community at large (the ultimate target for this whole business).

The need is to develop a mechanism that is able to trace the impact of MDP beyond the mere absorption of outputs by the host or participating institution. By so doing, evaluation systems would seek to address three central questions in the institution building process.

EFFICIENCY	EFFECTIVENESS	IMPACT
<p>The delivery of outputs and the supporting (delivering) management systems.</p>	<p>The immediate impact of these outputs on the Participating Institution (PI), in terms of improved expertise and service delivery.</p>	<p>The longer term impact of PI performance on the social and economic conditions in the community.</p>

Clearly, the recommended annual planning and review cycle would focus on the immediate characteristics of efficiency and effectiveness. A three year evaluation may be the more suitable vehicle for a concerted review of longer term impact. That is to say that MDP would, following continued monitoring, devote part of its third year of phase 2 to an attempt to trace the wider impact

of its work, through the eyes of the PI's and ideally, with a measure of recipient involvement in such an assignment.

### Recommendation

A three year evaluation of longer term impact, following continued monitoring, be undertaken as part of its third year of phase 2 to an attempt to trace the wider impact of its work, through the eyes of the PI's and ideally, with a measure of recipient involvement in such an assignment.

### **5.8 Comparisons with other programmes**

The most obvious comparison is with the Urban Management Programme (UMP). UMP is designed as a global programme (a) to formulate the best practices in urban management and (b) to get these practices (developed through higher order research, for example, on land management), disseminated to the point where municipal governments absorb the new found wisdom and turn it into improved and affordable infrastructure and services. UMP has identified a direct link with MDP.

"MDP...is one of the first regional initiatives in this context. It will serve, among other things, to focus on building capacity in SSA on urban management issues... MDP will provide both a vehicle for the dissemination, application and further refinement of the products created under UMP, and also a valuable feedback from the region..." (Hildebrand, M., 1992, p.94 in: Cities in the 1990's: the challenge for developing countries. Edited by Harris, N.).

The first comparison is therefore the deductive (or top down) approach to capacity building, deployed by UMP. This compares markedly with the inductive (or bottom up) approach of MDP, evidenced by both Kwekwe (integrated development plan - activity 16) and the regional urban planning and management workshop, for local practitioners (activity 12).

A more traditional approach to capacity building is presented through national urban sector programmes such as Zimbabwe's Urban 2 and Malawi's local government development project. Both see the development of local capacity to prepare integrated development plans as an essential component of their projects. Both have institutional capacity building as significant (Zimbabwe) and major (Malawi) parts of their projects. However, in both cases this can be seen, again, as a more traditional approach; the dispensing of wisdom to the municipal councils through their parent ministries' training departments or institutions, and through technical assistance. At the heart of the comparison is again, the essential difference between their deductive and MDP's inductive approach to institution building. It does not take a genius to recognise which

approach is going to develop "ownership of the product". At various points, Chapters 3 and 4 highlight this "ownership" achievement by MDP.

The added curiosity is that the World Bank is a major player in all three cases; UMP, the national projects and MDP. Institutional learning must penetrate the highest echelons as well as the most modest municipal councils.<sup>18)</sup>

### 5.9 Strengths and weaknesses of the modifications to date

Operationally, this matter is dealt with in chapter 3. In our view, there have been no strategic modifications to date.

This statement is open to debate. Is it not true, one might ask, that (a) the Paris, 1991, meeting of the SC developed a list of criteria for activity selection, that (b) the 1991 Memorandum of Understanding transferred a considerable amount of control from WB-HQ to the PU in Harare and, that (c) an entirely new Business Plan was drawn up in 1992 - to mention just three instances one might consider strategic modifications? Our answers are as follows:

- a) The dominant features of wide-open territory and vague objectives have remained unchanged. There is not much evidence that the PU felt consistently bound by SC decisions - a fact lamented by both the mid-term evaluation in 1993 and several SC members in 1994.
- b) The two other examples are precisely cases in point. The Memorandum of Understanding established more freedom and elbowroom, not more direction - a fact which, given the circumstances, must be applauded.
- c) The Business Plan appears to have served no practical purpose at all. Forced upon the PU by the SC, it was subsequently largely ignored.

These statements should not be read as entirely negative. In order to remain true to the spirit of the programme, the PU needs much flexibility and it has succeeded in preserving its freedom of action. However, since it has not been inclined to impose the necessary limits on the scope of its activity, it would also profit from a SC willing to impose such limits.

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<sup>18</sup> Institutional learning includes processes involving the WB, not just national and local governments, PIs and NGOs. Financing and co-financing both WB projects and WB executed projects affords the Bank the possibility of learning about output and impact variation according to implementation strategy. It is our hope that the WB has a sufficient interest in, and institutional memory for, handling this opportunity in productive ways.

## 5.10 What have we learned about MDP's design characteristics?

We are now ready to review MDP's characteristic design features (chapter 2) in the light of the outputs and impacts presented in chapters 3 and 4. In a superficial sense we can say that the Programme's design has worked: MDP has not run out of funds or goodwill, it has not collapsed under its administrative burden, it has not been discredited and expelled from any country, it has not been plagued by scandals and, it has produced many outputs in line with its objectives. However, have all of the principle design features proved to be equally appropriate? Let us review them in order.

- a) Activities are identified and carried out by African institutions

There is no doubt that this design feature has been critical for MDP's success so far. Not once did we receive complaints about the Programme being of foreign inspiration, ill adapted to African conditions and needs.

- b) The World Bank is the executing institution

The image, prestige and weight of the World Bank have given the Programme a degree of assurance and protection from the inefficiencies of national political and administrative frameworks which can hardly be overestimated. Pressures by lobbies, requests for favoured treatment and the like can be brushed off. The speed of response to demand, of transfer of funds and of producing critical information which MDP has shown would be hard to match by any local institution.

One of the weaknesses of this arrangement is that MDP does not have much intrinsic freedom to operate. The umbilical cord tying it to Washington has not been cut nor have the conditions for its severance arisen so far. Any talk of sustainability in this arrangement will remain just that: talk.

- c) MDP's programme of activities is open, exploratory and flexible

The strength inherent in the Programme's wide-open agenda is that its institution-building efforts can be applied to a wide range of institutions and issues. There are virtually no substantive constraints.

The reverse side of such total openness is that there is no programming framework, no certainty of mission beyond a vague notion of helping municipalities and, no truly specialized competence to be accumulated over time and applied with ever



growing effectiveness. The only clear limitation we have encountered is not one of geography or substance but entirely one of opportunity: countries in turmoil or without a commitment to decentralization will not be served, for the time being. There is a high cost to this totally open approach.<sup>19)</sup>

- d) The programme is process oriented and avoids setting explicit goals, targets and time schedules

We have not found any convincing justification for this design feature. It appears to take into account the specifics of location of activities, the slowness of political change and the complexity of interaction between donors who are truly listening and recipients who want to advance at their own pace; these elements are positive, even critical to programme success. In fact, however, there appears to be a some confusion underlying the "process orientation" as practised by MDP. The Programme has no annual cycle of programming, approval, reporting and monitoring. Time and effort are used in a well intentioned fashion, but without any clear expectations as to outputs and, especially, impacts. The Programme, therefore, is not centrally concerned with outputs and impacts, is responding to demand in a manner dictated in large measure by the stature and skill of the applicants and, lacks a systematic way of assessing effects and accountability.<sup>20)</sup> All these are negative elements, susceptible to improvement. While the commitment to process in itself is clear enough, it is these latter elements which take away from its value.

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<sup>19</sup> Here the evaluation touches upon a point which has been debated in the past and still deserves continued attention. On the one hand, the programme has indeed put in writing some criteria for the selection of countries, PIs and activities and is no doubt cumulating experience by applying these criteria. On the other hand, the evaluation team was left under the impression that, committed to err on the side of flexibility rather than plan, the programme left too many doors open for its own good. Given present resource levels, limitation is a precondition for improved follow-up, feedback and impact.

<sup>20</sup> It has come as no surprise to the evaluation team that this part of the analysis has raised concern with the PU and some SC members. Focus and process have been discussed over and over again, even since before the start of programme operations. The evaluation team stands by its comments which are based, as everything else, on a detailed reading of programme documents and interviews with a large number of programme participants and observers.

21 The emphasis here is not that MDP should do much or all municipal-level work but that MDP's work at higher policy levels is bound to be of better quality if the programme retains a strong link and regular experience at the municipal level.

22 Other parts of this report touch upon the implication of the vague commitment to "process" as it touches upon administrative procedures, the completion of research, the maintenance of motivation among staff and the indispensable monitoring of achievement and progress along the lines of "the process".

23 Any company working without precise plans and continuous scrutiny of activity-specific costs and benefits, would quickly be bankrupt. MDP is not, because in foreign aid, no one takes a proprietary interest in the way public money is spent. This evaluation cannot assess what proportion, if any, of MDP's budget is wasted but it does suggest that sustained follow-up should be an integral part of any activity in order to define corrective measures wherever needed.

The evaluation team finds in this feature neither strength nor weakness. There may simply be no alternative, even though it is acknowledged that many NGOs large and small are in fact using a different way of alleviating problems of those ultimate beneficiaries. The endemic weakness of the institutional capacity of municipalities is well documented, as is their potential to have some truly positive impact upon the living conditions of the populations they serve. There is thus full justification for MDP to specialize in working at the intermediate level rather than directly with the ultimate beneficiaries. In turn, that justification justifies the intrinsic strength of MDP's direct work with the Participating Institutions. The weakness is that so few RIS have been municipalities.<sup>23</sup>

e) MDP is designed to work with intermediate beneficiaries, not the urban dwellers themselves who are to be the ultimate beneficiaries and sole justification of donor-assisted urban development work

The problem is not unique to MDP. What is curious is that there is no provision here to assure that "process orientation" is not converted to "commitment to nothing precise or nothing planned in particular".<sup>22</sup> This evaluation applauds process orientation as a commitment to an interactive approach and a focus on true institutional development (rather than the conventional fixation on predetermined outputs and methods) but it remains critical of the notion of process if it implies the absence of clear targets, limits and substantive focus.

In all fairness, this is not the fault of the PU. The vagueness of the Programme Document, the leniency of the World Bank and many other factors have worked together and under the cover of an ideological commitment to "process".<sup>21</sup>

- f) The Programme aims at strengthening municipal administrations, i.e. a form of government at the local level

The strength of this feature is that MDP's work is focused on local authorities who are closer to the population's needs and more likely to be held responsible if these needs continue to be ignored. However, there is no certainty that the predominance of policy work with municipal administrators and councillors will eventually percolate down and have beneficial impacts. There is no inherent reason why training should ever result in any particular practice and why officials flown at great cost to some distant location for a few days would change their practices once they are back home in unchanged surroundings. MDP does not appear to have reflected much on the conditions of functioning of the state apparatus. Its approach in this respect is uncontaminated by the vast literature on the topic - much of it financed by agencies such as the World Bank.

This is the only truly significant weakness of MDP;<sup>24)</sup> fortunately, it is also a field in which corrective action can be initiated almost immediately. The programme can implement the necessary research, follow-up, monitoring and feedback mechanisms which will prove which of its actions have promise for the ultimate beneficiaries.<sup>25)</sup>

- g) MDP wants to compliment existing institutions and to collaborate with similar efforts, most notably the Urban Management Programme and in-country urban projects

The intention of this feature is plain enough but the realization is harder to detect. Some complementarity and collaboration has been achieved as indicated in co-financed activities - co-financed on occasion even by agencies such as USAID which has no formal connection at all with MDP. Other indications of the will to complementarity are the representation of UNCHS (seen by many as the owner of UMP) on MDP's Steering Committee and the careful reformulation of activity proposals such as Jinja's to avoid overlap with the efforts of other agencies.

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<sup>24</sup> All other criticisms and recommendations made in this report can be taken care of - or refuted - by particular and, usually, not very expensive responses.

<sup>25</sup> Correcting this weakness evident in the first three years of programme operations will mean a significant re-allocation of resources. Unless PU staff is increased considerably, there will have to be a trade-off. Increased commitment to follow-up and feedback will necessarily mean less travel, more sustained analytical work, etc., as indicated in the graphic presentations of the executive summary.

The relationship with UMP has reached neither the level of collaboration and complementarity anticipated in the Programme Document nor even an interaction of a certain regularity. "Peaceful coexistence" is the most we can observe. One reason may be their contrasting styles of capacity building (5.8), another the fact that careers and rewards in either programme are independent of productive collaboration with the other.<sup>26)</sup>

- h) The Programme is designed to allow for continuity of efforts by maximizing the potential of development agencies' efforts.

This design feature, to this evaluation team, lacks plausibility. Why should a programme "designed for closure", i.e. incapable of assuring much follow-through and continuity of its own activities, be in a position to assure such desirable ends for much larger and more permanent development agencies? How exactly is this to be achieved? And why would recipients of MDP efforts look to the Programme to maximize the effects of other programmes? Like "process orientation", this feature is a design feature which in its present implementation has turned into a design flaw which should be corrected. Precision should replace vagueness and a clear goal should orient and justify actions under this heading.<sup>27)</sup>

#### 5.11 Conclusion and recommendations

Much of the Programme's design and strategy has been vindicated. The strategy of focusing on intermediate levels of government, the design features which guarantee that the African voice and the locally expressed demands be heard and, the generally interactive, rather than prescriptive, approach towards defining activities have

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<sup>26</sup> This evaluation agrees with the position that ideally there could and should be close coordination and even collaboration between MDP and UMP but this ideal is unlikely to be reached soon. However, there are some striking observations which have come out of the field work phase of the evaluation: (1) Many observers, even insiders of the two programs, agree that there has never been a convincing explanation for having two programs in the first place. MDP is about urban management and could have been a part of UMP. (2) While agency officials at headquarters lament about the lack of collaboration, MDP and UMP personnel on the ground do virtually nothing about it - for whatever reason. (3) The demand for collaboration is invariably argued on administrative grounds (budgets, upcoming evaluations, inter-agency competition, duplication of effort and personnel) rather than on substantive grounds (helping municipal administrations, making the lives of urban populations less miserable).

<sup>27</sup> It is easy to spend much time and energy on coordination efforts with few lasting effects. The numerous inter-agency meetings frequently serve the agencies' own needs more than the countries' populations. MDP with its limited resources should serve other agencies' needs only to the extent that clear benefits can be expected, verified and turned into advantage for municipal development.

all been found to be appropriate.

However, the evaluation team takes issue with the vagueness of the Programme Document and with the notion that complete openness in substantive coverage and geographic spread should be counted as assets of the Programme. Quite the opposite, we see them as weaknesses covered by a commitment to "process" which raises significant issues in terms of achieving real impact at the only level where it counts - that of the ultimate beneficiaries living under conditions of poverty in African urban settlements.

## Chapter 6    CONTEXTUAL AND CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES

This chapter considers a selection of problems which cannot as such be attributed to MDP but which may be aggravated or alleviated by its presence. The TOR was right to expect coverage of such wider issues; narrow evaluations can hide much of what is really significant in development work. But the TOR was unrealistic in expecting in-depth coverage of issues nobody apparently thought much about at the inception of the Programme. For the reader who might think such issues "academic" let us just point to the cemetery of projects which had chosen to ignore them.<sup>28)</sup>

### 6.1 African urbanization

Rapid urbanization in Africa is inevitable and probably desirable - according to much current academic thinking. What is a matter for concern is not the demographic process itself but the misery it can imply for both rural and urban populations. As long as urbanization is a response to economic expansion, we find urban populations generally to be healthier, better fed, better educated and economically more productive than rural populations. If, on the other hand, urbanization occurs as a result of anti-rural bias, of a collapsing agricultural economy, of civil war and other push factors in rural regions, the cost of urban living is no longer balanced by higher quality of life indicators. If people flock to urban slums because they have no other alternatives, the city will just grow, not thrive. This latter type of urbanization is parasitic; for foreign donors to further it is counterproductive.

MDP's effects upon urbanization are small and generally positive:

- The Programme expands urban economic activity. Its operating budget is a net addition to urban economic activity, most often that of the capital city. The major budget items - salaries and office rental in Harare, transportation to and hotel rentals at workshop locations - all have significant multiplier effects in

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<sup>28</sup> While it is true that some of the most shocking examples are easily assembled in the area of physical infrastructure, there is no dearth worldwide e.g., in the area of useless training programs in ill-conceived and mismanaged training institutions. Unsophisticated thinking about the nature of the state is at the basis of both, and foreign donors are as much to blame as supposedly incompetent or corrupt recipients.

the cities touched by MDP activity. This causes both rural-urban migration<sup>29</sup>) and an increase in the demand for rural products, mainly foodstuffs.

- MDP aims at strengthening municipal institutions in various ways which should eventually help with the collection of property taxes and the reduction of the deficits of sub-national governments. Some of its past activities were directly aimed at the goal of improved financial administration (Kwekwe) but many of the other activities can also have beneficial effects of this kind.
- By helping to decentralize the political and administrative processes, MDP helps to overcome the colonial past, and post-colonial centralization. Training of municipal councillors has explicitly decentralizing objectives in the short term. In the longer term it is one of the tools for installing a truly representative political system.
- Strategic development plans, which MDP has helped to develop in one city so far (Kwekwe), bring to the open that some of the existing regulatory framework is counterproductive. Mobilizing the private sector for the provision of shelter and infrastructure is one way of removing constraints on urban productivity; both Kwekwe (from a general planning perspective) and Lilongwe (from a specific housing development perspective) are now exploring these possibilities.

Much of the urbanization of the past has been a product of bias - policies which de facto were anti-rural, such as food subsidies, concentration of all infrastructure in cities and the denial of rural access to services and power (Lipton, 1976). The structural adjustment policies of the past 15 years have generally helped rural populations more than urban populations (Moser et al., 1993). One of the positive effects of MDP's regional approach is to spread awareness and coping strategies among participating individuals and institutions. This can in turn help to make urban administrations less inefficient and urban economies more productive.

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<sup>29</sup> Complex econometric models have not yet succeeded in giving precise figures of the effect of urban spending on (net) rural-urban migration. Assuming rural supply to be constant over the short run we can estimate that 50% of added urban spending, divided by the rural per capita income will give an estimate of new arrivals caused by the added urban spending (over and above existing migratory flows). If, for example, MDP spent \$50,000 in Kampala in 1991, this would have attracted 330 new migrants to this city, since mean rural p.c. income was \$75.80. All authorities agree on the migration effect of foreign donor spending even though the exact size of the effect is open to debate.

On balance, then, the following can be said: to the limited extent that it has been involved directly with municipalities, MDP has been a positive force in the complex context of the urban political economy. Unlike some other development programmes it has furthered the cause of a non-parasitic type of urbanization.

## 6.2 The problematic nature of the state

MDP's Programme Document contains a commitment to two apparently contradictory aims: strengthening local governments while at the same time relying on "African decision-makers, institutions, NGO's and specialists ... " (p.9). Its diagram showing the institutional structure of the Programme again contains NGO's as potential implementors of Programme activities. This is about how far the Programme Document goes; NGO's do not seem to play any further role.

The reader is left with the distinct impression that the authors of the Programme Document see a stronger municipal government as the answer to the "severe economic and management crises" (p. 1) which must be alleviated. In other words, the Programme Document sees governmental administrative inefficiency as a problem of weak local governments, a technical problem to be solved by largely conventional means - training and technical assistance - at the governmental level.<sup>30)</sup> How has MDP dealt with the problematic nature of state and government?

- By aiming at the municipal level, the Programme has consistently furthered the cause of decentralization. It appears, however, that this work has rarely happened outside a perimeter defined by the Ministries of Local Government, a branch of central government. Maybe local administrations have been given slightly better leverage this way, in the negotiation of their legal rights, powers of taxation and executive freedom. Two ministers contacted during this evaluation, however, left no doubt that local governance was at best a delegation of some slight measure of central authority, not a matter of local autonomy. Only in Uganda did we find a firm commitment to a significant level of local autonomy. In contrast, Malawi's commitment to decentralization, captured in its Local Government Development Project, did not in practice benefit from global government support.

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<sup>30</sup> The principal unique feature in MDP - its particular procedure of eliciting "demand" for its services - will be analyzed in the following section. It is a procedure whose principle focus so far has been on government representatives.



- There appears to be little explicit awareness of the problematic nature of the state in post-colonial Africa, of the broad and complex base government at any level needs if it is to be perceived as legitimate government, of the catalytic role NGO'S can play in the transition from colonial to democratic institutions, and so on. Only one of the persons interviewed had a clear vision of what a bottom-up approach to local governance might imply; all others appeared to operate quite comfortably in the political and administrative space as defined by central authority and its MLG.
- By virtue of its research component and comparative, regional approach, MDP has the potential to assist the state to take new initiatives and design innovative strategies rather than preserving outmoded post-colonial structures. There is no shortage of either. During this evaluation we could observe in Nairobi the positive results of an innovative solution to an urban transport problem<sup>31)</sup> as well as the mindless application of outdated principles in the brutal repression of streethawkers.<sup>32)</sup> MDP has the potential to push for innovative solutions but has frequently shown more interest in conventionally strengthening the central government's MLG branches.
- NGO involvement, whether in the instrumental fashion championed in the Programme Document or in the role of beneficiary, has been extremely limited (see section 4.4).

If the role of the state is to regulate social relationships, and extract and allocate resources, i.e. services, in legitimate ways, MDP has clearly been active in the right direction. Its policy seminars have been designed to make regulation more effective. Its training workshops have aimed at making service provision less wasteful. But the final word about the impact of these activities is not yet in. Laudable as such manifest functions of MDP activities may be, there are latent functions which deserve more attention than they seem to have received so far. "Training without learning", "learning without the means to apply", "trips and per diems for their own sake", "one-shot activities without follow-through", "playing one foreign donor against others" - all these

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<sup>31</sup> The illegal matatus - 25 seat buses operated by informal sector entrepreneurs - were formalized in the Traffic (Amendment) Act of 1984. This reduced pressure on the Kenya Bus Service, alleviated traffic congestion and improved the safety of the matatus and their passengers. It represented a departure from the traditionally hostile stance taken by government against the more efficient informal sector.

<sup>32</sup> Blackmailing, abusing and chasing away street hawkers is current practice for many local governments. A more innovative approach to the problem would be to provide services to hawkers in combination with the enforcement of health regulations. One of MDP's past collaborators has interesting ideas on this topic (Mbogua, 1993c; also in: Karuga, 1993).

are statements made by participants in MDP activities, so-called beneficiaries. Their testimony indicates that at least some MDP-supported activity had little chance of doing anything useful for the ultimate beneficiaries.

Increasing administrative capacity is helping some local governments perform extractive functions, e.g., in collecting "rates" in Kwekwe. Whether the provision of services will actually improve without changing political relationships will have to be seen. Without the latter (improved services), there is no justification for improving the extractive functions (e.g., "rate" collection).

Should MDP succeed in broadening its concepts of "local", "local authority", "non-governmental" and "community" to include a large variety of groups, organizations and institutions, there would be much greater chance for its policy efforts and training actions to lead to improvements in the quality of urban life. As it is, MDP's use of the word "beneficiary" remains revealing: those who "benefit" are principally representatives of various levels of government - the state - rather than the ultimate targets, the populations dwelling in African cities.

On balance, MDP is open to criticism concerning its unquestioning collaboration with government and its frequent neglect of non-governmental avenues and entities, in light of its fourth goal.

### 6.3 Demand vs. need: the risk of a "demand-driven" approach

"Demand-driven" is an ideal which is hard to translate into just procedures and practical action. Its promise is to satisfy needs felt at the level of the needy, not "needs" identified by superiors and foreigners. Its risk is that listening to and helping the needy may not solve their problem in the longer term. The principal problems in practising this approach are (1) the clear expression of the demand, (2) the appraisal of the demand as legitimate, (3) the coherence between demand, action and results, (4) the assessment of stakeholders, (5) the selection among competing claims upon scarce resources and, (6) the estimation of longer-term impacts of demand-driven responses.

MDP has one of the most conscientious and sophisticated approaches this evaluation team has ever seen towards recognizing and solving the first three of these problems. These are the strongest elements of MDP's procedure:

- At least from the second year on, the PU has regularly engaged in serious and sometimes protracted discussions with participating institutions in order to clarify their precise needs. Not once was a proposal accepted in its first draft and occasionally the PU served as a catalyst for a PI to realize that

its most pressing needs were not those put forth first.

- The PU has been careful in appraising proposals, screening them for problems appropriately solved at the municipal level and, redirecting those which did not fall into its own range of action.
- MDP has sufficient capacity to document and analyze the coherence of needs, actions and outputs. In the cases of Kwekwe, Lilongwe and Jinja there is a clear logic connecting actions and expected results, and a sufficiently sustained relationship for the PU and the PIs to evaluate the value and medium term effects of activities.
- For the assessment of stakeholders in particular proposed activities and the selection among competing claims, the PU has received precious little help from the Programme Document. That document left everything wide open, did not set targets and annual action plans and did little to facilitate the selection among proposals. It is to the credit of the PU and the SC that at least some selection principles were developed as time went on. For example, the commitment of national governments to decentralization is seen as an important criterion, as is a minimal capacity of a PI to carry out the proposed activity.
- The estimation of longer-term impact is virtually impossible in the current Programme design. Follow-up is weak, which has left some participants perplexed. Several participants have pointed out that the PU refused to propose, or even give guidance in the exploration of follow-up actions. The standard answer appears to have been "You are now on your own". While this position is in accord with the capacity-building approach of the Programme, it has sometimes been misunderstood as a preference for one-shot activity and a refusal to come along on the adventurous path lying ahead. The measurement of longer-term impact can be combined with a commitment to follow-up which would be welcomed by many participants (a matter already considered, from a different perspective, in section 5.7).

The demand driven approach is one of the strengths of MDP. It has the promise of reversing the top-down development practice which has resulted in so many failures in the past. Its risks are (a) that demand will soon outrun the Programme's capacity to act and to follow-up upon actions and that (b) those who are most skilful at formulating demands are sometimes not free of self-interest. The PU has been responsible in evaluating and filtering the proposals representing demand. The wide spread of its activities and the lack of focus and targets in the Programme Document have made the selection among competing demands more difficult and the follow-through on selected activities quite improbable.

On balance, MDP has been sophisticated and responsible in its use

of the demand-driven approach. It has de facto already started to impose necessary limitations and should be encouraged to consciously define and adopt a much more narrow and precise focus now that it can clearly not satisfy the demand it has helped to create.

#### 6.4 Gender equality

MDP resembles the majority of development programmes in that gender issues are neither explicitly addressed nor significantly affected. Potential impact could conceivably be found in the following areas: (1) elaboration of policies which favour gender equality, alleviate the disproportionate burden born by women in African societies or eliminate discriminatory practices; (2) using and promoting women in positions of responsibility and high profile among programme staff and consultants and thereby presenting a model of equality of chances to be emulated by participating institutions; (3) using the financial leverage of the programme to influence hiring and other practices of participating institutions, and (4) making effects on gender equality one of the selection criteria in the choice among competing proposals and institutions.

Women-in-development (WID) issues have not been central to MDP. While it is true that for some time, one of the task managers was female - and that the SC now holds a female Minister of Local Government as one of its members - there is no evidence at all that they were chosen for anything other than their professional qualities. In a similar vein, it can be observed that MDP has worked with institutions and activities which occasionally have had women in positions of responsibility but this evaluation has not detected any intentional selection of such institutions or activities. Even less probable is it that the Programme would have used its financial leverage to favour WID related issues or institutions.

On balance, MDP has done little in the area of gender equality. However, the Programme undeniably represents a modern, liberal and progressive trend in development assistance. This trend undermines those political institutions and practices which have in the past tended to disadvantage women, be they anchored in traditional tribalism or post-independence centralism. To these, MDP is an unsettling presence. Without even trying, MDP can be construed as

affecting traditional gender relations just by being there and by being a modernizing factor.<sup>33)</sup>

## 6.5 The environment

Environmental concerns nowadays figure quite prominently in urban planning strategies and as such have become part of the municipal development MDP is trying to advance. Persons interviewed during this evaluation have repeatedly referred to environmental issues, most notably the pollution of soil, air and water, as important components in their planning. Refuse collection was regularly referred to as one of the key demands citizens have for their municipal administrations and as one of the acid tests of a well-run local government. Waste water drainage was pointed to as one of the significant achievements in many East and South African municipalities - as compared to practically the whole rest of the Third World - and as one of the most important components of urban infrastructure renewal.

Whether MDP has much influence in this field is open to question. The environment does not figure prominently in any of MDP's central documents yet it appears to have been mentioned repeatedly in the workshops.

On balance, the most one can say is that MDP, by promoting more rational and more efficient administrative planning and practices, has the potential of bringing environmental concerns to the attention of many a municipal administrator and councillor. To have observable impact in this area, however, would require a much more focused effort.

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<sup>33</sup> The evaluation team accepts the facts that (a) this section can do no more than raise a very few points in a summary fashion, all of which would deserve much more in-depth analysis; (b) the two effects mentioned actually point in opposite directions: conventional infusion of resources re-enforces traditional inequalities while an innovative, participatory program can undermine traditional stratification and gender relations. Neither of the two is automatic; both would deserve attention and investigation.

## 6.6 Poverty alleviation

In the end, poverty alleviation is probably the only legitimate objective of all of MDP's work.<sup>34</sup>) But the programme has neither made it into one of its concrete goals nor one of the topics of its research efforts. This might be criticised in some circles since poverty and its alleviation has taken on such prominence in World Bank policy during the past few years. The following points might be raised in defense of MDP:

- Much urban poverty is not caused by an absence of resources available to government but by their waste. Municipal mismanagement and corruption, inappropriate and outdated plans and policies, personnel lacking training and qualifications can be significant factors in such waste. This is the particular niche where MDP sees its role and the particular indirect attack on poverty it sees as its mission.
- Some of the urban poverty is caused by inadequate infrastructure which causes low productivity among a significant part of the population. High mortality and morbidity, waste of energy through inadequacy in urban transport, post-harvest food losses through inadequate market facilities - all these can be alleviated by improving urban infrastructure. But such improvement is clearly outside MDP's chosen domain of activity. The Programme cannot be blamed for ignoring them.
- There is an understandable tendency to simultaneously address problems of municipal infrastructure and management. The case of Jinja is a good example, where a Canadian consulting firm has elaborated a massive Jinja Structure Plan (1994) covering a physical plan, institutional strengthening, financial administration, economic development, environmental issues, re-urbanization and much more. MDP has acted wisely by first waiting for the completion of this plan before starting simultaneous and overlapping work and, secondly, limiting itself to the sole issue of institutional strengthening. If everything does work out as planned there will be less urban poverty in Jinja a few years from now. MDP's contribution will have been small and indirect but by no means insignificant; it was a precisely focused intervention in capacity building.

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<sup>34</sup> The evaluation team uses the concept of poverty alleviation in a conventional way: p.a. is work to reduce poverty, raise living standards and the quality of life and, thereby, attack problems of misery at the sources (income, waste, taxation, etc.) rather than the symptoms (e.g., morbidity). No claim is being made here that MDP should espouse the WB concept of p.a. or the WB strategy in this respect. But it would be hard to justify any program activity in countries with PCGNPs below \$500 unless a p.a. effect could be demonstrated.

If poverty alleviation is the final test of donor-assisted urban development work, it should not be construed as the only legitimate goal of any programme. It is quite likely that the most significant and sustainable improvement in the fate of the poor comes not through direct welfare and "safety net" schemes but through those measures which put the urban economy on a better footing, reduce waste and create an administrative structure which permits strategic actions in favour of employment.<sup>35)</sup>

On balance, MDP has no reason to be ashamed of its specialized attention to indirect action in line with the objective of poverty alleviation. But vigilance is in order, especially since the Programme has not so far paid much attention to exactly how some of its activities relate to improving the quality of life of the ultimate beneficiaries.<sup>36)</sup>

### 6.7 Conclusion and recommendation

MDP has been a positive force in making the urbanization process a productive one. It has done no harm and probably some good in the areas of gender equality, environmental protection and poverty alleviation. But its approach to working with governmental agencies is not very sophisticated. It would do well to scrutinize the hidden agendas of officeholders, the links between demand and need and the potential of non-governmental groups in carrying out functions ostensibly assigned to government.

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<sup>35</sup> An input-output comparison for both types of policy would typically be the kind of research task which is very relevant to MDP's work yet beyond its present capacity. It lies within UMP's mandate.

<sup>36</sup> At the time of the evaluation, the Urban Poverty workshop was not a completed activity; its documents were not available to the evaluation team.

## Chapter 7 EFFECTIVENESS OF M.D.P. MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

So far, the evaluation has focused on the development (or capacity building) role of MDP. This section looks at the management of MDP. The analysis is from a systems perspective. It does not pretend to be a management or financial audit.

The TOR states that the management structure has evolved since the original concept. The evaluation should address the effectiveness of the management and advisory structures, procedures and practices in terms of their suitability, timeliness, responsiveness to priorities and cost-effectiveness. Special attention should therefore be given to the following matters.

- co-operation and points of conflict
- assessment of the main modifications
- system to develop, implement and evaluate activities
- strengths and weaknesses of planning
- mechanisms for selecting activities
- strengths and weaknesses of financial administration
- cost effectiveness of activities and administration.

First however, it is important to understand the basic functions and form of MDP's management.

### 7.1 Functions of MDP management

There are seven functions of MDP management, as follows:

- Programme unit (PU), for developing local government capacity,
- Steering committee (SC), for policy and programme guidance to PU,
- Executing agency (EA), for financial and administrative supervision of the PU,
- Technical support network (TSN) for advising the SC and PU, as requested,
- Regional director, as chief executive of MDP,
- Task managers, as the project and activity development experts, and
- Administration, for all office logistics, correspondence and accounting.



## 7.2 Form of MDP management

The form of MDP management is three layers of activity, as follows:

- External support and guidance (SC, EA, TSN),
- Activity development and implementation (RD, TM), and
- Administration.

Their organisational relationships are presented in the diagram overleaf.

### Recommendation

That the basic organisational structure of MDP is sound, resilient and is able to cope with its future, subject to detailed adjustments, recommended below.

## 7.3 Co-operation and points of conflict

Co-operation and points of conflict are determined by the relationships between each of the primary functions of MDP. Each relationship is briefly considered in turn.

### PU and PIs

The evidence is clear that the relationship between the PU and PIs is very good. The activity completion reports attest to the fact. The individual visits to PIs by the evaluators substantiate the contention. The rapport between the PU and its client PIs is strong. This is particularly so where the client is a discrete local or national entity (such as a local council or national training institution). This is a major strength for MDP and should be built upon.

### PU and SC

Judging from the steering committee minutes, the relationship between the PU and SC is positive and supportive. The SC takes its policy guiding and activity approving role seriously.

### PU and EA (including local WB mission)

This is an interesting relationship with an important historical dimension. In essence, the development of the PU and EA relationship has three stages:

- the start up phase, with no premises, transport, equipment or operating procedures,
- the learning to work in the context of WB HQ operating procedures,
- the major adjustment to operating procedures, by devolving (divisional chief level) responsibilities to RD (office memorandum of April 15, 1992 from Jean Doyen to RD).

This was a major acknowledgement of the catalytic (and non-bureaucratic) role of MDP.

The second point is that in the past year, there has been a considerable turnover in WB HQ staff responsible for supervising the operations of the PU. On occasions therefore, these new staff members have had to re-learn the "alternative" operating procedures established for MDP.

The local WB mission plays a very important supportive role. This ranges from acting as a "diplomatic umbrella" to MDP to travel and associated arrangements for RD.

#### PU and TSN

The TSN offers a pool of potential expertise for the PU to call upon. That is important to the regional director, in informal discussions, when exploring matters of policy and technical detail. However, the main link from TSN is to SC.

#### SC and TSN

TSN meets at the same time as the SC; therefore twice a year. It has been called upon to deal with matters beyond these regular meetings (e.g. the first draft of the phase 2 MDP document). Its inherent strength is its informal role. An idea from TSN is that it should be constituted as a sub-committee of SC. It is suggested that if that were to happen, the start would be made towards the bureaucratization of MDP. At present, it operates well with one committee. Apart from that observation, the relationship between SC and TSN is professionally sound.

#### Recommendation

That the Technical Support Network retains its informal status and does not become a formally constituted sub-committee of the Steering Committee.

## SC and EA

EA has a full voting member on SC. At times, after decisions are taken, the EA intervenes in decisions taken at SC, where such a decision has been questioned higher in the World Bank's management. This can be disconcerting for SC members. However, that views the matter from a simple organisational perspective. There is a wider issue.

The wider issue is that of "ownership of MDP". Though MDP was spawned by WB as the parent body, it has always been the intention for MDP to be seen as an African institution. The question is how can that ownership be achieved, without compromising the continuing legitimacy of WB HQ involvement. Frankly, it is not an easy question to answer.

On balance, within MDP management functions, there is a good working relationship between the supervisory and technical tiers on the one hand and the technical and administrative tiers on the other.

## SC

What remains to be addressed is the role and perhaps even the symbolism of the Steering Committee. While not viewed in this context in a specific relationship with other components of the management system, its general relationship is one of an overall pervasiveness, that penetrates all corners of MDP as a management system.

The role of the steering committee is considered to be fundamental to the efficacy of MDP. There are suggestions that it should, in due course, be restricted to one meeting a year, where "proposals are submitted to SC for no objection" (Programme Document for Phase 2, November 1993, p.12). There are two opinions on this. First, it is felt that such a development would be retrograde. The Steering Committee is the only functional entity within MDP that has the ability to (and is the suitable vehicle for) displaying the ownership of MDP as a Sub-Saharan African institution (paid for by foreign donors). It is also the only vehicle that is available to help achieve a longer term institutionalisation of MDP (in the possible form of a board of governors, trustees or directors - depending on which institutional path is taken). Secondly, it is argued (by some) that it is hard to discern movement in the development process every six months. It is also an expensive process to hold such meetings every six months, one of which takes place outside Africa. The (forthcoming) arguments and recommendations about an annual development strategy (7.10) and the need to reduce administrative costs (7.9) suggests a move towards favouring the idea of one comprehensive Steering Committee meeting a year.

### Recommendation

That after the May, 1994 meeting, the Steering Committee meets once a year, ideally in an African location, the first such meeting being in November, 1994 (to follow closely to the end of the financial year and its attendant reporting requirements - this recommendation being reinforced by new annual planning and review requirements; see 7.6 and 7.10).

#### **7.4 Assessment of the main modifications**

In consultation with RD, it is understood that "the main modifications" refer to the change in operational rules approved by WB HQ and briefly outlined in the PU - EA relationship, outlined above. This main set of modifications to the operating procedures of MDP vis a vis WB HQ has been important to the operational success of the PU, as a "light footed and therefore responsive" organisation. The continuation of this decentralised relationship is crucial to the future success of MDP.

### Recommendation

That the decentralised relationship between the Executing Agency and MDP be strengthened with the transfer of the accounting responsibility from WB HQ to PU, thus not only retaining an arms length relationship but strengthening the African control of MDP (but subject to all the financial reporting and auditing safeguards, through the local resident mission).<sup>37)</sup>

#### **7.5 System to develop, implement and evaluate activities**

##### DEVELOPMENT

The system to develop activities is essentially a three-stage process:

- PU negotiation and development with PI
- PU technical and financial consideration
- PU recommendation to SC for funding approval.

Within this process, external advice can be sought. This system is robust and self-adjusting to particular circumstances. The development process is resilient. No changes are required.

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<sup>37</sup> It goes without saying that such a transfer should be preceded by detailed discussions of procedure, auditing, precedents and parallel experiences.

## IMPLEMENTATION

Implementation is mainly through participative workshops. Normally, regional experts are selected as resource personnel, to offer specific policy or technical expertise. Given the nature of the "exploratory and learning" approach to institution building, pioneered in practice by MDP, this mode of implementation is a major strength. Its attendant skills should merely be honed.

## EVALUATION

Evaluation is a two-stage process. First, the PI is required to prepare an "activity completion report". Second, the PU (task manager) is required to prepare an "evaluation report"; currently known as the "end of activity report". This is an inherently sound system in itself. The client presents its view. The supplier then reflects on its own performance. What is not so strong is the rate of PU report completions. This must be corrected in a phase 2 of MDP. In support of this, it is known that a conceptual framework for conducting (inter alia) the evaluation of activities, is currently being prepared by a consultant to MDP (cursory discussions between the evaluators and the consultant have taken place).

In summary the development cycle is sound. The PU evaluations simply have to be completed, to allow for a decent annual planning review exercise. The wider evaluation, through longer term impact analysis, must also be addressed (see 7.10).

## Recommendation

That MDP insists on an activity completion report being received by the PU, from the PI, within four working weeks of the completion of the activity, that in turn, the PU completes its end of activity report within eight working weeks of the completion of the activity (or four working weeks from the receipt of the PI's report, if later than specified) and that as part of the already required (and now reiterated) annual report, the PI presents a summary of the activity, noting (a) immediate outputs, (b) short-term impacts on the recipient institution and (c) the desired longer term impacts, through the PI, to the community at large, and:

That PU opens a record file (beyond the day-to-day working file) for each activity. That file should contain three items only; (a) the approved Application for Funding Report, (b) a signed and dated Activity Completion Report and (c) a signed and dated End of Activity Report.

## 7.6 Strength and weaknesses of planning

The planning cycle in MDP is taken from its operational documents. The key features are as follows:

- The steering committee's operational procedures state that by September 1992, and every year thereafter, MDP will prepare a progress report on the four components of the programme and a work programme for the next year (to be) endorsed by SC (page 6).
- MDP's memorandum of understanding reinforces SC's role in the this annual planning cycle. It says that SC will review and authorise the annual plan of action and corresponding budget for the coming year of the programme (page 2).

The documents presented to the evaluation team have been the regular half-yearly RD reports to SC. These have been supplemented by budgets for June 1992 to June 1994 (one document covering two years) and a "transitional budget" for July to December 1994.

No annual document exists which sets out to review the work of the past year and to present "the annual plan of action and corresponding budget for the coming year". There is no doubt that the information exists (in the routine half-yearly reports to SC). However for annual planning and monitoring purposes, it is important for PU to have this information combined in one single report. It should have two distinct sections covering:

- a review of the previous year's performance (against the annual plan of action and corresponding budget for that year), and
- plan of action and corresponding budget for the next year.

The practical implication for the first year of phase 2 is therefore clear. The next half-yearly SC meeting after the May 1994 meeting should (a) review the previous year's performance (against that year's plan of action and budget and (b) must prepare a plan of action and corresponding budget for the following year.

The responsibility for preparing the annual review and annual work plan rests with the PU. That is sound. The resource allocation mechanisms are (or should be) dependent on the budget allocations to particular programmes and activities. That should not change.

The inherent strength of the annual review and planning cycle (especially when it is not tied to annual subventions) is that it compels practitioners to review the past year's performance as a precursor to planning the next year's programme. The current weakness of MDP practice is that the annual cycle is not being adhered to. This weakness is a question of degree; it simply requires some adjustment in operational practice.

## Recommendation

That an annual programme, setting out the activities to be undertaken for that year, be prepared, with preliminary budget allocations per activity, and envisaged timings for the stages of the development process.

### **7.7 Mechanisms for selecting activities**

A prime objective of MDP is the desire to be a demand-driven organisation. The mechanism for selecting activities, participating institutions and consultants is as follows.

#### ACTIVITIES

Activities are selected in two ways. First, MDP responds to a specific request from a participating institution. Subject to its general conformity with MDP's mission, and general acceptability after preliminary discussions, it then proceeds with the development cycle (7.5). Secondly, an activity can be revealed in the course of debates arising in the policy environment. An agreement is reached that such an activity can be pursued by MDP. The same development cycle then comes into play.

#### PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

To date, the selection of participating institutions has flowed automatically from the chosen activities (in that each approved activity is institutionally located). However, there are indications that this pattern is changing.<sup>38)</sup>

In discussion with participating institutions and other contributors to specific activities, two criteria seem to be critical in making a PI selection. These are:

- replicability of the outcome of the activity to other similar institutions, and
- the multiplier effect in the spread of knowledge, derived from the MDP capacity building process.

#### Recommendation

When selecting PI's, MDP and its SC have specific regard to (a) replicability of the outcome of the activity to other similar

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<sup>38</sup> The draft MDP phase 2 document outlines a major list of proposed activities. Countries are being selected. In the very modest municipal strengthening section, it is suggested that countries with no MDP track record will be chosen.

institutions, and (b) the multiplier effect in the spread of knowledge, derived from the MDP capacity building process, when selecting activities for implementation.

## CONSULTANTS

One major strength of MDP is its deployment of consultants. MDP has raised the profile of local (i.e. regional or SSA) expertise in the general field of municipal development. The selection process is specified in the Operational Procedures document. The impact of MDP in raising the profile of regional expertise is to be applauded. This should remain a central feature of any phase 2 activity. However, this should not be to the automatic exclusion of recognised experts from outside the region. The selection of consultants should be tested by the quality of their potential contribution to the proposed activity. A structure of positive discrimination should therefore apply<sup>39</sup>) where, in compiling a list of potential candidates for final selection:

### Recommendation

When selecting consultants, MDP and its SC consider (a) national experts first, (b) regional (SAA) experts are next, and (c) international experts last, when drawing up a list of experts for final selection.

## 7.8 Strengths and weaknesses of financial administration

Financial administration in MDP is taken from its operational documents. The key features are as follows:

- The steering committee's operational procedures state that the PU will contract an independent private auditing firm to prepare an annual financial report.

Also, the imprest account (and sub-programme accounts) will be audited by the World Bank (page 6).

- MDP's memorandum of understanding supplements the financial administration requirements. First, by February 1992, and every year after that, the PU will present a written report on the progress during the preceding calendar year... This report will

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<sup>39</sup> Without writing all of it down, the PU appears to have pretty much followed this procedure. It is the evaluation team's impression that a combination of national, regional and international expertise will continue to be needed in the field of research while the installation of adequate monitoring, evaluation and feedback procedures will require a combination of national and international experience.



contain, inter alia, the results of the financial and technical audits performed.

The financial documents presented to the evaluation team were three financial statements to the SC and two budgets. To our knowledge, no independent private auditing firm has prepared an annual financial report. It was reported that WB's internal auditing procedures were of a non-routine nature; that one visit to the PU had taken place, which included discussions with the administrative assistant, on the accounts.

It is suggested that the private auditing firm's role in preparing an annual financial report should not be overlooked. At the very minimum, an audit of financial year 1992-93 should be undertaken immediately (to get the system up and running).

Operationally, the financial administrative burden has been both eased and clarified. It has been eased with the appointment of an administrative manager, thus releasing the administrative assistant of many non-accounting tasks). In turn, the administrative assistant is now solely responsible for the day to day financial management. In this respect, the occasional advice offered from the accounting staff at the resident mission is greatly appreciated.

#### Recommendation

That an independent private auditing firm be appointed immediately to carry out a financial audit of the first two financial years of its operation and that thereafter, the audit be conducted as a regular annual event.

#### **7.9 Cost effectiveness of activities and administration**

There is no base-line information from which to judge the cost effectiveness of activities and administration.

The first test of cost effectiveness is to ensure that expenditure matches the budget. That is to say, the approved budget presupposes a proposed cost-effective deployment of resources. Financial statements to the SC for June 1991-92 and June 1992-93 did not include a variance analysis (comparing budget with actual expenditure). A financial report to the SC for June 1990 to November 1991 did not include a variance analysis. At the very minimum, financial statements must compare budgeted and actual expenditure. The first test of cost effectiveness is to stay within budget.

The second test of cost effectiveness is to minimise expenditure on administration (fixed and variable overhead costs) and to maximise expenditure on development activities. While no base-line information exists, certain general principles are commonly

accepted in helping to ensure such cost effectiveness.

From an accounting point of view, it is important to identify the fixed and variable overheads of an organisation. It is the variable overheads that must be tackled first of all (e.g. cost of utilities). Fixed overheads must also be addressed (e.g. annual rental on premises). Focusing on these questions merely helps to be aware of cost escalations. The next question is that of overheads (including administrative costs) in relation to development administration.

The Steering Committee has already identified the need for MDP's accounting practice to be more programme budget oriented. In effect, this means that every activity should be costed to include its share of MDP's overhead costs. In this way, a more accurate picture of the cost of an activity presents itself.

An analysis of the budget documents for July 1992 to June 1994 and July 1994 to December 1994 reveals the following percentage relationship<sup>40</sup>) between the three primary budget categories (the second column for 1993-4 appeared in the second budget document):

Table 7.1 Summary budget analysis

<u>Category</u>	<u>FY 1992-3</u>	<u>FY 93-4/1</u>	<u>FY 93-4/2</u>	<u>1/2Y 1994</u>	
- Administration		18%	26%	41%	51%
- Activities	72%		64%	54%	43%
- Others	11%	9%	5%	5%	

The full table is presented in Appendix 4.

While the miscellaneous (or other) costs are reduced over the period, there is a dangerous escalation in the administrative costs (from 18 to 51%). In turn there is a disheartening decline in expenditure on activities (from 72 to 43%). In the light of the SC's decision to see more expenditure on development and less on administration, and in the knowledge of common practice, this is not a cost effective deployment of finances.

The analysis of activity costs has already suggested that the average cost for completed and current activities moves from US\$ 45,579 (3.2) to US\$ 55,000 (3.3). From the preceding paragraph it therefore has to be deduced that there is both a relative and absolute decline in expenditure on activities.

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<sup>40</sup> This analysis is based upon existing documents. While the evaluation was under way, the PU made an effort to re-distribute overhead and other costs (for the entire 1992 - 1994 period) according to some new standard - a most hazardous undertaking which is bound to raise suspicion in some quarters.

In conclusion, it is very difficult to establish the cost effectiveness of activities and administration. The budgets for completed activities hover around the US\$ 50,000 mark. This disguises the range in per capita costs, from US\$ 201 (activity 4) to US\$ 2,679 (activity 12).

Based on budget documentation and resulting analysis (Appendix 4), there is a clear trend towards a growing expenditure on administration instead of activities. This can be corrected in two ways. First, MDP must curb, or at least control, its overhead costs. Secondly (and the area for greater potential), it must give a fair representation of the administrative contribution to development activities. However, this should not be an arbitrary reallocation of administrative costs to massage the percentage shares between administration and activities.

A fairly standard (and not too laborious) way to achieve this is for all staff members to complete weekly time sheets. This is not to monitor every minute of every day. Instead, it is simply to present an indication of staff time allocated to, for example:

- activity development (TM) or direct support (Admin' staff, typing material and undertaking direct logistics for an activity),
- administration (any function that cannot be directly associated with a specific activity).

A miscellaneous category could be included, to cover items not easily allocated above.

In this way, the percentage of staff time (and costs) ascribed to any of the three categories could, reasonably, be matched by the same percentage of the total administrative cost for the same period. By doing so, one would:

- retain the discrete activity budget but, when reviewing the year's expenditure and reflecting on the time sheet analysis,
- identify the share of administration that directly supports activities, thus arriving at a truer cost of the development activity.

By way of a simple example, attending an SC meeting is administration. Visiting a location to investigate a possible activity is development. From a different angle, any function that is not directly applicable to a development activity (preliminary negotiation, formulation and implementation, including all associated paper work and travel) is therefore administration!

Operationally, these ideas offer one way to make MDP appear more cost effective. On a more strategic level, there is still a need to

have some sort of programme and budget framework to both guide and test MDP activities; the original idea behind the proposed business plan.

### Recommendation

That consideration be given to the idea of introducing weekly timesheets to the PU, the purpose of which would be to identify staff time allocated to (a) activity development (TM) or direct support (Admin' staff, typing material and undertaking direct logistics for an activity), and (b) administration (any function that cannot be directly associated with a specific activity), in order to identify the share of administration that directly supports activities, thus arriving at a truer cost of the development activity.

### **7.10 MDP business plan**

MDP management systems cannot be reviewed without mentioning the idea of a business plan. The interim evaluation of MDP recommended the production of "a practical strategically focused business plan". Since then, no substantive progress has been made. External support is to be supplied by the EU, to advise on the production of such a document. While understanding the justification for such a document (to bring focus, performance criteria and programming to MDP activities), it is suggested that the term business plan is a misnomer; it has therefore contributed to the conceptual difficulty and lack of progress.

A business plan has a specific function in a trading organisation (whether privately or government owned). It is required to define a company's;

- market,
- the gap in the market and hence the opportunity,
- the product to satisfy that market opportunity,
- the cost of producing that product,
- the sales expected from that product,
- strengths and weaknesses of the company and the corrective actions and costs, to sustain the product cycle (of introduction, growth, maturity and decline), and
- the expected bottom line; the excess of income over expenditure.

It is considered inappropriate to transfer business planning techniques to an organisation that is patently, not a business. Instead, a planning system that is more akin to public administration is considered more appropriate and more easily assimilated in MDP.

The following are a number of suggestions that MDP may want to consider in preparing (for want of a better term) a development

strategy. The development strategy must be conditioned by the strategic direction (to be) accepted for phase 2 of MDP. Thus and in sequence, the development strategy should:

1. State what MDP seeks to achieve by way of strategic direction; defining the weight being given to, for example policy / research and direct municipal support - THE FIRST PERFORMANCE CRITERION (testing reality with intention).
2. In aggregate terms, specify the envisaged outputs and impacts required from each area of activity; defining the immediate products envisaged from each area of activity (a strategy, better skills) and longer term impacts from, say, direct municipal support - THE SECOND SET OF PERFORMANCE CRITERIA (testing reality with the desired performance indicators).
3. Establish the extent of funding available for the duration of phase 2, offering indicative budget allocations (in summary form only, for the period) - THE THIRD SET OF PERFORMANCE CRITERIA (testing reality with intentions).
4. Develop the programme of activities for the first year (and thereafter, annually) in terms of (a) preliminary negotiation, (a) detailed project development, (c) implementation and (d) review [activity completion; end of activity; longer term impact - see paragraph 5.7] in terms of time sequence - THE FOURTH SET OF PERFORMANCE CRITERIA (comparing actual with planned timing of events).
5. Agree the budget for the first year (and thereafter, annually), showing detailed recommended expenditure for the desired activities (categorised by output; "strategy"; "techniques") - THE FIFTH SET OF PERFORMANCE CRITERIA (comparing real with desired outcomes).

By moving from the general to the particular; from policy to strategy; from programme to budget, MDP will have not only a development strategy but also an annual programme. The annual programme can then be used by the SC for internal (PU) monitoring (a quarterly cycle is standard practice) and end-of-year review, of performance. In turn, this would satisfy the formal annual reporting requirements that have not been strictly adhered to.

It is suggested that such an approach to strategic development and annual programming and budgeting will:

- overcome some of the expressed and implied weaknesses in the planning and reporting performance of MDP, by
- giving a formal structure to the annual planning and review cycle.

Further, it is suggested that such an annual cycle of planning and review should not be construed as a straightjacket. The ultimate strength of the process is that it compels MDP practitioners to recognise and be constantly aware of the inter-connections between the different facets of MDP as a capacity building organisation.

### Recommendation

That a development strategy be prepared, reviewed and updated annually, incorporating the elements set down in 7.10, and thus, offering the required strategic component to the annual programme cycle, already recommended in 7.6.

### **7.11 PU's structure in relation to its functions**

The structure of an organisation is (or should be) an accurate reflection of the functions it attempts to perform. MDP's external support and guidance functions work quite well (despite the specific matters referred to in 7.3. The administrative structure fits its functional requirements. What is open to debate is the structure of the development tier of the PU; especially the organisation of task managers.

At present, the function of TMs is according to the four areas of MDP activities. However, the analysis of the immediate accomplishments (3.4) reveals the following:

- The classification of activities is more accurately described by accomplishments or anticipated outputs, than initial subject headings.
- MDP outputs are dominated by policy / action / strategic plans, at regional and national levels.
- The central mode of capacity building, which pervades the vast majority of activities, is the training workshop.
- There is very little direct work with the municipalities.
- The strengthening of associations has already been delegated to IULA's African regional office

The suggested implications of this and the preceding analysis (especially in Chapters 3 and 4) are as follows:

1. The municipal development needs in the region must be brought back into focus, both from the contribution of higher order comparative analysis, and from the demand driven needs of the local councils themselves.

2. The new item of decentralised co-operation (the idea of technical linking between municipalities in the developed world and in the region - as opposed to mere civic relationships), should be seen as part of the drive to strengthen municipalities.
3. The role of training pervades both policy research (the dissemination of and debate on findings) and municipal strengthening (the exploration of solutions or the delivery of techniques).

The management, or more specifically the organisational, implications of this advocacy for a major correction in the outputs of MDP, to become more closely oriented to MDP's original and continuing goals, is therefore clear. A policy and research specialist is needed to satisfy that half of MDP's recommended future output (decision to agree and therefore to appoint, required). A municipal strengthening specialist is needed to satisfy the other half of MDP's recommended future output (new appointment made). A training specialist is required to satisfy item 4 immediately above. Together, the three task managers contribute their specific orientations (in a mutually supporting and legitimately overlapping way) to the general goal of strengthening municipal development in the region.

#### Recommendation

That the TM core of the PU, accurately reflects the strategic priorities of MDP, supports the more accurate output classification of MDP activities (?) and therefore, consists of three posts; a policy research specialist, a municipal development specialist and a training specialist, thus requiring the immediate filling of the currently unfilled policy specialist TM post.

#### **7.12 Conclusion on MDP management systems**

The TOR defines management in terms of the entire system of external advice, activity development and administrative support. Issues arise from both the strategic level of "structure, advice and outputs" and "operational processes". A number of recommendations are presented in this chapter, following a fairly literal interpretation of the TOR's structure for this topic. In essence, the conclusion is the need for MDP:

- to resolve matters in the advisory structure and to sharpen its annual planning and review system, and
- to tighten its monitoring and administrative processes.

The two sets of recommendations, under these categories and embodied in this chapter, are summarised in chapter 8, below.

## Chapter 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents tentative conclusions and recommendations to the second and final evaluation of the Municipal Development Programme (MDP). This preliminary report will then be revised on the basis of comments, clarification and elaboration during and immediately after the presentation to the Steering Committee in Kampala on 11th May, 1994. The Final Report will be submitted by no later than 30th June, 1994.

### 8.1 Conclusions on programme accomplishments

There are two major conclusions on programme accomplishments.

First, the common element in all the completed, current and future activities is the participatory, exploratory and learning process used in MDP's capacity building. It is this method of institution building, in order to arrive at the specific accomplishments, that is crucial when assessing MDP performance. That is the cutting edge of MDP work; the feature that distinguishes MDP from all other known capacity building initiatives.

This approach to municipal capacity building (whether at the strategic or operational level) must be nurtured and strengthened as a mode of ID intervention, and must not be lost sight of in the debate on the future institutional status of MDP.

#### Rec. 1 Recommendation (see 3.5)

That the direct relationship between MDP and its client PI's, and the consequent participatory, exploratory and learning process it employs to build capacity in weak institutions, should be regarded as a major strength, to be harnessed and protected in debates about MDP's future activities and institutional location.

Secondly, is the question of classifying MDP accomplishments. From the completed, current and planned MDP activities, a number of conclusions are offered.

- the classification of activities is more accurately described by accomplishments or anticipated outputs, than initial subject headings.
- MDP outputs are dominated by policy / action / strategic plans, at regional and national levels.
- The central mode of capacity building, which pervades the vast majority of activities, is the training workshop



On the face of it, what does not figure highly is the strengthening of municipalities, to help them improve their delivery of infrastructure and services.

#### **Rec. 2 Recommendation (see 3.5)**

(a) That MDP adjusts its concept of activity classifications from initial subject (e.g. training) to required output (e.g. action plan), as a more accurate reflection of MDP capacity building and therefore, as a clearer focus for subsequent impact analysis, and:

(b) That MDP looks carefully at its low level (though high quality) of support to municipal strengthening, in order to make adjustments to suggested outputs in a phase 2 of the programme, to reflect, more rigorously, the original municipal strengthening goals of the Municipal development programme.

The operational strengths of MDP, in its specific capacity building mode, must be borne in mind as a first test of competence and success. Yet, as all institutional development specialists know, the immediate output is merely the first test; the next two tests concern the practical impact on the institution to which the participating beneficiaries belong, and the resulting improvement in the provision of infrastructure and services for the community at large - the ultimate test.

#### **8.2 Conclusions on planned and actual outcomes**

Conclusions from the comparison of plan and implementation in the four principle areas of MDP activity are the following: (1) Many of the activities have been successful in the eyes of both organizers and participants and there is a sense of local ownership of MDP-sponsored products which suggests a potential for a longer term positive impact for local authorities. (2) MDP has advanced significantly towards achieving its goals as stated in the Programme Document, especially in the areas of policy research and training. (3) MDP support to municipalities has been of high quality but surprisingly low volume. The reason for this is likely to be found in programme design flaws rather than PU inefficiency. (4) Fourth, not much progress has been made in the area of strengthening associations of local authorities. Reliance on a single intermediary, IULA, has made MDP dependent upon the performance of this organization. IULA performance should be scrutinized; it cannot be taken for granted that African urban populations will reap any benefit from IULA operations.

Generally the production of outputs along the lines traced in the Project Document has not been problematic as such. What deserves attention is rather the relative distribution of outputs over the four areas of Program activity.

#### Rec. 3 Recommendation

That MDP redistributes its activities over its four areas according to clear targets, justifying the targets in an annual plan, links activities to output from its research agenda and ensures continuity and follow-up for each activity over a prolonged period.

#### 8.3 Conclusions on impacts on activity areas

Policy development Policy development occupied a large part of MDP's efforts and its single most universally appreciated feature was the pairing of researchers and policy makers in many of the events. However, much of the research is behind schedule and the communication of results should be more timely in order to have impact. The most significant improvements in policy research will come with the correction of Programme design flaws such as the mistaken choice of unit of analysis (nation instead of municipality), the absence of clear targets and schedules, the neglect of truly comparative research and the frequent lack of backward and forward linkages of policy research.

#### Rec. 4 Recommendation

That comparative research be centred on municipalities, be closely linked to and made available to all workshops and be published in timely fashion so that interest in MDP's research activity is maintained.

Training Training pervades all aspects of MDP activity. Thus, the mode of the training workshop is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The ends are essentially twofold: (a) policy frameworks and strategic plans (whether regional, national or municipal), and (b) capacity building for improved services delivery (essentially but not exclusively) at the municipal level.

#### Rec. 5 Recommendation

That training ceases to be categorised as an activity topic but instead, is recognised as the core capacity building discipline of MDP, pervading both central areas of concern (policy development and municipal strengthening), yet requiring a specialist, as part of a mutually reinforcing team relationship (see 8.6 below).

Support to municipalities While the impact of the two completed municipal projects is substantial in the first case and potential in the second, it raises the two part question of: (a) the need to build on this individually significant but generally very minor success (in relation to need), and therefore (b) to expand MDP's role in one of the primary areas (and reasons) for its original establishment.

#### **Rec. 6 Recommendation**

**That future MDP outputs raise the profile of direct strengthening to municipalities to be of importance, at least equal to the policy and research component, currently the dominant feature of MDP work (see 3.3).**

Strengthening of local government associations The essential conclusion is that MDP's goal in this arena has been transferred to IULA-AS. Given the wide-ranging challenge of this task, MDP's limited capacity and IULA-AS's need for a tangible role, such a transfer is not only legitimate, but also helps to sharpen MDP's focus on the remainder of its goals.

#### **Rec. 7 Recommendation**

**That MDP follows its (by now) established pattern of (a) leaving this field of activity to an appropriate intermediary organization such as IULA-AS, but (b) the activities of IULA-AS be scrutinized for cost-effectiveness, impact and general accord with MDP's own priorities, as part of an annual review process (see 4.1)**

### **8.4 Conclusions on programme design**

Much of the Programme's design and strategy has been vindicated. The strategy of focusing on intermediate levels of government, the design features which guarantee that the African voice and the locally expressed demands be heard and, the generally interactive, rather than prescriptive, approach towards defining activities have all been found to be appropriate.

However, the evaluation team takes issue with the vagueness of the Programme Document and with the notion that complete openness in substantive coverage and geographic spread should be counted as assets of the Programme. Quite the opposite, we see them as weaknesses covered by a commitment to "process" which raises significant issues in terms of achieving real impact at the only level where it counts - that of the ultimate beneficiaries living under conditions of poverty in African urban settlements.

#### **Rec. 8 Recommendation**

That MDP focus on a smaller range of issues and a smaller number of countries (which could follow a five year rotation). The energies freed by such limitation should be invested in (a) better and more appropriate research, (b) better follow-through for individual activities (c) more direct support of municipalities and, (d) careful planning of replication and multiplier effects for each activity.

#### **Rec. 9 Recommendation**

A three year evaluation of longer term impact, following continued monitoring, be undertaken as part of its third year of phase 2 to an attempt to trace the wider impact of its work, through the eyes of the PI's and ideally, with a measure of recipient involvement in such an assignment.

#### **8.5 Conclusions on contextual issues**

MDP has been a positive force in making the urbanization process a productive one. It has done - indirectly - no harm and probably some good in the areas of gender equality, environmental protection and poverty alleviation. But its approach to working with governmental agencies is not very sophisticated.

#### **Rec. 10. Recommendation**

That MDP pays more attention to achieving impact, not just outputs, when working with elected or non-elected agents of government, to the links between demand and need and, to the potential of non-governmental groups in carrying out functions ostensibly assigned to government.

#### **8.6 Conclusions on MDP management systems**

The TOR defines management in terms of the entire system of external advice, activity development and administrative support. Issues arise from both the strategic level of "structure, advice and outputs" and "operational processes". A number of recommendations are presented in this chapter, following a fairly literal interpretation of the TOR's structure for this topic. In essence, the conclusion is the need for MDP:

- to resolve matters in the advisory structure and to sharpen its annual planning and review system, and
- to tighten its monitoring and administrative processes.

While some items may appear mundane, an organisation can be made or broken by its routine procedures and reporting requirements. The two sets of recommendations, under these categories, are as follows:

#### **STRUCTURE AND PLANNING SYSTEMS**

##### **Rec. 11 Recommendation (see 7.2)**

That the basic organisational structure of MDP is sound, resilient and is able to cope with its future, subject to detailed adjustments, recommended below.

##### **Rec. 12 Recommendation (see 7.3)**

That the Technical Support Network retains its informal status and does not become a formally constituted sub-committee of the Steering Committee.

##### **Rec. 13 Recommendation (see 7.3)**

That after the May, 1994 meeting, the Steering Committee meets once a year, ideally in an African location, the first such meeting being in November, 1994 (to follow closely to the end of the financial year and its attendant reporting requirements - this recommendation being reinforced by new annual planning and review requirements; see 7.6 and 7.10).

##### **Rec. 14 Recommendation (see 7.4)**

That the decentralised relationship between the Executing Agency and MDP be strengthened with the transfer of the accounting responsibility from WB HQ to PU, thus not only retaining an arms length relationship but strengthening the African control of MDP (but subject to all the financial reporting and auditing safeguards, through the local resident mission).

##### **Rec. 15 Recommendation (see 7.6)**

That an annual programme, setting out the activities to be undertaken for that year, be prepared, with preliminary budget allocations per activity, and envisaged timings for the stages of the development process.

**Rec. 16 Recommendation (see 7.10)**

That a development strategy be prepared, reviewed and updated annually, incorporating the elements set down in 7.10, and thus, offering the required strategic component to the annual programme cycle, already recommended in 7.6.

**Rec. 17 Recommendation (see 7.11)**

That the TM core of the PU, accurately reflects the strategic priorities of MDP, supports the more accurate output classification of MDP activities (?) and therefore, consists of three posts; a policy research specialist, a municipal development specialist and a training specialist, thus requiring the immediate filling of the currently unfilled policy specialist TM post.

**MONITORING AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES**

**Rec. 18 Recommendation (see 7.5)**

(a) That MDP insists on an activity completion report being received by the PU, from the PI, within four working weeks of the completion of the activity, that in turn, the PU completes its end of activity report within eight working weeks of the completion of the activity (or four working weeks from the receipt of the PI's report, if later than specified) and that as part of the already required (and now reiterated) annual report, the PI presents a summary of the activity, noting (a) immediate outputs, (b) short-term impacts on the recipient institution and (c) the desired longer term impacts, through the PI, to the community at large, and:

(b) That PU opens a record file (beyond the day-to-day working file) for each activity. That file should contain three items only; (a) the approved Application for Funding Report, (b) a signed and dated Activity Completion Report and (c) a signed and dated End of Activity Report.

**Rec. 19 Recommendation (see 7.7)**

When selecting PI's, MDP and its SC have specific regard to (a) replicability of the outcome of the activity to other similar institutions, and (b) the multiplier effect in the spread of knowledge, derived from the MDP capacity building process, when selecting activities for implementation.

**Rec. 20 Recommendation (see 7.7)**

When selecting consultants, MDP and its SC consider (a) national experts first, (b) regional (SAA) experts are next, and (c) international experts last, when drawing up a list of experts for final selection.

**Rec. 21 Recommendation (see 7.8)**

That an independent private auditing firm be appointed immediately to carry out a financial audit of the first two financial years of its operation and that thereafter, the audit be conducted as a regular annual event.

**Rec. 22 Recommendation (see 7.9)**

That consideration be given to the idea of introducing weekly timesheets to the PU, the purpose of which would be to identify staff time allocated to (a) activity development (TM) or direct support (Admin' staff, typing material and undertaking direct logistics for an activity), and (b) administration (any function that cannot be directly associated with a specific activity), in order to identify the share of administration that directly supports activities, thus arriving at a truer cost of the development activity.

**8.7 A final conclusion**

There is no doubt in the minds of this evaluation team that MDP is a unique and highly relevant capacity building initiative. It seeks to make an impact on the endemic weakness of municipal institutional capacity, identified in the seminal text "Sub-Saharan Africa: from crisis to sustainable growth". The vast territory of this weakness and the understandable desire to tackle it all head on, has led to a dilution of the potential impact of MDP. This evaluation has therefore attempted:

1. to articulate the nature of this dilution,
2. to recommend ways to refine MDPs future outputs, in order to maximise its catalytic potential for replication and its harnessing of the multiplier effect, in order
3. to heighten the future impact, effectiveness and efficiency of MDP.

## Appendix 1.

## MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME : DEVELOPMENT REVIEW – COMPLETED ACTIVITIES

Ref.	Venue	DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY	Month/year	\$ Budget	\$ Actual	\$ Balance	Activity completion report (PI)	End of activity report (PU)
<b>POLICY</b>								
1	Nairobi.	Kenya local government finance study. Workshop.	Sept 1991	50,000	36,288	13,704	Yes. Very rewarding with enthusiastic participation.	Yes. Encouraged by the enthusiasm (no impact noted).
2	Maputo	Mozambique local government reform. Workshop.	Nov 1991		45,014		None.	None.
3	Windhoek	Namibia: local government policy planning workshop.	Oct 1992		45,777		None, but major workshop report prepared by MRLGH.	None.
4	Kampala	Uganda: local government decentralisation workshop.	Oct 1992		55,288		Yes. Great success with major policy impact.	None.
5	Map/Dar/Har'	Regional: central/local government relations. Research.	Started May 1993		62,139		None.	None.
<b>TRAINING</b>								
6	Mombassa	GTI-MDP regional training strategy. Workshop.	Oct 1991		53,298		Yes. Confirmed positive outcome through MDP.	None.
7	Dar es Salaam	Tanzania: strategic planning for CHS-ARDHI.	Jul/Sept 1992		52,859		Yes. Re-examined role and charted new course.	Yes. The dying institution is now rejuvenated.
8	Maputo	Mozambique: support to Centro de Formacao – training capacity.	Sept/Dec 1992	60,000	45,329	14,671	Yes. Confirmed invaluable catalytic role of MDP.	Yes. Identified discernible benefits to PI and PU.



9	Lilongwe	Malawi: Implementation strategy for local government training.	June 1993		24,000		Yes. A training strategy was developed. MDP was very useful.	Yes. Comprehensive training strategy now in place.
10	Lilongwe	Malawi: ID plan for LG department in Staff Training College.	June 1993		12,995		Yes (combined with above). A new LG training department.	Yes (combined with above). ID plan in place.
11	Lilongwe	Malawi: dissemination of THA management procedures to other cities Workshop.	July 1993		18,078		Yes. MDP extremely useful as facilitator of the process.	None.
12	Dar es Salaam	Regional: urban planning and management. Workshop.	Oct 1993	75,000			None (though major workshop report prepared).	None.
13	Swakopmund	Namibia: strengthening financial self-sufficiency of LG. Workshop.	Oct 1993		?		Yes. Focused on concrete solutions as first step.	None.
14	Kabwe	Zambia: training of trainers for local government needs. Workshop.	Dec 1993	34,941	34,941	0	Yes. MDP allowed genuine partnership in all phases of the activity.	Yes. New skills were developed and confidence created.
<b>MUNICIPALITIES</b>								
15	Lilongwe	Malawi: LCC THA procedures. Consultant.	April/July 1992	41,300	42,580	(1,280)	Yes. MDP acted as catalyst to LCC's efforts.	Yes. Importance of developing ownership of product (despite weak consultant).
16	Kwekwe	Zimbabwe: Kwekwe Integrated development plan.	Started Aug 1993		7,841		None (outcome of activity is the plan. Kwekwe to prepare report after plan completed).	None.
<b>ASSOCIATIONS</b>								
17	Mombasa	IULA-AS strategic planning workshop.	Oct/Nov 1991		55,219		Yes. A start to linking, training and strengthening LA associations.	Yes, but part 3 (on general assessment) not completed.

## Appendix 2.

**M.D.P. COST ANALYSIS FOR COMPLETED ACTIVITIES**

Activity	Total US\$	Partic'	P. cap US\$	
1	36,296	47	772	
2	45,014	98	459	
3	45,777	29	1,579	
4	55,268	275	201	
5	62,139	70	888	
6	53,298	22	2,423	
7	52,659	44	1,197	
8	45,329	26	1,743	
9	24,000	28	857	
10	12,995	8	1,624	
11	18,076	85	213	
12	75,000	28	2,679	
13	?	27	n/a	
14	34,941	16	2,184	
15	42,580	15	n/a see 3.1(15)	
16	7,641	16	478	
17	55,219	35	1,578	
<b>Totals</b>	<b>666,232</b>	<b>869</b>	<b>18,873</b>	
<b>Averages</b>	<b>44,415</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>1,258</b>	
<b>Without item 4.</b>				
<b>Totals</b>	<b>610,964</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>18,672</b>	
<b>Averages</b>	<b>43,640</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>1,334</b>	
<b>Expenditure according to original MDP classification (para. 3.2).</b>				
<b>Policy</b>	<b>244,494</b>	<b>519</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>37 %</b>
<b>Training</b>	<b>316,298</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>1,114</b>	<b>47 %</b>
<b>Municipalities</b>	<b>50,221</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>1,620</b>	<b>8 %</b>
<b>Associations</b>	<b>55,219</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1,578</b>	<b>8 %</b>
<b>Expenditure according to evaluation output classification (para. 3.2).</b>				
<b>Policy / ...plans</b>	<b>333,263</b>	<b>495</b>	<b>673</b>	<b>61 %</b>
<b>Training per se</b>	<b>98,596</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>18 %</b>
<b>Techniques...</b>	<b>117,580</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2,734</b>	<b>21 %</b>

Appendix 3.

**M.D.P. CURRENT ACTIVITIES**

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Information, as supplied by the Programme Unit (see overleaf).

The Harare urban poverty workshop of 1994 is considered to be current, in that no Activity Completion or End of Activity reports are yet available. Under strict definitions, an activity is complete only after both reports have been prepared.

Though the same is true of Kwekwe's integrated development plan activity, excluding it from the completed list (Appendix 1) would have meant only one completed activity in the municipal strengthening sector. As with all subjective categorisation, a degree of generous interpretation seems reasonable.

## Activities in progress

	Act.	Code	Description/Country	Implementation status	Estimated cost
1.	R3	PS-1-R	Policy Research and advocacy: Central/Local Relationships; Comperative studies in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Uganda, Tanzania	Preparation of publication	\$96,000
2.	R3b	PS-1-Rb	Policy Research and advocacy: Human resources development and capacity building; Comperative studies in Kenya, Swaziland, and Zambia	1st network meeting: April 25-26 Swaziland	\$96,000
3.	R17	PS-5-R	Regional consultation on "Decentralisation"	Q1-94 Paper being prepared for May	\$60,000
4.	R4	P-1-R	MDP Newaletter: Editing in progress	Next issue 1st May	\$30,000
5.	C28	T-1-T	Tanzania: IDM - Morogoro: Training Needs Analysis for Councillors in Tanzania	Q1-94 Final findings by April	\$10,000
6.	C3	IS-2-M	Institutional Strengthening of Training Institutions: Part II Malawi: Curriculum development for Staff Training College followin IS-1-M.	Q1-94 Preparations going on	\$20,000 (a balance on \$60,000)
7.	C12	IS-1-T	Zimbabwe: Kwekwe Municipality: Preparation of an Integrated Development Plan.	Q1-94 First draft ready	\$45,000
8.	C6	MS-1-U	Uganda: Institutional Strengthening of Jinja Municipal Council	Workshop for Councillors and Management 9-11 May, 1994	\$45,000
9.	R8	TW-2-R	Workshop on Developing Business Plans for National Training Institutions following the Regional Training Strategy Workshop, T-1-R	May 23-27, 1994, Botswana	\$40,000
10.	C21	MS-2-Z	Zimbabwe: Support to Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) to develop computer software for local authority accounting system.*	Q1-94 Activity already received by IULA-AS	\$50,000

11.	C27	SA-1-Z	Zimbabwe: Support to Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ) to produce a quarterly journal.*	Q1-94 Activity already received by IULA-AS	
12.	C22	SA-1-M	Malawi: Strengthening of the Malawi Local Government Association of Municipalities (ALGAM).*	Q1-94 Activity already handed over to IULA-AS	\$35,000
13.	R16	P-4-R	MDP First Phase Final Evaluation	In progress	\$120,000
14.			Study on Decentralised Cooperation initiative in Eastern and Southern Africa	In progress	\$100,000
15.	R15	P-2-R	MDP publications	In progress	\$20,000
16.	R18	G5	Steering Committee Meeting	May 12-13, 1994	
17.	R21	PAM	Programme Management	On going	

**Notes:**

Activities 10, 11, 12, IULA-AS has requested the Associations concerned to submit the revised budgets to enable MDP transfer the funds accordingly.

Appendix 4.

**M.D.P. SUMMARY BUDGET ANALYSIS**

Year	fy 92-3*	fy 93-4/1*	fy 93-4/2+	1/2y 94+
Total stated	1,148,000	859,279	944,721	370,500
Administration	202,000 18	225,006 26	389,721 41	190,500 51
Activities	821,000 72	546,273 64	510,000 54	160,000 43
Others	125,000 11	80,000 9	45,000 5	20,000 5
US\$	1,148,089	851,370	944,816	370,595
Percentage	100	100	100	100

\* Taken from proposed budget July 1992 to June 1994, Table 2.0.

+ Taken from budget of July to December 1994, Table 2.0.

