CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ISIOLO COUNTY, KENYA 1963-2015

BY

AGATHA MAKHANU

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF LAW ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (POLITICAL STUDIES) OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER, 2023

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature……..… Date……

AGATHA MAKHANU

C82/30951/2015

This thesis has been submitted for review with our approval as University supervisors.

Signature……..… Date……

Dr. Joseph Wasonga

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

Signature……..… Date……

Dr. Edwin Gimode

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

DEDICATION

To the memory of my loving daughter, Dosilaer Abondo Ambusso.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to sincerely thank the almighty God for granting me the life and strength to complete this research despite the numerous challenges. My sincere gratitude also goes to my friends and colleagues who assisted, encouraged and improved both my work and my life.

I would like to thank Kenyatta University for giving me a chance to pursue my studies and for providing an enabling environment. I acknowledge and thank Drs. Edwin Gimode and Joseph Wasonga, my supervisors, for their expert advice and illumination. I would like to thank everyone at Kenyatta University's Department of History, Archaeology, and Political Studies for guiding me on my path of learning about research.

Particularly commended for organizing the FGD sessions in Isiolo County are Mr. Joseph Seruko, Ms. Luciana Wanna, Mr. Franklin Mwiti, Mr. Noor Hussein, Mr. Peter Edong'a, and Ms. Amina Shedo. I want to express my gratitude to all the ICSO employees and beneficiaries who agreed to participate in the interviews.

Finally, but most important is my family for the support and love throughout my research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAK	ActionAid Kenya
ACDI/VOCA	Agricultural Cooperative Development International and Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance
AGOA	African Growth Opportunity
ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ASALs	Arid and semi-arid Lands
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CDI	County Development Index
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CSG	County Steering Group
CRA	Commission Revenue Allocation
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CRS	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CORDAID	Catholic Organization for Relief and Development Aid
DCC	Deputy County Commissioner
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DFI	Direct Foreign Investment
ERS	Economic Recovery Strategy
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FCDC	Frontiers Counties Development Council

FGD	Focus Group Discussions
G3	Gewehr 3 (battle rifle)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GOK	Government of Kenya
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPCI	Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative
HDR	Human Development Report
KHNDR	Kenya National Human Development Report
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
Km^2	Square kilometer
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KRCS	Kenya Red Cross Society
LAPSSET	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIDP	Merti Integrated Development Programme
MTEF	Mid-Term Expenditure Frame Work
MTP	Medium Plan Term Plan

MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NDMA	National Drought Management Authority
NEP	North Eastern Province
NFD	Northern Frontier District
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NRT	Northern Rangelands Trust
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OI	Oral Informant
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
R&D	Research and Development
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
TJRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WMS	Welfare Monitoring Survey
WTO	World Trade Organization

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Absolute Poverty	This is a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs including; food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, education, information access and income.
Accountability	This is the ability of citizens to hold leaders, governments and public organizations to account.
County Government	This is the unit of devolved government.
Climate Change	This is the shift in the climate caused by internal natural processes, external factors, or enduring manmade alterations to the atmosphere's composition.
Devolution	This is a legal transfer of authority from the centralized administration of a sovereign state to a local level of administration.
Development	It is a multi-dimensional concept that cuts across economic, social, political, gender, cultural, religious and environmental issues. Classical approach understood and measured development through increased economic growth, whose benefits would trickle-down to society. However, development in this thesis employs the human development approach, which perceives it in terms of improved standards of living. Thus, it emphasizes monetary measures and socioeconomic indicators of health, education, and economic status of people.
. Empowerment	This entails giving people the tools and chances they need to take part in the social, economic, and political growth of their society. It

	is also allowing the target group to initiate actions on their own in order to influence the process and outcome of development.
Good governance	Concerns the rules and practices of how governments are chosen and how state power and authority are exercised. It also concerns the ability of the state to undertake and promote collective actions efficiently.
Green Economy	This economy seeks to boost agricultural productivity by implementing scientific concepts in order to reduce environmental risks and ecological deficiencies.
Equity	Refers to individuals having equal opportunity to access the same resources, survive, develop and reach their full potential, without discrimination, bias or favoritism. Equity also recognizes differences that are earned fairly.
Equality	Refers to individuals having equal resources.
Exclusion	Open and deliberate discrimination by the state in their laws, policies and programmes.
Globalization	Involves the increased interconnectedness of different parts of the world such that physical distance becomes less of a barrier to free flow of ideas, goods, people and currencies in promoting and sustaining global integration.

Harambee	Kenyan ideology that describes pulling resources together for development projects
Human Development	This is development that focuses on three basic dimensions of life; health, education and income needed for a decent standard of living.
Inequality	This is the existence of unequal opportunities or life chances and unequal conditions such as incomes, goods and services. Inequality is mainly structured and persistent and leads to unfair and wide gaps between individuals, groups or households relative to others within a population.
Socioeconomic development:	The process of improving the economic and social conditions of people through conscious designing of policies that increase access to basic necessities and resources, reduce inequality, and promote sustainable economic growth.
Marginalization	The experience of exclusion and underdevelopment that pushes and unintentionally situates individuals and communities outside of the political, socioeconomic and cultural mainstream of society, limiting them from accessing resources, opportunities, and services and growing their capacities. It is the primary reason for both inequality and poverty.
Participation	Process of allowing local communities to increase their involvement in development decisions that affect their own lives, which they previously had limited control or influence in realizing self-development.

Pastoralism	Is both an economic and cultural identity. As an economic activity, it is an animal production system practiced in unstable rangeland environments where key resources such as water for livestock are scarce and unreliable.
Poverty	The most fundamental prospects and choice being denied. This includes living a lengthy, robust life and having access to education and an acceptable level of living.
State Capacity	The ability and authority of leaders, governments and public organizations to get things done.
Water Quality	Refers to the basic and physical characteristics of water that determine its suitability for human and livestock use.

ABSTRACT

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) generally have been promoted by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and the international donor community in the developing countries from the early 1980s because of the assumption that they might help resolve the socioeconomic crisis. This study interrogates the role of International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) in socioeconomic advancement of Isiolo County in Kenya between 1963 and 2015. The objectives of this study were to evaluate Kenya's socioeconomic policies in relation to Isiolo County from 1963-2015, to assess operations of ICSOs in Isiolo County from 1963 to 2015 and to propose a developmental framework that can synergize roles of both the state and CSOs for sustainable socioeconomic development in Isiolo County. The study used the Developmental State theory and the Social Exclusion theory to discuss the research findings. This study was premised on the assumption that state-led policies contributed to the marginalization of Isiolo County. This in turn led to the proliferation of developmental CSOs as the main engine of socioeconomic development because of the need of the locals. The study justification was based on the argument that although funding for CSO programs has increased alongside their explosion, effect of their work has remained marginal. Again, focus on socioeconomic development enables people to live long and meaningful lives. Therefore, an empirical study to explore the policies and practices of CSOs championing socioeconomic development in Isiolo County examines efforts made so far and identifies challenges. The significance of this study is to demonstrate that inequality and poverty are structural issues, which CSOs on their own cannot resolve without involving the state. This study used a descriptive and exploratory methodological design. It employed primary and secondary sources of data. Snowball and purposeful non-probability sampling approaches were utilized. To find ICSO officials involved in socioeconomic development, snowball and purposeful selection were used. Beneficiaries of ICSO programs and Key Informants were found using purposive sampling. In-depth interviews were conducted with ICSO representatives, while a semi-structured questionnaire was administered on Focused Group Discussions (FGD). Both open-ended and closed-ended questionnaires were used to gather qualitative and quantitative data. The study respondents were 298 in total. The researcher observed the necessary ethical considerations. In terms of findings, this study revealed that the Kenyan state had developed several policies to address marginalization in Isiolo County. Some policies applied to the entire country, while others were tailor-made to suit the unique ASAL biophysical features. However, some entrenched marginalization, while some were unsuccessful. The ICSOs therefore came in to mitigate the circumstances and have contributed to socioeconomic development of Isiolo County. Despite their large and prolonged presence, socioeconomic indicators remain low compared to other regions in the country. Also, the current complementarity strategies, where the state and CSOs are engaged in different approaches to socioeconomic development have not borne fruit. Therefore, this study advocates for state-CSO collaboration as the way forward in addressing socioeconomic transformation in Isiolo County sustainably.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

There are various definitions of civil society, demonstrating the complexity in conceptualizing the idea or entity. The modern conceptualization equates it to the third sector of society, serving as the arena for collective action on diverse societal issues beyond the state, family, and market (Clayton et al., 2000). For this work, we will utilize the generally accepted definition put forth by Diamond (1994; 2008). According to Diamond, civil society is the organized social activity that is voluntary, self-sufficient, self-generating, independent from the state, and attached to a legal system or a set of shared values. It involves citizens coming together in the public realm to express their passions, interests, and exchange ideas and information to achieve shared objectives, exert pressure on the government, and hold elected officials accountable. It comprises both informal and formal organizations, encompassing media outlets, universities, interest groups, economic, cultural, and religious institutions, as well as informational and educational institutions.

Diamond's definition closely aligns with that of the World Bank (WB) (WB, 2006) and the United Nations (UN) (UN General Assembly, 2005). All argue that all non-governmental organizations participating in public life and representing the beliefs and interests of their constituents constitute civil society. Examples of such organizations include community groups, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), labor unions, ethnic associations, charity foundations, and political, cultural, and scientific institutions. These definitions collectively emphasize that civil society refers to endeavors and institutions that are

independent of the state and operate on a nonprofit basis. The international community and the broader discourse on NGOs also view nonprofit and people's associations as components of the larger civil society. In African civil society, the principal actors are predominantly NGOs and social movements. NGOs are typically understood as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) (Clayton et al., 2000), and for this study, the terms NGO and CSO will be used interchangeably.

A similar perspective emerges when considering international civil society. Scholte (1999) defines global civil society as encompassing civic activity that addresses trans-world concerns, involves trans-border communication, has a global organization, and operates based on supra-territorial solidarity. Kaldor (2003) describes global civil society as an arena composed of activists, NGOs, neoliberals, national and religious groups, where they engage in debates, campaigns, negotiations, and lobbying for the arrangements that shape global developments. Keane (2003) characterizes global civil society as a conglomeration of transnational NGOs and associated social movements that operate on an international rather than a domestic scale. Consequently, international civil society also comprises the third sector, inhabited by global organizations such as International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs), which serve as the primary focus of this study.

Civil society, in general, has become a crucial feature of contemporary society, particularly concerning its political and socioeconomic objectives. According to Kaldor (2003), civil society was initially perceived primarily within a political context, especially during the Enlightenment period. It was associated with issues of civil liberties and government

oversight. However, it later evolved to encompass the social and economic realms, where Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) play a central role, as mentioned earlier. In Africa, during the 1960s, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) had a limited role focused on welfare and charitable activities, particularly providing social services in remote areas where the state had limited reach. This role was a continuation of the responsibilities of their missionary predecessors during the colonial period (Kameri-Mbote, 2000; Manji & O'Coill, 2002).

Nonetheless, starting in the early 1980s, civil society gained prominence, spurred by the failure of state-led interventions to achieve sustained macroeconomic growth and redistribution goals, despite initial success in the first decade of independence (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). The failure was driven by the global oil crisis of the mid-1970s, subsequent inflation due to the sharp increase in oil prices on the international market, and a significant drop in agricultural exports. This crisis led to both an economic downturn and a debt crisis resulting from increased external borrowing (Routley, 2014). As a result, the state began to struggle with its responsibility to provide essential socioeconomic services (Musamba, 2010).

Against this backdrop, beginning in the 1980s, the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) advocated for the implementation of market-based Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in African economies. According to IFIs, heavy government intervention was a major underlying cause of the economic crisis. SAPs aimed to promote the market as the primary mechanism for resource allocation while reducing the state's role in national

economic management. Conditions were attached to loans from IFIs, including the elimination of government controls, trade liberalization, privatization, and an increased role for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in political and socioeconomic development. Additionally, the adoption of the New Policy Agenda (NPA) by the aid community shifted official aid from states to CSOs, seen as less bureaucratic, more flexible, participatory, democratic, accountable, and transparent than governments (Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Hearn, 2007; Brass, 2011). With the projected reduced role of the state, CSOs were seen as the suitable entities to bridge the gap left by the state's diminishing presence and to bring about the desired change (Musamba, 2010). However, there is an ongoing debate about whether state failure necessarily makes the market an effective alternative, especially in emerging economies.

From the 1990s, SAPs failed to stimulate economic change, exacerbating poverty and limiting socioeconomic access. This had a profound impact on the welfare of the already marginalized (Murunga, 2007; Routley, 2014). The imposition of fees on social services and the removal of subsidies and price controls further aggravated the situation (Olukoshi, 2004). It is within this context that there has been remarkable growth in both local and international CSOs, ushering in a new era in their socioeconomic roles in developing countries.

Non-profit organizations play a crucial role in communities worldwide. For example, the United States of America (USA) is home to approximately 1.5 million CSOs involved in a wide range of activities, including political advocacy, healthcare, and education provision,

especially for marginalized groups such as the disabled and minority populations. These are concerns that states alone cannot fully address (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2021). In Europe, CSOs address the concerns of refugees and the displaced, providing essential services such as health and education, as well as support for vulnerable groups, including senior citizens and the homeless, whom the state and the private sector may be unable or unwilling to reach (Cherrie et al., 2017).

In Africa, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) provide various services in rural areas, slum areas within urban centers, and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), where socioeconomic conditions are often dire (Oyugi, 2002). ASALs, in particular, face unique challenges, including extreme climate variability, relatively limited natural resources, pervasive insecurity, political marginalization, poverty, and socioeconomic inequality, among other issues. These challenges are prevalent across several ASAL regions in Africa. For example, Ethiopia boasts extensive semi-arid regions inhabited by pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities. In response to these ASAL challenges, multiple CSOs work to combat environmental degradation, alleviate food insecurity, and enhance access to socioeconomic services.

Similarly, in Kenya, CSOs have taken a prominent role in ASALs, with Isiolo County being a prime example (Isiolo County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP), 2015). As per the Government of Kenya (GOK, 2008), this region has grappled with a long history of political and socioeconomic marginalization since gaining independence. Consequently, its socioeconomic indicators consistently lag behind other regions (Kenya National Human

Development Reports (KNHDRs) (1990, 1999, 2001, 2006, 2009, and 2013). This situation raises questions about the connection between the prevalence of developmental CSOs and socioeconomic development. This study, therefore, centers on the socioeconomic role of International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) and explores whether ICSOs, on their own, can sustainably replace the traditional roles of the state in providing socioeconomic development.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Since gaining independence, the Kenyan government has consistently aspired to achieve socioeconomic development for all its citizens. In the immediate aftermath of independence, the government adopted a top-down, state-led economic development model that centralized political and socioeconomic resources with the aim of accelerating economic growth. The state's primary objective was to attain sustainable economic growth, underpinned by a variety of policy strategies. The expectation was that this increased economic growth would lead to a more equitable distribution of its benefits, particularly in marginalized regions. However, despite these expectations, the social benefits of economic growth did not effectively reach the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), which include Isiolo County—a focal point of this study.

Efforts to promote socioeconomic development for the impoverished and marginalized populations led to a greater role for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) starting in the 1980s, as they were seen as a solution to Africa's socioeconomic challenges. This shift was in response to the emergence of neoliberalism ideology, which reduced social spending by

states. Donors began redirecting their funds from government projects and programs to CSOs, viewing them as better equipped to address the deficiencies of a weak state. Isiolo County, too, came under the dominance of these CSOs due to escalating poverty and limited socioeconomic development.

Despite the substantial presence and prolonged dominance of CSOs in advocating for socioeconomic transformation, the residents of Isiolo County still grapple with widespread poverty and limited access to socioeconomic resources compared to other regions in the country. This persistent scenario highlights a clear knowledge gap. The present study aims to address this gap by delving into the socioeconomic trajectory of the Kenyan post-colonial state. It critically examines state policies since independence and thoroughly analyzes the operations of International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) in Isiolo County.

1.3 Aim of the Study

To trace and determine the effectiveness of ICSOs in addressing socioeconomic development in Isiolo County between 1963 and 2015.

1.4 Specific Objectives

i. To examine the effectiveness of Kenya's socioeconomic policies in Isiolo County, 1963-2015.
ii. To assess operations of ICSOs in Isiolo County from 1963 to 2015.

iii. To propose an alternative developmental framework that can synergize roles of both the state and CSOs for sustainable socioeconomic development in Isiolo County.

1.5 Research Questions

i. To what extent has the state been relevant in the socioeconomic agenda of Isiolo County from 1963 and 2015?

ii. How have ICSO initiatives advanced socioeconomic development in Isiolo County?

iii. What kind of developmental model may be envisaged to improve the partnership between the state and CSOs in effective provision of socioeconomic development in Isiolo County?

1.6 Premises of the Study

i. State-led policies have not been effective in addressing socioeconomic development in Isiolo County.

ii. The ICSOs have initiated useful socioeconomic projects in post-colonial Isiolo, but fall short of realizing their optimum performance.

iii. There is urgent need for the state and ICSOs to develop a framework of partnership in order to maximize and fast-track the efforts to advance the socioeconomic agenda of Isiolo County.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

The role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) warrants thorough examination due to their prominence within the donor community as the preferred solution to the diverse socioeconomic challenges facing impoverished and marginalized populations. While funding for CSO programs has surged alongside their proliferation, their impact has remained limited, even in Isiolo County. Consequently, there is a need for empirical research to scrutinize the policies and practices of CSOs in the realm of socioeconomic development.

Furthermore, previous studies conducted in Isiolo County have primarily concentrated on aspects such as human rights protection, drought, famine, and security concerns among marginalized communities. In contrast, this research centers on investigating the underlying reasons for the persistent socioeconomic development challenges within Isiolo County and aims to identify strategies for surmounting these obstacles.

This study holds particular significance as it delves into the realm of socioeconomic development, which inherently intersects with human development. Human development is typically gauged using the Human Development Index (HDI), which assesses three fundamental aspects of human life: health, education, and income, essential for a decent standard of living. The framework of human development posits that heightened economic GDP growth should ultimately translate into improved overall well-being, characterized by reduced poverty and enhanced access to socioeconomic resources. Consequently, this study is poised to provide valuable insights for policymakers at state, county, and

community levels, as well as researchers and donors, enabling them to formulate apt recommendations and effective development strategies. Furthermore, the study contributes to the existing body of knowledge, rendering it a pivotal resource for similar studies on a global scale.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Isiolo County, a constituent of Kenya's Northern Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), served as the focal point of this study. The primary focus of this research was to analyze the role of civil society in driving socioeconomic development. It's worth noting that while the issue under investigation had implications for other ASAL regions in Kenya, logistical constraints made it unfeasible to encompass them within the study's scope.

An effective exploration of the state's performance and its evolution, as well as the factors contributing to the emergence of alternative service providers in the socioeconomic landscape, necessitated a review of the years from 1963 to 2015. Commencing with the pivotal year of 1963, this timeframe marked the onset of self-governance and held the promise of inclusivity and economic advancement for all Kenyan citizens. This period also encapsulated significant political milestones in the nation's history, including the transition to a multiparty system in 1991, the change in regime in 2002, the adoption of a new constitution in August 2010, and, finally, developments in 2015, five years thereafter.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

Some difficulties were experienced during the data collection process. Firstly, Isiolo County like most ASALs presents security threats to visitors coming from other parts of the country. This has been exacerbated by the Al-Shabaab, an extremist Islamic movement that is very violent toward non-Muslims. To address this challenge, the researcher used local guides who were well known to the community members. Secondly, the illiteracy levels among the pastoralist communities are very high. To overcome the problem, the researcher used translators who doubled up as research assistants and who assisted to conduct Focus Group Discussion (FGDs).

1.10 Literature Review

The literature review was organized based on the objectives of the thesis. The first section examined the socioeconomic policies in relation to marginalization of Isiolo County, the second section assessed the operations of ICSOs in socioeconomic development of Isiolo County and the last section proposed strategies that can synergize roles of both the state and CSOs for the socioeconomic transformation of Isiolo County.

1.10.1 Kenya's Socioeconomic Policies

Economists and policymakers worldwide acknowledge that states play a pivotal role in shaping economies, whether through direct intervention or regulation (Strange, 1996; Neugebauer, 2021; Salik, 2023). Nevertheless, the extent of state involvement remains a topic of ongoing debate, resulting in phases where states have taken center stage, alternating with periods when the market has held dominance, and times when both have

shared equal standing (Routley, 2012). In post-colonial Africa, including Kenya, the early 1960s through to the mid-1970s witnessed the state's significant involvement in economic development. During this period, formal policy-making and planning processes remained centralized and top-down, with economic Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita serving as the primary measure of development (Ahluwalia, 2001; Young, 2004; 2012; Zeleza, 2014).

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001), sustained economic growth remains the prevalent approach to achieving social outcomes like education, health, and access to water and sanitation. Consequently, sound policies and robust institutions play a critical role in this context (WB, 1997). Recognizing this imperative, the Kenyan government has, since gaining independence, anchored its pursuit of sustainable economic growth in various policies and strategies, including manifestoes, sessional papers, National Development Plans (NDPs), and economic strategy policies. Additionally, in 2010, a new constitution was promulgated to ensure the equitable distribution of resources. Despite these efforts, the question arises as to why the study of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is deemed necessary.

In 1965, the Government of Kenya (GOK) introduced a significant development ideology through 'Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965.' This blueprint identified poverty, disease, and ignorance as primary constraints requiring attention. It emphasized rapid economic expansion as a paramount goal of development, with the subsequent redistribution of social benefits to the population. The expectation was that these socioeconomic benefits would

eventually reach all segments of society, including marginalized regions like Isiolo County. Subsequent sessional papers included:

'Sessional Paper No. 14 of 1975,' which focused on cooperative development policy in rural Kenya, recognizing cooperatives' role in promoting small-scale agriculture through the provision of credit, farm inputs, and marketing facilities for members. Emphasis was placed on crops like coffee, pyrethrum, dairy, cotton, sugarcane, pyrethrum, maize, and horticulture, among others (GOK, 1975). 'Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1980,' introduced in response to Kenya's persistent economic problems, reiterated the importance of rural development by promoting small-scale farming and other non-farm activities (GOK, 1980). Notably, this period in the 1980s witnessed the introduction of neoliberal donor conditionalities, marking a shift away from heavy state intervention in the economy.

'Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1981' centered on national food security due to food shortages in the 1980s. This policy emphasized the production of foodstuffs like maize to reduce food imports and the promotion of drought-tolerant food crops such as millet and sorghum in the ASALs (GOK, 1981). 'Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986' outlined strategies for renewed rapid economic growth and macroeconomic stability, including enhancing the informal sector and restructuring the industry sector. Notably, this policy was the first to recognize and document the unique potential of ASALs in contributing to economic growth. It resolved to promote pastoralism in the ASAL regions (GOK, 1986).

The preceding analysis reveals that government policy initiatives were generally applied across the entire country until the 1980s when specific attention was directed towards Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs). This marked a transition over a decade after Kenya's attainment of independence in 1963. Notably, pastoralism, the primary livelihood source for ASAL residents, received limited focus, which is indicative of marginalization.

Another pivotal strategy introduced by the government was the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD). It emerged as a response to the declining living standards of citizens, as recognized by the political class, owing to the mismanagement of development resources. In 1982, the government established a commission led by Phillip Ndegwa, which culminated in the implementation of the DFRD in 1983 (Opata, 2004). According to the Government of Kenya (GOK, 1983), the DFRD aimed at decentralizing development planning and resources to grassroots levels. The objective was to allocate resources more equitably, particularly to less developed districts, including ASAL regions. This prompts the question of how Isiolo County, an ASAL region, benefited from this decentralization.

Additionally, the government formulated five-year National Development Plans (NDPs) during the intervals between sessional policy documents, serving as complementary strategies. The first NDP (1964 – 1969) was themed 'Redistribution with Growth' and acknowledged regional disparities, emphasizing the need for policies ensuring equitable economic growth across various regions (GOK, 1964). The second NDP (1970 – 1974), themed 'Rural Development,' made a formal commitment to transform rural areas by promoting small-scale rural industries and crafts (GOK, 1970). The third NDP (1974-

1978), under the theme 'Employment and Income Distribution,' focused on equity and employment generation to reduce unemployment and income disparities by expanding industry and tourism. It upheld the commitment to rural area transformation from previous NDPs.

The fourth NDP (1979 – 1983), themed 'Alleviation of Poverty,' continued to emphasize rural development. This Plan marked the first acknowledgment of the importance of harnessing the potential of ASALs for stock raising, crop cultivation, and wildlife, given the low socioeconomic indicators in these regions compared to others. The pastoralist way of life had received limited development attention, leading to socioeconomic plans aimed at improving the standard of living in ASALs. This included the introduction of the 'First-Generation ASAL Policy' (1980-1992) (GOK, 1979). Hence, it became crucial for this study to analyze the impact of this policy strategy on Northern ASALs, including Isiolo County.

The fifth NDP (1984-1988), themed 'Mobilization of Domestic Resources for Equitable Distribution,' aimed to complement the previously mentioned District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD). This Plan also explicitly identified the pastoralists in ASALs as among the nation's poor. The government proposed strategies like providing holding grounds, marketing facilities for cattle, and extending extension services, among others, to directly or indirectly improve their prospects (GOK, 1984).

The sixth NDP (1989-1993), themed 'Participation for Progress,' aimed to promote the growth of small urban centers like Kisumu, Kakamega, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri, Thika, and Embu due to their commercial and industrial development potential for the surrounding regions. Additionally, the government introduced the 'Second Generation ASAL Strategies' (1992-2002) aimed at promoting agricultural activities suitable for ASALs. It also proposed the establishment of a Special ASAL Development Fund to channel donor and government funding (GOK, 1989). This prompts the question of how effective this fund was in improving the living conditions of ASAL residents in Isiolo County.

The 7th NDP (1994 – 1996), themed 'Resource Mobilization for Sustainable Development,' emphasized economic liberalization in alignment with SAP policies. Significantly, it highlighted the plight of ASALs residents as the poorest people living in a harsh and complex environment. The government re-emphasized proposals from the previous plan to address ASAL challenges (GOK, 1994). The 8th NDP (1997-2007), themed 'Industrialization for Economic Growth,' shifted the emphasis from the government to private sector investment in industrial production, aiming to transform Kenya from a largely agricultural economy to a newly industrialized country by the year 2020. Concerning the ASALs, it proposed the use of low-cost and appropriate technical approaches to improve farming in ASALs, in addition to promoting mobile pastoralism (GOK, 1997).

An analysis of the above NDPs reveals that ASALs and their primary economic activity received explicit attention during the 4th NDP in 1980, as noted previously. ASAL

development appeared to be incorporated within agriculture and rural development strategies, as evident in the sessional paper strategy policies. However, despite constant references to ASAL potential, there seems to be a lack of consistency and continuity in policy strategies.

Due to the continued decline in socioeconomic trends, despite the aforementioned efforts, the government introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) for the period 2000-2003 (GOK, 2001). For the first time, the government consulted with pastoralists and committed to addressing past inequalities, reducing poverty, and food insecurity, along with infrastructural development and the implementation of a broad-based livestock development policy, among other issues. The government also pledged to bridge the gap in human resource development in ASALs by creating mobile schooling programs for pastoralist children (ibid). In 2003, the government adopted the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS) for the period 2003-2007. The ERS was credited with numerous socioeconomic gains, including reducing national poverty levels from 56% in 2002 to about 46% in 2006 (GOK, 2004). Significantly, the ERS policy proposed several programs to tap the potential of the ASALs and suggested meeting several poverty reduction programs through a Social Action Fund that would cover the ASALs (GOK, 2003).

According to the GOK (2008), the Vision 2030 strategy launched in 2008 replaced the ERS and aimed at achieving middle-income status for Kenya by 2030. This would be accomplished through the implementation of economic development programs in all regions, aiming to achieve a GDP growth rate of 10 percent per annum from 2012 and

beyond. Concerning the ASALs, Vision 2030 aimed to strengthen the foundations for development in key areas such as physical infrastructure, agriculture, and human resource development. In 2011, a review of Vision 2030, titled Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, was developed. This adaptation aimed to address the unique circumstances and challenges of the ASALs (GOK, 2012). Furthermore, according to the GOK (2012), the government introduced the first stand-alone policy on ASAL development, Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012. This policy document focused on three distinct policy challenges specific to ASALs: how to close the developmental gap between ASALs and the rest of the country, how to protect and promote mobile pastoralism, and how to ensure food security across the ASALs.

The new constitution, promulgated in August 2010, ushered in new hope by providing for the poor, the marginalized, and other socially excluded groups, as indicated in Chapter 4 on the Bill of Rights. This constitution decentralized the deployment of development funds through the Commission for Revenue Allocation (CRA) under Article 203(2). This provision allocated an annual grant of at least 15 percent of the national revenue to counties. Additionally, the constitution addressed socioeconomic inequalities through the creation of the Equalization Fund (Article 204). This fund ensured that 0.5 percent of the national annual revenue would be disbursed to the marginalized and poorer regions for a period of 20 years, aiming to enhance basic services such as roads, water, education, and health services (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). This redistribution policy aimed to help the least developed regions catch up by ensuring a higher inflow of government resources (Birch,

2018). It signifies a departure from the central government planning practices, aiming to distribute and allocate resources more equitably.

Scholars have also evaluated the key role of state policies in the post-colonial era. According to Omiti et al. (2002), the government has made significant efforts to document the causes, limits, and processes that create and perpetuate socioeconomic inequality and poverty. Nevertheless, these challenges persist due to issues related to policy formulation, initiation, planning, and program implementation. Nyanjom (2014) highlights that the government's successive policy strategies have not been favorable to ASALs in general, leading to the relegation of locals to predominantly livestock-based livelihoods. According to Odhiambo (2014), ASAL residents have had limited participation in political leadership, thereby lacking the opportunity to influence policy decisions and actions in their favor. However, this study focuses on both the government and International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) in the provision of socioeconomic services in Isiolo County.

The literature outlined above emphasizes the critical role of good governance in influencing socioeconomic access. Therefore, it is essential to understand the politics of state formation in the post-colonial era in terms of the distribution of political and economic resources. Additionally, there is a strong connection between socioeconomic access and sound policy. As a result, this review aims to interrogate the key policy frameworks from independence to the modern day to gain insights into how Kenya's post-independence socioeconomic policy and planning have addressed Isiolo County, the primary focus of this

study. This approach helps us contextualize Isiolo County's marginalization and the subsequent role of Developmental CSOs in bridging the gap.

1.10.2 To Assess the Operations of ICSO in Socioeconomic Development of Isiolo County from 1963-2015

According to the World Bank (1995; 2007), NGO work may be categorized as either operational or advocacy. Operational NGOs engage in the design and implementation of development-related initiatives, providing services in various fields, including disaster response, livelihood interventions, health, and education. Advocacy NGOs, on the other hand, seek to promote and defend specific causes, practices, or policies to transform people's lives and address policies and structures that perpetuate marginalization (Fowler, 2000; Manji & O'Coill, 2002; WB, 2007; Lewis and Kanji, 2009; Banks and Hulme, 2012). Hulme (2010), however, cautions that advocacy may not always yield the desired results. According to Lewis and Kanji (2009) and Banks and Hulme (2012), NGOs may also combine service provision alongside advocacy in practice.

Several authors have documented the benefits of CSOs engaging in advocacy alongside service delivery (Hulme and Edwards, 1997; Pieterse and Donk, 2002; Rehman, 2006; Hearn, 2007; Banks and Hulme, 2012). Hearn (2007) notes that during the early years, NGOs were encouraged to embrace a strong advocacy role alongside service provision and to forge alliances with broader social movements. According to Banks and Hulme (2012), service provision alongside advocacy promotes long-term structural change, as opposed to pure service delivery alone. Hulme and Edwards (1997) and Rehman (2005) argue that

poverty and unequal access to public goods stem from the structural order of society. Thus, changing the relationship between governments and the poor is crucial for building the foundations for sustainable transformation. In concurrence, Pieterse and Donk (2002) and Hulme (2010) assert that NGOs should challenge global and national structures of inequality that underlie the causes of poverty and marginalization. Therefore, Hulme (2010) argues that NGOs can promote macro-level structural changes through advocacy and lobbying the government for policy changes at the national level. A sole focus on the service-delivery approach, he adds, may lead to a shift in responsibility and accountability from the state.

Based on the above observations, it appears that CSOs can promote policy interventions to help restructure the fundamental sources of political, social, and economic exclusion of the poor and marginalized. Isiolo County, the focus of this study, as noted, is characterized by persistent endemic poverty and socioeconomic stagnation. This review concentrates on International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) in Isiolo County and seeks to examine how they have addressed these challenges.

According to Kanyinga (1995), Chege (1999), Oyugi (2002), and Kameri-Mbote (2010), in Africa, including Kenya, during the 1960s and 1970s, CSOs were fewer in number and less recognized in the implementation of projects or in policy influence. Most were perceived as small players in welfare provision, short-term relief, or emergency work. This was due to an unfriendly environment in which national CSOs were either co-opted by the state or emasculated, especially those that opposed the state. From the 1980s, as observed earlier, CSOs gained popularity due to the shortcomings of governments in terms of

socioeconomic development. Thus, the socioeconomic roles of CSOs have evolved as they have taken up the provision of basic services to local communities, such as healthcare, education, water, and the development of facilities used in providing basic needs services (health care centers, schools, and the construction of water sources such as boreholes, wells, and springs), where the state no longer meets the demand. These services are the traditional roles of the state (Chege, 1999; Kameri-Mbote Brass, 2008; 2011; Lewis and Kanji, 2009).

The phenomenal growth of CSOs has occurred alongside increased funding, as noted. According to Chege (1999), sometimes their funding surpasses that of their state counterparts. Edwards & Hulme (1996) observe that aid from the OECD to NGOs increased from 0.7% in 1975 to 3.6% in 1985 and at least 5% in 1993/4 (US$2.3 billion in absolute terms). The World Bank also increased the number of projects involving NGOs from 21% in 1990 to over 80% by 2011 (World Bank, 2011). Thus, the remarkable growth of NGOs has mostly been driven by the intention to improve the lives of the underprivileged and impoverished. According to the Government of Kenya (GOK, 2006), in 1974, there were only 125 NGOs registered with the government. By 1990, NGOs had risen to 400, and by 2006, there were over 6,000. As already noted, there were over 500 NGOs in Isiolo County for the period between 2014-2019. Therefore, the Kenyan state has allowed the increased registration of CSOs because it recognizes their positive impact on the lives of the poor. Thus, the need to study their contribution to the socioeconomic development of Isiolo County.

According to Edwards and Hulme (1992), the popularity of CSOs has been due to their perceived "comparative advantage" over the states. Smillie (1997) and Mercer (1998; 2002) note that CSOs were thought to be closer to the poor and marginalized than bureaucratic state institutions because of their strong grassroots links. CSOs were also thought to be able to reach the poor in inaccessible areas. According to Fisher (1997), CSO participatory skills gave them an edge in ensuring the sustainability of development projects, as well as their ability to innovate and experiment, which is challenging for state agencies. Furthermore, CSO resources, which are typically additional, help to "fill in the gaps" and serve as a response to failures in the public and private sectors (Bratton, 1990). According to Banks & Hulme (2012), advocacy CSOs have the extra advantage of promoting the rights of those who are politically marginalized, which helps promote good governance. These attributes in favor of NGOs as socioeconomic implementers are crucial. However, they seem idealistic and are general. This study sought to examine how they have been manifested in practice in specific ICSO work in Isiolo County, an ASAL region.

Scholars and researchers have assessed the significant roles of NGOs in socioeconomic provision in Africa. Manji and O'Coill (2002), Makoba, (2002), Oyugi, (2002), Okuku (2003), Lewis and Kanji (2009), Brass (2013), and Kaloudis (2021) agree that NGOs have made significant gains in Africa as they increasingly compensate for the shortcomings of the state and the market in service provision and poverty alleviation. Makoba (2002) opines that NGOs are providing self-help solutions to problems of poverty and powerlessness in many developing societies. However, there are apprehensions about NGO viability as long-

term providers of socioeconomic services for the poor. Scholars from the African continent have disputed the expanded roles of CSOs within the neoliberal ideals of a minimalist

Furthermore, several scholars have drawn attention to certain shortcomings of NGOs in general. According to Edwards and Hulme (1992), NGOs lack the capacity to conduct proper research, have poor networking with other NGOs, maintain a tenuous connection to the policy sector, and are underrepresented in recipient groups. The reliance of NGOs on donor financing, as noted by Okuku (2003), Oyugi (2004), and Amutabi (2006), often promotes foreign agendas instead of addressing the genuine and local concerns of the beneficiaries. Hulme et al. (2010) argue that NGOs lack the capacity to achieve societal transformation and empowerment due to deficiencies in their work. According to Cheema et al. (2010), Smillie (2010), and Banks et al. (2012), NGOs frequently lack transparency and accountability in their operations, placing greater emphasis on how aid is managed rather than on how development projects are implemented to fruition. Banks et al. (2012) also highlight the subpar leadership and undemocratic organizational structures within the NGO sector. While this material provides valuable insights, it lacks contextual emphasis and is somewhat generic.

This review examines International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) that focus on socioeconomic development in Isiolo County. These organizations encompass various areas, including education, health, water and sanitation, livelihood intervention strategies, and general welfarist activities. The evaluation of the effectiveness of these ICSOs is based on conventional human development indicators, which are developed and maintained by

bodies such as the UNDP and the World Bank to measure the level of socioeconomic achievement and development.

1.10.3 Literature on Alternative Developmental Framework that Can Synergize Roles of Both the State and CSOs for Maximum socioeconomic Development in Isiolo County

Several authors have observed that Kenya is among African countries with persistently low socioeconomic capacity (KNHDR, 2006; Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki, 2008; Brass, 2009; Routley, 2012). Consequently, NGOs increasingly fill the gap, particularly among marginalized populations. This holds true for Isiolo County. However, despite the presence of several developmental CSOs, this region continues to grapple with chronic low socioeconomic development, as noted previously. This suggests that the current dominance of CSOs may not represent the ideal solution. Given the stronger role that CSOs have been accorded in socioeconomic provision and the shift away from the period of state monopoly, I argue that a more progressive approach could involve harnessing the comparative advantages of both the state and CSOs within a capacity-building framework to maximize socioeconomic development in Isiolo County.

Various mechanisms and models support synergy between CSOs and governments. One such model is Najam's (2000) Four – C's, third sector -Government relations model, which is based on empirical findings from case literature worldwide. This model involves Cooperation, Confrontation, Complementarity, and Co-optation and is rooted in the theory of strategic institutional interests. Cooperation or collaboration is suitable when both the

NGO and government share similar ends and means. Confrontation is apt when both NGOs and states have different ends and different means. Complementarity represents cases with similar goals but dissimilar strategies for both states and NGOs, which is the most common practice in socioeconomic provision. Co-optation, on the other hand, involves dissimilar goals but a similar strategy for both the state and NGOs. Najam (2000) further argues that the government's attitude toward NGOs is critical, even when the government is a dominant player; the relationship should be a strategic institutional decision by both parties.

Kuijpers and Meershoek (2013) assess the benefits of state-NGO synergy, noting that NGO resources, like those of the state, are strained by increasing program costs and decreased funding due to stiff competition for support. They further argue that partnership among non-state actors and host governments is a long-term approach compared to individual NGO efforts, especially in addressing modern problems that require innovative approaches. Collaborative efforts offer impressive benefits such as increased available shared and pooled resources, both capital and human, networking, community involvement, and joint programs.

Lewis and Kanji (2009) emphasize that the positive impact of NGO work can be enhanced through cooperation with host governments, as governments significantly influence official development policy and control the economic and political frameworks within which organizations operate. Consequently, there is a need for productive dialogue to improve government policy and practice for the benefit of the poor, whose lives both the

government and NGOs aim to transform. This transformation often requires a long-term partnership, as the pace of reform is typically slow and challenging.

Several studies worldwide have explored successful State-NGO relationships. Bartley and Rose (2011) conducted research on collaboration between governments and NGOs to improve public service provision in healthcare, education, and sanitation sectors in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. NGOs in these countries often play dominant roles, with governments setting the framework within which NGOs operate and inter-organizational relationships being formed. Bartley and Rose (2011) found that NGOs were not passive actors in the face of operational constraints; instead, they implemented strategies to balance their need for survival, defend their organizational identities, and commit to their goals, ultimately influencing government policy and practice.

Barber and Bowie (2008) examined the practices of INGOs in Malawi and Afghanistan and identified prescriptions for achieving better results. They highlighted the importance of the predictability, consistency, and reliability of donor funding, which is often withdrawn without notice, disrupting critical activities in these countries. This issue could be addressed by ensuring that NGO boards include individuals with good access to donor governments. Udo (2008) documented partnerships between various intergovernmental organizations, INGOs, and the state, highlighting global bodies like the World Health Organization (WHO) joining forces with organizations such as the Malaria Consortium, Doctors Without Borders, and Medical Emergency Relief International to combat malaria in Africa effectively. Similarly, the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) worked

with national NGOs to enhance the quality and effectiveness of their efforts in ensuring food security.

Rose (2010) investigated non-state provision of education in four African countries (Burkina Faso, Kenya, Mali, and Tanzania), where education is increasingly prevalent even though it is typically viewed as a state responsibility. However, fragmentation in growth was observed, necessitating the need for coordination. Rose (2010) argued that education, as a public good, has distinct attributes compared to other services, and its role in national identity formation and social mobility can be used by governments to promote greater equity. Therefore, governments play a critical role in regulating and monitoring non-state actors to ensure that choice and competition do not undermine equity objectives.

The above discussions are significant to this study as they illustrate that state-CSO synergy is possible when both parties are willing to engage with each other. They also highlight the pivotal role of the state in ensuring the sustainability of socioeconomic provision, particularly in poor and marginalized regions like Isiolo County. While NGOs in Isiolo County have made substantial contributions to socioeconomic development, the current complementarity strategies have limitations. Therefore, there is a need for a model that can build on existing strengths while addressing deficiencies. This review argues that state-non-state relationships in practice in Kenya have not been adequately addressed, a gap that this study aims to fill. The study proposes a framework of policies and procedures for CSO-state collaboration, departing from the current complementarity strategies, to maximize

opportunities and strategies for the sustainable socioeconomic development of Isiolo County.

1.10.4 Theoretical Framework

Various theories on development have been advocated by policy makers since post-World War II. They Modernization, Dependency, Developmental State (DS) and Social Exclusion among others. This study is a critique of the modernization theory. It employed the DS and the Social Exclusion theories to evaluate the problem under study.

1.10.4.1 The Modernization and Development Theory

The modernization theory emerged during the 1950s and 1960s, with Walt Rostow (1960) being one of its most prominent advocates. Rostow's theory emphasized economic growth and development, asserting that there was only one path to development that all political systems should follow. This path involved introducing Western industrial technology, military and bureaucratic institutions, political and social structures, values, and mass communication systems. These elements were believed to transform traditional, backward agricultural societies into modern industrial ones. The ultimate goal was to enhance GDP growth, considered the primary measure of the modernization process (Nasong'o, 2008).

According to Rostow's theory, this transformation was expected to impact the political, economic, and social landscape of post-colonial states. Foreign aid, in the form of capital, technology, and expertise, was seen as a solution to the lack of productive investments in these countries. The assumption was that post-colonial states would progress along the

same developmental path, ultimately evolving into modern industrial democracies with free-market economic systems and democratic political structures (Neugebauer, 2021).

However, Sanchez (2010) argues that the assumption that emerging economies needed external assistance to modernize undermined local initiatives, fostering aid dependency. This, in turn, encouraged kleptocracy, wherein state elites misused aid, resulting in a debt burden for citizens and exacerbating socioeconomic inequality. Furthermore, the trickle-down economic growth envisaged by modernization theory often failed in most developing countries, leading to increased poverty and inequality (Ekeh, 2007). This study serves as a critique of the modernization theory.

1.10.4.2 The Developmental State (DS) Theory

Chalmers Johnson (1982) was among the first to employ this theory to illustrate the significant role played by the Japanese state in its developmental success. However, it was scholars like Mkandawire (2001) who laid the foundation for comprehending the modern Developmental State theory. Mkandawire defines a developmental state as one whose ideological foundation is rooted in developmental principles and is genuinely committed to employing its administrative and political resources to drive economic development (2001; 291). This theory underscores state-led development, not for its own sake, but as a means to attain economic growth. Such growth is coupled with elements of redistribution that result in social benefits, including improved standards of living achieved through increased employment and industrialization.

Mkandawire identifies two components that differentiate the developmental state from other state forms: the 'ideological' and the structural. A state is considered developmental if its ideological basis is developmentalist, meaning it views its 'mission' as ensuring economic development, often interpreted as high rates of accumulation and industrialization. The structural element indicates a state's capacity to implement policies wisely and effectively, relying on various factors, including institutional, technical, administrative, and political dimensions (2001; 291).

Mkandawire underscores the importance of state autonomy from social forces, enabling it to utilize its capacities to develop long-term economic policies free from the influence of short-sighted private interests. However, a developmental state must also have a social anchor to prevent it from abusing its autonomy and to establish a bond with key social actors. He refers to such a state as a strong state because it uses its administrative capacity and political resources to achieve its developmental objectives. Economic nationalism serves as the 'ideational' basis, where the elite must establish 'ideological hegemony' or a consensus around developmental goals that key actors in the developmental state voluntarily conform to (2001; 291).

This theory illustrates how the state can shape the socioeconomic trajectory through direct interventionist strategies rather than relying on neoliberal policies. Since this theory promotes the role of various relevant actors in development, the involvement of CSOs in promoting socioeconomic development is a topic that deserves further research. Furthermore, Africa has implemented various development policies falling under different

development theories. While the theories mentioned are some of them, they have not substantially contributed to Africa's development. Therefore, the continent's economic prospects may need to be redefined through another development theory: the Developmental State theory. Consequently, this study will be guided by this theory to understand its goals and strategies.

1.10.4.3 Social exclusion Theory

The meaning of social exclusion can differ depending on an individual's social and political perspective (Silver, 1994; Popay et al., 2008). This concept finds its origins in the ideas of French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1895), who placed a significant emphasis on fostering social stability, unity, and the role of the state in achieving these goals (Popay et al., 2008). In the context of the French focus on the organic and solidaristic structure of society, social exclusion is viewed as the rupture of social ties (de Haan, 1998), leading to a failure in maintaining societal cohesion (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997). Such a rupture stands in contrast to French Republican principles (Silver, 1994). The contemporary concept in development discourse first emerged in the 1970s, describing various social groups that were overlooked by France's employment-based social security system (René Lenoir, 1974). Following a period of political and economic crises, along with governmental restructuring impacting the labor market, marginalized groups such as the elderly and physically disabled became excluded from society. Consequently, they were denied the rights of social citizenship, leading to the creation of new social policies to address this issue (Labonte et al., 2011; Popay et al., 2008).

Hillary Silver's work (1994) comprehensively identifies three paradigms of social exclusion: solidarity, specialization, and group monopolies. Each of these paradigms has its roots in distinct theoretical and political ideologies: Republicanism, liberalism, and social democracy, respectively. The solidarity paradigm portrays social exclusion as the disintegration of cultural and moral connections between individuals and society rather than an economic disconnection. According to the specialization paradigm, social exclusion results from unenforced rights and market imperfections. The monopoly paradigm perceives social systems as hierarchical, with varying degrees of power distributed among different social groups. Powerful groups typically have access to resources and opportunities, which they restrict for other groups. Group monopolies are seen as the cause of exclusion. Within this perspective, the marginalization of Isiolo County can be better understood. Consequently, human deprivation is not viewed as a technical issue that can be attributed solely to individuals; it primarily focuses on social power dynamics and the actors, processes, practices, and procedures that exclude and deprive specific groups (de Haan, 1998).

Duffy (1995) contends that social exclusion extends beyond poverty, encompassing low material status, the inability to engage meaningfully in socioeconomic, political, and cultural life, and, in some cases, feelings of alienation and seclusion from the majority of society. Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) claim that social exclusion has multiple dimensions and involves depriving specific demographic groups of their political and socioeconomic rights. These rights encompass personal safety, the rule of law, freedom of expression, political participation, and equal opportunities. The economic dimension focuses on exclusion from employment and income, which directly impacts the ability to meet basic

needs. Exclusion from decision-making processes is a vital component of the social dimension. According to Walker et al. (1997), this concept implies several chronic and systematic deprivations. Social exclusion is seen as the opposite of social integration, reflecting the value placed on belonging to and being "included" in society (de Haan, 2001).

While de Haan (1998) and Popay et al. (2008) agree on the distinguishing qualities of social exclusion, it is essential to note that despite having numerous interpretations, social exclusion is multidimensional, dynamic (with varying effects over time and across social levels), and relational (arising from unequal social relationships characterized by differential power). As a result, it necessitates research in its specific context, focusing on its causes and effects and applying suitable solutions (ibid). Although this idea gained prominence in the Western world starting in the 1980s, resulting in changes in social policy (de Haan, 2001), applying it to developing nations characterized by poor governance, limited welfare programs, largely unregulated economies, and a significant portion of the population living in poverty might pose challenges (Popay et al., 2008). Nevertheless, this theory remains crucial as it provides insights into the role of the state in the structural causes of inequality and deprivation in Isiolo County. The historical limited access to socioeconomic services resulted from the marginalization of successive governments from the mainstream political and socioeconomic agenda. Because pastoralism, the primary source of income in ASALs has been discounted, pastoralists have been prohibited from participating in the labor market. However, as the government recognizes the link between social exclusion, socioeconomic inequality, and poverty, it has initiated programs to help ASALs overcome marginalization (GOK, 2008).

1.10.5 Research Methodology

This section of the research manuscript delves into the methodology employed. It encompasses the delineation of the research context, the target population, the sample size and the methods of selection, the research instruments, the procedures for data collection and analysis, as well as an examination of ethical considerations. The overarching research approach is firmly qualitative, firmly rooted in the social constructionist paradigm, and primarily relies on data collection in a naturalistic setting. The study's data collection and subsequent interpretation center on capturing the perspectives, emotions, and values of individuals, as it inherently revolves around a deep-seated exploration of human experiences (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

1.10.5.1 Research Design

This research employed a mixed method exploratory sequential research design. Hence, the research design is essentially descriptive though quantitative data is collected and analyzed to augment and explain certain aspects of the problem under investigation (Creswell, 2014). This design was useful because it offers flexibility in exploring answers to the various research questions (ibid).

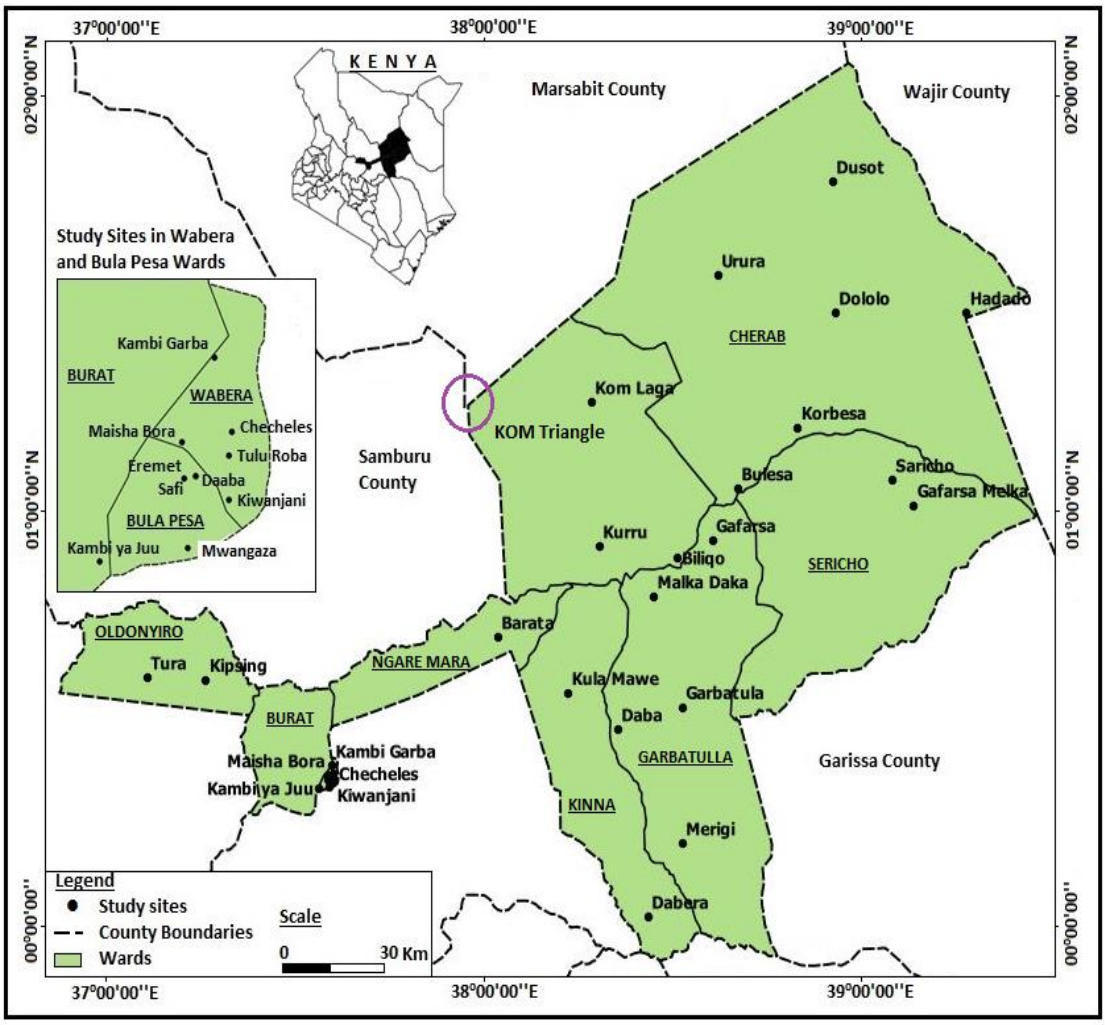
1.10.5.2 Research Location and Study Sites

This study took place in Isiolo County **(Figure 1.1),** with an area of 25,605square kilometers. To the northwest, it borders Marsabit and Samburu counties. To the east, it borders Wajir and Garissa counties, all predominantly pastoralist communities. To the

south, it borders Laikipia, Meru and Tana River counties. The Ewaso Nyiro River provides watering points for animals and small-scale agriculturalists (GOK, 2004). The choice of Isiolo County was occasioned by the need to interrogate the contribution of ICSOs in socioeconomic development. Although there are several ASAL regions, Isiolo County has experienced an astounding growth of CSOs. As noted, over 100 ICSOs are engaged in socioeconomic development alone in this county. The financial resources that ICSO command are enormous and therefore it was significant to interrogate how they have transformed this region.

Isiolo County has two constituencies (Isiolo North and Isiolo South), three sub-counties (Isiolo, Merti and Garba Tulla), six divisions as per the administrative roles (Merti,Central, Oldonyiro, Garba Tulla, Kinna and Sericho) and ten wards **(see figure 1.1)**. The three ecological zones in Isiolo County are; semi-arid, arid, and very arid. The Central and Kinna divisions are semi-arid, the Central and Garbatulla divisions are arid, and the Merti and Sericho divisions are in an extremely arid zone. The yearly average rainfall of 580.2 mm is infrequent and unpredictable. There is high food insecurity (GOK, 2012).

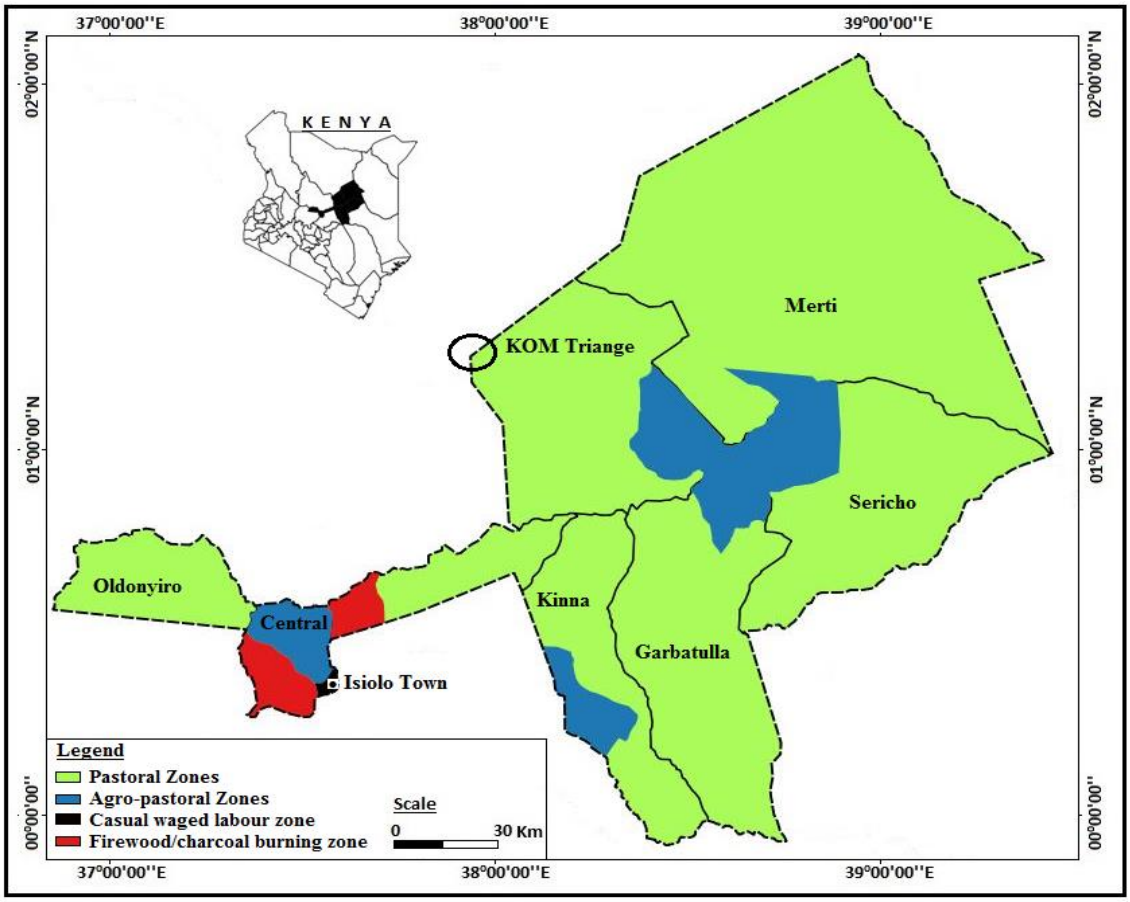
Figure 1.1: Map of Isiolo County (Administrative Boundaries and Research Sites)



Source GOK (2008)

According to Figure 1.2, Isiolo County has four different livelihood zones; pastoral zones, casual zones, agro-pastoral zones, and firewood/charcoal burning zones. Most of the local communities (approximately 59%) reside in rural areas (GOK, 2009).

Figure 1.2: Livelihood Zones in Isiolo County



Source: World Food Programme

Isiolo County has a total population of 143,294 KNBS, as of the results of the population census that was conducted in 2009 (KNBS, 2010). The inhabitants include; the Borana (the majority), Somali, Samburu, and Turkana, who are mobile pastoralists, the Ameru who are sedentary agro-pastoralist, the Sakuye, Rendille and Gabra and immigrants from other parts of the country who work as government civil servants, in NGOs or as business people (GOK, 2008).

1.10.5.3 Study Population

The target population included the entire world of civil society working in Isiolo County that engage in socioeconomic development, ICSO officials, state officials, developmental agencies playing in the field of socioeconomic development and beneficiaries of ICSOs projects and programmes as well as Key Informants.

1.10.5.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Snowball sampling and non-probability purposive sampling were employed to identify ICSOs officials who were involved in the delivery of socioeconomic services. A list of NGOs that are based in Isiolo County was attained from the NGO Board headquarters, which is based at the Cooperative House in Nairobi. The researcher purposely selected only NGOs engaged socioeconomic development. NGO officials identified also provided contact details of similar organizations known to them. As a result, the researcher was able to access 47 ICSO representatives. To find the ICSO beneficiaries, purposive sampling was utilized. The FGDs were organized in groups of between 8 and 10 people totaling to 30 groups. There were both men and women in the FGDs. Key informants in the study were identified using a purposeful sampling technique. Summary of informants is shown in Table 1.1:

Table 1.1: Summaries of Categories of Informants

Category	**Number**
ICSO officials	47
FGD discussants	240

Key Informants	11
Total	**298**

1.10.5.5 Research Instruments

The study used a questionnaire, interview schedule, and audio recorder as its research tools. A questionnaire is a type of research tool that consists of a series of inquiries or directives intended to elicit data from respondents. Usually, there is a balance of closed and open-ended questions. In contrast to closed-ended questions, which can only be replied with a single word or by selecting from a small list of options, Open-ended questions allow respondents to elaborate their ideas in great depth. A series of structured questions that have been created as a guide for interviewers on a particular subject is known as an interview schedule Mugenda and Mugenda (2003).

1.10.5.6 Validity and Reliability

The data collection instruments were meticulously constructed to reduce both the researcher's and respondents' prejudices in order to assure reliability and validity. To guarantee that the assessment methods accurately reflected the material that the tests were intended to measure, the study used content validity. The supervisors looked over and validated the research tools for clarity and validity.

1.10.5.7 Methods of Data Collection

The data required for the study was gathered from both secondary and primary sources. Primary data was obtained through, questionnaires, interview schedules, direct

observation, FGDs and Key Informant Interviews. Both closed-ended and open-ended questions were used.

Preparation of the Fieldwork

Actual fieldwork took place between January and May 2019. First, the researcher visited the NGO Board headquarters between January and February 2019. The purpose was to access data on NGOs working in Isiolo County. The researcher obtained a list of NGOs that had filed their annual returns in the previous five years (2014-2019). This totaled to 147 International CSOs (ICSOs) and 100 national CSOs for the period. Out of the 147 ICSOs, 72 met the specifications as they were engaged in socioeconomic service provision. The Head of Research explained that NGO turnover was very high and the database was very huge. Thus, data could only be accessed for five-year periods (Key Informant, Ms. Jemima Muraya, OI, 05/01/2019).

Between April and May 2019, the researcher went to the county commissioner's office in Isiolo County. The goal was to get consent, talk about the purpose of the research, and find possible ICSO offices as well as Key Informants. I located research assistants, potential Key Informants, and their contacts with the aid of contacts. We reviewed logistical concerns and potential villages that could offer the needed data with the contact individuals, as well as discussed the study's financial and schedule constraints. My accommodation was also identified. I trained the assistant researchers on how to collect data from ICSO beneficiaries and we had a mock session in this regard. Thus, thirty villages were identified as shown in Figure 1.1. The beneficiaries were grouped in FGDs of between

8 to 10 members as noted. These were both men and women. Following these meetings, fieldwork commenced.

Focus Group Discussions

An open and closed-ended questionnaire guide was administered to the FGDs among targeted beneficiaries of ICSO socioeconomic programmes. The researcher used the services of research assistants from the local communities, due to language barrier and security concerns. These assistants were trained before the actual collection of data. Each group had between 8 to 10 participants who were selected purposively in the geographical location of ICSO projects. The FGDs were homogenous in terms of socioeconomic status and community engagement and had direct involvement in the issues of interest.

Interview Schedules

An open-ended questionnaire was administered through face-to-face interviews with ICSOs officials who engage in socioeconomic programmes in Isiolo town or Nairobi after prior arrangements. I also collected data through audio recording, phone interviews and email communication as an alternative for those who could not be reached physically but were willing to be interviewed. Email communication yielded 5 returns out of a posting of 15 requests. These methods were applied concurrently with interviews. Note-taking was used in obtaining information from the respondents.

Direct Observation

During visits to ICSO offices in Isiolo town, direct non-participant observations were made. This is a technique for observing people's actions or the environment covertly

(Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The researcher discovered that there were a number of infrastructure improvements underway in Isiolo town and that there were other pursuits besides raising livestock as evidenced by the large number of people engaged in small-scale companies. Although these observations did not directly add to the data needed for the study, they did allow me to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the socioeconomic and cultural settings of the study county.

Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted with residents of the study region who were knowledgeable about the subject and open to sharing information. The goal was to better comprehend the study's challenges using the information from the key informants, while also helping to validate and explain information from other sources. A total of 11informants were interviewed and included; the Head of Research, NGO Board, Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS) programme coordinator, Deputy County Commissioner (DCC) (Isiolo county), the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA) County coordinator, a village elder, (*Kambi ya juu*, Bula Pesa ward) a chief (Burat Location, Burat ward), a retired teacher, Isiolo Town, Livestock Officer, UNDP official, Clerk, County Early Warning Information Systems, Programme officer- Merti Integrated Development Program (MIDPI), Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs.

Secondary Sources

I used various approaches for evaluating documents and conducting content analysis. The sources examined included, but were not limited to, the media reports, books, journals, magazines, articles, unpublished theses and dissertations, pamphlets, periodicals,

newspapers and documentation of already existing developmental CSOs. The internet and libraries were used. All acquired data were handled with caution. Primary data from the field complemented this study.

1.10.5.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation

To prevent the loss of crucial data, data collecting and analysis began concurrently in the field. The gathered information was categorized in accordance with the study's objectives. Then it was transcriptioned, edited, and coded systematically. In order to determine whether or not the information that was acquired is reliable, primary and secondary data were both correlated with one another. The qualitative data was looked at in light of the themes that emerged from the research objectives. The open-ended questions included in the study instruments served as the basis for this. Quantitative information from closed-ended questions was used to supplement this and was analyzed and presented using tables, graphs, and percentages to provide a quick overview. By using direct quotes, I was able to ensure that the precise meaning of the statements given by the informants did not become muddled up in the translated text. Finally, conclusions and suggestions based on deductive and inductive reasoning have been reached.

1.10.5.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The Department of History, Archaeology, and Political Studies at Kenyatta University, the County administration in Isiolo County, and the National Council of Science and Technology all granted authorization before the researcher began collecting data. Interview appointments were honored so that the respondents may plan their time. Additionally, the

researcher got each participant's approval before interviews commenced. The confidentiality of the provided information before commencement of any interviews was guaranteed by the researcher.

CHAPTER TWO

KENYA'S SOCIOECONOMIC POLICIES IN RELATION TO NORTHERN ASALS OF KENYA, 1963-2015

2.1 Introduction

This chapter delves into an examination of the effectiveness of Kenyan policies in addressing the socioeconomic development of the Northern ASALs, with a particular focus on Isiolo County, which is the central point of interest in this study. In order to grasp the

contextual landscape within the area of research focus, it is crucial to comprehend the dynamics of state formation in the post-colonial era, especially concerning the allocation of political and economic resources. As per the existing literature, the broader issue of marginalization and exclusion that characterizes the society at large is fundamentally entrenched in the politics of post-colonial state reconstruction. This is notably evident in the phenomenon of elite capture, wherein the socioeconomic development processes and institutions are primarily co-opted by the socio-political elite, to the detriment of the wider population. Consequently, the emergence of neoliberal policies, championed by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), came into play after the stalling of state-led socioeconomic development. These neoliberal policies accentuated the reduction of the state's role in this sphere, while concurrently promoting the empowerment and expansion of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) as an alternative, especially for addressing the needs of the impoverished and marginalized.

This chapter is structured into two sections: the first part encompasses a comprehensive exploration of the historical developments in post-colonial Africa, with a more specific focus on the Kenyan context. To address this subject, a combination of primary and secondary data sources has been employed. The significance of this chapter lies in its capacity to delineate the intricate interplay between governmental policies and the marginalization experienced by the Northern ASALs. It also sheds light on the substantial presence of developmental CSOs in the region and their integral role in facilitating socioeconomic development. The chapter draws from a dual wellspring of primary and

secondary sources, underpinned by the framework of the social exclusion theory. This theory accentuates the pivotal role of the state in remedying the structural underpinnings of inequality and poverty within society. Furthermore, it illustrates how the decision-makers within the state apparatus have perpetuated the exclusion of Northern ASALs from essential resources and opportunities that are accessible to other segments of society, thereby contributing to their exclusion from various socioeconomic, political, and cultural activities within the state.

2.2 Historical Development of Post-Colonial States in Africa

The era of African independence was marked by a sense of optimism, driven not only by the prospect of self-governance but also by the anticipation of rapid socioeconomic development, job creation, and an improved standard of living for the population (Mukandawire, 2001; Olukoshi, 2004; Zeleza, 2014). As suggested by Brass (2013) and Zeleza (2014), African leaders established their legitimacy on the promise of delivering these political benefits, as colonial policies had been harsh and exclusionary, to the detriment of indigenous communities.

However, post-independence, most African states grappled with the dual challenges of economic development and nation-building. These states inherited economically feeble structures from the colonial era and were characterized by multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious populations (Alex, 2002). As noted by Hornsby (2012) and Zeleza (2014), the African economy was predominantly driven by agricultural raw commodities, resulting in limited industrialization. Alex (2002) argues that this situation hindered the immediate

economic progress of many African states. It's evident that African states encountered challenges on the global economic stage from the very beginning.

The task of nation-building, on the other hand, involved the unification of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious societies. Ethnic diversity was initially considered a hindrance that needed to be eradicated (Olukoshi, 2004). Alex (2002) and Hornsby (2012) argue that the challenge of ethnicity was rooted in colonial policies of 'divide and rule.' Furthermore, colonial rule failed to cultivate a collective African consciousness, instead adopting a highly bureaucratic and authoritarian approach. Yet, the newly independent governments inherited liberal institutions and practices that were expected to uphold good governance through the separation of powers, pluralist democracies, and the rule of law. According to Alex (2002), preserving such liberal ideals seemed unlikely.

To address these twin challenges, many nation-states turned to single-party rule with the centralization of political and economic power, with exceptions like Mauritius and Botswana. Some countries, including Nigeria, Sudan, and Zaire, saw periods of military rule (Young, 2012). African leaders, such as Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, vocally defended the one-party systems. Their arguments included the claim that multiparty systems were foreign and would exacerbate ethnicity, which was viewed as detrimental to development and national unity (Ahluwalia, 2001; Zeleza, 2014). Economically, African states adopted the Keynesian principles of an active state, leading to state-led programs for economic and social modernization. As noted by Young (2012), this era saw nationalization and indigenization of colonial corporations, resulting in about

eighty percent of medium and large-scale economic activity being in the public sector by the mid-1970s. With the state playing an increasingly central role in the economic and public sectors, many parastatals were established to manage these responsibilities. This period demonstrated a commitment to developmentalism and the pivotal role of the public sector in post-independence socioeconomic development.

Hornsby (2012) further points out that the agricultural sector witnessed significant growth, with surpluses expected to serve as a resource base for industrialization. Import substitution industrialization policies were introduced as various industrial plants were launched as state initiatives. These aspirations by African leaders aimed to promote and safeguard domestic industries in a highly competitive global market, in line with the developmental state policy of 'catching up' for 'late industrializing' states. Industrialization was seen as the key to modernization, potentially resulting in significant GDP growth that would benefit all segments of society, a concept in line with modernization theory. Services like education and healthcare were provided either free of charge or at subsidized rates, exemplifying successful developmentalism as proposed by Mkandawire (2001).

These developments underscore the pivotal role of the post-colonial state in both political and socioeconomic development. However, despite the transfer of political power to indigenous leadership, the structure and functions of the state remained largely unchanged, reminiscent of the colonial era (Zeleza, 2014). From the mid-1970s onwards, developmentalism began to falter due to a combination of internal and external factors. Consequently, the envisaged replication of the European model was undermined.

Numerous scholars attribute state failure to the particularities of post-colonial states, stemming from the centralized dominance of single-party political rule. They contend that state institutions weakened as political power became concentrated within a dominant presidency. This gave rise to authoritarianism, perpetuating the rule of the incumbent leadership, contrary to the ideals of liberal democracy (Bates, 1981; Alex, 2002; Ahluwalia, 2001; Young, 2004; Olukoshi, 2004; Hornsby, 2012).

Hornsby (2012) explains that liberal democratic institutions conferred legitimacy upon the state, underpinned by constitutional governance and state institutions established in accordance with legal authority, for the execution of government duties. As the centralization of state power eroded this legitimacy, an alternative nexus emerged between the state elite, the governed, and various interest groups. This gave rise to patronage politics, influencing the distribution of public resources. As Bates (1981), Alex (2002), Ahluwalia (2001), Young (2004), Olukoshi (2004), and Hornsby (2012) observe, patronage contributed to the marginalization of specific segments of society who were not aligned with the government in terms of the distribution of public resources.

Mkandawire (2001) argues that the failure of the state to distance itself from society affected its macroeconomic structures and the overall governance system due to primitive wealth accumulation. Hornsby (2012) contends that ruling elites in such regimes diverted significant public resources for patronage purposes, deviating from genuine development pursuits. Consequently, vices like ethnicity and corruption escalated as leaders sought to consolidate their power and amass personal wealth. Scholars have also referred to this

phenomenon as patrimonialism, neopatrimonialism, prebendalism, cronyism, kleptocracy, or inverted states (Bates, 1981; Mueller, 1974; Clapham, 1986; Ake, 1996; Mkandawire, 2001).

The artificial nature of post-colonial polities has also been identified as a key factor contributing to the economic underperformance of post-colonial Africa. Intense efforts were made to pursue nation-building in response to ethnic rivalries that posed a threat to the integrity and authority of national governments if left unaddressed. However, over time, the unitary state became controlled by one or a coalition of ethnic groups, around which a system of patronage networks was perpetuated (Ake, 1996; Olukoshi, 2004; Ahluwalia, 2001). Thus, ethnicity became an active ingredient in national politics in post-colonial Africa, further reinforcing patronage.

Hornsby (2012) highlights that patronage also influenced employment within the civil service and other government institutions. Consequently, state-controlled institutions were subject to the influence of political elites and were expanded primarily for patronage purposes, rather than the public good. This practice deepened corruption, as consumption was high, capital accumulation for reinvestment was scarce, and productive investment was infrequent. Alex (2002) notes that investing limited resources in this manner was economically unproductive.

Furthermore, the one-party state hindered the development of the private sector and failed to provide adequate incentives and structures for its growth (Stein, 2000). Consequently, the private sector's role in the economy was marginalized due to the dominance of the state.

Business success was often contingent on political connections rather than performance, leading to corrupt practices in procurement that hampered business efficiency (Barkan, 2009). As single-party rule took precedence in the political landscape, the state became the primary arena for power struggles and the control over the allocation of limited resources. Consequently, an urban political bureaucratic bourgeoisie emerged, consisting of ministers, party leaders, lawmakers, military leaders, and executives overseeing public enterprises, along with anyone who held influence over state institutions (Alex, 2002). This political class wielded significant power in society at the expense of the ordinary populace, mirroring the exclusion of citizens from mainstream political and public affairs, reminiscent of the colonial era.

The emergence of a legitimate African nationalist capitalist class and the free national entrepreneurship typical in Western countries were hindered by patronage (Stein, 2000). As noted by Alex (2002), instead of the state evolving into a capitalist entity, the political elite leveraged state authority to foster a class of capitalists. Consequently, the state facilitated the circulation of capital in the public sphere rather than allowing it to accumulate in private hands.

Economic stagnation in post-colonial Africa has also been linked to state capability and institutional quality (Lopez, 2018; Mkandawire, 2001). In general terms, state capacity refers to the ability to plan and implement policies, make credible commitments, manage an effective bureaucracy, and impose constraints on opportunistic behavior (Mkandawire, 2001). Economic growth, bureaucratic effectiveness, and institutional quality are

interconnected, suggesting that the government is dedicated to upholding the law concerning specific bureaucratic functions (ibid). However, due to state capture by vested interests in Africa, the bureaucracy failed in its developmental role due to a lack of autonomy and focus. This explains why certain nations continue to grapple with enduring poverty and socioeconomic inequality, contradicting the concept of a developmental state.

These internal factors were further exacerbated by the external environment, leading to the implementation of conditional Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) as discussed in Chapter One. According to Murunga (2007), SAPs resulted in significant currency devaluation, liquidation, commercialization, exchange and interest rate liberalization, further compounding Africa's economic crisis. The state's capacity to provide socioeconomic services was undermined, leading to a reversal of the progress made in the 1960s due to reduced state funding (KNHDR, 2006). As highlighted by Olukoshi (2004), this process was particularly severe in some countries, leading to a complete setback in the entire modernization process. This manifested in increased informal sector activities, low school enrollment or dropouts, and poor attendance at inadequately equipped health facilities due to the introduction of user fees, which further disadvantaged the poor and marginalized.

SAPs also deepened class divisions and exacerbated uneven development in Africa. Mkandawire (2001) argues that the role of African governments in socioeconomic development and service provision changed as they could no longer pursue the developmental role outlined in their independence manifestos. This illustrates how both

modernization and neoliberalism have focused on GDP growth and trickle-down effects, which have exacerbated socioeconomic inequality and poverty.

The literature discussed above highlights several factors contributing to the poor economic performance in post-colonial Africa. Scholars have analyzed the root causes from various angles, including colonization and the continent's political landscape. While certain aspects are deeply rooted in Africa's historical context, the internal environment, characterized by excessive state intervention by political actors, significantly obstructed developmental efforts. Various theories, including modernization and dependency theories, have been used to explain this failure. However, external factors alone cannot account for the political and socioeconomic deterioration, as demonstrated in the preceding literature.

This section has outlined the historical developments of postcolonial African states and the strategies employed to build state capacity for universal socioeconomic progress. It has also illuminated the challenges faced in this endeavor. The key question is: can these insights shed light on the behavior and practices within the Kenyan state? The next section delves into this aspect.

2.3 Historical Developments of the Post-colonial State in Kenya

The above-mentioned historical developments in postcolonial Africa closely parallel the historical developments in postcolonial Kenya since its independence in 1963. According to Zeleza (2014), Kenya also confronted the challenges of nation-building and a weak economy through the ideology of developmentalism and the centralization of political and

economic resources. Consequently, Kenya made amendments to the parliamentary system and reverted to a centralized one-party political system, reinstating the colonial provincial administrative structures. Political power was consolidated and centralized within the central government, particularly the executive branch, which operated at the core of the state, leaving minimal power at the periphery (Ng'weno, 2007).

Economically, Kenya pursued a mixed economy, guided by the Sessional Paper 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning. Consequently, the state struck a balance between market-driven strategies and state interventionism, allowing room for both domestic and foreign private enterprises. The state also established large public parastatals and made substantial investments in physical and socioeconomic infrastructure. The economy witnessed diversification as sectors like agriculture, commerce, and industry experienced significant expansion. During the first decade of Independence (1964-1972), Kenya achieved and maintained an impressive GDP growth through state-led development, averaging 6.6 percent annually (GOK, 2008).

The KNHDR (2006) report has pointed out that Kenya's macroeconomic growth was accompanied by noteworthy socioeconomic development, as evidenced by social indicators of the time. According to Mkandawire (2001) and Zeleza (2014), this impressive growth represents a model in which accelerated development was pursued within the context of macroeconomic stability. They contend that this economic competence sets Kenya apart from the macroeconomic mismanagement that plagued many African states and has not been duly recognized in the African context. As noted by Lopez (2020),

Kenya's GDP outpaced that of some Asian countries, such as Malaysia and Indonesia, during that period. This reflects successful developmentalism.

Several scholars have observed that centralization significantly transformed Kenya's political system (Murunga, 2007; Ng'weno, 2007; Barkan, 2009; Sihanya, 2009; Zeleza, 2013). According to Barkan (2009), the principle of the separation of powers, intended to prevent the abuse of governmental power, was disregarded as state institutions, including the party, parliament, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy, increasingly came under presidential control. This adversely affected their effective and efficient functioning. Moreover, the dominant presidency acquired unchecked powers to appoint and dismiss key governmental officials in constitutionally protected offices, such as the Head of Public Service, the Attorney General, and the heads of the army and the Police Service, among others. Additionally, the president gained control of state finances through Section 48 of the old Constitution of Kenya (1970), which was exercised with little accountability since it was challenging for parliament to hold the government accountable (Ng'weno, 2007).

According to Sihanya (2009), centralization marked the beginning of patron-client relations, as the president gained control over key political and economic resources. This strategy involved appointing individuals from the president's ethnic group, close associates, or loyalists to key public positions. State officials who had access to various state resources by virtue of their government positions channeled these resources to their respective constituencies to maintain their political support (Barkan, 2009). According to Ng'weno (2007), Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978), the first president, became increasingly intolerant of

dissent, given the vast constitutional powers he held. In 1969, Kenyatta banned the opposition party Kenya Peoples Union (KPU), whose members had questioned the country's political and economic direction, effectively creating a one-party state de facto. This demonstrates the state's unresponsiveness to citizens' concerns.

According to Zeleza (2013), Kenya, under Kenyatta's leadership, enjoyed substantial economic growth despite the drift toward authoritarianism. Stiftung (2012) also notes that key infrastructural services, such as roads, schools, and hospitals, were developed but were not equitably provided; regions like Central Province, the president's stronghold, and Nairobi received preferential treatment and opportunities for more exploitation and investment. Additionally, agricultural policies targeted tea and coffee-growing regions in Central Province. This affirms the notion that regions like the Northern ASALs were excluded and marginalized from the early days of the government, based on their primary source of livelihood: pastoralism.

When Daniel Moi came to power (1978-2002), he continued to consolidate and personalize presidential power. Moi also reshaped the political and economic landscape in favor of his Kalenjin community, replacing powerful government positions held by the Kikuyu with members of his ethnic group. He shifted agricultural policy away from cash crops like tea and coffee in favor of grains such as maize, beans, and wheat for his Rift Valley grain-growing region. He also provided essential infrastructure in the region, including schools, roads, and health and telecommunications networks, at the expense of other regions (ibid). Thus, it becomes evident that, much like in other post-colonial Africa, governance practices

in Kenya fostered ethnicity and nepotism, becoming a major source of exclusion for the majority of citizens not represented in the government. This had far-reaching implications for socioeconomic outcomes in various parts of the country, especially the peripheral pastoralist regions.

Hornsby (2012) posits that the Kenyan state, particularly after the institutionalization of a one-party state in 1982, saw an intensification of corruption, ethnicity, and mismanagement in the public sector. This affected the entire political and socioeconomic processes. Consequently, the legitimacy of the Kenyan state came under scrutiny, particularly regarding its role in the fair distribution of socioeconomic benefits and the maintenance of a just and equitable system of governance. It was against this backdrop that the demand for political and socioeconomic reforms emerged, ultimately leading to the reintroduction of multipartyism in 1992 (Sihanya, 2009).

A significant consequence of poor governance was a further decline in economic growth that had already started wavering in the mid-1970s. According to GOK (2008), between 1972-82, the growth rate averaged 4.8 percent, down from 6.6 percent. From 1980 to 1989, economic growth declined to 4.1 percent, and from 1990 to 1995, it stood at 2.5 percent. From 1996 to 2000, it reached 2 percent. As noted by Murunga (2007), the poor economic performance resulted from the negative aspects of centralization, such as a lack of political accountability to the public and a constructive engagement with a broader range of national stakeholders. Economic growth continued to decline even after the introduction of SAPs. Tangible economic growth was, however, realized under President Kibaki (2003-2012),

whose administration helped maintain an average annual GDP growth of 7 percent. Nevertheless, from 2012, GDP growth has remained unstable (2012, 5.7 percent; 2013, 5.9 percent; 2014, 5.3 percent; 2015, 5.7 percent) (KNBS, 2016).

As indicated in the aforementioned literature, both structures and governance play a crucial role in determining sustainable economic growth and the equitable distribution of socioeconomic services. Effectively addressing these macro-level issues may be the final piece needed to combat poverty and socioeconomic inequality. This concern aligns with the objectives of a developmental state. The failure of the ruling elite to manage government institutions led to socioeconomic exclusion for a majority of citizens, especially the marginalized ASALs. Kenya, like other African nations, faltered due to a focus on the economics of nation-building, which blurred its mission and vision. As demonstrated, Kenya is not an exception to the broader trend in Africa, where governance irregularities hindered economic progress, resulting in increased wealth among only a few (KNBS and SID, 2013).

2.4 Kenya's Key Socioeconomic Framework in Relation to Northern ASALs (1963 - 2015)

As noted in Chapter One, the government of Kenya has since independence addressed socioeconomic development and poverty through various strategies and policies. Thus, this study sought to interrogate the effectiveness of these policies in the advancement of socioeconomic development of Northern ASALs that include Isiolo County. This section therefore examines some governmental policies in relation to Northern ASALs, starting

from the independence to current policies. These include, Sessional Papers, National Development Plans (NDPs) and other state policies.

2.4.1 Sessional Papers of Kenya

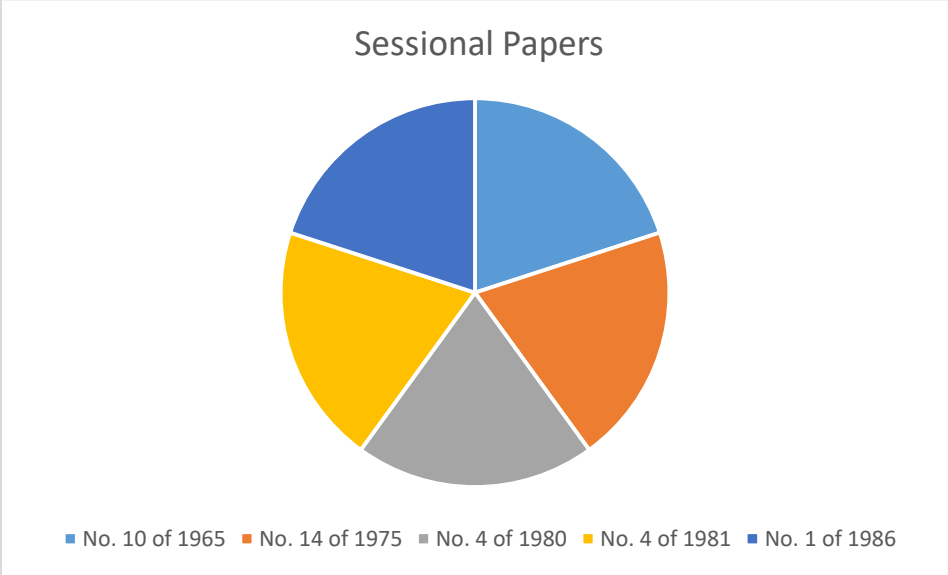


Figure 2.1: Sessional Papers of Kenya

Figure 1 displays four key Sessional Papers used to address socioeconomic development in Kenya during the period under study. As already noted, the first policy was informed by 'Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965' on African Socialism and its Application to Planning. It stated as follows:

> ‘One of our problems is to decide how much priority we should give to investing in less developed provinces. To make the economy as a whole grow as fast as possible, development money should be invested where it will yield the largest increase in net output. This approach will clearly favor the development of areas having abundant natural resources, good land and rainfall, transport and power facilities, and people receptive to and active in development' (GOK, 1965, pg. 46).

This policy document emphasized agricultural development as a key pillar of national GDP growth. Therefore, for the economy to grow rapidly, the government identified regions

with this comparative advantage, as noted above, and invested in physical and socioeconomic infrastructure with the aim of attaining high returns (ibid). This policy assumed that the benefits of rapid economic growth in key productive sectors such as industry and agriculture would automatically trickle down to all segments of society. Furthermore, it was expected that the private sector would contribute to a robust economy, leading to benefits for the entire society, such as employment, the provision of goods and services, and taxes paid to the central government, which would, in turn, trickle down to the less fortunate in society (GOK, 1965; UNDP, 2005; Kibua & Mwabu, 2008). This view was in line with the thinking at the time, where economists advocated for policies based on the modernization theory, which emphasized trickle-down economic growth, as noted in Chapter One. It can be observed that the government made commendable efforts to reduce socioeconomic inequality and poverty, considering that it had just emerged from colonialism with inadequate developmental resources for the entire country.

However, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 resulted in the marginalization of ASAL (Arid and Semi-Arid Lands) areas, as the benefits of economic growth failed to trickle down to these regions as projected. This had significant implications for ASAL residents in terms of access to socioeconomic goods, leading to persistent marginalization and increased poverty (GOK, 1999; 2003; 2012; KNHDR, 1990; 1999; 2001; 2006; 2009; 2013). This was mainly due to the lack of a government framework to redistribute resources to less agriculturally endowed regions like the Northern ASALs (ibid). According to Odhiambo (2012) and GOK (2003; 2008; 2012), this policy contributed to the marginalization of ASALs because it emphasized agriculture at the expense of mobile pastoralism, their

primary source of livelihood. Mobile pastoralism was viewed as irrational and environmentally destructive, and ASALs were seen as contributing little to the national GDP (ibid). However, this policy failed to recognize the fact that ASALs had immense untapped resources, which, if adequately harnessed, could sustain locals and also contribute to the national GDP (GOK, 2003; 2012). Furthermore, this policy extended to cover people based on their 'activeness and receptiveness' to development. ASAL residents were therefore viewed as 'lazy' because of the nature of pastoralism. This implies that the government lacked the goodwill to focus on the economic activity of 'lazy people.'

As demonstrated in the foregoing discussion, although Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 aimed at achieving economic growth with equity nationwide, it actually entrenched the marginalization of ASALs in general. This policy prioritized economic growth, which, on its own, does not always result in socioeconomic equity without a redistribution framework, as noted. Thus, even with Kenya's substantial economic growth in the 1960s and early 1970s, as observed, Northern ASALs still faced limited socioeconomic access and poverty. This suggests that the marginalization of this region manifested soon after independence, as this blueprint became a structural strategy that guided the direction of government resources in the country. The social exclusion theory is well demonstrated in that Northern ASALs remained outside the market economy, as agriculture was promoted at the expense of pastoralism. This has contributed to limited socioeconomic access and increased poverty due to low income, thus resulting in limited purchasing power for locals.

A Key Informant validated this assertion by stating that:

> Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, although well-intended, immensely contributed to unbalanced regional economic development. This has led to the vicious cycle of poverty in ASALs and the glaring socioeconomic inequalities that contemporary public policy has been grappling with in addressing ASAL marginalization (Mr. Marwa, Deputy County Commissioner (DCC), Isiolo, OI, 10/05/2019).

Sessional Paper No. 14 of 1975, as shown in Figure 1 above, was introduced a decade after the aforementioned policy. As noted in Chapter One, this policy encouraged the growth of cooperatives in rural Kenya. However, these movements mainly aimed at promoting rain-fed crops such as tea and coffee, which were favored cash crops at the time. Thus, the emphasis was again placed on the agricultural aspect of the economy at the expense of pastoralism, the mainstay of ASAL regions. Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1980 re-emphasized rural development, as already observed, but again with no specific strategy for ASAL development. ASAL development continued to be integrated under agriculture and rural development strategies, as noted in Chapter One.

A Key Informant concurred, stating that:

> Until the early 1980s, there was no specific ministry to oversee and address specific ASAL challenges. ASAL issues were addressed by the Department of Rural Planning in the Ministry of Agriculture. Thus, ASAL issues were addressed at a national level, like all other national programs, without recognizing the enormous challenges in this region. Therefore, this strategy had very minimal impact on ASALs' socioeconomic development (Ag. Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, Dr. Wambugu, OI, 06/05/2019).

Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1981, which focused on the National Food Policy, was significant in regard to ASALs, as the government endeavored to promote drought-tolerant food crops such as millet and sorghum in all ASALs, as noted in Chapter One.

However, a Key Informant stated:

> This strategy was not fully implemented, and that is why food insecurity has remained a chronic challenge in ASALs generally until the launch of the ASAL Food and Nutrition policy in 2011. This policy continues to be implemented with a significant degree of success compared to other previous policies (Ag. Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, Dr. Wambugu, OI, 06/05/2019).

Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1981 also emphasized the production of maize to avoid food importation and to enable the country to achieve food self-sufficiency, as noted in Chapter One. However, Omiti and Irungu (2002) observed that this made the food policy focus on the food needs of urbanites or those with the economic ability to buy, at the expense of the food security needs of smallholders and pastoralists. Further, the government declared that it would rely on food relief to alleviate hunger and malnutrition in affected areas (GOK, 1981). According to Suresh (2001), reliance on food aid ultimately compromises the ability to mobilize internal resources towards food security, thus entrenching food poverty. Food insecurity has remained a chronic challenge in ASALs to date, as noted. It can be observed that "Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1981" mainly focused on the agricultural sector to raise the level of self-sufficiency in food production. Once again, official state policy failed to recognize the enormous livestock potential of ASALs that could sustain locals and significantly contribute to the national GDP, as observed.

From the foregoing, we observe that Sessional Papers No. 10 of 1965 and No. 14 of 1975 were produced by post-colonial state actors. These were homegrown strategies based on the country's political and socioeconomic needs and the promises made to the populace at the dawn of independence, as noted. Despite the seemingly progressive strategies, poverty levels continued to increase, as observed above. This demonstrates that inadequate effort was made to relate policies, institutions, and socioeconomic equity (Omiti et al., 2002).

The mismanagement of governmental institutions, mainly due to state capture by vested interests and the failure of the bureaucracy in its developmental role, has been noted above. This scenario was aggravated by the declining economic performance, which led to an increase in absolute poverty, meaning people without adequate food and nutrition, and inadequate access to public goods such as education, health facilities, safe water, and decent housing (UNDP, 2005). Thus, requisite institutional capacity and good governance were the critical missing link in this regard, as already observed. By the late 1970s, the significant economic growth gains were eroded by economic mismanagement and corruption, as noted above. It can be argued that the excessive authoritarianism and personalization of power in post-colonial Kenya, as already noted, partly explains this phenomenon.

Sessional Papers No. 4 of 1980 and "No. 4 of 1981" were influenced by neoliberal policies, the West, and IFIs, following the implementation of SAPs after the country's poor economic performance, as noted in Chapter One. However, SAPs were implemented without a human face, as they increased destitution due to increases in prices of essential commodities and services such as education and health due to the withdrawal of subsidies, as noted. This was because SAPs and subsequent policies moved the state away from its focus towards socioeconomic access and poverty reduction strategies (Omiti et al., 2002). Similarly, the above strategies focused on improving national economic performance and trickle-down effect. However, the social benefits of economic growth have failed to trickle down to ASALs, as noted. This is because state policy failed to isolate ASALs and to treat them as unique or special regions that face enormous challenges, including historical

marginalization, insecurity, and a harsh ecological environment. Besides, external influence on policies has also failed due to a focus on the role of the market and other non-state actors.

In support of this view, a Key Informant stated:

> ASAL socioeconomic development required affirmative action to fast-track the process and uplift the welfare of the locals. This is because ASALs lack the crucial enablers of socioeconomic development, such as human resources, physical infrastructure, and technology to break the vicious cycle of poverty (Ag. Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, Dr. Wambugu, OI, 06/05/2019).

Hence, this study advocates for policies from the developmental state theory, which emphasizes economic growth accompanied by elements of redistribution, resulting in social benefits in terms of improved standards of living for all citizens.

Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 in Figure 1 above marked a clear departure from previous strategies. This is because it was the first national policy that recognized and documented the unique potential of ASALs to contribute to renewed economic growth strategy, as noted in Chapter One. The government, therefore, restructured its policy on cattle and conventional range management approaches. It resolved to promote pastoralism and to conduct research that would develop crop and pasture resistance varieties that would prevent soil erosion and promote small-scale irrigation to increase food security in ASALs (GOK, 1986). Thus, in 1989, the Ministry of Reclamation and Development of ASALs and Wastelands was created in this regard (ibid). Thus, a specific state department was created for the first time to manage ASAL affairs. However, an interview with a Key Informant revealed that:

> The ministry's activities were limited to cattle and conventional range management approaches in semi-arid areas, which were easier to access. This policy did not yield much for Northern ASAL development (Dr. Wambugu, Ag. Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

A general observation of the above Sessional Paper policy documents demonstrates that government policy initiatives are general for the whole country and therefore lacked specificity regarding the unique biophysical features of ASALs. It was not until the 1980s when ASALs were focused on. This was two decades after the attainment of independence in 1963. By this time, the KNHDR (1990) demonstrates that the socioeconomic indicators of ASALs were far behind other regions. It can be concluded that during the reign of President Jomo Kenyatta, there was no significant attempt to address socioeconomic development in ASALs generally, despite Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 having declared equitable sharing of resources, as noted. This policy that guided his 15 years' rule demonstrates the exclusion of ASAL regions in official state policies. Since ASAL residents had limited participation in political leadership, they had no opportunity to influence policy decisions and actions in their favor. ASAL issues were, therefore, first addressed during the reign of President Daniel Moi, who took over from 1978 upon the death of his predecessor. However, his reign also failed to uplift the well-being of ASAL residents, as observed above. This affirms how patronage politics influenced how governmental resources were distributed and how it disadvantaged those who were not in government, as noted above.

2.4.2 National Development Plans (NDP) of Kenya

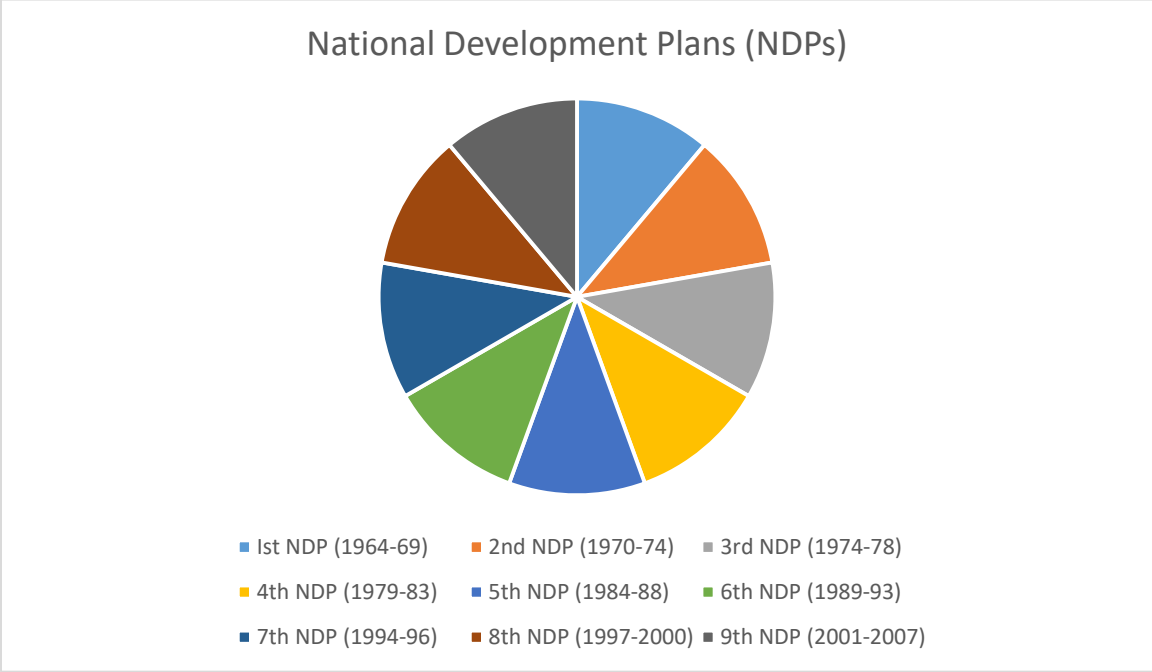


Figure 2.2: National Development Plans (NDPs)

Figure 2 illustrates that the government also developed National Development Plans (NDPs). These five-year NDPs served as intermediate periods of the sessional policy documents, acting as complementary strategies (GOK, 1970). Kenya has had nine such NDPs since gaining independence. The five-year periods have generally been consistent, with the exception of the 7th plan, which spanned a three-year period, and the 9th Plan, which covered a nine-year period. The GOK (2008) demonstrates that the government believed that plan objectives could be achieved in the medium term, hence the adoption of the five-year plans. This indicative planning, as seen in these NDPs, implies developmentalism.

An analysis of the NDPs indicates that while they all had different themes, key features included an increase in economic growth, socio-economic development, and rural development, as noted in Chapter One. However, only the GDP projection for the 1st NDP was achieved. Although the 1st NDP strategy, which complemented Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, acknowledged regional disparities, it made no reference to the pastoral economy (GOK, 1964). It wasn't until the 4th NDP that a plan was drawn up for harnessing the potential of Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) after realizing that socio-economic indicators in ASALs were lower compared to other regions due to neglect by previous governments.

Thus, the First-Generation ASAL Policy (1980-1992) was formulated and implemented through Integrated Rural Development Plans, as noted in Chapter One. Significantly, the government developed stock routes for the management of water and pasture, which were operated by the Livestock Division of the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition, the institutional framework to coordinate the development of ASALs led to the creation of the Rural Planning Department under the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (GOK, 1979) as already noted.

Proposals for ASAL development are also mentioned in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th NDPs, as noted in Chapter One. The 5th NDP, which complemented the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) socioeconomic strategy, identified pastoralists as among the poorest in the country. The 6th NDP specifically introduced the Second Generation ASAL Strategies (1992-2002), with the objective of pursuing land reclamation, improved animal

husbandry, and the promotion of bee-keeping and other agricultural activities suitable in ASALs. The government also proposed to set up a Special ASAL Development Fund into which donor/government funding would be channeled. A key informant noted that:

> The above strategies were never fully implemented due to financial constraints on the part of the government (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

In agreement, another key informant stated:

> ASALs face unique challenges that curtail any meaningful effort on the part of the government and development partners to unlock the immense dormant potential of the region. These challenges include: climate variability and associated droughts and famines; a large landmass with inadequate physical infrastructure; an inadequate human resource base and high levels of insecurity (Mr. Lelkulkuli, NDMA Coordinator, Isiolo County, OI, 30/5/2019).

The NDP plans consistently highlighted the plight of ASAL residents as the poorest people with limited socio-economic access living in a harsh and complex environment. However, as Omiti, et al. (2002) demonstrated, subsequent plans were often developed without the goals of the preceding ones being attained. This lack of continuity is not conducive to the sound implementation of strategies, as several proposals were never fully implemented or were only partially successful. Furthermore, the NDPs indicate that policies cover Northern ASAL counties as well as other ASAL and semi-arid regions, including Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, West-Pokot, and Garissa, among others. Nevertheless, both arid and semi-arid areas experience similar challenges such as chronic food insecurity, insecurity, and climate change (UNDP, 2005). The NDPs also demonstrate sound policies focusing on ASALs. However, the impact has not been positive, as confirmed by a key informant who stated:

> Kenya has had very good policies for ASALs, but the problem has been implementation. There has been a lot of 'lip service (Mr. Marwa, DCC, Isiolo County, OI, 10/05/12019).

Several factors account for this scenario, as observed in the NDPs. Among them is a multiplicity of policies, sometimes running concurrently (sessional papers and NDP policies), some of which have been abandoned in subsequent planning periods before achieving results. This study maintains that policies should be consistent to yield positive results. For instance, the First-Generation ASAL Policy (1980-1992) in the 4th NDP was dropped in the subsequent plan, and later the Second Generation ASAL Strategies (1992-2002) were introduced in the 6th NDP.

Thus, NDPs concerning ASAL development have lacked continuity. Despite highlighting the poor conditions of ASALs in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th NDPs and identifying strategies to counter them, there appears to be a lack of political will to implement these policies. Frequent references to the high cost of developing ASAL potential compared to other regions imply that ASALs did not receive the much-needed resource allocation. It is worth noting, however, that during this period, the government faced severe financial constraints. Therefore, developing ASALs would have required significant resources that were unavailable at the time. The 9th NDP focused on economic growth and projected an average of 4 percent over the next seven years. The plan also projected renewed growth in various key sectors of the economy, with an expected growth of about 3.3 percent in agriculture, up from the past five-year average of 1.1 percent, and a similar growth in the manufacturing sector, up from the past five-year average of 1.3 percent (GOK, 2001). There were no specific strategies that focused on ASALs in this plan.

2.4.3 District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) of 1983

The District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) policy strategy, initiated by President Moi in 1983, was complemented by the 4th National Development Plan (NDP) policy mentioned earlier. Its primary aim was the decentralization of socioeconomic resources and the encouragement of grassroots participation. This policy shift aimed to transfer the planning and implementation of policies from the central government to the districts, allowing for local initiatives to complement the state's efforts in problem identification, prioritization, resource mobilization, project implementation at the local level, and ensuring equitable allocation of national resources across different regions. More funds were, therefore, to be allocated to the less developed regions to encourage and support local development initiatives, with the goal of increasing the income levels and overall well-being of local communities. The DFRD was based on the assumption that the development of rural economies would stimulate national economic and industrial growth (GOK, 1983). Thus, it represented a 'bottom-up' approach to socioeconomic development and poverty reduction.

Another motivation for the adoption of the DFRD strategy was the emphasis on decentralization in donor funding to address imbalanced development and increasing rural poverty following the failure of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Oyugi, 2008). However, several scholars have noted that this strategy was not successful (Oyugi, 1985, 2008; Ng'ethe, 1986; Owino, 1997; GoK, 1999; Omiti et al., 2002; GOK, 2012). They concur that due to poor implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, inadequate funds, and corruption, many of the initiatives failed to stimulate growth at the local levels.

Omiti et al. (2002) and Oyugi (2008) observe that although planning was a decentralized process, the central government continued to provide the framework, structures, and conditions for membership in the District Development Committees (DDCs). Consequently, District Commissioners, Divisional Officers, Chiefs, and all appointed government officials became chairpersons of development committees at different levels. The composition of DDCs also included politicians like Members of Parliament and councilors, while NGOs, church leaders, and communities were also co-opted. Thus, politicians eventually influenced DDC activities despite holding no official positions. Omiti et al. (2002) note that the intention of DFRD was to make the districts autonomous in preparing their annual development plans before submitting them to the central government for approval.

Resource allocation was supposed to be based on their needs as highlighted in the development plans and national priorities. However, the success of the policy was minimal because stakeholders had no powers to influence policy formulation or hold government officials accountable. This led to the non-implementation of policies aimed at stimulating community development. As a result, the DFRD policy failed to stimulate growth and reduce poverty (GOK, 1999). Regarding Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), Omiti and Irungu (2002) contend that where the policies succeeded, they benefited sedentary groups but not mobile pastoralists.

These observations were corroborated by a Key Informant who stated:

> The DFRD strategy was a national program implemented in all districts, not just in ASALs. ASAL issues were not given adequate attention. Due to intensified

> corruption during that period, most projects were only implemented on paper. Also, the local people were never trained in crucial aspects related to project management, such as project identification, planning, management, monitoring, and evaluation. Therefore, the DFRD strategies were highly influenced by politicians who were members of the DDCs (Mr. Marwa, DCC, Isiolo County, OI, 10/05/12019).

In conclusion, based on the above observations, it can be concluded that throughout the Kenyatta and Moi regimes, the state did not make attempts to allocate higher resources to disadvantaged ASALs to address and reduce socioeconomic inequalities.

2.4.4 Social Dimension of Development (SSD)

The Social Dimension of Development (SDD) program, launched in 1994, aimed to mitigate the adverse effects of the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), as discussed in Chapter One. However, the allocated funds (Ksh 5.58 million) were insufficient for this purpose, resulting in limited benefits to the poor (Kenyan government, 1995; UNDP, 2005). Additionally, a significant portion of the funds were used for retrenchment payoffs, school fees and bursaries, and the supply of drugs to hospitals. Furthermore, the small amount of money designated for bursaries primarily benefited those who could influence the process rather than the most deserving individuals (Kenyan government, 1995).

A Key Informant pointed out that:

> The SSD program was influenced by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and its focus extended beyond ASALs (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

2.4.5 Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP)

In this strategy, the government, for the first time, engaged in consultations with pastoralists and committed to addressing past inequalities, reducing poverty, and alleviating food insecurity, among other issues, as detailed in Chapter One. This policy emphasized a participatory approach, as advocated by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), which argued that participation provides opportunities for interaction with beneficiaries in the context of poverty reduction during the formulation and implementation of such strategies (World Bank, 2004). Prior to the launch of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) policy, poverty eradication efforts were primarily in the hands of civil society organizations, including non-governmental organizations and welfare associations representing women, youth, and religious organizations (GOK, 2001). This policy emerged from the failures of past policies and was developed through a consultative process involving various stakeholders, including the government, donors, civil society, the private sector, and citizens (ibid).

However, according to Eurodad (2001), the PRSP approach failed to integrate macroeconomic and poverty-related issues, much like Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Consequently, the strategies primarily focused on economic growth without addressing how this growth would be distributed to benefit the poor, similar to previous strategies. The focus on continued adherence to privatization, liberalization, and a reduced

role for the state remained unchanged. Questions also arose concerning the country's ownership of PRSPs, as the IFIs retained significant influence over the final document.

Eurodad (2001) further argues that there was a general consensus for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to monitor the implementation of the PRSP, focusing on specific sectors such as gender, HIV/AIDS, and pastoralism, among others. However, due to limited financial resources and the absence of a systematic platform to bring CSOs together to share findings, effective monitoring posed a challenge. Consequently, monitoring efforts were fragmented and made it difficult to measure the actual impact on the ground. Omiti et al. (2002) note that crucial state institutions involved in poverty reduction programs were excluded, preventing this strategy from achieving its intended results.

A Key Informant commented as follows:

> This strategy was another conditional requirement imposed by the World Bank for the country to access financial aid. While it addressed increased poverty and food insecurity in ASALs, the fact that it was eventually abandoned suggests that it did not achieve the desired success (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

2.4.6 Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERSWEP/ERS 2003-2007)

In 2003, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) replaced the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) with the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS), which contributed to improving national poverty levels from 56% in 2002 to approximately 46% in 2006, as discussed in Chapter One. According to the Government of Kenya (GOK, 2003), this policy marked a clear departure from the narrative presented in 'Sessional Paper No. 10 of

1965.' The ERS successfully mainstreamed issues related to Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) into national development, primarily through Chapter Eight. It became the first national development plan to dedicate a chapter specifically to ASALs, as their concerns had previously been incorporated under the broader categories of agriculture and rural development, as previously noted. The ERS recognized the significant potential of ASALs to contribute to national development and highlighted various programs intended to harness this potential.

A Key Informant provided the following insights:

> The ERS was the most successful economic policy implemented in the post-Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) era. It significantly increased the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 2 percent in 2002 to 8.1 percent in 2007. While this strategy addressed poverty and inequality for all citizens, the socioeconomic indicators of ASALs did not change significantly, as the ERS was a national policy that did not adequately consider the specific needs of ASALs. However, this strategy effectively established a contingency fund for ASALs, which was operationalized (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

2.4.7 Kenya Vision 2030

In 2008, the Vision 2030 strategy replaced the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS) and aimed to address the unique challenges faced by Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), as discussed in Chapter One. The government established the Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands (MNKOAL) in 2008 to provide an institutional framework for coordinating the formulation and implementation of affirmative action policies, programs, and projects in ASALs (GOK, 2008). As noted in Chapter One, in 2011, Vision 2030 underwent a review, resulting in the development of the Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands,

specifically tailored to adapt Vision 2030 to the unique circumstances and challenges of ASALs (GOK, 2012). Additionally, the first 5-year Medium Term Plan (MTP) was implemented from 2008 to 2012, followed by the second MTP from 2013 to 2018 under the Jubilee government. These MTPs aimed at rapid economic transformation through infrastructure modernization, agriculture diversification and commercialization, food security, increased manufacturing, and enhanced access to African and global markets. The strategy's ultimate goal is to achieve middle-income status by 2030, making Kenya globally competitive and prosperous, offering a high quality of life for all by the year 2030 (GOK, 2012).

Despite these well-intended strategies for ASALs, the primary emphasis remains on increased economic growth, much like the previous policies. The projected annual GDP growth of 10 percent is expected to benefit ASALs. However, the likelihood of achieving this annual GDP growth of 10 percent is low due to unstable economic growth, which fell below the projected target even by 2015 (5.7 percent). Furthermore, the manufacturing sector, projected to be a catalyst for GDP growth, has not reached its anticipated peak, as indicated in the first and second Medium Term Plans (MTP), covering the periods 2008-2012 and 2013-2018, respectively (GOK, 2008).

A Key Informant provided insights regarding Kenya Vision 2030:

> This strategy was relatively successful for ASALs as it led to the creation of Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012, a stand-alone policy focusing on ASAL socioeconomic development. However, the 'Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern ASALs and other arid lands' has not yet been approved. The major challenge with the strategies in Vision 2030 is the availability of financial resources. To make a meaningful difference, there is a need for a 'Marshal Plan' for ASALs that would pool together resources from the government and donors to bring about a significant transformation in the region (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

2.4.8 Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012

As previously mentioned, the strategy led to the establishment of the Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands (MNKOAL) to oversee and address specific challenges in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), as noted. However, the Government of Kenya (GOK, 2012) highlights the need to review the appropriateness of this policy in addressing the challenges faced by ASALs. This review aims to align the policy with emerging legal and policy issues, such as the promulgation of the 2010 constitution and the Big Four Agenda. Moreover, the Kenya Common Country Assessment Report (2013-2017) indicates that MNKOAL faced significant underfunding, possibly resulting in limited efforts to address the marginalization of Northern ASALs in Kenya.

A Key Informant made the following observation:

> The implementation of Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012 strategy is yet to be fully realized (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

Notably, MNKOAL established the Directorate of ASALs (DASAL), which played a pivotal role in the creation of the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA). The

NDMA has since been devolved to all ASAL counties, with a mandate to coordinate matters related to drought and risk management on a broader scale (GOK, 2013).

A Key Informant commented as follows:

> The NDMA, in collaboration with various stakeholders, has played a crucial role in providing both human and financial resources to address challenges associated with drought, such as food insecurity. This has had a significant impact on the lives of the local population (Mr. Lelkulkuli, NDMA coordinator, Isiolo County, OI, 30/5/2019).

2.4.9 Constitution of Kenya, 2010

The new constitution, promulgated in August 2010, provides a rights framework for minorities, marginalized groups, and other socially excluded populations, as discussed in Chapter 4 of the Bill of Rights. This constitution decentralized the allocation of development funds through the Commission for Revenue Allocation (CRA), as per Article 203(2), which mandates that counties receive an annual grant of at least 15 percent of the national revenue. This shift represents a departure from the previous central government planning practices, which tended to favor certain regions, as previously described. Furthermore, Article 56 of the constitution introduces affirmative action programs to ensure minority and marginalized groups have special opportunities in education, economic fields, and reasonable access to water, health services, and infrastructure.

In addition, Article 204 of the constitution establishes an Equalization Fund to expedite infrastructure development in previously marginalized areas. This fund stipulates that 0.5 percent of the national annual revenue is allocated to the marginalized and poorer regions for 20 years, with the aim of enhancing essential services such as roads, water, education,

and healthcare (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). The goal is to uplift less developed regions and facilitate their economic growth by channeling government resources. The Fourth Schedule of the constitution further devolves certain functions, previously managed by the central government, to County Governments. These functions include agriculture, irrigation, livestock, fisheries, veterinary services, health, and sanitation (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). However, a Key Informant expressed skepticism:

> A fund of 0.5 percent of the national revenue will not significantly transform Northern ASALs, given the unique conditions of the region (Dr. Wambugu, Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs, OI, 06/05/2019).

Despite the annual grant of at least 15 percent of the national revenue allocated to counties, the implementation mechanism remains unentrenched (Birch, 2018). The CRA formula, for instance, requires parliamentary approval, and the parliamentary process may be influenced by vested interests. Additionally, the CRA formula has undergone several changes, with the focus on factors such as population, basic equal share, poverty, land area, and fiscal responsibility (CRA Acts, 2013; 2014). As a result, allocations may not adequately address poverty and marginalization, echoing the issues raised regarding Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. However, the government, acknowledging the link between social exclusion, socioeconomic inequality, and poverty, has been implementing programs since 2003 to help ASALs overcome marginalization, as noted earlier.

In a general overview of policies spanning from independence to the promulgation of the new constitution, it is evident that several policies aimed to address the developmental disparities in ASALs. However, many of these policies lacked continuity and consistency, which was often exacerbated by changes in political regimes. While the Kenyatta administration largely disregarded Northern ASALs, the Moi era saw the introduction of

the first-generation ASAL policy in 1980. Subsequent ASAL policies, such as the DRFD and PRSP, did not achieve substantial results despite adopting different approaches and strategies for socioeconomic development, including beneficiary participation. The Kibaki administration, on the other hand, demonstrated a significant focus on Northern ASAL development. Policies under the Jubilee regime, led by Uhuru Kenyatta, built on the foundations laid during the Kibaki era. These policies included the conceptualization of Kenya Vision 2030 and the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya in 2010.

A broad analysis of these policies reveals a persistent theme: a government emphasis on increased economic growth and a trickle-down approach, which has ultimately concentrated economic wealth among a few individuals, largely neglecting resource redistribution strategies. This trend prevailed until the development of Vision 2030, which continued to prioritize economic growth without sufficient consideration for social development and access to resources for the majority. This approach perpetuated socioeconomic inequalities, particularly among marginalized communities.

The extent of this issue is corroborated by the Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS) reports of 1994 and 1997, which utilized household consumption data to assess poverty in Kenya. These reports showed that in 1994, 47% of rural dwellers lived below the poverty line, which increased to 52% in 1997. The urban areas also experienced rising poverty rates, reflecting an increase from 29% to 49% during the same period (GOK, 2000).

Consequently, the nation's policies have largely failed to deliver much-needed socioeconomic development, particularly in ASAL regions, since gaining independence. Throughout this period, the central state played a pivotal role in policymaking. However, ASALs experienced social exclusion, leading to deprivation and discrimination. This exclusion manifested in limited access to resources, markets, and public services, ultimately perpetuating poverty and socioeconomic inequalities. Social exclusion resulted in constrained access to health, education, sanitation, housing, and economic opportunities. ASALs in Northern Kenya found themselves marginalized, leading to their increased dependence on Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), as highlighted in Chapter One. These NGOs attempted to fill the gaps left by the state and market, addressing poverty and marginalization in ASALs.

2.5 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the study explored post-colonial political and socioeconomic developments in Africa, with a specific focus on Kenya. We have highlighted the influence of bad governance, characterized by a culture of patronage and ethnicity, on the allocation of public goods. Additionally, we have delved into Kenya's post-independence socioeconomic policies and their role in the social exclusion and marginalization of pastoralist communities in the context of socioeconomic development and resource distribution. Given the low socioeconomic indicators in these areas, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have played a significant role in addressing these challenges. The next chapter will provide an in-depth examination of the activities and operations of International Civil Society Organizations (ICSO) in Isiolo County.

CHAPTER THREE

OPERATIONS OF ICSOs IN SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ISIOLO COUNTY, 1963-2015

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shed light on the post-colonial African landscape, characterized by authoritarian politics stemming from prolonged one-party rule. This era of bad governance, entrenched patronage, and ethnic considerations has greatly influenced the allocation of public resources, leading to marginalization, particularly in Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) regions. Within this changing landscape, there was a shift in socioeconomic policies rooted in neoliberalism, emphasizing the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in poverty reduction and socioeconomic service provision for marginalized communities. Northern ASAL regions, including Isiolo County, the central focus of this study, increasingly became associated with the presence and influence of CSOs. As detailed in Chapter One, CSOs have been favored due to their unique advantages in delivering socioeconomic services, especially for the poor and marginalized. However, can CSOs fully replace the central role of the state in this context? This chapter explores the operations of International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) in the realm of socioeconomic service provision.

This chapter is structured into three sections. The first provides an overview of the study area, offering the contextual backdrop against which the research findings are presented. The second section delves into the activities and functions of ICSOs engaged in socioeconomic development in the region. The chapter employs a combination of social

exclusion and developmental state theories to analyze the circumstances. The social exclusion theory illustrates how individuals who are politically, socially, and economically marginalized, often residing in remote, peripheral, and environmentally challenging areas, are more susceptible to dwindling livelihoods and socioeconomic resources, resulting in increased poverty. Conversely, the developmental state theory advocates for the pivotal role of the state in fostering economic growth and establishing institutions to support such growth. However, this growth is pursued not for its own sake but as a means to alleviate poverty and address significant disparities, ultimately improving the socioeconomic well-being of the entire population. Therefore, the state is entrusted with the responsibility of actively formulating and executing strategies to realize these objectives.

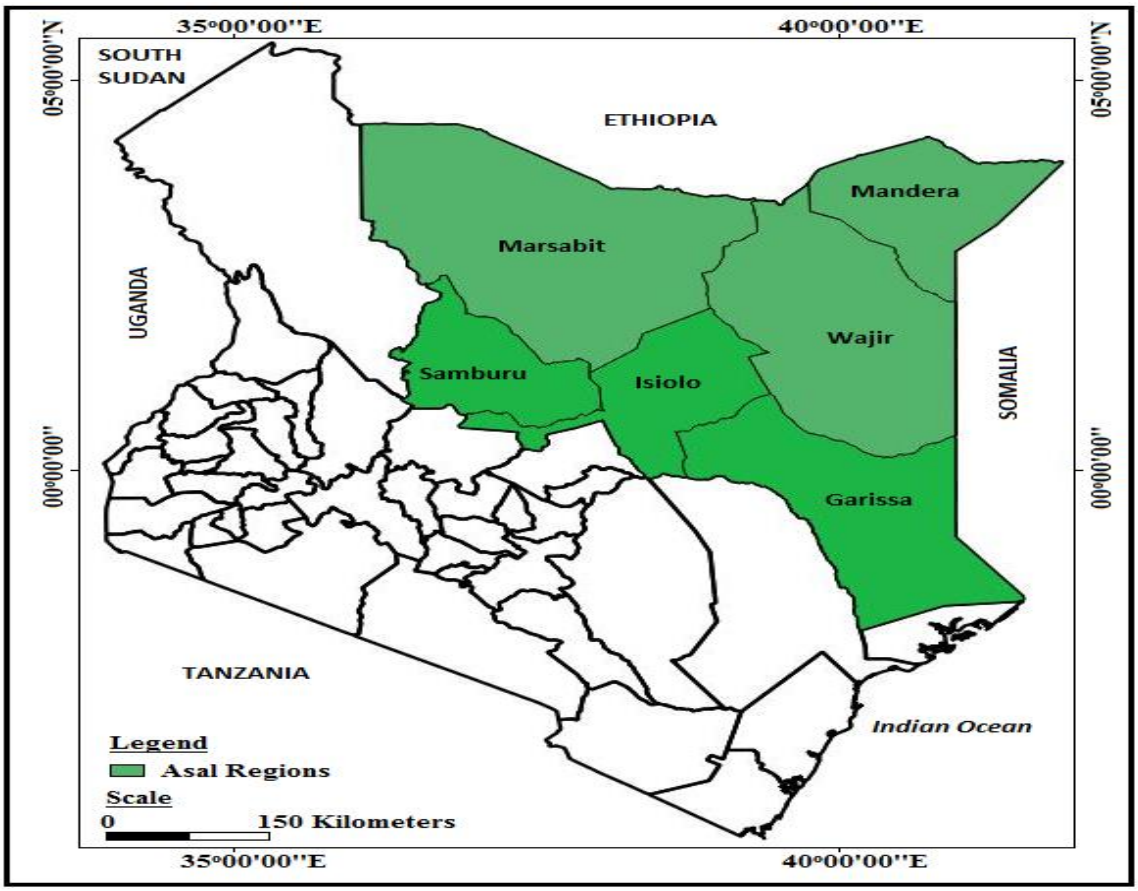
3.2 An overview of Northern ASALs and Isiolo County, the subject of this study

According to Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki (2008), Northern ASALs, including Isiolo County, were previously known as the Northern Frontier Districts (NFDs). The NFD was established as part of the British Protectorate in 1909 and consisted of six districts: Garissa, Mandera, Isiolo, Wajir, Samburu, and Marsabit. In 1929, Isiolo became the headquarters of the NFD and also functioned as a base for the King's African Rifles Battalion, a hub for patrols, a trading center for livestock, and a veterinary facility for cattle, owing to its proximity to other urban areas and its direct connection with Northern Kenya (Whitaker, 2012). The primary inhabitants of the NFD were nomadic pastoralists, including the Somali (who formed the majority), the Borana, Sakuye, Gabra, Orma, and Wata (GOK, 1962). During this period, the NFD was geographically isolated from the rest of Kenya due to its remote location, hostile environment with limited agricultural potential, and occupation by

warlike ethnic groups. Consequently, it was subject to heavy-handed governance (GOK, 1991).

Today, the former NFDs are counties collectively referred to as the Northern ASALs or dry lands (3.1: Map showing ASALs of Northern Kenya) due to their shared livelihoods characterized by mobile pastoralism and specific habitat conditions (GOK, 2012).

Figure 3.1: Map of Kenya Showing ASALs of Northern Kenya



Source: http://www.dmikenya.or.ke/where-we-work.html

Political and socioeconomic marginalization of the NFD can be traced back to its creation, as mentioned earlier. However, post-independence governments further exacerbated this marginalization, as evidenced by the prevailing socioeconomic policies discussed in the previous chapter. Additionally, the *Shifta* insurgency (1963-1967) reinforced the government's reluctance to develop this region. This conflict revolved around Somali nationalism and their desire to secede to the Somali Republic due to the aforementioned marginalization. However, the Somali community's influence extended to other pastoralists who shared a sense of isolation and not belonging (Branch, 2011). Consequently, violence and lawlessness prevailed, leading to the declaration of a state of emergency in 1963 and 1966 throughout the entire NFD.

According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC, 2013), the entire NFD region suffered immensely as governance was marked by collective punishment and killings by security forces. Furthermore, the conditions within the enclosures prevented pastoralists from practicing their traditional livelihoods (Whittaker, 2012). It wasn't until 1991, three decades after independence, that President Moi repealed the emergency laws. By that time, the residents had become severely impoverished, and the region lagged far behind the rest of Kenya in terms of investment, infrastructure, and human development (CRA, 2012). Throughout much of Kenya's independent history, the ASALs felt excluded from the national socioeconomic agenda. Until the 21st century, local residents would often humorously ask "tourists" from Nairobi, "how is Kenya?" This attitude was greatly influenced by official exclusion and unequal leadership, as discussed in the previous

chapter. Consequently, mistreatment and discriminatory political and economic actions became defining characteristics of the relationship between the locals and the government.

This study has established that the residents of Isiolo County were well aware of and experienced marginalization compared to other Kenyans. The conditions illustrating this marginalization are presented in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.2: Participants Familiarity with the Term Marginalization

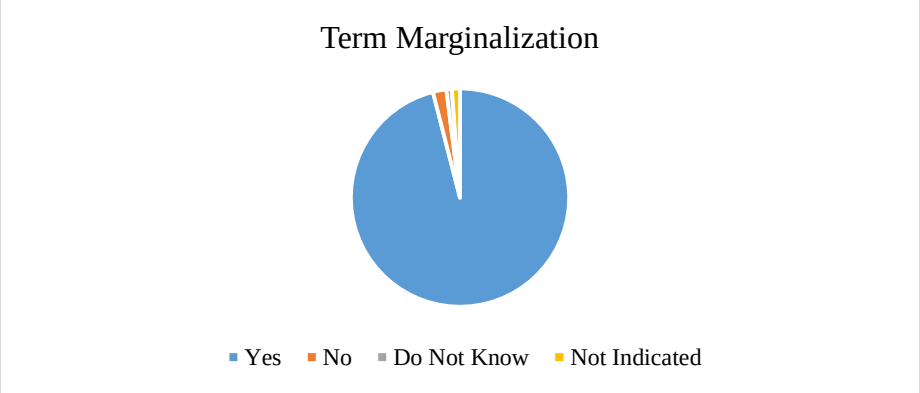


Figure 3.2 demonstrates that a majority of FGD discussants had a clear perception of the term marginalization as depicted by a majority response (96%) of YES. Table 3.1 shows the conditions of marginalization according to FGD discussants.

Table 3.1: Criteria for Identify Marginalization

Criteria	**Frequency**	**Percentages**
Poor roads	21	9
Poor access to health facilities	42	18
Access to water services	55	23
Level of literacy	32	13
Historical injustice	54	22
Poverty	36	15
No sure	14	6
Total	**240**	**100%**

Table 3.2 indicates that the FGD discussants were able to demonstrate conditions of marginalization. They were also aware that they were among the marginalized peoples in Kenya based on the above conditions. They referred to other regions, especially Nairobi city, as 'Kenya.' Thus, the population had a clear perception of marginalization and how it manifests. This is consistent with various reports on the marginalization of ASALs as discussed in Chapter Two.

Isiolo County, the focus of this study, is a component of Northern ASALs, and the key economic activity is pastoralism, which is the backbone of the county's economy as noted. About eighty percent (80%) of the inhabitants rely on the sale of livestock products for their livelihoods (CLIP, 2013). Because of pastoralism, cattle rustling is an economic as well as a cultural practice. As an economic activity, it is used for resource accumulation, especially after drought periods, while as a cultural practice, it is part of the rite of passage for men, who steal livestock to pay the bride price. Cattle rustling is a cyclic activity among pastoralists (Chopra, 2009; Sharamo, 2014; Mkutu et al., 2017). Irrigation farming is carried out along the Ewasonyiro river with the assistance of the Food Agriculture Organization (FAO) and other NGOs.

Isiolo County, like all northern ASALs, experiences unique challenges that hamper socioeconomic development in the region. These challenges include vast and unpoliced territories, conflicts over resources such as land and animal-related resources, cattle rustling, proliferation of small arms, and ethno-political contestations. These conflicts are characterized by severe violence, displacements, and massacres, especially in the rural

areas (Sharamo, 2014; Mkutu, 2015; Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS) Report, 2017; Mkutu et al., 2014; Mkutu & Boru, 2019). According to a study by the Social Institution and Gender (2015), Isiolo County was rated as the second-highest conflict area in the region, second only to Marsabit.

Conflicts are mainly related to mobile pastoralism. According to the GOK (2012) and Nyanjom (2014), Isiolo, as the gateway to northern Kenya, has been considered for key transnational physical infrastructure projects. These projects are part of the Kenya Vision 2030 infrastructural development and include a railway link under the proposed Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET). The projects are expected to usher in economic transformation and improve access and connectivity in Northern ASALs (FCDC, 2017). However, studies by Sharamo (2014), CHRIPS (2017), and Mkutu (2019) demonstrate that LAPSSET projects have attracted land speculators from non-pastoralist communities, who have been grabbing and buying land in various parts of the county for speculative purposes. Some of these lands are allegedly community-owned and historically categorized as trust land used by local pastoralists for grazing. This has resulted in conflict between the emerging 'landowners' and pastoralist communities. According to Mkutu and Boru (2019), community land has also been allocated to conservancies, thus displacing pastoralists from pasture, mobility routes, and water sources, which has increased competition for available resources and hence conflict.

One Key Informant had this to say regarding the escalating conflicts:

> Several rangelands have been created in both Isiolo North and Isiolo South. They are a source of conflict due to restricted access by pastoralists, especially during drought periods (Halkano Boru, OI, 15/05/2019).

According to Sharamo (2014), Mkutu et al. (2014), and CHRIPS (2017), devolution has introduced new conflicts in regard to power balance, control of county wealth, and new positions. Sharamo (2014) observes that there is fierce competition for electable posts, especially gubernatorial and senatorial seats, leading to severe violent armed conflict, especially in the run-up to general elections. For instance, Turkana villages on the outskirts of Isiolo town were frequently targeted by the Borana between 2011 and 2012 due to fear of Turkana voter strength before the 2013 general elections (Sharamo, 2014; Njoka et al., 2016).

Conflicts over land and land-related resources are increasingly common. A study by Boye and Kaarhrus (2011) shows that constant violent conflicts among pastoralists are due to land rights, water points, and pasture. This scenario is aggravated during drought periods when other pastoralists immigrate to Isiolo from neighboring counties such as Samburu, Marsabit, Garissa, and as far as the Republic of Somalia due to the porous border between Somalia and Isiolo. Isiolo County has comparatively better water sources compared to these regions, making it a magnet for pastoralists during droughts. Areas like Isiolo Central Division and Kom triangle (see Figure 3.2) (Saferworld, 2015; FCDC, 2017) have been hotspots of intercommunal conflict, where repeated and fierce clashes have occurred (FCDC, 2017). According to the DCC:

> Security, especially in Kom triangle, is very volatile (Key Informant, Mr. Marwa OI, 10/05/2019).

Another Key Informant had this to say about security in Kom triangle:

> There must be a head count for all those entering Kom triangle. Not all leave the place alive (Halkano Boru, Isiolo, OI, 15/05/2019).

Interviews with other Key Informants, (Gabriel Lochi, Isiolo, OI, 10/05/2019; Samson Edong'a, Isiolo, OI, 10/05/2019), confirmed the above land-related conflicts among pastoralists. They observed that constant clashes occurred along the counties bordering Isiolo, mainly Garissa, Samburu, and Marsabit, which borders Merti. One Key Informant stated:

> We, as members from the Turkana ethnic community, are always viewed as the aggressors in most conflicts. This is not true; we are actually the victims! (Gabriel Lochi, OI, Isiolo, 10/05/2019).

According to the study by Mkutu and Boru (2019), the morans or youth were the main agents of violence, mobilized by community elders, while politicians contributed financial resources. The aggressive conflicts lead to deaths, maiming of people, loss of animals, and destruction of property (FCDC, 2017). This is what the DCC had to say about his experience with land conflict in the county:

> I have no doubt at all when I say that land conflict is fueled by politicians (Key Informant, Mr. Julius Marwa, OI, 10/05/2019).

A study by Saferworld (2015) and CHRIPS (2017) revealed that due to unclear sharing agreements, migrations from neighboring counties were seen as forms of trespass. Even where they exist, often times the migrating communities defied the accords. A Key Informant stated thus:

> Visiting communities, particularly the Somali of Somalia, totally disregard the sharing agreements between communities (Hakana, Boru, OI, 15/05/2019).

Another key source of conflict is cattle rustling, as mentioned earlier, which according to FCDC (2017) is cyclical because attackers are never punished. Politicians and the entire community perpetuate this practice. Key Informants, (Mr. Edong'a, OI, 10/05/2019;

County Assistant Livestock Officer, Mr. Dickson Chaullo, OI, 12/05/2019) were in consensus that all pastoralist communities engaged in the practice. However, this is what the Livestock Officer observed:

> The Turkana and the Samburu are the most notorious because of their age-set system. The Meru, who reside along the Meru-Isiolo border, are the most vulnerable and often victims of these raids (Dickson Chaullo, OI, Isiolo, 12/05/2019).

Another Key Informant stated that:

> The Turkana and Samburu refer to cattle rustling as their 'ATM.' Other areas known for this practice include Kula Mawe in Kinna ward, a Borana-occupied area, Ngare Mara, Kipsing in Oldonyiro, and Atani in Burat ward, where Samburu and Turkana often fight fiercely (Mr. Edong'a, OI, Isiolo, 10/05/2019).

According to CLIP (2013) and FCDC (2017), the above conflicts are aggravated by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, sourced from neighboring Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia due to the porous borders. Further, due to poor policing and capacity in the vast and challenging terrain, there was a delay in deploying security agents in troubled areas. Consequently, there is mistrust among locals regarding the role and ability of security agents. This animosity is historical, based on the mistreatment of locals under colonial police through to the *Shifta* war days. Thus, gathering of intelligence information is frustrated, leading to increased unresolved crimes (Mkutu, 2019). Mkutu (2019) further observes that security agents are also vulnerable and are sometimes overpowered and killed by criminal gangs as they try to contain conflict in hot spots. A Key Informant stated thus:

> Our security agents are expected to traverse the rough terrain in the rural area for up to 400km per day, yet there is inadequate funds for fuel and they cannot get there unless they have a four-wheel vehicle. Maintaining security in the rural areas is very challenging (DCC, Mr. Julius Marwa, OI, Isiolo, 10/05/2019).

Thus, many locals are armed, but especially pastoralists, who often defended themselves from potential and aggressive attacks that aim at cattle theft (Njoka et.al., 2016). A Key Informant noted that:

> The local communities do not trust the ability of the security agents to protect their lives and their livestock and have therefore equipped themselves with very sophisticated weaponry, such as the G3 rifles and M16. These weapons are readily available in the market (Halkano Boru, OI, 15/05/2019).

Further, according to CLIP (2013), the poor infrastructure that includes the poor road and telecommunications networks increases the cost of transportation and hinders the free movement of goods and services. Out of a road network of 975.5 km, only 34 km percent is bituminized. Gravel and earth-surfaced roads account for 22 percent and 75 percent of the total road surface, respectively. These roads are impassable during the rainy season and can only be used by heavy vehicles. The telecommunications network is also very poor at 7 percent mobile phone network coverage (ibid).

The foregoing section demonstrates the complex socioeconomic and cultural background of Isiolo County. In the context of previously weak national political will to develop the region as noted in the previous chapter, the locals over the years engaged in their pastoralist livelihoods. Despite the great potential of the livestock industry, economic and political exclusion has resulted in inadequate exposure to the market economy. This has undermined the ability of locals to effectively exploit their resources to improve their lot and contribute significantly to the national economy, as noted in Chapter One. The institutionalized, recurrent, and fierce conflicts are related to weakened and undeveloped livelihood systems. The insecurity that forces pastoralists to flee has also affected their ability to maintain the

very livelihood-related resources and to access socioeconomic goods, further exacerbating their conditions (KNHDR, 2006). The government does not seem to have done much to minimize the conflicts due to inadequate policing as noted. Thus, ASAL livelihood resources are constantly exposed to the vagaries of the harsh ecological conditions, further increasing poverty (CRA, 2012).

Furthermore, the demonstrated poor infrastructure, limited presence of security agents, unchecked infiltration of small arms, and unchecked cross-border movement that intensify conflicts demonstrate limited state presence. According to Soko (2010) states exist to provide these political goods to the citizenry. He asserts that in the hierarchy of provision of political goods by the state, human security is the most crucial because it prevents cross-border attacks and infiltration, eliminates domestic threats, and prevents crime and related dangers. According to KHDR (2006), insecurity has constrained the role of the government and CSOs, thus contributing to poverty and socioeconomic inequality. It is this exclusion by the state that has contributed to the voices of exclusion by residents.

3.3 CSO Operations in Isiolo County

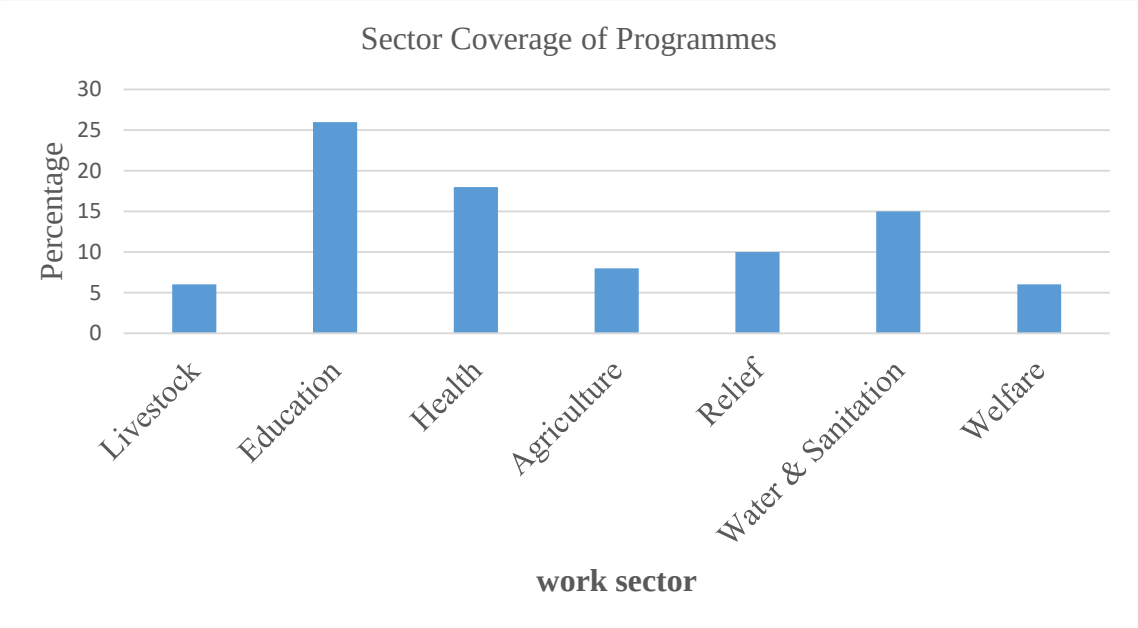
This section focuses on the third objective of the study; Operations of ICSO activities in Isiolo County. This includes; the actual programs implemented (sector coverage) and the area of focus, the nature of services provided, that is whether ICSOs are engaged in service delivery or advocacy, or service delivery and advocacy, the choice of location of ICSO projects, the contribution of ICSOs in improving socioeconomic access and ICSO effectiveness in the areas of focus. This study focuses on socioeconomic programmes

implemented by ICSOs in Isiolo County. These programmes include health, education, water and sanitation and livelihood intervention projects such as agriculture, livestock, relief and welfare projects.

3.3.1 Sector Coverage of Programmes

This section focuses on the sector coverage of programmes of the 47 ICSOs sampled that include health, education, water and sanitation and livelihood intervention projects such as agriculture, livestock, relief and welfare projects.

Figure 3.3: Sector Coverage of Programmes



Source: Research data

From Figure 3.3, ICSOs are individually engaged in single or multi-socioeconomic activities. However, their concentration is in the education, health, and water and sanitation sectors. Out of the 47 ICSOs engaged, 25 are involved in education, 19 in health, 16 in

water and sanitation, 8 in agriculture, 5 in livestock management, 6 in welfare, and 8 in relief. Agriculture, livestock, welfare, and relief are considered as livelihood intervention strategies (see Appendix 1). This finding is consistent with a study by Oyugi (2004) that analyzed the sector coverage of 100 NGOs, both foreign and local, operating in the country, and 2040 NGOs registered with the state NGO Coordination Bureau, which provide socioeconomic services. The study established that both local and foreign NGOs focus their attention on education, health, water, and welfare sectors. Statistics from the government NGO Coordination Bureau demonstrate that over 90% of NGOs in Kenya focus on service provision such as health-related activities and education (Republic of Kenya NGO Coordination Board 2006).

A study by Brass (2012) on 4,211 NGOs registered with the NGO Coordination Bureau demonstrates that most organizations (40%) were engaged in economic and community-based projects, followed by projects targeting marginalized groups such as women, children, youth, disabled, and the elderly (17%). Finally, health-related activities accounted for 14%, education for 8%, the environment for 6%, agriculture for 4%, corruption and governance for 4%, and disaster/refugee relief for 2%. This demonstrates that the focus of NGO work across the country is primarily on socioeconomic services.

ICSO officials in Isiolo County stated that their organizations choose which program(s) to support based on their own interests and the location and needs of the people they intend to serve. Livelihood intervention involving welfare receives less attention. Welfare, as indicated by ICSO officials, involves the financial support of small-scale enterprises,

income-generating activities, and cash transfers to vulnerable families. Equally, inadequate attention has been given to livestock keeping as a source of livelihood, despite the high level of food insecurity and poverty in the region. Livestock keeping is the mainstay in rural areas, as noted above. This was corroborated by findings from FGD discussants in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Main Economic Activity

Economic activity	Frequency	Percentages
Small businesses	20	8
Livestock keeping	130	54
Agro-pastoralist	24	10
Farming	30	13
Salaried employees	12	5
Casual laborers	10	4
None	14	6
Total	**240**	**100%**

Source: Tabulated by Author

The table 3.2 reveals that the majority of ICSO beneficiaries were livestock keepers (54%), followed by those engaged in irrigation farming (13%). Agro-pastoralists accounted for 10%, those involved in small businesses were 8%, 6% had no occupation, 5% were salaried employees, while 4% were casual laborers.

In alignment with livestock keeping being the most common economic activity, a Program Manager of Veterinaries Sans Frontiers noted that:

> A single pastoralist can own up to 200 herds. But the problem is that livestock are reared mostly for prestige purposes due to the conservative attitude among pastoralists. Livestock production has not been fully commercialized in this county. There is a need for the locals to view this sector as a source of income, just like agriculture (Davis Ikiror, OI, 15/5/2019).

In support of this view, a Key Informant stated:

> Pastoralists with several herds still consider themselves poor and rely on aid from either NGOs or the government (Mr. Edong'a, OI, 10/05/2019).

Another Key Informant stated that:

> The commercialization of the livestock sector in Isiolo County is long overdue, but even the county government has not allocated adequate funds to this sector, despite its dominance as a source of livelihood (Livestock Officer, Dickson Chaullo, OI, 23/7/2019).

The relegation of the pastoralism sector to the periphery over the years, as noted in Chapter Two, by successive independent governments, has contributed to livestock being viewed as a sociocultural activity. According to Behnke and Muthami (2011), there has been limited effort to harness the potential in the livestock sector in terms of marketing, establishing a development board, and setting up research institutes. According to Nyangito and Omiti (2000) and GOK (2012), ASALs generally host about 70% of the national livestock herd, making them major meat-producing areas of Kenya. Behnke and Muthami (2011) estimated, in their research conducted in 2010, the contribution of livestock to the national GDP at Kshs. 320 billion, only slightly less than that from crops and horticulture.

According to FAO (2006) and the Ministry of Agriculture (2008), the livestock sector contributes almost 90% to the livelihoods of households and accounts for nearly 95% of family income in the ASALs through the sale of animal products. Further, as populations increase, urbanize, and become richer, they demand more meat and livestock products. Research shows that Kenya is a meat-deficient nation. Thus, increasing livestock production by even 50% could meet the deficit and create about 400,000 jobs from ASALs alone (UNDP, 2006). Such jobs include livestock-related agro-processing industries, such

as dairy, meat, and leather, as well as earning foreign exchange. A study by Gituku et al. (2015) on the economic contribution of the pastoral meat trade in Isiolo demonstrates that despite the many challenges it faces, the pastoral meat trade generates an average gross profit of KShs. 11,199,780 million for every actor involved annually. Thus, this subsector has great potential for improving the economy of Isiolo Town and the lives and livelihoods of the county's population. This demonstrates that if ASAL resources are properly harnessed, they can sustain themselves, contribute to economic growth, and ensure food security, as noted.

3.3.2 The Nature of Services Provided by ICSOs

As discussed in Chapter Two, NGO work can take on either operational or advocacy roles, and some NGOs engage in both simultaneously. This study aimed to assess how various ICSOs in Isiolo County addressed the issue of low socioeconomic development. It was found that out of the 47 ICSOs interviewed, only one organization, ActionAid, strongly emphasized advocacy work. The Project Manager in the county explained this approach:

> Action Aid has adopted a rights-based approach since the year 2000. This means that all our programs provided to locals have a human rights component. Before initiating any project, such as providing water, we inform locals about their right to receive government services and the role of the government as the duty bearer. We also mobilize local social movements to ensure that locals understand the county budget processes. ActionAid was also part of the Green Amendment Campaign that advocated for the 2/3rd gender rule in all political positions and institutions across the country (Mr. Hosea Kiplgat, OI, 17/5/2019).

Six ICSOs (13%) indicated that advocacy was an integral part of their work (including organizations like World Vision, Food for Hungry, Arid Lands Information Network, Catholic Relief Services, Caritas, and Action against Hunger). Forty (86%) ICSOs

primarily focused on operational work. Therefore, the majority of ICSOs in the area were more concerned with providing services than advocacy. This finding aligns with the observations of the Republic of Kenya NGO Coordination Board (2006) and Brass (2011), which indicate that advocacy or human rights NGOs are relatively few in Kenya. Thus, the primary focus of most NGOs in Isiolo County is on delivering socioeconomic services.

As discussed in Chapter One, advocacy NGOs have the advantage of addressing structural marginalization and poverty in societies by promoting relevant policies. These efforts are more proactive and long-term in nature. However, Burger and Owen (2013) argue that not everyone can realistically achieve self-reliance, even though the advocacy approach may be more desirable. They suggest that combining socioeconomic service delivery with empowerment-focused advocacy programs is a more balanced approach.

It is important to recognize that neither advocacy work nor socioeconomic service delivery is inherently more valuable or morally superior. Edwards and Hulme (1996) highlight that case studies demonstrate potential complementarities between these two roles at the grassroots level. This study supports the idea that CSOs providing socioeconomic services to marginalized communities, like Isiolo County, should also work to strengthen their advocacy efforts to ensure that these communities receive services from the state. This approach is consistent with the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, which provides for affirmative action through Article 56 and the Equalization Fund through Article 204 for previously marginalized groups, as discussed in Chapter Two.

3.3.3 Factors Determining the Location of ICSO in Isiolo County

Various factors influence the location of NGO projects. Commenting on this, Brass (2009) noted that NGO project locations may be determined randomly, based on the presence of extreme poverty, personal connections of individual NGO workers or leaders, the degree of political interference in a specific area, or the comfort level of NGO workers. According to Banks and Hulme (2012), NGO project locations may be based on considerations like geographic vulnerability, ease of access for NGO workers, the availability of donor funding, or the influence of political and religious factors. Banks and Hulme (2012) further argue that the choice of project locations by NGOs can affect the proximity of these organizations to disadvantaged groups, potentially hindering grassroots participation.

Critics of NGO work often focus on the location of NGO projects, asserting that NGOs should be situated close to their beneficiaries (Kameri-Mbote, 2010). Mercer (2002) and Hulme (2012) support this view, stating that NGOs should be located in areas where community needs are most acute, especially since poverty is the most frequently cited issue connected to the scope of NGO work. According to Banks and Hulme (2012), the overarching goals and mandates of NGOs are grounded in poverty reduction. As discussed in Chapter One, one reason donor communities favor NGOs over state institutions for socioeconomic service provision is their ability to reach the impoverished in hard-to-reach areas and provide extensive coverage compared to bureaucratic state bodies.

An overview of Isiolo County illustrates that residents, particularly in rural conflict-prone areas with challenging terrain, face numerous challenges. Isiolo South constituency,

located over 200 kilometers from Isiolo town, is considered highly vulnerable, with very limited infrastructure and high insecurity, as mentioned previously. A Key Informant stated:

> When you compare Isiolo North and Isiolo South, poverty levels are highest in Isiolo South. There is unimaginable poverty in Isiolo South. Children and women are the most vulnerable, especially during the drought season when there is no food, and livestock also die (Mr. Lordman Lekalkuli, County Coordinator, National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), OI, 30/5/2019).

This statement is supported by data on poverty levels in the county. According to CLIP (2013), wards in Isiolo South, such as Ngare Mara (47%), Bulla Pesa (44%), Oldonyiro (80%), Wabera (58%), Garba Tulla (85%), Kina (73%), Burat (68%), Cherab (81%), Sericho (83%), and Chari (80%), exhibit high poverty rates. Key Informants, Mr. Edong'a (OI, 10/5/2019) and Mr. Gurat Katama (OI, 30/5/2019), also observed that poverty was prevalent throughout the entire county. One Key Informant explained:

> There is a significant population of urban poor in Wabera and Ngare Mara wards, which are near Isiolo town (Mr. Edong'a, OI, 10/5/2019).

To understand the strategic placement of ICSO projects in Isiolo County, the researcher interviewed 47 officials and Key Informants to cross-verify information from ICSO officials. All 47 ICSO officials the researcher interviewed revealed that their operational headquarters were either in Isiolo town or Nairobi. They also stated that the location of their projects was based on the needs and poverty levels of the local population. This research revealed that 25 (53%) out of the 47 ICSOs had their projects based in Isiolo North constituency, covering Bula Pesa, Chari, Cherab, Ngare Mara, Wabera, Burat, and Oldonyiro wards. These wards are relatively accessible, have better social amenities, and are within reach. Ngare Mara, in particular, benefits from its location along the highway (CLIP, 2013). This research further found that 19 out of the 47 ICSOs (40%) had projects

located throughout the entire county, including Isiolo North and Isiolo South constituencies. However, only a small number, 3 ICSOs (6%) out of the 47, focused their projects in Isiolo South, covering Garba Tulla and Merti wards. Consequently, there were more ICSO projects in Isiolo North, even though Isiolo South is comparatively poorer.

This observation was supported by Key Informants in the study, including Mr. Joel Macharia (OI, 28/5/2019), Halkano Boru (OI, 15/05/2019), and the DCC, Mr. Julius Marwa (OI, 11/05/2019). They all noted that Isiolo North had a higher concentration of projects, despite Isiolo South being more vulnerable. Mr. Macharia, a Programme Officer with the KRCS, a national NGO that is the first-line emergency responder in Isiolo County, provided further insights:

> Conditions in Isiolo South are very difficult, but you will find that most CSOs, whether national or international, concentrate most of their activities in Isiolo North constituency. This is especially true in Isiolo Central division, which covers Wabera and Bulla Pessa wards (Mr. Joel Macharia, KRCS, OI, 28/5/2019).

From the above, it can be argued that project location in Isiolo County is influenced by multiple factors beyond socioeconomic vulnerability alone, despite fact sheets indicating that wards in Isiolo South are the most vulnerable areas. Similar findings have been reported in various studies in different parts of the world. A study conducted by Da Costa (2016) analyzed factors influencing the location of NGOs in 5,562 Brazilian municipalities between 2001 and 2010. Using geographically weighted regressions (GWR), the results indicated that neither access to resources nor poor socioeconomic indicators significantly influenced NGO location. The primary motivation for choosing a location was the presence of a high pre-existing density of other NGOs in that area. According to Koch et al. (2009), NGO locations may also be influenced by the geographical priorities of donors. Their

cross-country findings on the selection of locations by INGOs found that neither poverty nor poor governance significantly determined the choice of location. Instead, INGOs tended to cluster in countries where donors were located, reinforcing patterns of uneven development.

Fruttero and Gauri (2005), in their analysis of NGO strategic choices, developed two conventional accounts of NGO strategies. One account suggests that pragmatic and organizational concerns drive location decisions, while the other emphasizes charitable motivations. They analyzed NGO program location decisions using data from the 1995 and 2000 Bangladesh Household and Income and Expenditure Survey. Their research revealed that the choice of NGO locations was not significantly related to indicators of community needs. A study by Brass (2012) on NGO location in Kenya also found that convenience factors, such as access to beneficiaries, donors, and elite resources, played a more substantial role in location choice than human development indicators.

Oyugi (2004) conducted a study on the coverage of NGOs in Kenya and noted that their operational headquarters were often located in prominent urban regions. However, the majority of NGO programs were focused on rural areas, particularly in relatively impoverished regions like the ASALs of Kenya, including Mandera, Wajir, Garissa, Moyale, Marsabit, and Isiolo. Omiti et al. (2002) found that NGO location depended on factors such as size, mission, infrastructure, proximity to urban areas, and security. Consequently, urban areas with good infrastructure, both human and physical, had the

largest coverage, while inaccessible areas with low population density and poor communication networks had the lowest coverage.

This research also revealed instances where local politicians influenced the location of CSO projects. Among the 47 ICSO officials interviewed, 21 (44%) acknowledged that CSOs sometimes yielded to politicians' demands to direct development to certain areas and not others. These officials asserted that failure to concede to such demands could result in project implementation challenges and a refusal to provide county technical personnel for projects in rural areas. All 47 ICSO officials interviewed indicated that project location also considered security concerns, including the fear of attacks from bandits, as well as the poor road and communication infrastructure. These factors align with those noted earlier as impediments to socioeconomic development in the county. A Key Informant explained:

> There is general insecurity in the entire Isiolo County, but Isiolo South constituency has serious security concerns, such that NGOs operating in the region have situated their offices in rural peri-urban centers like Modogashe, Kina, Oldonyiro, and Merti, where there is limited presence of security agents (Mr. Marwa, DCC, OI, Isiolo, 10/05/12019)

In addition to the concerns regarding project location, there is evidence of sector duplication, as indicated in Figure 3.3. This duplication points to weaknesses in NGO activities. A Key Informant in Isiolo County remarked:

> Most CSOs in this county have their projects located not more than 5km from the highway. In some cases, up to ten CSOs concentrate their projects in the same village, offering similar services, and you wonder what these CSOs are trying to prove! (Halkano Boru, OI, 15/05/2019)

This suggests that there may be remote villages in Isiolo County that have not received any CSO-related services, while those in urban centers or along the highway have been overserved. This unequal distribution contributes to the severe deprivation observed

throughout the county, particularly in Isiolo South. Robinson and White (1997) made similar observations about limited coverage and equity in NGO socioeconomic service provision. They noted that while most CSO projects reach the poor, they often don't reach the poorest. The duplication of projects is primarily due to the lack of coordination in NGO work, which leads to the concentration of efforts in the same geographical areas.

Martin (2002) also observed a lack of coordination in the NGO sector, specifically in his case study on the role of NGOs in Tajikistan. The KNHDR (2006) affirmed that significant duplication of effort occurs in NGO work, with multiple NGOs competing on similar projects without interacting with each other. This fragmented approach limits the effectiveness of individual NGOs, despite their small size and focus on specific local projects. These observations echo Hearn's (2007) insight that, despite the expanding NGO activity in Kenya, significant contradictions, gaps, and weaknesses persist in coverage. Thus, NGOs, on their own, cannot fully address socioeconomic equality and vulnerability, as many in marginalized communities, such as the residents of Isiolo County, remain on the margins of society.

In summary, the geographic coverage of NGO work in Isiolo County does not necessarily align with the actual demand on the ground. ICSO activities are relatively less concentrated in Isiolo South, despite the area having the highest poverty levels. Moreover, due to project duplication, coverage remains limited. This highlights the constraints of CSOs, which depend on the state to provide security and sound infrastructure to facilitate socioeconomic

service delivery. Consequently, the capacity of NGOs to achieve wider coverage in Isiolo County has not been fully realized and must be critically examined.

3.3.4 The Contribution of ICSOs towards Socioeconomic Development of Isiolo County

ICSOs in Isiolo have had a profoundly significant impact on the lives of the people. To begin with, all 47 ICSOs interviewed collaborated with the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), which has the mandate to exercise overall coordination over all matters relating to drought risk management in ASAL counties in Kenya (GOK, 2013). However, NDMA has been devolved to counties and is managed by County coordinators, as noted. These ICSOs provide resources, both human and financial, to carry out interventions, map out hazard areas, and develop mitigating strategies in Isiolo County. Key Informants corroborated this information.

One Key Informant stated:

> The NDMA, in collaboration with various stakeholders, has been instrumental in providing both human and financial resources to combat drought-related challenges such as food insecurity. This has had a significant impact on the lives of the local people (Mr. Lelkulkuli, NDMA coordinator, Isiolo County, OI, 30/5/2019).

Another Key Informant had this to say:

> Drought is the most common cause of food insecurity in Isiolo County. Drought has a negative impact on the livelihoods of the indigenous people who practice pastoralism. But the establishment of the NDMA has come up with strategies that are effective to a reasonable extent. NDMA's work would not be successful without the aid of donors and NGOs in the county (Mr. Julius Marwa, the DCC, OI, 10/05/12019).

Due to aridity, Isiolo County is susceptible to drought, food insecurity, human and livestock death, and constant and violent conflicts due to diminished pasture, as noted above. The Common Country Assessment (CCA) (2018), in their report for the period (2013 – 2017), revealed that poverty and food insecurity were acute in Northern ASAL lands, which had been severely affected by recurrent droughts. It also noted that 65% of residents of Isiolo County lived below the poverty line. Thus, ICSOs in Isiolo County are improving the lives of the majority of the locals who are marginalized and who live on the margins of society, with limited state presence, as noted. Some ICSOs were also involved in school feeding programs that benefitted school-going children in severely drought-stricken areas.

This aspect was confirmed by FGD group discussions, where 70% (21 FGDs out of 30 FGDs) confirmed school feeding programs in Ngaramara, Burat, and Sericho wards. All thirty FDG group discussants stated that this program was key in reducing time wastage, as pupils/students didn't have to race home to seek food during lunch hour. It also led to increased pupil/student retention because school meals attracted increased enrollment in the first place. According to a Key Informant from the Ministry of Livestock:

> If there is no school feeding program in place, children, particularly from pastoralist communities, will prefer to tend to their flock than go to school (Mr. Chaulo, OI, 12/05/12019).

The sixteen ICSOs (Appendix 1) involved in water and sanitation had improved the quality of water, making it safe for households and livestock. They had also constructed village water pans, dug boreholes, and piped water in communities for use as well as in farms for horticulture farming. Horticultural products that were sold in local markets enabled locals

to provide for their families. A key contribution in this regard was observed by Food for the Hungry ICSO. This is what one ICSO official said:

> Our interventions in agriculture have empowered residents in Shabilu and Kambi Gaba villages in Ngare Mara ward. These villages were dependent on handouts and food aid from NGOs, but now they are able to produce food for their own consumption, and the surplus is sold at the local markets. We hope that this transformation will not stop once we exit the area (Julius Kobia, Food for Hungry, Program Manager, Isiolo, OI, 17/5/2019).

ICSOs involved in water and sanitation had also contributed to community behavior change by building toilets for locals who were not accustomed to using latrines. Again, the Food for the Hungry ICSO stood out with clear statistics. The ICSO official stated that:

> We have managed to construct toilets for 80% out of 220 households in Maisha Bora village in Burat ward. We also managed to eradicate jiggers in this village by providing financial support through a local women's group, and we have also reduced HIV/AIDS infections to below 5% from the initial 12% between cohorts of 15-24 years in the same area since 2009 by promoting behavior change programs (Julius Kobia, Food for Hungry, Program Manager, Isiolo, OI, 17/5/2019).

International Mercy Corps and CORDAID are among the ICSOs that had programs and projects all over the county, covering both Isiolo North and Isiolo South. CORDAID ICSO was instrumental in capacity building in the health sector in the county. This is what an official stated:

> We have helped build capacity by training health workers in the County Ministry of Health and in county health facilities. We have availed drugs in 42 facilities in the county by 2015. These health facilities include Isiolo County referral Hospital in Wabera ward, Waso Dispensary in Kula Mawe in Bulla Pessa ward, Korbesa in Cherab ward, Malkadaka in Garbe Tulla, Kina Health Centre in Kina, and Modogashe in Sericho. We have also sensitized and trained Community Health Volunteers (CHVs) on community vaccination and general hygiene, and we have facilitated immunization for locals in Isiolo South in Sericho and Garba Tulla wards. We have also provided interventions that have significantly reduced malnutrition in Sericho and Garba Tulla wards (Programme Officer, Janet Sambili, Isiolo, OI, 12/5/2019).

The Programme officer for International Mercy Corps Programme had this to say about their efforts in the county:

> The 2011 drought was very severe. We partnered with NGOs like Action Against Hunger, UNICEF, and WFP, and we were able to feed children and pregnant and lactating mothers by providing food and food supplements in Garbatulla and Sericho in Isiolo South wards (Ms. Frida Mutea, Isiolo, OI, 15/6/2019).

The ICSOs that combined agriculture and livestock services (Caritas, Veterinary Sans Frontieres, Mercy Corps, Action Against Hunger, ActionAid, International Institute for Rural Reconstruction, and ACDI-VOCA) in liaison with the Ministry of Agriculture had encouraged and supported pastoralists to plant hay for their livestock. They supported horticulture and beekeeping ventures to improve the income of pastoralists. They were jointly involved in strengthening animal care in Isiolo South rural areas of Sericho and Garbetulla and helped pastoralists to develop climate change adaptation strategies to maximize the use of resources. These ICSOs also promoted animal husbandry by providing extension services and promoted resilience-building of camels. A Project Manager of Veterinary Sans Frontieres stated:

> Veterinary Sans Frontieres has strengthened the capacity of the county government in the Ministry of Livestock by facilitating training at Kabete training institute to improve the county laboratory diagnostic capacity. We collaborated with the FAO and other CSOs and managed to eradicate cattle plague that had been a menace for livestock. We also participated in the development of the Camel Development Policy and the Range Land Act, which have interventions that build resilience for camel and livestock, respectively (Davis Ikiror, Isiolo, OI, 14/6/2019).

The Project Manager of Catholic Relief Services (CRS), also involved with livestock, had this to say:

> CRS has constructed 12 livestock markets in Isiolo town, 2 in Oldonyiro, 3 in Duse, and 4 in Merti. These markets enable the pastoralists to interact with other economic actors and sell their products. CRS also collaborated with other NGOs

> and eradicated the Rift Valley fever through mass vaccination around Ewaso Nyiro River in 2019. We have also contributed to the development of the Livestock Marketing Bill, although it is still in draft form, and the Cooperative Bill, which supported the formation of cooperatives for livestock farmers (Patrick Njuguna, Isiolo, OI, 25/5/2019).

The Project Manager of ACDI-VOCA stated:

> ACDI-VOCA influenced the Isiolo Livestock Sales Yard Act, which involved the care and management of the livestock market in Isiolo town. In this case, the community retains 60% of the funds generated from market activities such as licensing but remits 40% to the county government to maintain the facility. The aim was to emphasize the aspect of ownership (Millicent, Isiolo, OI, 15/5/2019).

Moreover, the Programme Manager of Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT) stated that the trust had facilitated five conservancies (Nakupratt-Gotu, Leparua, Biliqo-Bulesa, Nasulu, and Oldonyiro Community Conservancy) that were used as fattening facilities and migration areas for animals. The NRT, through its trading arm (NRT-Trading), supported the commercialization of livestock (Mohamed Shibia, Isiolo, OI, 15/5/2019). Action Aid, according to the Project Manager (Hosea Kiplgat, OI, 17/5/2019), had contributed to the Climate Change Act, 2018. This act stated that 2% of the county's development budget would be utilized in the management of climate variability-related hazards. Action Aid also contributed to the Disaster Risk Management Policy, which was in its final stages at the time of the interview. This policy was to enable the community to form structures to respond to disasters.

The ICSOs that provided education services (World Vision, Action Aid, Global Hope Network, and Arid Lands Information Network) had made a commendable effort in improving the sector. World Vision, in particular, had made significant contributions. The project manager had this to say:

> World Vision has constructed 80 classes in Gaba in Burat Ward and has improved existing classes and equipped them with 'talking walls,' books, and revision material. We have also targeted vulnerable girls between ages 10-19 who have dropped out of school and have facilitated their acquisition of basic literacy and business skills. We have also sponsored girls willing to resume formal schooling, some up to the university level (Michael Kimani, Isiolo, OI, 17/5/2019).

Action Aid had constructed Ngare Mara primary (Hosea Kiplgat, OI, 17/5/2019), while Global Hope Network (Pastor Wubshet Mengesha, OI, 12/6/2019) had constructed Gambella and Atir primary schools, both in Ngare Mara ward. The government later posted teachers in these schools. The Arid Lands Information Network (James Nguo, OI, 20/5/2019), which worked in Merti in Isiolo South, won the 'Bill and Melinda Gates Access to Learning Award' and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) - International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) UNESCO-IPDC Rural Access Award' in 2012. These awards recognize organizations that champion information technology in rural and remote areas. Collectively, all ICSOs in the education sector sponsored school feeding programs, which contributed to increased child retention in schools. Speaking of the importance of education, the project manager of Global Hope Network stated thus:

> Education for the local children is the best way to break the generational cycle of poverty. Therefore, we sponsor these children up to various levels, including vocational and university (Pastor Wubshet Mengesha, OI, Isiolo, 12/6/2019).

From the foregoing, we have seen that ICSOs in Isiolo County are playing a crucial role by filling the vacuum of state weakness in socioeconomic service provision. The ICSOs have also lobbied for policy changes, as noted. These roles are also traditionally the responsibility of the state. This significant role of ICSOs in Isiolo County was also acknowledged by FGD discussants in Table 3.3 below when asked about the commitment of NGOs in improving the lives of the locals.

Table 3.3: Commitment of NGOs to Improving the Lives of the Locals

Response	Frequency	Percentages
NGOs committed	135	56
NGO not committed	105	44
Total	**240**	**100%**

The results presented in Table 3.3 indicate that the majority of beneficiaries, 56%, were satisfied with NGO commitment to improving their lives. Assessing the effectiveness of NGOs is significant because, as agents of transformation, it is ideal for community members to benefit from NGO activities and programs. This result suggests that the public has acknowledged the positive contribution made by NGOs in improving their living standards. It is therefore possible that these beneficiaries have received more socioeconomic services from NGOs than from the government. A Key Informant summarized this significant role of CSOs:

> Without the services of NGOs, we would all be dead (Gabriel Lochi, retired teacher, Isiolo Town, OI, 5/23/2019).

However, the 44% of respondents dissatisfied with NGO commitment stated that NGOs improved the lives of only a few people because NGO projects were located in some areas while other areas were left out. They also mentioned that NGO programs focused on similar issues, while other serious issues were given less consideration. This observation of project duplication and concentration of projects in certain regions was also noted by Key Informants, as mentioned above. Examples of issues mentioned as receiving more consideration by the respondents were girl-child education and FGM, while insecurity was among the issues given less consideration. Therefore, it would be prudent for NGOs to

engage in programs that can positively impact the lives of the majority, spread their projects evenly, and avoid project replication.

3.3.5 Main Challenges in ICSO Work

The ICSOs in Isiolo County have faced various challenges in their work. Several challenges were consistently raised by all the 47 ICSOs interviewed. Security was a consistent concern, which forced the ICSOs to halt project operations until the situation was contained. An ICSO official stated this about insecurity:

> Our Country Director was once caught up in an inter-clan melee in Merti in December 2014, and he had to be airlifted from the region. But once the community gains trust in our work, they often forewarn us of looming clashes, and we are able to stay away (Mr. Davis Wangiri, Regional Director, World Renew, OI, Isiolo, 18/9/2019).

Inadequate funds were another common challenge, as all projects were donor-driven with limited project cycles. This limitation affected the ICSOs' ability to undertake long-term solutions in targeted areas, as noted above. At the time of these interviews, two ICSOs were winding up operations in Ngare Mara and Kisima (near Isiolo town), respectively. Inadequate financial resources also affected follow-up on implemented projects by both the ICSOs and the community. To address this challenge, the ICSOs engaged in a practice they called 'buying in,' which means inviting another organization to complete a project. The ICSOs also employed professional fundraisers.

The ICSOs that operated in Isiolo rural areas observed that the mobile nature of pastoralists, who were constantly migrating and reliant on animal resources, was a challenge. An ICSO official stated:

> With time, we studied and learned the migration patterns of pastoralists. We also identified community resource persons who moved with the communities and trained them on the indicators of climate change. We also encouraged diversification of livelihood through agro-pastoralism and a mindset shift among pastoralists to view livestock as an income-generating venture (Mr. Davis Ikiror, Veterinary Sans Frontieres, OI, Isiolo, 14/6/2019).

Veterinary Sans Frontieres, in collaboration with actors in education, also emphasized the importance of education, especially for the girl child, and discouraged cultural practices like cattle rustling, early marriages, and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).

According to ICSO officials, local communities had too many expectations from them. Failure to meet these expectations cultivated feelings of mistrust and exploitation among community members. This sometimes led to poor public participation and community opposition to projects, particularly those implemented by non-natives. An ICSO official stated:

> We learned the hard way when we implemented a water project in Burat location, Burat ward that was never used (Mr. John Macharia, Programme Officer, Compassion International, OI, Isiolo, 20/9/2019).

The problem of a lack of ownership of projects by the community was highlighted, especially after a project had been handed over to the community. The Programme Officer of World Vision had this to say:

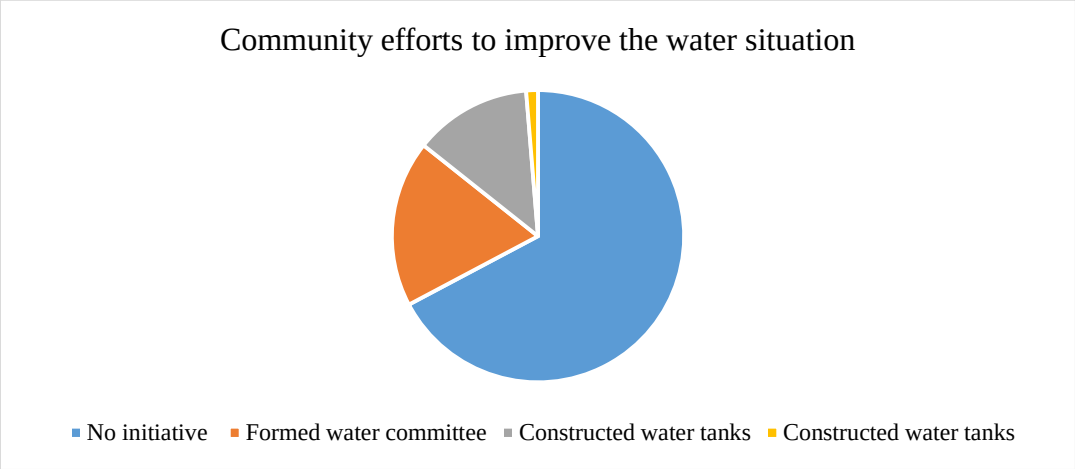
> We funded a water project in Ewaso-Nyiro area, but it collapsed six months after it was left under community management. The project needed maintenance since it utilized the token system with a water management device. Therefore, the community was required to raise funds, utilize three-quarters for their own use but submit a quarter of the funds to maintain the water project. After the collapse of the water project, the locals went back to their old way of fetching water from the river, a distance of 20km (Michael Kimani, OI, Isiolo, 17/5/2019).

The Program Manager of Food for Hungry also reported that:

> We constructed a toilet in Ngare Mara ward, and the facility was turned into a store by the head of the family. To address the challenge of project ownership, we trained communities to own the project as much as possible through enhanced public participation in projects (Mr. Julius Kobia, OI, Isiolo, 17/5/2019).

The ICSOs also lamented the local community's dependency on NGO support. This aspect is affirmed by the FGD discussants as shown in Figure 3.4 below on community initiatives to improve the water and sanitation situation in their area.

Figure 3.4: Community Efforts to Improve the Water Situation



The data in Figure 3.4 indicates that the efforts made by community members to address the water situation in their area demonstrate that 62% (149) of the beneficiaries interviewed had not taken any initiative to address the water situation in their area. 17% (40) had formed water committees to address the situation, 12% (28) had constructed water tanks, and another 9% (23) had pooled their resources together to construct 2 (two) boreholes. The minimal efforts by beneficiaries to improve the water situation demonstrate a heavy dependency on NGOs, particularly ICSOs.

The ICSOs that provided water and sanitation services also expressed frustration with their efforts to bring about behavioral change through the construction and use of toilets to control infectious diseases. Local communities still preferred open defecation even when toilets had been constructed, often due to cultural beliefs that a man could not share a toilet with other family members. All the ICSOs interviewed pointed out the low literacy levels, which hampered project monitoring that required collaboration between ICSOs and beneficiaries. They noted that even translation into Kiswahili remained a challenge, and as a result, they often outsourced expertise for tasks that could be handled by locals. Consequently, a significant amount of project funds were not utilized within the community as intended. To address this challenge, the ICSOs identified resource persons within the community and provided them with training. The low education levels are also reflected in the interviews with FGD discussants, as shown in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Education Levels of the Respondents

Educational levels	**No.**	**Percentages**
Primary level	170	70
Secondary level	63	26
Post-secondary level	7	4
Total	**240**	**100%**

Source: Tabulated by Author

Based on the results in Table 3.4, the majority of respondents (70 percent) had completed their primary education, followed by 26 percent who had completed their secondary

education, with only 4 percent having completed their tertiary education. These figures indicate both economic challenges and a lack of literacy in the region.

ICSOs also expressed concerns about the poor state of road and communication infrastructure, the vastness of the land, and the sparse population, especially in rural areas, as mentioned earlier. To address these challenges, ICSOs collaborated with one another. Political interference in CSO work was another issue, where certain politicians made demands, and ICSO projects could not proceed unless these demands were met. This information was supported by Key Informants (Mr. Gabriel Lochi, OI, 5/23/2019, and Mr. Halkano Boru, OI, 15/05/2019), who claimed that politicians in Isiolo controlled NGOs. One Key Informant explained:

> The Borana are the dominant community in Isiolo. They control local politics and have better job positions within the NGOs than any other community (Mr. Lochi, OI, Isiolo, 5/23/2019).

ICSO officials also noted a leadership gap in the county government regarding the coordination and integration of county line ministries, even though there was a county integration plan in place. Despite devolution, the county government still relied on NGOs for funding to implement their projects, even though government funds had been allocated for the same. Furthermore, before meetings between the county officials and the NGOs commenced, county officials requested a 'lunch allowance,' suggesting corruption and a lack of goodwill to carry out their mandate.

ICSOs highlighted the low socioeconomic levels in Isiolo County, which affected the quality of life of the residents and required substantial resources to overcome. The officials

agreed that addressing socioeconomic challenges in the county necessitated collaborative efforts with CSOs and the state. As one officer noted:

> Although NGOs have made some progress, there is a lot of backlog of deprivation (Mr. Michael Kimani, Program Officer, World Vision, OI, Isiolo, 17/5/2019).

The preceding sections have illustrated the contributions and challenges of ICSOs in socioeconomic provision in Isiolo County. ICSO officials have presented various individual project achievements based on their own accounts, which is a significant goal of their presence and activities. However, can CSOs replace the central role of the state, particularly in addressing the needs of the poor and marginalized? As observed earlier, a key justification for increased funding and involvement of CSOs in socioeconomic service provision is their perceived advantages over the state in this regard. Therefore, how have these advantages materialized in ICSO work in Isiolo? An analysis of the role of ICSOs in socioeconomic service provision in Isiolo County is discussed below.

3.4 An Analysis of ICSO work in Isiolo County

CSOs are widely perceived to be more effective in targeting the poor and achieving a broad coverage in socioeconomic service provision, as previously noted. However, there are weaknesses in ICSO socioeconomic service provision in Isiolo County, as observed earlier. This indicates that CSOs may not necessarily be superior to the state in this respect (Clayton et al., 2000).

Another significant advantage of CSOs is their resources, which are additional and help fill the gap left by the absence of the state in serving marginalized communities. However, the

source of funding is also a major limitation for CSOs in Isiolo County due to their extreme dependency on external donors. All 47 ICSOs interviewed in Isiolo County stated that they relied entirely on funding from international organizations. These organizations include UN developmental agencies, USAID, AMREF, and Western countries such as Australia, Canada, Denmark, Britain, the European Union, Sweden, and Switzerland. Several authors and researchers have noted this impediment to the sustainability of CSO work (Clayton et al., 2000; Martin, 2002; Wallace et al., 2006; Burger and Owens, 2010). According to Clayton et al. (2000), donor pressure could undermine CSOs' ability to target poor people. Martin (2002) emphasized that donor dependency is a major limitation in maintaining CSO independence in their work, which is difficult to resolve. Therefore, there is a need to evaluate donor-NGO relations with the aim of developing effective policies in this regard (Burger and Owens, 2010). Additionally, securing NGO funding from other sources may be an alternative.

Further complicating the issue of sustainable funding is the limited duration of projects. In Isiolo County, project limitations are demonstrated in Figure 3.5.

Table 3.5: Duration of ICSOs in Isiolo County

Duration (in years)	Frequency	Percentage
0 - 5	23	49
5-10	10	21
10 – 15	7	15
15 – 20	2	4
Above 20	5	11

Total	**47**	**100**

Source: Tabulated by Author

According to the findings presented in the table above, a significant majority of ICSOs had been present in Isiolo for less than 10 years. These organizations explained that this was due to a competitive donor funding system that targeted project cycles in selected areas for between 3-5 years. The CSOs would either hand over the project to the community and exit the area or adopt new projects. Even the ICSOs that had operated in the county for more than 20 years, such as World Vision (since 1974), stated that they sponsored projects for less than five years. A study by Martin (2002) on NGOs providing socioeconomic services in Tajikistan also demonstrates limited-donor project phases, which affect the ability to undertake long-term solutions in targeted areas. According to Clayton et al. (2000), donor dependency is a major limitation in CSO independence in their work and one that is difficult to resolve. Therefore, there is a need to evaluate donor-NGO relations with the aim of developing effective policies in this regard (Martin, 2002).

Due to limited project cycles, there was a very high turnover of NGOs in Isiolo County, which also limited ICSO operations. This aspect was also noted by the Head of Research at the National NGO Board based in Nairobi, as noted in Chapter One. Robinson and White (1997) observe NGO high turnover as a major obstacle to sustainability in socioeconomic service provision. In concurrence, Clayton et al. (2000) note that CSO high turnover affects continuity and sustainability in socioeconomic service provision and ultimately long-term societal transformation. It can therefore be concluded that the inability of CSO activities to

be sustainable and long-term also significantly undermines their ability to enable beneficiaries to overcome structural inequality.

Another key advantage promoted by donors that gave CSOs an edge was their participatory skills. The significance of participation has also been acknowledged by neoliberalism and IFIs due to the perceived closeness of CSOs to the communities, as in Chapter One. According to the UNDP (1993), participation helps to base planning on people's needs, perceptions, and experiences and entrenches ownership of projects. According to Odhiambo (1993), the popularity of the participatory model from the 1980s was partly due to the shortfalls of top-down development strategies, which failed to impact people's lives, especially the vulnerable poor and marginalized. Participation has also been viewed as a potential means for empowerment and the inclusion of socially marginalized peoples and the democratization of the grassroots (Mercer, 1998). However, this may not be true in practice.

In Isiolo County, all 47 ICSOs interviewed stated that they involved local communities in their projects during various project cycles. Key persons involved included community gatekeepers, local administrators, religious leaders, CBOs, heads of schools, and Community Health Volunteers (CHVs). The 47 ICSOs stated that they involved locals when conducting baseline surveys to establish community needs, jointly planned and implemented programs during inception meetings, discussed project budgets and expectations of both ICSOs and locals, which sometimes led to the realignment of budgets to accommodate community requests, and carried out joint periodic monitoring and

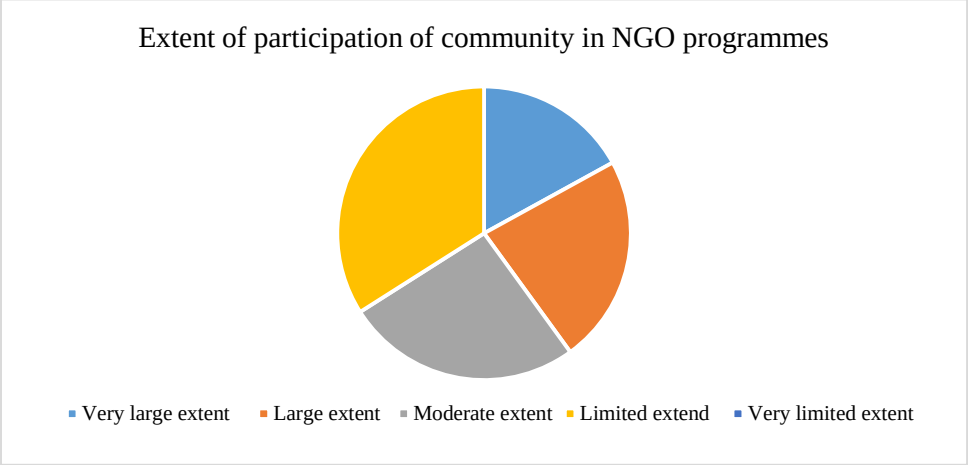
evaluation to improve project success. However, Key Informants (Gabriel Lochi OI, 5/23/2019; Gurat Katama OI, 30/5/2019; Mr. Marwa, DCC, OI, 10/05/12019; Lordman Lekalkuli, NDMA, OI, 30/5/2019; Dickson Chaullo, OI, 23/7/2019) contradicted ICSOs' accounts about the involvement of local communities in their work.

This is what one Key Informant stated:

> In most cases, the involvement of locals in NGO work is limited to public participation in the initial stages but wanes as the projects advance (Lordman Lekalkuli, NDMA Coordinator, OI, Isiolo, 30/5/2019).

The sentiments of the Key Informant on limited public participation were echoed by FGD discussants. An interview with the FGDs sought to establish the extent of the NGOs' work in regard to community participation in their programs and activities. The results are presented in the next chart, Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5: Extent of Participation of Community in NGO Programmes



The results show 34% of respondents revealed that community members' involvement in NGO programs was limited. However, none of the respondents stated that community involvement was very limited. The familiarity and participation of community members in

NGO projects that are to be implemented are very essential in making the NGOs effective in achieving their objectives and mission. It is also effective in ensuring the continuity of projects even after NGOs exit a certain area.

Regarding ICSO partnerships with local CBOs, out of the 47 ICSOs interviewed, only 6 (13%) indicated that they had partnerships with CBOs. 15 (32%) indicated that they had engagements with CBOs but could not provide their names, while the remaining 26 (55%) stated that they had no engagements with CBOs because most of them were not formal entities. For this reason, they preferred to organize communities through local religious organizations, youth, and women groups. This research further established that the 6 (13%) ICSOs with partnerships with CBOs had Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) in place. However, only 4 of them had legally binding MOUs for up to 2-3 years with the CBOs, while 2 had a mutual understanding with the CBOs but no formal agreements. This confirms the weak involvement of beneficiaries in ICSO projects in Isiolo County.

These findings are similar to a study by Mercer (1998) that explored whether INGOs foster participatory and empowerment among the poorest sectors of society. She established that the grassroots who represented the interests of the poorest had been sidelined. These findings demonstrate that the experience of beneficiaries in socioeconomic development, although acknowledged as significant as shown above, is unexploited by ICSOs. It is significant to capture the lived experiences of the poor and marginalized in the societal transformation process as well.

The above shortcomings of NGOs, in general, have been raised by several scholars as noted in Chapter One. Similarly, the perceived advantages of CSOs over the state have not been manifested in the work of ICSOs in Isiolo County. Furthermore, although the ICSOs in Isiolo are improving the lives of locals in various ways as noted, it is difficult to evaluate individual ICSO performance against the population being served. One of the reasons is the high turnover as has been observed. For socioeconomic development to be sustainable, it must be progressive. Thus, ICSOs in Isiolo County face limitations in fully exploiting their perceived strengths. For decades, the debate on the role of non-state actors has dominated the domestic stage, especially for the poor and marginalized ASAL regions. It can be argued that CSOs cannot replace the central role of the state, especially for the poor and marginalized in Isiolo County.

An analysis of the perceived advantages of CSOs leads the study to an evaluation of the socioeconomic conditions of Isiolo County. This evaluation is based on the concept of human development and how it is measured. It demonstrates the socioeconomic status of Isiolo County in relation to the overall national socioeconomic indicators for the period under study. These statistics are based on various national and world reports and help determine whether NGO efforts in Isiolo County have translated into improved socioeconomic achievements. Thus, socioeconomic development, or the lack of it, allows us to interrogate the relationship between the state and CSOs.

3.5 Socioeconomic status of Isiolo County

The concept of human development is closely linked to socioeconomic development. Human development emerged in the late 1980s and marked a paradigm shift in how development and its indicators should be perceived. Previously, development was measured solely by economic GDP growth and its trickle-down effects. However, human development underscores the significance of economic growth translating into improved human lives, enabling people to lead productive and fulfilling lives as well-functioning members of their families and communities (UNDP, 1990; 1990; 2000; 2010; 2013).

Human development is the process of expanding a person's choices and opportunities while improving their welfare. The most important choices include the ability to live a long and healthy life, receive an education, and access an income that supports a dignified standard of living. As such, measures should be consciously devised and implemented to realize this goal. Socioeconomic development is generally viewed as improvements in the living standards of individuals and communities, essentially "the achievement of a better life" (UNDP, 2010). This is also the concern of the developmental state.

Human development is measured using the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI represents the average achievements in three basic dimensions of human development: health, education, and standard of living. The HDI indicators correlate positively with people's access to basic needs such as food, water, healthcare, education, and information. Numerically, the HDI values range from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating the highest level and 0 the lowest (HDR, 1995).

The Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) are gender-related indicators. GDI employs the same variables as the HDI but assesses men and women separately to calculate whether one gender has an advantage over the other. A GDI close to 1 signifies equality for both genders, while a low GDI indicates gender-based deprivation. The GEM measures gender equity in political and economic spheres. GEM values also range from 0 to 1 (ibid). The Human Poverty Index (HPI) and Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) assess poverty. MPI, which replaced HPI, measures the distribution of progress and deprivation across various dimensions of the HDI (UNDP, 1995; UNDP, 1997). These indicators were devised by the UNDP.

In 1999, Kenya published the first report on the state of human development in the country. The KNHDR reports have adopted similar definitions and indicators as articulated by the UNDP. The KNHDR also introduced other indicators of human development, including the Inequality Human Development Index (IHDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), the concept of human security, and the Climate Change Vulnerability Index (CCVI). IHDI uses the same variables as the HDI but measures levels of inequality among citizens. The IHDI equals the HDI when there is no inequality across people, but falls below the HDI as inequality rises. IHDI values range from 0 to 1.

On the other hand, GII is a composite measure reflecting inequality in achievements between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market. It also varies between 0 (when women and men fare equally) and 1 (when

one gender fares poorly compared to the other in all dimensions). Human security recognizes the relationship between human security and poverty, while CCVI acknowledges the effects of climate change and related disasters, which have the potential to adversely impact the socioeconomic and human development of the majority of Kenyans. Therefore, the socioeconomic indicators of Isiolo County are based on UNDP and KNHDR indicators.

According to KNHDR (1999), the HDI for Northern ASALs combined in 1994 was 0.311, and the GDI for the same period was 0.301, compared to the national averages of 0.504 and 0.0501, respectively. The national GEM was 0.3750. Nairobi (0.721) and Central Province (0.572) had the highest HDIs, both above the national averages. Isiolo District had an HDI of 0.532, a GDI of 0.4415, and a MPI of 43.3%, against the national average of 26.5%. The lowest MPI (14.0%) was recorded for Nairobi at the time.

The KNHDR (2001) demonstrates a national HDI value of 0.539 and a GDI of 0.519. Nairobi (0.652) and Central Kenya (0.593) were both above the national averages. The Northern ASAL region had the lowest HDI of 0.413. Nairobi and Central again had the highest GDIs of 0.652 and 0.593, while Northern ASALs had the least GDI of 0.401. The HPI of Northern ASALs was the highest at 44.8% against the national average of 34.5%, while Central and Nairobi had the least HPI of 30.7% and 32.4%, respectively. The HDI for Isiolo District was 0.522, the GDI was 0.482, and HPI was 42.5%. Nationally, GEM was estimated at 0.414, indicating that women's participation in politics and decision-making arenas was still very low overall.

The KNHDR (2006) indicates that the national HDI was 0.532, and the GDI was 0.547, while the GEM was 0.540. The national HPI was 37%. The Northern ASALs combined achieved the least HDI of 0.285. The HDI for Nairobi was 0.773, while Central Province had the second-highest HDI of 0.637. Northern ASALs had the least HDI score of 0.285 in the country. The HPI of Northern ASALs was again the highest at 50.5% against the national average of 37%. For Isiolo District, the HDI value for the period was 0.580, GDI was 0.550, and HPI was 39.8%. Additionally, the low GEM was overall very low nationally.

According to the KNHDR (2009), the national HDI was at 0.561, with Nairobi (0.653) and Central Province (0.624) ranking above average. Northern ASALs were scored at 0.417, the least in the country. The national GEM value was 0.383, while the national GDI value at the national level was estimated at 0.492, with Nairobi (0.585) and Central (0.536) again scoring above average. Northern ASALs (0.347) scored the least GDI. The national HPI for the period was 29.1%, where Nairobi (17.6) and Central (24.2) were below the national average, and Northern ASALs had the highest HPI of 56.8. The HDI value for Isiolo District was 0.4581, the GDI was 0.3958, and the HPI was 45.2%.

The above statistics from the KNHDRs demonstrate that Northern ASALs, including Isiolo County, had limited access to health and education and low purchasing power compared to other regions in the country. These disparities reflect the development deficit faced by ASAL regions, demonstrating marginalization.

The KNHDR (2009) further observes that a significant proportion of the population aged 6-17 in Northern ASALs had never been to school even after the introduction of free primary education in 2003. The average net enrollment ratio in public primary schools across ASALs was about 51.1% in 2005, against a national average of 91.6%. This information is corroborated by Ruto's (2009) survey, which demonstrated that school retention rates, survival, and completion in the region were very low. The primary completion rate in 2008 was 42.3%, compared to 81% nationally. For Isiolo District, it was about 15%.

KNHDR (2013) indicates a national HDI value of 0.519, while the national IHDI was 0.344. The GII was 0.62; the national CCVI was 0.45, while the national MPI was estimated at 0.229. The Northern ASALs had the least indicators in these dimensions. Isiolo County had an HDI of 0.544, IHDI of 0.355, GII of 0.640, and CCVI of 0.480. This implies that there was high inequality among citizens of Northern ASALs and other regions. There was higher poverty than the rest of the country, and Kenya has not officially adopted the concept of CCVI in her development initiatives, demonstrating that the Northern ASALs faced the consequences of severe climate variability, as noted by the severe food insecurity.

Apart from the KNHDRs, other national reports also demonstrate low socioeconomic development in Northern ASALs. The Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) (2005/2006), based on the 1999 census, shows that the country's literacy rate was

71.4 percent. The highest literacy rates were in Nairobi (88.1%) and Central Province (79.8%), while Northern ASALs had the lowest score (24.8 percent). The national average for access to clean water sources was 57.0 percent. Nairobi had the highest percentage of households with access to clean water (97.1%), while the Northern ASALs had (34.6 percent).

The Commission on Revenue Allocation Report CRA (2011), based on the 2009 census and the KIBHS, notes that Isiolo County had a poverty incidence of 72.6% against a national average of 66%. The county was ranked 40th among the 47 counties in the country in this regard. The CRA (2011) also observes that the majority of people in the rural areas had occasionally been deprived of their livelihood by incessant droughts that led to famine, leaving them dependent and in a vulnerable, food-insecure state. The CIDP (2015) report shows that 93 percent of Isiolo County residents do not have access to potable water within a five-kilometer radius. 56 percent of the population lacks access to decent sanitation, and 85 percent of the population is illiterate. Furthermore, over 70% of the county's population, particularly those who live in rural areas, lack adequate, accessible, and affordable healthcare. According to the report, more than 80% of the population depends solely on emergency food supplies provided by NGOs and the government as a result of the area's extreme poverty, particularly during floods and dry spells.

The above socioeconomic statistics indicate marginalization, which has denied locals access to socioeconomic services and employment or income-generating opportunities that are relatively available to other members of society. Poverty is the greatest contributor to

marginalization in Isiolo County, which has been created by institutions and policies that neglected ASALs generally. This has increased inequality, as shown above, and therefore reduced the well-being of locals. Thus, policies in Kenya, including the Constitution (2010) and other policies related to ASALs that promote inclusivity, demonstrate the state's commitment to addressing structural inequality.

3.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter examined the operations of ICSOs in Isiolo County. It established that CSOs have contributed significantly to the socioeconomic development of Isiolo County. However, there are challenges in the ICSOs activities, which demonstrates that CSOs alone are not the ultimate solution to the problems of marginalization and poverty especially for the marginalized in Isiolo County. The fact that CSOs have been in existence in the study area for long but have failed to achieve sustainable socioeconomic development allows us to question their ability to undertake what is traditionally the role of the state. This finding leaves us with the outstanding questions: what alternative pathways exist to the persistent low human development in Isiolo County? The next chapter addresses this concern by proposing a developmental framework that can synergize roles of both the state and CSOs for sustainable socioeconomic development in Isiolo County.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROPOSED DEVELOPMENTAL FRAMEWORK THAT CAN SYNERGIZE ROLES OF BOTH THE STATE AND CSOs FOR MAXIMUM HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

4.1 Introduction

This research aimed to examine the role of ICSOs in socioeconomic service provision in Isiolo County. The findings indicate that while there is a dominant presence of developmental CSOs and limited state intervention, human development in the region, as evidenced by prevailing socioeconomic indicators, remains quite low. This raises a fundamental question: who is responsible for driving socioeconomic development for the poor and marginalized in Isiolo County, the state or civil society? Despite the long-standing existence of CSOs in the area, they have not been able to achieve sustainable socioeconomic development, revealing inherent limitations as discussed in the previous chapter. There appears to be a disconnect between CSOs and the state, which prompts a reevaluation of the state's role in socioeconomic development alongside non-state actors. It is argued that the state has a crucial responsibility toward its citizens.

The neoliberal approach to socioeconomic progress elevated the role of CSOs due to developmental challenges faced by the state and market failures, as discussed in Chapter

One. However, given that CSOs alone have not proven to be a substitute for the state, as evidenced by increased poverty and inequality, it seems reasonable for citizens to continue looking to the state for assistance and guidance. Historical situations of economic stagnation in developed capitalist countries, such as the Great Depression of the 1930s, led to increased state-centered solutions following Keynesian policies (Neugebauer, 2021). Similarly, Khan and Christiansen (2010) observed that the global financial and economic crises of the 1990s and late 2000s resulted in extensive state intervention in most western countries. Therefore, it can be argued that state-led development has traditionally played a significant role in sustainable and long-term development, even in the West.

In this thesis, I argue that CSOs, working independently, may not necessarily be more effective than the state, as claimed by neoliberalism and the donor world. Several studies have questioned the sustainability of NGOs in advancing socioeconomic development for the marginalized and excluded when compared to the state. This study further questions this premise because NGOs have access to substantial donor funds, as discussed in Chapter One, but have not consistently contributed to the socioeconomic development of Isiolo County. Instead of reducing the state's involvement in social spending, a more practical approach would be to determine its role in steering socioeconomic development, in collaboration with CSOs and other non-state sectors. This framework is expected to synergize the roles of both the state and CSOs to achieve maximum human development for marginalized residents in the study area.

This chapter is significant because it aims to illustrate that sustainable socioeconomic development can be achieved when the state takes on a central role in setting and coordinating the socioeconomic agenda within an effective CSO-state synergy framework. This chapter is divided into two sections: the first section outlines the concept of the developmental state, allowing the state to play a central role in socioeconomic development, while the second section analyzes a framework for CSO-state synergy in socioeconomic development.

4.2 The Developmental State

The notion of a developmental state is a model of economic planning and management that gained popularity following the economic success of East Asian countries, as noted in Chapter One. Since then, several definitions have emerged. However, there is a general consensus on its defining features: the developmental state directly intervenes in the nation's development process. It combines developmental structures (state capacity) and a developmental vision (ideology) to achieve economic growth. State capacity is closely linked to a developmental vision (Mkandawire, 2001; Routley, 2012). It features an autonomous yet embedded bureaucracy. In this context, the state is autonomous when its bureaucracy cannot be influenced by powerful rent-seeking groups external to the state. It is also embedded when it maintains close developmental connections with dominant interests to negotiate and acquire the necessary resource inputs for the transformation process (Evans, 1995; Mkandawire, 2001).

Furthermore, the political leadership in the developmental state is focused on development, and the state's actors are united by a key economic and political ideology that promotes growth (Mkandawire, 2001; Fritz & Menocal, 2007; Musamba, 2010). It employs strategic policy interventions in the market (Wade, 1990) and conceives its mission as ensuring economic development, usually interpreted as high rates of accumulation and industrialization (Mkandawire, 2001). Increased economic growth is used to drive significant socioeconomic change and improve living standards for the majority of the population, forming the basis of its legitimacy (Johnson, 1999; Mkandawire, 2001; Leftwich, 2008).

At independence, African states, including Kenya, embraced 'developmentalism.' However, many evolved into patrimonial states characterized by entrenched personal rule, becoming barriers to success, as discussed in Chapter One. The resulting political stagnation led to the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and the reduction of the state's role, viewed as corrupt, irrelevant, and poorly administered. The decline in the state's role in socioeconomic service provision created a void increasingly filled by NGOs, as discussed in Chapter One. Nonetheless, several authors argue that even with the dominant liberal ideology that emphasizes a minimalist state, the role of the modern state remains relevant in the lives of citizens (Ake, 1996; Mkandawire, 2001; Musamba, 2010; Andreasson, 2010; Routley, 2014).

According to Musamba (2010), the contemporary state in Africa plays a significant role in socioeconomic service provision despite the presence of several non-state actors. Routley

(2014) notes that the state remains relevant in terms of its functions, such as regulating liberalized markets, ensuring infrastructure investment, providing security, promoting economic growth, enhancing human development, and eradicating poverty, among others. SAPs, as stated by Mkandawire (2001), shifted these state roles to market forces, the private sector, and NGOs, weakening the state's capacity for a developmental role. Consequently, widespread poverty, underdevelopment, high unemployment, and income inequality have afflicted most African countries (Andreasson, 2010). Thus, the state, as the most relevant development agency, should be allowed to assume its rightful position in society. In this context, the state should be reinstated into the socioeconomic development and governance processes as a major player. The critical challenge is how the state can remain influential in influencing socioeconomic development and subsequently improve the standards of living for the majority of the populace.

Several scholars have argued that Africa's stagnant economic growth and socioeconomic crisis can be adequately addressed by adopting a developmental state model. They call for African countries to extract and apply some features as seen in the developmental state model above (Mkandawire, 2001; Edigheji, 2005; Kalinowski, 2009; Musamba, 2010; Andreasson, 2010; Wade, 2011; Zeleza, 2013; UNDP, 2013; Nkwapi and Andrews, 2017). These authors highlight various concerns on the continent that require the intervention of a developmental state. They argue that the African continent is the poorest, with the greatest socioeconomic inequalities, except for Botswana and Mauritius (Musamba, 2010; Andreasson, 2010; Zeleza, 2013). According to the UNDP (2013), development indicators in African countries consistently lag behind. Wade (2011) points out that the number of

people living in absolute poverty (earning less than $2 per day) increased considerably between 1981 and 2001. Furthermore, income inequality, both between and within countries, especially between Africa and Latin America and industrialized nations, continues to rise due to the failure to 'catch up' before and after 1980. Africa's poverty crisis is worsening, while other poor parts of the world, namely East Asia and South Asia, are experiencing significant reductions in poverty levels. In support of Wade (2011), Kalinowski (2009) and Nkwapi and Andrews (2017) argue that a state that leaves development to the market, International Financial Institutions (IFIs), or the private sector hardly achieves successful development.

The above assertions and viewpoints have been challenged by scholars who argue that the developmental state model is not feasible in Africa under existing circumstances (WB, 1993; Diamond, 1999; Johnson, 1999; Hewitt et al., 2000; Beeson, 2004). According to the World Bank (WB, 1993), Hewitt et al. (2000), Stein (2000), UNCTAD (2007), and Fritz and Menocal (2007), the developmental state concept is not viable because the East Asian development model is not replicable. The WB (1993) report demonstrates that this is due to limitations in African states, such as a lack of ideology, dependency, susceptibility to predatory rule, and state capture by vested interests. Johnson (1999) argues that the Japanese development model is difficult to emulate unless a state shares a similar commitment 'to the mobilization of industry' (52).

Hewitt et al. (2000) contends that the institutions associated with East Asian developmental states are highly contextual and time-specific. Beeson (2004) argues that the effects of

globalization and liberalism present challenges to developmental states that wish to pursue policy options for the protection of their nascent industries. Additionally, the interrelationship between industrial, technocratic, and political players crucial for the development of East Asian governments has been eroded by the emphasis on governance reforms and the expanded roles of non-state actors like CSOs, IFIs, and business networks (ibid). Furthermore, questions have arisen regarding Africa's institutional framework and the state's ability to create, implement, and oversee the complex and demanding policies that formed the basis of East Asian success (UNCTAD 2007: 74; Stein, 2000). As a result, the state's ruling class often lacks the commitment to fulfilling its development obligations (Fritz and Menocal 2007: 535). Stein (2000) asserts that the state-business relationship is underdeveloped, and the private sector is poorly coordinated and fragmented. With the exception of Botswana, Mauritius, and South Africa, Diamond (1999) argues that African nations lack three crucial political governance prerequisites for becoming a developmental state: a viable state, a secure lawful political order, and an appropriate state authority.

Nevertheless, scholars supporting the possibility of the emergence of developmental states in Africa observe that the model is not entirely unfamiliar to the continent (Mkandawire, 2001; Musamba, 2010; Zeleza, 2013). Mkandawire (2001) argues that this was a key concern of the immediate post-colonial leaders, and African states should have been considered 'developmental' based on their aspirations and economic performance. According to him, some African countries, including Kenya, achieved growth rates comparable to those of East Asian developmental states in the early 1960s to mid-1970s (2001: 303-4). Mkandawire insists that failed developmental outcomes may be due to

external or unforeseeable factors beyond the state's control or simply ill luck (2001: 291). Therefore, a definition of a developmental state should account for these factors that may obstruct genuine developmental commitments and state efforts (ibid). Nevertheless, several scholars have contested these claims (Ake, 1996; Van de Walle, 2001; Olukoshi, 2004; Musamba, 2010).

Ake (1996) argues that post-colonial ruling elites prioritized consolidating their own power over nation-building and socioeconomic development. Van de Walle (2001), Olukoshi (2004), and Musamba (2010) contend that developmental state ambitions pursued were not supported by sustainable visions of development. This was evident in the overbearing state intervention in the economy, dependence on income from the export of primary products, and the maintenance of non-performing state-run projects by the treasury, which drained limited foreign exchange reserves. Corruption, a lack of an autonomous and efficient bureaucracy, and a disregard for the importance of the private sector in economic growth were also issues, as discussed in Chapter Two.

In the light of the above literature, post-colonial African developmentalism lacked the essential features of a developmental state. However, even with these criticisms, I agree with the developmental views that seek to recenter the role of the state in socioeconomic development. A key advantage of the developmental view is its focus on economic growth that aims to address structural inequalities for the marginalized majority, in contrast to current conventional strategies, which lack significant state moderation. The trickle-down principle has failed the poor and marginalized, as discussed in the previous chapter. On the

other hand, although CSO functions have been criticized, marginalized societies have benefited from NGO initiatives, addressing societal problems, albeit in the short term, such as providing relief food and basic services like education and healthcare, where the state is incapable (Clark, 1995). This is especially true for the majority who live in peripheral and remote areas with limited state presence, as noted in the previous chapter. Hence, both CSOs and the state are relevant in advancing social and economic development. They have the capacity for a viable and dynamic partnership in facilitating socioeconomic development.

Therefore, this study goes beyond the developmental state model and proposes a collaborative framework between the state and CSOs so as maximize the socioeconomic development for residents in Isiolo County. Collaboration in this study is based on Najam's (2000) definition. Accordingly, collaboration is when NGOs and government share similar goals and strategies in the approach to socioeconomic development. Collaboration is a departure from the current complementarity strategies. In this case, the government and CSOs have similar goals but dissimilar strategies (ibid).

Collaboration, therefore, appears to be more suitable, as it allows for the harmonization of separate visions, agendas, purposes, and funds aimed at socioeconomic development, ultimately contributing to sustainability. I contend that the poverty and inequality observed in Isiolo County necessitate CSO-state collaboration, as mentioned earlier. However, it is imperative for the state to take a central role in establishing a regulatory framework that coordinates various efforts to enhance impact, consequently improving the living

conditions of residents. Despite the considerable presence of developmental CSOs, human development indicators remain very low due to the inadequate regulatory role of the state concerning NGO activities.

While there is a national NGO regulatory body, the NGO Coordination Board, its primary responsibility is to register NGOs that have submitted their annual returns. This study has identified unregistered NGOs operating in Isiolo County, which aligns with findings from studies by Kameri-Mbote (2000) and Omiti et al. (2002) who uncovered similar anomalies. This suggests that the national registration body is not fully adhering to its own regulations. Therefore, the NGO Coordination Board should extend its role and conduct a needs assessment survey to ensure that NGOs in specific regions address urgent socioeconomic issues.

I, therefore, argue that an effective regulatory structure should incorporate the NGO Coordination Board, the national government, the county government, NGOs involved in socioeconomic service provision in Isiolo County, and local Community-Based Organizations (CBOs). A collaborative effort will create an enabling environment that facilitates the integration of the socioeconomic agenda of NGOs and the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) for long-term sustainability. The CIDP represents a five-year county socioeconomic development plan. Currently, the county government and NGOs approach socioeconomic development with complementary strategies, which, as noted in the previous chapter, have not yielded the desired results.

The following section delves into the advantages of a CSO-state synergy framework for achieving maximum human development in Isiolo County. It underscores the notion that sustainable socioeconomic development is a joint responsibility shared by CSOs and the state.

4.3 A Framework for state-CSO Synergy in Socioeconomic Development in Isiolo County

The highly acclaimed advantages of NGOs, as noted in the previous chapter, were generally lacking in ICSO work in Isiolo County. Therefore, a progressive approach to socioeconomic transformation in Isiolo County would involve state-CSO collaboration, as previously noted. This perspective has also been emphasized in the UNDP report (1991), the World Summit for Social Development (1995), and the World Bank report (1997). The minimalist view of the state in socioeconomic service provision, previously held by IFIs and international donors, has been reconsidered, with the role of the state now seen as essential (ibid). Additionally, starting in the 1990s, the World Bank began to emphasize CSO-state partnerships as a condition for aid (World Bank, 2004). Given these observations by donor agencies, CSOs will need to reconsider their relationship with the state. Governments remain important despite their diminished resources since the late 1970s, as noted in Chapter One. Similarly, NGO activities cannot be disregarded, as mentioned earlier.

Several authors have observed that the failure of CSOs to achieve sustainable socioeconomic development results from their non-collaborative relationship with the state. This lack of collaboration has contributed to the lack of sustainability in CSO work

(Clark, 1995; Kaloniswiki, 2009; Hulme, 2010; Kameri-Mbote, 2000). Therefore, the way forward is through state-CSO collaboration, which has the potential to achieve sustainability. Chapter One demonstrated that Isiolo County is home to numerous NGOs providing socioeconomic services (approximately 620 in total, both national and international). Therefore, both the state and CSOs claim to pursue the public interest, presenting an opportunity for partnership to increase impact in Isiolo County.

State-CSO collaboration leverages the comparative advantages of both the state and CSOs within a capacity-building framework. In this regard, strengths and responsibilities are harnessed to implement programs. However, such an endeavor should recognize the crucial role of the state in the context of development. In relation to socioeconomic service provision, the state, as the duty bearer, retains a central role in establishing a policy framework to guide CSO work (Clark, 1995; Robinson and White, 1997; Hulme, 2010; Njoku, 2021; Kameri-Mbote, 2000). Brass (2014) observes that NGO-state relations are complex and diverse, and they face numerous challenges. Thus, developing such relationships is based on several factors and should be a strategic long-term priority for governments and CSOs to achieve sustainable service provision. This approach, therefore, offers several prospects as well as challenges for both actors. The following section discusses the benefits of a collaborative approach between the state and CSOs.

State-CSO collaboration demands the establishment of a coherent policy framework within which both the state and CSOs can operate at either the national or county levels (Kameri-Mbote, 2010; Hulme, 2012). This is significant for effective cooperation and coordination

of socioeconomic development between the state and non-state actors, as noted earlier. Studies by several scholars and researchers demonstrate that CSOs, by themselves, are unable to establish an overall framework within which to operate. Consequently, CSO operations are uncontrolled and uncoordinated. These studies indicate that the state is better positioned in this respect (UNDP, 1991; Clark, 1995; Njoku, 2021; Hulme, 2010).

According to Clark (1995), NGOs in several countries tend to focus on their individual projects without making significant efforts to apply their experience to the state's service delivery or policy-making initiatives. According to the UNDP report (1991), due to aid conditionalities, host countries are unable to specify the terms of engagement with NGOs. These terms include the type and nature of support needed, precise objectives, input activities and outputs, and the financial cost, among other factors. Consequently, NGOs operate on their own terms, with predetermined, specific, and concrete actions established by the donor state, along with both human and financial resources for project implementation. However, CSOs should not bypass the state when implementing their projects, as the state controls the economic and political framework within which people and their organizations operate (Hulme, 2010). This underscores the importance of the state in providing guidance and a clear roadmap for an effective governmental structure.

Findings from ICSO officials in Isiolo County engaged in socioeconomic service provision have also reinforced the above conclusion that CSOs need the state to develop a sound policy framework. To begin with, two major umbrella forums were established for the purpose of coordinating sector work for all CSOs in the county: the County Steering Group

(CSG) and CSO network forum. The CSG is a County government initiative that is co-chaired by the County Governor and County Commissioner. All CSOs operating in the county are required to register with CSG before commencing operations as a requirement.

The CSG also provides a forum where all CSOs meet monthly or quarterly to discuss climate variability-related hazards under the NDMA directorate, as already noted in the previous chapter. The CSO network forum, on the other hand, is a CSO initiative that provides a forum for all CSOs to meet regularly and present their sector areas as well as share experiences. USAID, a donor agency, had also launched an additional one, the Local Development Organization (LDO), since 2015, with similar objectives as the CSO network forum. Even with these well-meaning initiatives, there were still challenges in CSO coordination. This is underscored below:

> Although all the 47 ICSO officials interviewed confirmed their awareness of the above CSO network forums with their different mandates, there were no binding arrangements. This demonstrates the limitations of non-collaboration. In concurrence, a Key Informant had this to say: "There is no effective policy framework to ensure that all CSOs avail themselves for the NDMA meetings or in CSO Network Forums. In fact, often times CSOs proceed with operations without consulting or registering with the CSG. Such officials only come to our offices here at the county government after they have encountered challenges that they cannot handle (Key Informant, DCC, Mr. Julius Marwa, OI, 10/05/12019).

It can also be argued that the fact that USAID, a donor agency, had introduced a new CSO forum confirms the weak policy framework and emphasizes the need to ensure that CSOs in Isiolo County work together. Thus, we observe poor coordination between the CSOs and the state, as well as among CSOs themselves. This confirms the above observations that neither CSOs themselves nor donor agencies can be effective without engaging with the state. CSO-state collaboration, therefore, has the potential to improve coordination, as

CSOs are compelled to operate within a national policy framework rather than each following their own ad hoc approaches.

Collaboration has the potential for cascading CSO initiatives downward. This can be achieved by increasing the number of NGOs addressing a particular need in a geographical area. The combined efforts of these actors, with the coordinating role of the state, could also address issues of duplication, access, coverage, and equity in socioeconomic service provision, either at the national or regional level. Findings in ICSO work in Isiolo County confirmed that there was a lot of duplication of roles and an inequitable distribution of socioeconomic services. Duplication was therefore manifested in ICSO work because of an inadequate structure for CSO-state collaboration. This was mainly due to individual NGO efforts. Most ICSO-supported projects were concentrated in or around urban areas or along the highway or in preferred rural areas, as noted.

A Key Informant stated:

> The Kenyan state has realized the disadvantage of individual NGO operations and is in the process of implementing a framework that will pull the resources of all developmental CSOs together within Northern ASAL regions (Dr. Wambugu, OI, 06/05/2019).

Therefore, close interaction between CSOs and the government may yield significant positive effects in Isiolo County in terms of consistency and continuity in socioeconomic development. In addressing CSO funding challenges, combining funding for CSOs with similar programs could reduce donor dependency (Kameri-Mbote, 2000). Furthermore, the government could also provide financial support, such as access to local revenue, if long-term funding measures could be established with CSOs (Clayton et al., 2000). As noted in

the previous chapter, inadequate funds were a critical issue that negatively impacted project sustainability. CSOs faced budget cuts, rising program costs, and a competitive funding process with other NGOs. Sustainability, in this context, refers to the ability to remain viable after external support is terminated (ibid).

According to Nega and Schneider (2014) and Kameri-Mbote (2000), unsustainability arises from the inherent weaknesses of NGOs related to their small size, although perceived as a strength by the donor community. Interviews with ICSO officials in the previous chapter confirmed that CSO projects were not sustainable due to limited project duration, yet the projects required long-term funding. Thus, CSOs that are entirely dependent on external donors have an opportunity to diversify their funding base, including from the host government. CSO-state collaboration, therefore, offers the advantage of pooling resources, thereby achieving improved sustainability and effectiveness of CSO operations.

The challenge of CSO funding is also acknowledged by an ICSO official who stated:

> The main challenge to socioeconomic development in Isiolo County is that the NGO sector is heavily dependent on donor support. I wish we could also get government support (Michael Kimani, Programme Officer of World Vision, OI, 17/5/2019).

CSO-state collaboration allows CSOs to engage with the government at different levels, whether national or county. Depending on the areas of socioeconomic development, the collaboration will determine national or county government involvement. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) has provided for the devolution of some socioeconomic functions through the Fourth Schedule, such as agriculture, irrigation, livestock, fisheries, veterinary services,

and health. Decentralization has the potential to explore natural resource exploitation in the vast Isiolo County. Collaboration could involve a wide range of county government bodies or committees that CSOs may choose to work with. This, in turn, could increase responsibility and finances in the provision of the above services at the county level, enhancing devolution and reducing inequality.

A study of CSOs in socioeconomic service provision in Kitui County by Brass (2014) found evidence of CSOs engaging with the government at the county level, participating in various policy-making boards. Similarly, this study established that CSOs in Isiolo County worked closely with the county government and participated in policy-making at the county level. A Key Informant observed the following about CSOs in Isiolo County:

> Most CSOs cooperate with all the county line ministries such as the ministries of environment, health, agriculture and livestock, and education, among others (Key Informant, Mr. Julius Marwa, DCC, OI, 10/05/12019).

The above examples demonstrate that there are already various opportunities for CSOs to work with the government at the county level to improve service delivery. However, these relationships are in their initial stages. Therefore, a properly established policy framework could enhance and institutionalize CSO-state collaboration, leading to constructive working relationships with decentralized government.

Decentralization could also enhance local communities' participation in socioeconomic development (Kameri-Mbote, 2000). The potential of local Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in transforming society has not been properly harnessed. Thus, their collective and individual creativity remains undervalued and underutilized (Njoku, 2021).

According to Edigheji (2005), community-embedded CBOs are more likely to promote poverty reduction and equitable socioeconomic development strategies than donor-driven NGOs. This is because local CBOs are rooted in the tradition and culture of the society and can, therefore, address the interests of the socioeconomically and politically marginalized more effectively. State-CSO collaboration provides an opportunity for local CBOs to be mainstreamed in the socioeconomic development process by participating in consultation and decision-making processes at the grassroots level. According to Njoku (2021, if CBOs are adequately nurtured, they are likely to engage more fully with the state in pursuing socioeconomic development objectives. It is, therefore, significant to capture the lived experiences of the poor and marginalized in the transformation process.

Fowler (1992) observes that a policy structure also has the potential to ensure that CSOs are involved in the policy-making process. Involvement in advocacy and policies is critical for advocating on behalf of those excluded from society. According to Hulme (2010), CSO-state collaboration with the host government presents new opportunities for them to influence and improve government policy and practice. He notes that the speed of reform is usually slow and prone to constant setbacks. Therefore, collaboration with the host country will eventually provide the marginalized with greater control over their lives in socioeconomic access and improved livelihood.

According to Njoku (2021), collaboration could improve relations between the state and CSOs so that CSOs concerned with advocating for the poor may not be regarded with suspicion or hostility. Thus, socioeconomic approaches that require advocacy and policy

influence cannot be effectively addressed without the involvement of the state. According to Kalinowski (2009), the state has the mandate to make policies that are universally valid and to enforce them more than NGOs. Further, the root causes of poverty and socioeconomic inequality originate in the structural order of society. This can be better challenged through the adoption of state inclusivity strategies and policies, as demonstrated by the social exclusion theory. Addressing socioeconomic inequality is a political process managed by the state through policy implementation. Therefore, for CSOs to be effective in policy contribution in this regard, they should cooperate effectively with the state. The state cannot be bypassed in long-term and sustainable socioeconomic development that requires policy implementation (Kalinowski, 2009; Cammett and MacLean, 2014; Hulme, 2010; Nega and Schneider, 2014).

Moreover, Green and Matthias (1997) and Rose (2010) argue that health and education are key public goods in society that should be managed by the state, even though it may not necessarily be the implementer. This calls for designing effective policies and providing an enabling environment for these sectors to thrive under the guidance of the state. Green and Matthias (1997) note that CSOs are not able to provide clear health care policy and regulation even when they may have a comparative advantage over the state. They argue that in the context of increasing privatization of health care, whether by the voluntary or commercial sector, it is imperative that the state provides an overall framework that contains a clear policy on the role of CSOs in health care provision. Rose (2010) contends that education as a public good is distinct because, among other factors, it can be used by governments to promote greater equity. Thus, there is a need for governments to play a role

in regulating and monitoring CSO activities in the provision of these public goods to ensure policy compliance. This can effectively be achieved through CSO-state collaboration with shared vision and goals.

State-CSO collaboration has the benefit of improving both state and CSO accountability. Several concerns were noted in Chapter One regarding accountability. CSOs were criticized for being more accountable to their funders than to the beneficiaries of their operations. They operated with less accountability to the host government, making it difficult for the state to evaluate their individual performance and the impact of interventions on the beneficiaries. State accountability to citizens was also questioned because CSOs provided basic socioeconomic services, which are traditionally the domain of the state. Accountability to citizens, whether by the state or non-state actors, is an important link in democratic governance (Kalinowski, 2009; Cammett and MacLean, 2014; Nega and Schneider, 2014).

Thus, CSO-state collaboration could foster mutual accountability to the beneficiaries from both the state and CSOs as programs are jointly implemented. This, in turn, will enhance the legitimacy of the state as it becomes more actively involved in socioeconomic service provision, fulfilling community expectations of the state. Collaboration could also improve monitoring and evaluation by both the state and CSOs by providing insights into what has worked and how. Additionally, CSOs could be encouraged to be more accountable to the government by sharing impact assessment reports of their socioeconomic development programs, leading to greater consistency and continuity in CSO work.

A Key Informant expressed concerns about CSO operations in Isiolo County:

> CSOs rarely share Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E) results with the County government. I think this is one of the main reasons why the actual needs of the community are wrongly identified (Key Informant, Mr. Marwa, OI, 10/05/12019).

Furthermore, CSOs have the advantage of bringing greater financial resources, expertise, and knowledge to these partnerships, while governments, in collaboration with academic and research centers, can be a rich source of information and data in the design and delivery of programs for the poor (Kalinowski, 2009; Kameri-Mbote, 2010; Banks & Hulme, 2012). Therefore, the state should not be bypassed because CSOs on their own cannot achieve sustainability in socioeconomic development. Several scholarly studies in Isiolo County corroborate this concern. For example, Kihara (2007) examined NGOs run by Muslims in mitigating food insecurity and found that individual Muslim NGOs were not successful, emphasizing the need for a harmonious integration of strategies by stakeholders. Kagunyu (2014) evaluated the effects of climate variability on the livelihood of the Borana of Isiolo, revealing that the mitigation strategies initiated by NGOs were neither sustainable nor long-term. Agade and Halakhe (2019) evaluated the causes of conflict and the institutional framework for conflict management in Isiolo, with results showing that the national government had been more successful compared to NGOs. These studies illustrate the limitations of CSO intervention strategies without state involvement.

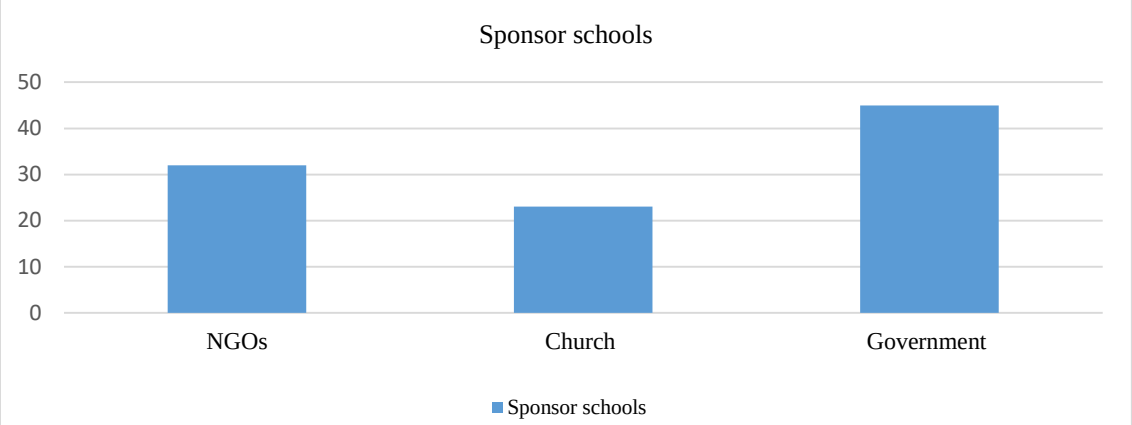
A Key Informant emphasized the crucial role of the state:

> The failure of CSOs to partner with the government has a negative impact on program sustainability because once the NGO exits the area, the community also

> abandons the projects. It is the government officials who help with follow-up measures so that the project is sustainable (Mr. Francis Muriithi, OI, 26/5/2019).

Furthermore, the state remains active in socioeconomic service provision despite financial challenges, as noted above. This is consistent with findings in this study, which revealed that the Kenyan state remains active in the socioeconomic development agenda of Isiolo County despite the presence of several CSOs. An interview with Focus Group Discussion (FGD) participants regarding which agency sponsored most schools in the region is demonstrated in Figure 4.1:

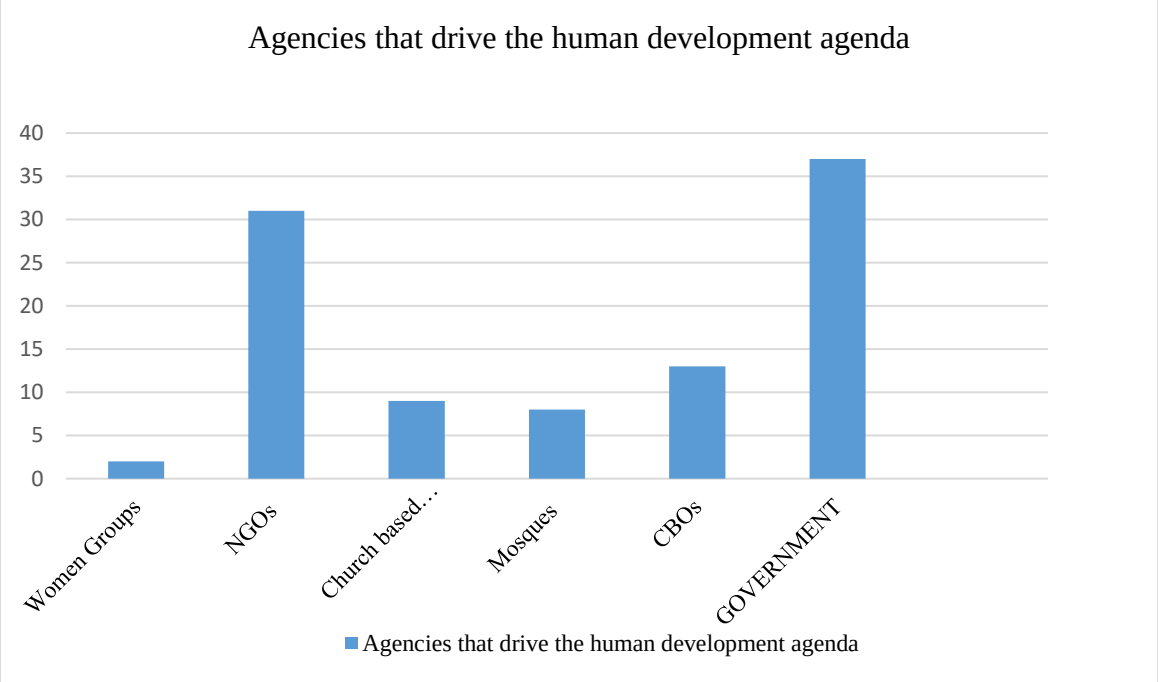
Figure 4.1: Sponsor of Schools



This study revealed that the government-sponsored the highest number of schools (45%), followed by NGOs (32%) and lastly the church (23%). This finding implies that the government is active in socioeconomic development and especially for areas where NGO services have not been felt.

Also, the FGD discussants demonstrated that the government played a key role in the socioeconomic agenda of Isiolo ounty as demonstrated in Figure 4.2:

Figure 4.2: Agencies that Drive the Human Development Agenda



This study revealed that government-based initiatives (37%) were the main drivers of the human development agenda in the areas of the respondents. The NGO sector was second at 31%. The Women Groups, Mosques, CBOs, and Church-based organizations were at 10% or less as shown in Figure 4.2. Therefore, a CSO-state collaboration is bound to greatly increase impact.

As captured in the foregoing discussions, CSO-State collaboration can clearly add value to the socioeconomic process in Isiolo County. Furthermore, there are various successful CSO-State collaborations in different parts of the globe. Bartley and Rose (2011) demonstrate successful state-CSO collaboration based on research in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. Their study showed that in these three countries, government policies for basic services include some commitment to collaboration with NGOs. The collaborative terms were also fairly balanced between the state and NGOs among the three states.

In the health sector in Bangladesh, for example, the relationship was governed by a directive policy supported by coordinated flows of donor funding through the government. In all three countries, NGO programs were included in the state educational plans. For instance, in India, the government, in its effort to ensure universal education, funded some NGOs providing education in some states through a formal contractual relationship. In Pakistan, the government has had a formalized relationship with NGOs following the declaration by multilateral donors for NGOs to work in collaboration with governments since the 1990s. This demonstrates that CSO-state collaboration strategies can also be effective in Kenya because these three countries, like Kenya, have a strong NGO sector.

In Kenya, NGOs and CSOs are also working collaboratively to bring about positive change. The private sector, including Safaricom, KAPA Industries, Colgate Palmolive, and an NGO called Shining Hope for Communities (SHOFCO), provide an illustration. SHOFCO is a grassroots NGO based in Nairobi, Kenya, in urban slums providing basic services, community advocacy platforms, education, and leadership development for women and girls. SHOFCO serves more than 350,000 urban slum dwellers in 10 slums across three cities (Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu) in Kenya. SHOFCO's community advocacy platforms and building female leadership create lasting change. During the COVID-19 pandemic, SHOFCO managed to reach over 2.4 million individuals by leveraging resources and expertise in various fields such as healthcare, sanitation, education, and livelihoods (Fingo, 2021). A similar collaboration can be adopted and enhanced in Isiolo County.

Therefore, CSOs on their own should not assume a stronger role in socioeconomic development. According to Kalinowski (2009), the contrary is a weaker influence for the governments in developing countries within which CSO programs operate. Further, if the state's influence is weak, CSOs as a unit are also weak and cannot bring about sustainable socioeconomic transformation. This is well demonstrated in the previous chapter where despite a large presence of CSOs, human development indicators remain very low, mainly because of the inadequate coordination role of the state.

The assumption that a strong civil society is a prerequisite for good governance and socioeconomic development in developing countries needs to be reviewed (Jefferys & Sigley, 2009). According to Jefferys and Sigley, (2009), the traditional relationship between the state and civil society as demonstrated in the West is that a strong state is a prerequisite for civil society. The effective state thus gives rise to civil society, which emerges to balance the strong state, acting as a protective buffer for the individual. The state was, therefore, an inducement to civil society, a catalyst for groups seeking to lobby, influence, and secure policy change.

However, in the developing world, as observed in Chapter One, the weak state and its inability to stimulate socioeconomic development gave rise to CSOs to fill the gaps. According to Njoku (2021, the Western model, in which an efficient state facilitates civil associations, can also be successfully adopted in emerging situations. Therefore, civil society and the state should act as checks on one another. This is because a weak state but

a robust civil society encourages CSOs to fill gaps too quickly, which undermines the state's ability to serve its citizens. Accordingly, by taking on tasks that are ostensibly the responsibility of the state, developmental organizations, especially CSOs, have contributed to the phenomenon of strong civil societies and weak states.

A long-term and sustainable solution should, therefore, be viewed as being in support of CSOs in their work while also strengthening the state's key role in the coordination of socioeconomic development activities. As noted above, the state's role in developing policies to alleviate structural inequality is indispensable. This is significant for marginalized communities like those in Isiolo County, who require socioeconomic access and equity of public goods.

4.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined the concept of developmentalism and emphasized the importance of both CSOs and the state in addressing socioeconomic development. It has been noted that, despite the diminishing role of the state in socioeconomic development, its significance remains, particularly in addressing structural inequality and poverty among the poor and marginalized. The chapter concludes by asserting that the solution to socioeconomic stagnation in Isiolo County is a collaborative effort between CSOs and the state, with the state playing a key role in regulating and coordinating the socioeconomic agenda. Such a partnership is expected to pave the way for sustainable socioeconomic development and improved access in the study area.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the study findings, along with the conclusions and recommendations.

5.1 Summary of Main Findings

Chapter One provides an overview of the study, outlining its background, research objectives, the study's limitations, literature review, the theoretical framework and the research methodology.

Chapter Two investigates the first objective of the study, which is to examine the state and socioeconomic policies in Kenya in relation to marginalization in Isiolo County. It delves into the historical context of socioeconomic development in Kenya and identifies various factors contributing to the marginalization of Isiolo County, including poor policy implementation, governance issues, economic stagnation, ecological conditions, security concerns, remote location, emergency laws, and uneven resource allocation.

Chapter Two also highlights the significance of Session Paper No. 10 of 1965 and its role in excluding Isiolo County from mainstream socioeconomic development. The absence of redistribution policies and the failure to consider the unique biophysical characteristics of ASAL regions perpetuated this marginalization. Despite subsequent reforms aimed at

addressing ASAL development, Isiolo County continues to lag behind other regions in socioeconomic indicators.

Chapter Three focuses on the second objective of the study, which is to analyze the operations of International Civil Society Organizations (ICSOs) in Isiolo County. This chapter examines the positive impact of CSOs on the lives of residents, including improvements in education, healthcare, sanitation, water sources, and nutrition programs. However, it also identifies challenges and shortcomings in ICSO work, such as disparities in project locations, duplication of services, a lack of focus on advocacy, limited engagement with local Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), and issues related to sustainability and evaluation. Despite the presence of numerous ICSOs, the socioeconomic indicators of Isiolo County remain low, suggesting that CSOs alone cannot provide sustainable development.

Chapter Four addresses the third objective, proposing a CSO-state synergy for sustainable socioeconomic development in Isiolo County. It emphasizes the essential role of the state in addressing poverty and socioeconomic development in the region and advocates for a collaborative framework between CSOs and the state. This synergy, with the state taking a lead role in setting the agenda, regulating, and coordinating efforts, is seen as the solution to socioeconomic stagnation in Isiolo County.

5.2 Conclusions

To begin with, Isiolo County has experienced marginalization for the majority of the post-independence period. Consequently, the County faces the persistent challenge of low socioeconomic development, as indicated by the region's socioeconomic statistics. This is despite the presence of numerous developmental Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) operating in the county with the aim of addressing poverty and inequality. The research findings reveal that CSOs are involved in various activities, including the provision of education, health, and welfare services.

The study also unveils that many of these CSOs often operate independently of one another, resulting in duplicated and disjointed programs. Furthermore, although CSOs contribute positively to the community, the study identifies a lack of several attributes previously attributed to CSOs by donors, which had given them an advantage. This underscores the fact that CSOs alone cannot sufficiently address long-term socioeconomic development for the residents of Isiolo County without partnering with the state to fulfill the coordinating and regulatory role.

In conclusion, the role of the state is undeniably significant in addressing broad societal issues, particularly poverty and inequality, especially for marginalized populations. This significance is particularly evident when the state plays a regulatory and organizing role for all non-state activities through the establishment of a collaborative policy framework. Such an approach can harness concerted efforts from all stakeholders, ultimately improving the living standards of a large portion of the marginalized population. Therefore, the policy

implication of this research underscores the importance of re-establishing the state's role in supporting the poor and marginalized if sustainable long-term socioeconomic development is to be achieved.

Lastly, there is a promising potential that enhanced CSO-government collaboration could lead to increased sustainability of CSO service provision programs. Synergy in working together and sharing information among CSOs and the state could lead to greater success. By pooling their resources, the CSOs and the state can develop enduring mega projects that benefit the community in the long term. Hence, there is an urgent need for the Kenyan state and CSOs to establish a collaborative framework to expedite efforts aimed at advancing the socioeconomic agenda of Isiolo County.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

i. Enhance Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) within the County government in ASALs to increase access to socioeconomic goods.
ii. The government should regularly conduct impact assessments of CSO work as a tool to assess the effectiveness of their operations.
iii. There is a need to develop various models and approaches to determine the one that maximizes socioeconomic development for the poor and marginalized, such as CSO-state collaboration, beyond ASALs.

5.4 Further Research

i. Further research should be done in the slums of the Kenya with the aim of testing increased socioeconomic access as a result of CSO-state collaboration.

ii. A comparative study could be carried out to compare socioeconomic projects implemented by the state and CSOs in socioeconomic developmental of ASALs.

REFERENCES

Books

Abbott, J. (2003). *Developmentalism and Dependency in Asia: The Case of Automative Industry.* London: Routledge.

Agade, K. M., & Halakhe, A. B. (2019). *Rapid assessment of the institutional architecture for conflict mitigation.*

Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and development in Africa*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Alex, T. (2002). *Introduction to African politics*. London: Routledge.

Amutabi, M. (2006). *The NGO Factor in Africa: The Case of Arrested Development in Kenya*. New York: Routledge.

Andreasson, S. (2010). *Africa's Development Impasse: Rethinking the Political Economy of Transformation*. London: Zed Books.

Barkan, J. (2009). Legislatures and the "Third Wave" of Democratization. In J. Barkan (Eds.), *Legislative Power in Emerging African Democracies* (pp. 1-33). USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bates, R. (1981). *Markets and States in Tropical Africa. Berkeley*. University of California Press. California.

Beeson, M. (2004). Politics and Markets in East Asia: Is the developmental state compatible with globalisation?. Google Scholar.

Birch, I. (2018). *Economic Growth in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands of Kenya*. K4D Helpdesk Report, Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.

Bodewes, C. (2013). *Civil Society in Africa: The Role of a Catholic Parish in a Kenyan Slum.* Cambridge Scholars.

Boyd, R., & Ngo, W. (2005). *Asian States: Beyond the Developmental Perspective.* (Eds.). London: Routledge.

Branch, D. (2011). *Kenya: Between Hope and Despair, 1963-2011*. London: Yale University Press.

Brass, J. (2010). Surrogates for Government? NGOs and the State in Kenya. A Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Graduate Division of the University of California Berkeley. (Accessed on 14/10/2017).

Bratton, M. (1994). Civil society and political transition in Africa.

Cammett, M., & MacLean, L. M. (Eds.). (2014). *The politics of non-state social welfare*. Cornell University Press.

Cheema et al. (2010). *Engaging Civil Society: Emerging Trends in Democratic Governance.* UN University Press.

Clapham, C. (1985). *Third World politics. An Introduction*. London: Helm

Clayton, A., Oakley, P., & Taylor, J. (2000). *Civil society organizations and service provision* (pp. 1-23). Washington, DC: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Commission on Revenue Allocation, (2012). Historical Injustices: A Complementary Indicator for Distributing the Equalizer Fund. CRA Working Paper No. 2012/02. Republic of Kenya.

Constitution of Kenya, (1970). Government Printers: Nairobi.

Creswell, J. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches.* Sage Publications.

Curtis, et al. (2005). 'The Implications for Northern NGOs of adopting Rights-Based Approaches'. Occasional Papers Series N0.41. INTRAC, England.

Duffy, K. (1995). *Social exclusion and human dignity in Europe*. Council of Europe

Edigheji, O (2005). *A Democratic Developmental State in Africa.* Johannesburg: Centre for Development Studies.

_____ (2010). Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: potentials and challenges. In Edigheji O (ed.) *Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: potentials and challenges*. HSRC Press, Cape Town. South Africa.

Edwards, M., & Hulme, D. (1992). Scaling up NGO impact on development: learning from experience https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/

Ekeh, P. P. (Ed.). (2007). *History of the Urhobo people of Niger Delta* (Vol. 3). Urhobo Historical Society.

EURODAD (Organization), European Network on Debt, & World Institute for Development Economics Research. (2001). Debt Reduction for Poverty Eradication in the Least Developed Countries: Analysis and Recommendations on LDC Debt.

Evans P. (1995). Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation. Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press.

Forshee, J. (2006). Developing legislative autonomy: A Case study on the Kenyan National Assembly. A Paper Presented in University of Florida during a workshop on the links between political institutions in Europe and beyond.

Fowler, A. (1991). 'The Role of NGOs in Changing State-society Relations: Perspectives from Eastern and Southern', *Development Policy Review*, Vol. 9 pp. 4–18. Britain: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Gituku, B. C., Wasonga, O. C., & Ngugi, R. K. (2015). Economic contribution of the pastoral meat trade in Isiolo Town, Kenya.

GoK (2010). *Kenya National Human Development Report (2009), Youth and Human Development: Tapping the Untapped Resources*. Nairobi, UNDP.

Gona, G., Mbugua, M. (2013). *Remembering Kenya: Interrogating Marginalization and Governance.* Nairobi, Twaweza Communications Limited.

Harbeason, J., Rotchild, D., Chazan, N. (1994). *Civil Society and the State in Africa.* London: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Hornsby, C. (2012). *A History of Kenya Since Independence*. London: I.B. Tauris.

http://www.dpmf.org/images/democracy-adams.htm

https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/annual-report-2015

Jeffreys, E., & Sigley, G. (2009). Governmentality, governance and China. In *China's Governmentalities* (pp. 13-35). Routledge.

Johnson C. (1999). The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept. In Woo-Cummings M. & Cornell (eds.) *The Developmental State.* California. Cornell University Press.

Kagunyu, A. W. (2014). Effects of climate variability on the livelihoods and coping strategies of the Borana community in Isiolo county, northern Kenya (Doctoral dissertation), University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Kaloudis, G. (2021). *Non-governmental Organizations in the Global System*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Keane, J. (2003). *Global civil society*? Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kenya African national Union (KANU). KANU Manifesto, 1963.

Kenya National Population and Housing Census Vol. 1A, (2010). Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.

Kenya, Government of Kenya of (1995). "Social Dimensions of Development: An Approach to Human Centered Development and Alleviation of Poverty". Nairobi: Government Printers.

Kenya, Government of Kenya of (2000). Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) 2000-2003. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Kenya, Government of Kenya of (2002). National Development Plan 2002-2008. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Kenya, Government of Kenya of (2003). Kenya: Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1965 on "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya".* Nairobi: Government Printers.

Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012 on "National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands: Releasing Full Potential".* Nairobi: Government Printers.

Khan, S. R., & Christiansen, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Towards new developmentalism: Market as means rather than master* (Vol. 83). Routledge.

Kibua, T. & Mwabu, G., (2008). *Decentralization and Devolution in Kenya: New Approaches*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press.

Kihara, M. G. (2007). *The Learning Organisation Concept: A Study of Non-governmental Organisations in Nairobi* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

KNBS and SID, (2013). Exploring Kenya's Inequality: Pulling Apart or Pulling Together? Nairobi: KNBS and SID.

KNBS, (2016). *Economic Survey, 2016*. Nairobi: KNBS.

Konings, P. (2011). *The Politics of Neoliberal Reforms in Africa: State and Civil society in Cameroon,* Leiden: African Studies Centre & Langaa Publishers.

Leftwich, A. (2008). *Developmental States, Effective States and Poverty Reduction: The primacy of politics*. Geneva: UNRISD Project on Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes.

_____ (2000). *States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lopes, C. (2018). *Africa in transformation: Economic development in the age of doubt*. Springer.

Maathai, M. (2009). *The Challenge for Africa*. Arrow Books: United Kingdom.

Makau, M. (2008). *Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights: Human Rights NGOs in East Africa: Political and Normative Tensions*. USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Manor, J. (2002). Partnerships between Governments and Civil Society for Service Delivery in Less Developed Countries: Cause for Concern. Prepared and Presented at the 'Making Services Work for Poor People', World Development Report (WDR) 2003/04 Workshop held at Eynsham Hall, Oxford 4-5 November 2002. Institute of Development Studies University of Sussex.

Martin, J. (2002). Can magic bullets hurt you? NGOs and governance in a globalised social welfare world: a case study of Tajikistan.

Mkutu, K. (2019). Pastoralists, politics and development projects: understanding the layers of armed conflict in Isiolo County, Kenya.

Mugenda & Mugenda, (2003). *Research Methods*: Acts Press, Nairobi.

Murunga, G. (2007). Negotiating New Rules of the Game: Social Movements, Civil Society and the Kenyan Transition. In Murunga, G, & Nasong'o, S. (Eds.), *Kenya, the Struggle for democracy (*pp. 2-57). London: Zed Books.

Musamba, C. (2010). The Developmental State Concept and its Relevance for Africa. In Meyns, P & Musamba, C.). (Eds.), *The Developmental State in Africa-Problems and Prospects*. Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen.

Mwaura, C. (1997). A Paper Prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa, Held at Methodist Guest House, Nairobi, on 27-28 March, 1997.

Nasong'o, S. W. (2008). INTS 251-01, Government and Politics of Africa, Fall 2008.

Neugebauer, C. (2021). *Economic Liberalization and Authoritarianism*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Ng'ethe, N. & Kanyinga, K. (1992). The Politics of Development Space: The State and NGOs in the Delivery of Basic Services in Kenya. Working Paper NO. 486. Institute for Development Studies University of Nairobi. [Accessed 10/11/2017]

Ng'weno, B. (2007). *Turf wars: territory and citizenship in the contemporary state*. Stanford University Press.

Nyangito, H. O., & Omiti, J. M. (2000, May). Policy options for exploiting opportunities in livestock production and marketing in the pastoral areas of East Africa'. In *PINEP Workshop on towards sustainable pastoral production systems in Eastern Africa: Approaches, Constraints and Prospects* (pp. 4-5).

Nyanjom, O. (2014). Remarginalising Kenyan pastoralists: the hidden curse of national growth and development. *African study monographs. Supplementary issue., 50*, 43-72.

Nyong'o, P. (1992). *30 Years of Independence in Africa: The Lost Decades.* (Ed.). Nairobi: Academy Science. Publishers. Isiolo County Report (2015). *cog.go.ke/images/stories/C**IDP**s/**Isiolo**.pdf* (Accessed 18/10/2015).

Ochieng, W.R. (1989). Independent Kenya, 1963-1986. In Ochieng, W.R (Ed.). *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*. Evans Brothers (Kenya) Limited, Nairobi.

Odhiambo, C. (2005). *Theatre for development in Kenya: In search of an effective procedure and methodology* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University).

Oloo, A., & Oyugi, O. (n.d). Democracy and good governance in Kenya: Prospects and obstacles. DPMF Workshop and Conference Proceedings.

Olukoshi, A. O. (2004). Democratisation, Globalisation and Policy Making in Africa. In Charles S. Soludo, Osita Ogbu, Ha-Joon Chang (eds.): *The Politics of Trade and Industrial Policy in Africa. Forced Consensus?* Trenton/Ottawa: Africa World Press/IDRC, 43-74.

Omiti, J., Owino. W., Odundo, P., (2002). Poverty Reduction Efforts in Kenya: Institutions, Capacity and Policy. Institute of Policy and Research. Nairobi, Kenya. IPAR Discussion Paper No. 033/2002.

Opata, G. P. (2004). Development Planning in Kenya: A critical review for the period. *Governance, Society and Development in Kenya*, *41*.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001)

Owino, T. M. (2007). *Organisational responses to the environment: A case of the Ministry of Health responses to rampant cases of malaria in Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation).

Republic of Kenya, Office of the Prime Minister, Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2012 *National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands* 'Releasing Our Full Potential'. Sessional-paper-on-National-policy-for-development-of-ASALs-pdf.

Robinson, M and G White (ed) (1998). *The Democratic Developmental State: Political and Institutional Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, M. (2010). *Why school?: Reclaiming education for all of us*. The New Press.

Salık, N. (2023). Between Constructive Engagement and Overt Confrontation: US Foreign Policy towards Syria in the post-Cold War Era (1989-2009).

Sánchez, R. A. S. (2010). The politics of Central American integration. Routledge.

Scholte, J. A. (1999). Global civil society: Changing the world?.

Stein, H. (2000). *The development of the developmental state in Africa: A Theoretical Inquiry.*

Stiftung, E-S. (2012). *Regional disparities and marginalization in Kenya.* Elite PrePress Ltd. Nairobi, Kenya.

Strange, S. (1996). *The retreat of the state: The diffusion of power in the world economy*. Cambridge university press.

UNDP (1990). Kenya National Development Report: Human Development, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi

UNDP (1999). Kenya National Development Report: Poverty and Gender, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi.

UNDP (2001). Kenya National Development Report: Addressing Social and Economic Disparities for Human Development, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi.

UNDP (2006). Kenya National Development Report: Human Security and Human Development, A Deliberate Choice, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi.

UNDP (2013). Kenya National Development Report: Climate Change and Human Development: Harnessing Emerging Opportunities, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi.

UNDP (2016). Kenya National Development Report: Human Development for Everyone, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi.

UNDP (2018). Kenya National Development Report: Human Development Indices and Indicators, United Nations Development Programme, Nairobi.

UNECA (1990). International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa. *African charter for popular participation in development and transformation* (Arusha).

United Nations General Assembly, Sixth Session (2005). http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_60_1.pdf

Van de Walle, N. (2001). *African economies and the politics of permanent crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press.

White, G (1998). "*Constructing a Democratic Developmental State"*, in Robinson, and White (eds). *The Democratic Developmental State: Political and Institutional Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Whittaker, H. (2014). *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Kenya: A social History of the Shifta Conflict, C. 1963-1968*, Boston: Brill.

World Bank (Berg Report). (1981). *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action*. Washington D C: World Bank.

World Bank, (1989). *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth: A Long-Term Perspective Study*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (1991). World Development Report: The Challenges of Development Report. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. (1993). *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank. (2006). worldbank.org/INTANNREP2K6/Resources/2838485-1158333614345/AR06_final_LO_RES.pdf

World Bank. (2015). Annual Report, 2015.

Yenshu, V. (2008). *Civil Society and the Search for Development Alternatives in Cameroon*: CODESRIA Publishers.

Zeleza, T. (1989). The Established of Colonial Rule, 1905-1920. In Ochieng, W.R. (1989). (Ed.). *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*. Evans Brothers (Kenya) Limited, Nairobi.

Journals

Ahluwalia, P. (2001). When does a settler become a native? Citizenship and identity in a settler society. *Pretexts: literary and cultural studies*, *10*(1), 63-73.

Ake, C. (1991). Rethinking african democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 2 (1), 32-44.

Barber, M., & Bowie, C. (2008). How international NGOs could do less harm and more good. *Development in Practice*, *18*(6), 748-754.

Banks, N., Hulme, E. (2012). 'The role of NGOs and civil society in development and poverty reduction'. Working Paper 171. Brooks World Poverty Institute. *civil20.org/upload/iblock/9b1/rolengo.pdf* (Accessed 18/10/2015).

Behnke, R., Muthami, D. (2011). The contribution of livestock to the Kenyan economy, IGAD LPI Working Paper No. 03 – 11, FAO & IGAD cgspace.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/24972/.

Berman, J. (1998). Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism. *African Affairs 97*, 305-341.

Bhalla, A., & Lapeyre, F. (1997). Social exclusion: towards an analytical and operational framework. *Development and change*, *28*(3), 413-433.

Boye and Kaarhus, (2011). Competing claims and contested boundaries: Legitimating land rights in Isiolo District, Northern Kenya', *Africa Spectrum,* Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 99-124. Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs.

Burger, R., & Owens, T. (2013). Receive grants or perish? The survival prospects of Ugandan non-governmental organisations. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *49*(9), 1284-1298.

Cherrie, J. W., Hutchings, S., Gorman Ng, M., Mistry, R., Corden, C., Lamb, J., ... & Rushton, L. (2017). Prioritising action on occupational carcinogens in Europe: a socioeconomic and health impact assessment. *British Journal of Cancer*, *117*(2), 274-281.

Chopra, T. (2009). When peacebuilding contradicts statebuilding: notes from the arid lands of Kenya. *International Peacekeeping*, *16*(4), 531-545.

Clark, A. M. (1995). Non-governmental organizations and their influence on international society. *Journal of international affairs*, 507-525.

Diamond, L. (1994). Rethinking civil society: Towards democratic consolidation. *Journal of Democracy,* 5: 4-18.

Fine, B., Stoneman, C. (1996). 'Introduction: State and development'. Southern African Studies, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 5-26. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Fisher, W. (1997). 'Doing good? The politics and antipolitics of NGO Practices'. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* Vol. 26 pp439-464.

Fritz, V., & Menocal, A. R. (2007). Developmental states in the new millennium: Concepts and challenges for a new aid agenda. *Development Policy Review*, *25*(5), 531-552.

Fruttero and Gauri (2005). The strategic choices of NGOs: Location decisions in rural Bangladesh. *Development Studies*, Vol.41, No.5, pp.759 – 787, Taylor & Francis Group Ltd.

Green, A., Matthias, A., Green, A., & Matthias, A. (1997). NGOs in the Next Millennium: Will the Bubble Burst?. *Non-Governmental Organizations and Health in Developing Countries*, 196-202.

Haan, A. D. (1998). 'Social exclusion': An alternative concept for the study of deprivation?. *IDS bulletin*, *29*(1), 10-19.

Hayashi, S. (2010). The developmental state in the era of globalization: Beyond the Northeast Asian model of political economy. *The Pacific Review* 23(1): 45-69.

Hearn, J. (2007). 'African NGOs: The new compradors?' Development *and Change*, 38 (6): 1095-1110.

Hewitt, T., Robinson, D., & Harriss, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Managing development: Understanding inter-organizational relationships*. Sage.

Hogg, R. (1983). Re-stocking the Isiolo Boran: An Approach to Destitution among Pastoralists, *Nomadic Peoples*, No. 14 pp. 35-39, White Horse Press.

Hulme, et al., (2010). Has civil society helped the poor? A Review of the roles and contributions of civil society on poverty reduction. *Working Paper No*. 114. www.manchester.ac.uk/bwpi.

Ihonvbere, J. (1998). Where is the third wave? A critical evaluation of Africa's non-transition to democracy. *Africa Today*, *43(* 4), 343-368.

Kabdiyeva, A. (2014). Collaboration between the State and NGOs in Kazakhstan. *International Journal of Community & Cooperative Studies,* 1 (2) pp. 27-41, European Centre for Research Training and Development.

Kaldor, M. (2003). The idea of global civil society. *International affairs*, *79*(3), 583-593.

Kalinowski, T. (2009). The politics of market reforms: Korea's path from Chaebol Republic to market democracy and back. *Contemporary Politics*, *15*(3), 287-304.

Kameri-Mbote, P. (2002). The operational environment and constraints for NGOs in Kenya: Strategies for good policy and practice. IELRC Working Paper No. 2 http://www.ielrc.org/content/w0002.pdf.

Kameri-Mbote, P., & Kindiki, K. (2008). Trouble in Eden: How and why unresolved land issues landed 'peaceful Kenya' in trouble in 2008. In *Forum for development studies* (Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 167-193). Taylor & Francis Group.

Kuijpers, L. M., & Meershoek, A. M. (2013). NGO–business collaboration in Kenya: a case study and broader stakeholder analysis. *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, (50), 91-105.

Labonté, R., Mohindra, K., & Schrecker, T. (2011). The growing impact of globalization for health and public health practice. *Annual review of public health*, *32*, 263-283.

Larry, D. (1994). Rethinking civil society: Toward democratic consolidation. *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 5 pp. 4–18.

Lenoir, R. (1974). The excluded, one in ten French. *Paris: 2nd current Points Collection*, *180*.

Makoba, J. W. (2002). Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and third world development: An alternative approach to development. *Journal of Third World Studies*, *19*(1), 53-63.

Manji, F., & O'Coill, C. (2002). The missionary position: NGOs and development in Africa. *International affairs*, *78*(3), 567-584.

Mathieson, J., Popay, J., Enoch, E., Escorel, S., Hernandez, M., Johnston, H., & Rispel, L. (2008). Social Exclusion Meaning, measurement and experience and links to health inequalities. *A review of literature. WHO social exclusion knowledge network background paper*, *1*, 91.

Mercer, C. (2002). NGOs, civil society and democratization: A critical review of the literature. *Progress in Development Studies* 2(1) pp. 5–22, Arnold.

Mkandawire, T. (2001). Thinking about developmental states in Africa. *Journal of Economics* 25 (3), pp. 289-313, Cambridge Political Economy Society.

_____(2005). "Maladjusted African Economies and Globalization", *Africa Development*, l 1(2), pp1-33, Cambridge Political Economy Society.

_____(2010). From Maladjusted States to Democratic Developmental States in Africa. In Edigheji O (ed.) *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Potentials and Challenges.* HSRC Press Cape Town. South Africa.

Mueller, D. C. (1974). Achieving the just polity. *The American Economic Review*, *64*(2), 147-152.

Mw Makumbe, J. (1998). Is there a civil society in Africa? *International Affairs* 2 (75), pp. 305-317, Wiley.

Najam, A. (2000). The four C's of government third Sector-Government relations. *Nonprofit management and leadership*, *10*(4), 375-396.

Ndegwa, S. (1998). The incomplete transition: The constitutional and electoral context in Kenya. *Africa Today*, 45(2), pp. 193-211, Indiana University Press.

Nega, B., & Schneider, G. (2014). NGOs, the state, and development in Africa. *Review of Social Economy*, *72*(4), 485-503.

Njoka, E. T. (2021). State-oriented service-delivery partnership with civil society organizations in the context of counter-terrorism in Nigeria. *Development Policy Review*, *39*(5), 757-772.

Nkwapi, C. & Andrews, N. (n.d). A “New” Developmental State in Africa? Evaluating Recent State Interventions vis-à-vis Resource Extraction in Kenya, Tanzania, and Rwanda, Sustainable Development, Vol. 13. No.2.

Okuku, J. A. (2003). 'Civil Society and the Democratisation Process in Kenya and Uganda: A Comparative Analysis of the Contribution of the Church and NGOs', *South African Journal of Political Studies*, 30(1): 51-63

Oyugi, W. (2004). The role of NGOs in fostering development and good governance at the local level in Africa with a focus on Kenya. *Africa Development* 29 (4), pp. 19-55, CODESRIA.

_____ (2008). Bureaucracy and National Development: An Assessment of the Experience. A paper prepared for the 30th AAPAM Annual Round Table Conference by African Association for Public Administration and Management, Accra, Ghana.

Pieterse, E., & van Donk, M. (2002). Incomplete ruptures: The political economy of realising socio-economic rights in South Africa. *Law, Democracy & Development*, *6*(2), 193-229.

Rehman, S. (2006). Development, democracy and the NGO sector: Theory and evidence from Bangladesh. *Journal of developing societies*, *22*(4), 451-473.

Rostow, W. W. (1960). The problem of achieving and maintaining a high rate of economic growth: A historian's view. *The American Economic Review*, *50*(2), 106-118.

Routley, L. (2014). Developmental states in Africa? A review of ongoing debates and buzzwords. *Development Policy Review*, 32 (2), pp. 159-177. Overseas Development Institute.

_____(2012). Developmental States: A Review of the Literature, ESID Working Paper No. 03. Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre (ESID). School of Environmental and Development, University of Manchester, Manchester. www.effective-states.org. dvelopm and University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, UK.

Sharamo, R. (2014). The politics of pastoral violence: a case study of Isiolo County, Northern Kenya. *Future Agricultures Consortium Working Paper*, *95*.

Sihanya, B. (2013). Devolution and education law and policy in Kenya. *Law Society of Kenya Journal*.

Silver, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms. *Int'l Lab. Rev.*, *133*, 531.

Smillie, I. (1997). NGOs and development assistance: A change in mind-set? *Third World Quarterly*, 18 (3) pp. 563 – 577. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group.

Speich, D. (2009). The Kenyan style of "African Socialism": Developmental knowledge claims and the explanatory limits of the cold war. *Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, 33 (3) pp. 449-465. Wiley Periodicals

Wade, R. (2003). What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The World Trade Organization and the shrinking of "development space"', *Review of International Political Economy* 10(4): 621-44.

Walker, G., Kogut, B., & Shan, W. (1997). Social capital, structural holes and the formation of an industry network. *Organization science*, *8*(2), 109-125.

Young, C. (2004). The end of the post-colonial state in Africa? Reflections on changing African political dynamics. African Affairs, 103(410), 23-49.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire Guide for ICSO Officials

Name of NGO……Location……Position……

1) What part of Isiolo is mostly targeted? (What specific places) urban or rural? What factors played a role in where you chose to go?
2) What is the primary issue, goal, or program?…….
3) Since when has the company been operating in Isiolo County? Are you engaged in advocacy, operations, or both?
4) Are you working together with the government or other development organizations?
5) Do you collaborate with CBOs? Mention them.
6) What are the CBOs' engagement guidelines?
7) How do you involve the locals in initiatives?
8) Where do you get your funding from?
9) How do you make sure the monies actually get to the intended uses and demographics?
10) What obstacles have you faced in trying to better the life of the citizens of Isiolo County?
11) How did you get around them?
12) How, in your opinion, have your efforts improved the quality of life for Isiolo residents?

Appendix 2: Focus Discussion Guide for Beneficiaries of ICSO Programmes

Name (optional)…….Location……Gender…… Social status…

1. What degree of schooling have you received? (Primary, Secondary, and University)
   a) What business do you operate?

A small company; B tending livestock; C farming; D other

2. Are you familiar with the way the word "marginalization" is used in Kenya? If so, how does it come across? (1) Yes (2) NO
3. Where does your family's water come from? (Borehole, River, Tap)
4. How far do you have to walk to get water? (Km) 5km b) over 5km
5. How safe is the water to drink? What steps have been taken to improve it? How suitable is it for 1) people, 2) livestock?
6. What steps has the neighborhood taken to strengthen the local water supply?
7. Which form of transportation predominates in Isiolo? Do rural places have access points?
8. What are the main transportation issues? What is the best approach to solving these issues?
9. How far away from your residence is the closest medical facility? (Km) 5km b) over 5km
10. Is it a pharmacy, clinic, or hospital?
11. Are medications widely accessible? Is the personnel adequate? Is hospital transportation offered in the event that you are referred to a larger facility?
12. What are the key issues that both the medical personnel and the residents face?
13. What issues does the healthcare industry face?
14. How good are the local elementary schools?

15. How long do kids have to commute to get to school? (km) 5km b) over 5km
16. Are the schools structurally sound and functional? Are there enough laboratories and classrooms?
17. Do we have enough qualified educators?
18. Do the students partake in a feeding program? If not, how does that impact education? Are families stationary or mobile? What impact does lifestyle have on education?
19. Who finances these institutions?
20. List the principal organizations in your area that oversee the following areas of human development:
    i) Female group
    ii) NGOs,
    iii) Main mosques,
    iv) church-based organizations,
    v) community-based groups, g
    vi) Local government-based initiatives, and
    vii) Projects supported by the County government
21. List and describe the development projects:
    a) a). that have been started and completed by various agencies, and b) how these initiative projects have benefited the lives of the residents of Isiolo County?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire Guide for Key Informants

A) Key Informants in Isiolo County

1. Which department/organization do you work for?
2. For how long have you been in Isiolo County?
3. What is the current poverty situation?
4. What accounts for the high poverty rates in Isiolo?
5. To what extent are grassroots people involved in NGOs work?
6. What are the main constraints to socioeconomic development?
7. Are NGOs capable of addressing the socioeconomic crisis in Isiolo? Please explain.
8. What is the security situation like?
9. What are the causes of insecurity? Which are the main hot spots? How has insecurity affected livelihoods?
10. Which institutions are considered as key for tackling socioeconomic development?
11. What capacities (strengths and gaps) do these institutions have?
12. What changes has devolution brought?
13. In your opinion is there harmony in the operations of the various CSOs and government in their attempt to address socioeconomic development? Please explain your response.
14. Is there need to integrate efforts of the above stakeholders in combating socioeconomic development? Please explain your response.
15. What measures do you think should be undertaken to address socioeconomic underdevelopment of Isiolo County?

B) Selected Key Informants on State Policies

1. Which department/organization do you work for?

2. How have state policies impacted on the socioeconomic development of Isiolo County from independence?

a) Session Paper No. 10 of 1965.

b) Subsequent sessional papers; No. 4 of 1980, No. 4 of 1981, No. 4 of 1986 and No. 8 of 2012.

c) National Development Plans.

d) District Focus for Rural Development strategies.

e) The constitution of Kenya, 2010.

3) What are the main challenges in addressing socioeconomic development in Isiolo County?

Appendix 4: List of NGOs Interviewed and their Sector Areas

SN	Organization	Sector Area
1	Food Bank International	Water and Sanitation, education, agriculture
2	African Wildlife Foundation	Education, Health,Water & Sanitation
3	Arid Lands Information Network - Eastern Africa	Education, Agriculture
4	Africa Solidarity Fund	Agriculture
5	American Relief Agency	Water and Sanitation, Relief
6	Catholic Relief Agency	Livestock
7	Cordaid	Health
8	Community Health Access Program	Health
9	Veterinaires Sans Frontieres Suisse/Kenya	Agriculture/Livestock
10	Touchlives Development International	Education
11	Community Development Resource Centre-Kenya Chapter	Water and Sanitation
12	Green Charity Foundation	Health, relief, education, welfare
13	Action Against Hunger (Acf)	Agriculture, water& sanitation, health, welfare
14	Global Hope Network International (Kenya)	Agriculture, relief, welfare, water& sanitation, health, education
15	World Renew	Health, Relief, Water & Sanitation
16	International Medical Corps	Health, water& sanitation,
17	The Life Ministry	Agriculture, education, welfare
18	World Vision Kenya	Water and Sanitation, health, education,
19	Global Communities	Health
20	Food For Hungry (FH) Association	Water and Sanitation, health, education
21	Asante Africa Foundation – Kenya	Education
22	Direct Aid	Water and Sanitation, education, welfare
23	Lay Volunteers International Association	Water and Sanitation, health, education
24	Education Supplements International	Relief, education
25	Local Capacities for Peace International	Health, education
26	Technoserve Kenya	Water and Sanitation, health
27	Mercy Corps	Relief, Livestock
28	Reach The Destitute for Better Destiny	Education, Health,

29	Expanding Opportunities	Education
30	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction-Africa Regional	Education, Agriculture
31	Africa Muslims Agency – Kenya	Education
32	Helping Hand for Relief And Development	Water and Sanitation, Education, Health
33	Community Development Resource Centre-Kenya Chapter	Water and Sanitation
34	Action Aid International Kenya	Education, Relief, Agriculture Water & Sanitation, Health
35	Compassion International	Water and Sanitation, Education, Health
36	Act Change Transform	Welfare
37	African Partners in Social Development	Welfare
38	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction-Africa Regional	Education
39	Akili Dada	Education
40	Muslim World League	Relief
41	Poverty Eradication Network	Water and Sanitation
42	Kenya Education Fund	Education
43	World Assembly of Muslims	Education
44	Global Hope Network International (Kenya)	Relief, Water & Sanitation, Health, Education
45	Capture Foundation International	Health, Education
46	Caritas International	Health, Education
47	African Development Solutions	Education

Appendix 5: List of Oral Informants Interviewed

The following is a list of Oral Informants (01) interviewed during the cause of the study.

Key Informants

Name of OI	Category	Date of Interview	Where
Joel Macharia	Programme Coordinator (KNRCS)	28/5/2019	Isiolo town
Julius Marwa	DCC	11/05/2019	Isiolo town
Lordman Lekalkuli	NDMA, Isiolo County Coordinator	30/5/2019	Isiolo town
Gurat Katama	Village Elder	12/05/12019	Isiolo town
Samson Edong'a	Chief, Burat location	10/05/12019	Isiolo town
Gabriel Lochi	Retired teacher	5/23/2019	Isiolo town
Dickson Chaullo	Livestock Officer (Isiolo County)	12/05/12019	Isiolo town
Halkano Boru	UNDP office	15/05/2019	Isiolo town
Francis Muriithi	Clerk (County Early Warning Information Systems)	26/5/2019	Isiolo town
Dr. Naftali Wambugu	Ag. Acting Director of ASALs in the Ministry of Devolution and ASALs	06/05/2019	Nairobi
Jamali Wama	MIDP (Project officer)	08/06/2019	Isiolo town

NGO Informants

	Name of OI	Category	Date of Interview	Where
1	Hosea Kiplgat	Program Officer Action Aid	17/5/2019	Isiolo town
2	Michael Kimani	World Vision	17/5/2019	Isiolo
3	Julius Kobia	Food for Hungry	17/5/2019	Isiolo
4	James Nguo	Arid Lands Information Network	20/5/2019	Isiolo
5	Patrick Njuguna	Catholic Relief Services	25/5/2019	Nairobi
6	Roy Emmanuel	Caritas	16/5/2019	Isiolo
7	Gerald Mwangi	Action against Hunger	15/5/2019	Isiolo
8	Joel Macharia	Compassion International	20/9/2019	Isiolo
9	Mr. Davis Wangiri	World Renew (Regional Director)	18/9/2019	Isiolo
10	Davis Ikiror	Veterinary Sans Frontieres	14/6/2019	Isiolo

11	Frida Mutea	International Mercy Corps	15/6/2019	Isiolo
12	Janet Sambili	CORDAID (Programme Officer)	12/5/2019	Isiolo
13	Pauline Onyango	International Institute for Rural Reconstruction and	19/9/2019	Isiolo
14	Millicent	ACDI-VOCA	15/5/2019	Isiolo
15	Mohamed Shibia	North Horn Rangelands Trust (NRT) (Programme Manager)	15/5/2019	Isiolo
16	Francis Ndonga	Food Bank International	12/6/2019	Isiolo
17	Ezekiel N. Kingo'la	African Wildlife Foundation	12/6/2019	Isiolo
18	Gregory Muriuki Maathiu	Africa Solidarity Fund	15/5/2019	
19	Muriithi Gatumo	Community Health Access Program	14/5/2019	Isiolo
20	Raphael Kariuki	Touch Lives Development	10/5/2019	Isiolo
21	Ibrahim Mohamed Abdille	Community Development Resource Centre,	10/5/2019	Isiolo
22	Pastor Wubshet Mengesha	Global Hope Network	12/6/2019	Isiolo
23	Isaac Kanyingi	The Life Ministry	12/6/2019	Nairobi
24	Nicholas Ng'anag'a	Education Supplements International	15/6/2019	
25	Millicent Otieno/Abdia	Local Capacities for Peace International	20/5/2019	Isiolo
26	Dennis Onyango	Techno serve Kenya	22/5/2019	Isiolo
27	Benson Mwangi Ireri	Reach the Destitute for Better Destiny,	16/5/2019	Nairobi
28	Evans Ouko	Expanding Opportunities	14/6/2019	Nairobi
29	Muhammad Irfan Khan	Helping Hand for Relief and Development	27/5/2019	Nairobi
30	Fred Malaki Lesakale	Asante Africa Foundation	22/5/2019	Nairobi
31	Ann Nyabera	Act Change Transform	24/6/2019	Isiolo
32	Oscar John Mug'oma	African Partners in Social Development	24/6/2019	Isiolo
33	Peninah Ringera	Akili Dada	14/6/2019	Nairobi
34	John R. Batten	Poverty Eradication Network	22/5/2019	Nairobi
35	Simon Ngunjiri	Capture Foundation	15/5/2019	Nairobi
36	Timothy Mutwiri	African Development Solutions	16/6/2019	Nairobi

37	Wilfred Maina	African Braille Centre	16/6/2019	Nairobi
38	Catherine Ogolla	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development.	11/6/2019	Isiolo
39	Mohamed Ibrahim Shide	Direct Aid	11/6/2019	Nairobi
40	Ismail Hassan Hussein	Africa Muslims Agency	12/5/2019	Nairobi
41	John Kitui	Christian Aid (UK)	23/5/2019	Nairobi
42	Hassan Omar	World Assembly of Muslims	18/5/2019	Isiolo
43	Dominic Muasya	Kenya Education Fund	20/6/2019	Isiolo
44	Sami A. Alharbi	Muslim World League	21/5/2019	Nairobi
45	Wario Dida Golicha	American Relief Agency	22/5/2019	Isiolo
46	Emilliano	Lay Volunteers Association	14/6/2019	Nairobi
47	Sammy Mbugua	Green Charity Foundation	23/6/2019	Isiolo

Appendix 6: List of International NGOs from NGO Board

S/N	Organization	Postal Address	Physical Address	Sector	Telephone	Email
1	Development Foundation of Kenya Counties	P. O Box 1162-10200 Murang'a	Taita Taveta	not indicated	020- 2222121	devtfkenya@yahoo.com
2	Food Bank International	P.O. Box 35572-00100 Nairobi	Majengo Nyeri	Water and Sanitation, Environment, Education, Agriculture	020-23474435	info@foodbankinternational.org
3	Doctors of Africa (Medicins D'afrique)	P.O. Box 21156-00100 Nairobi	Not indicated	Youth Welfare Education	Not indicated	medicins_afrique@yahoo.com
4	American Relief Agency for the Horn of Africa	P.O. Box 80 Isiolo	Opposite County Commissioner's Office Isiolo	Water and Sanitation, Relief, Health	Not indicated	kenyaoffice@araha.org
5	Community Health Access Program	P.O. Box 2756-00202 Nairobi	Fair Bank Arcarde, Suite 2:203, Maimahiu Road, Nairobi West	Health	0736 866 589	Chapafrica@gmail.com
6	Touchlives Development International	P.O. Box 29108-00100 Nairobi	Comet House Monrovia Street	Education	0722 591 344	touchlives.international@gmail.com
7	Community Development Resource Centre-Kenya Chapter	P.O. BOX 9588-00100 Nairobi	South C, Mugoya Phase IV Hse No.45	Water and Sanitation	020-2691262	mohamedi43@yahoo.com
8	Green Charity Foundation	P.O. Box 146 00300 Nairobi	Kaka House 1st Floor, Nairobi	Health, Relief, Education Welfare	020-2346557	info@greencharityfoundaion.org
9	Action Against Hunger	P.O Box 39900 Nairobi	Nyangumi Road, Off Lenana Road Same Compound with Goal Ireland Kenya	Agriculture, Relief, Welfare, Water& Sanitation, Health, Education	0707 041 491	info.ke@acf-international.org
10	Fusion Africa Foundation	P.O. Box 220 00100 Nairobi		Not indicated	0705 682 012	fusionafrica@gmail.com
11	Global Hope Network International (Kenya)	P.O. BOX 691 - 322 Isiolo		Agriculture, Relief, Welfare, Water & Sanitation, Health, Education	0723 925 400	wmengesha2007@yahoo.com

12	World Renew	P.O. Box 66490-00800 Westlands Nairobi	All Africa Conference of Churches Building 5th Floor Wa	Agriculture, health, relief	020 444 5828/9/4	wkenya@world-renew.net
13	International Medical Corps	P.O Box 67513 00200 Nairobi	Villa Gracia, Terrase Clsoe, Off Rhapta Rd, Westlands - Nairobi	Health, water&sanitation	0714 275 671	imutharia@internationalmedicalcorps.org
14	The Life Ministry	P.O Box 62500 00200 Nairobi	Jabavu Rd, Next to Kilimani Police Station	Agriculture, education, welfare	202 723 065/7222	info@lmkenya.org
15	Veterinaires Sans Frontiers Suisse/Kenya	P. O Box 2565600603	Owashika Road, Lavington	not indicated	(20) 244-1388	regnbioffice@vsfsuisse.org
16	Amref Health Africa In Kenya	P.O Box 30125 00100 Nairobi	Lang'ata Road Nairobi	Health, Water & Sanitation, Health	020-6993000/605220	info.kenya@amref.org
17	World Vision Kenya	P.O Box 50816-00200 Nairobi	Karen Road Off Ngong Road	Water sanitation health, education	0722209558/072	wv_kenya@wvi.org
18	Improving Living Standards in Africa	P. Box 35096 00100 Nairobi	Embakasi	Not indicated	(73) 570-6067	Not indicated
19	Global Communities	P.O Box 1661 - 00606 Nairobi	Grevillea Grove, Westlands Nairobi	Health	(73) 533-3243	info@chfkenya.org
20	FH Association	P.O. Box 4519 00200 Nairobi	Elseey Plaza, Kilimani Road	Water and sanitatio, health, education	202726047/48	fhkenya@fh.org
21	Asante Africa Foundation-Kenya	P.O. Box 696 - 20500 Narok	Narok	Education	0729 588 057	info@asanteafrica.org
22	Direct Aid	P. O. Box 31422-00600 Nairobi	Mirage Plaza, Msa Road Nairobi	Water and sanitation, education welfare	20-717178	kenya@direct-aid.org
23	Lay Volunteers International Association	P.O. Box 1684, Meru	Cathedral Rd, Meru Town	Water and sanitation, education, welfare	6432865/733623	lviakenya@yahoo.it
24	Education Supplement International	P. O. Box 3305-20100 Nakuru	Milimani	Relief, education	020 3528347	edsupintl@yahoo.com
25	VSO-Jitolee	P.O Box 49843 - 000100 Nairobi	Timau Plaza, 5th Floor, Argwings Khoder, Kilimani	Education	020 5016000	vsojitolee@vsoint.org

26	Christian Aid (UK/1)	P. O. Box 13864 - 00800 Nairobi	AACC Compound Waiyaki way Nairobi	Health	020 4443242	information@christianaid-nbi.org
27	Local Capacities for Peace International	P.O. Box 52221-00200 Nairobi	Comboni Rd, Shalom Hse, Nairobi	Health Education	0722870102/02080 25174	info@localcapacities.org
28	Terredes Hommes Foundation	P.O. Box 13668-00800 Nairobi	Off wood avenue Kilimani Nairobi	Water and Sanitation Health	020 2650600	kenya@tdh.ch
29	International Medical Corps	P. O. Box 67513 - 00200 Nairobi	Villa Gracia, Terrase Close, Off Rhapta Rd, Westlands - Nairobi	Water and Sanitation, Health	0714 275 671	imutharia@internationalmedicalcorps.org
30	Child Fund Kenya	P.O.Box 14038 00800 Nairobi	Off waiyaki way, opp. BBK Westlands	Education Health, Water and Sanitation	020 444 4890/3	kenyainfor@childfund.org
31	Reach the Destitute for Better Destiny	P. O. Box 7777, 00200 Nairobi	Soko Centre Building, Ronald Ngala Street, 2nd floor	Education, Health	020 34 20 77	reachdestitute@yahoo.com
32	Comitato Collaborazione Medica	P.O.Box 1207 00606 Nairobi	Rhapta road plot 47, Westlands	Health	44 53 978	ccm.nbi@ccmitalia.org
33	Expanding Opportunities	P.O. Box 12184 Nakuru	Mangu, Menengai West	Education	0721 275 791	info@expandingopportunities.org
34	Capture Foundation International	P.O. Box 52728 - 00200 Nairobi	Afya Sacco Bld 1st Floor Room 7 Tom Mboya Street	Not indicated	020 2212796/7	capturetech07@gmail.com
35	Evergreen Environmental Conservation Programs	P.O. Box 6866 - 00300 Nairobi	Not indicated	Not indicated	0704 336 739	evergreennecp@gmail.com
36	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction-Africa Regional	P.O. Box 66873 - 00800, Westlands Nairobi	Sports Road, Procmura Building 2nd Flr	Education	020 237 0039	admin@iir.org
37	Africa Muslims Agency Kenya	P.O. Box 31422-00600 Nairobi	Heidelberg Plaza Mombasa Road	Education	06731614/30748	amakenya2006@yahool.com
38	Finn Church Aid Kenya	P.O. Box 35635 00200 Nairobi	LWF Compound Gitanga Road Opposite Braeburn	Education	020 2605 802	info@kua.fi

39	Helping Hand For Relief and Development	P.O. Box 27667-00506 Nairobi	House no. 115 Amana Estate, South C Nairobi	Water and Sanitation , Education, Health	0707 121 444	info@hhrd.or.ke
40	Community Development Resource Centre-Kenya Chapter	P.O. Box 9588-00100 Nairobi	South C, Mugoya Phase IV Hse No. 45	Water and Sanitation	020 269 1262	mohamedi43@yahoo.com
41	Solidarity for Advancement of Women's Agenda	P.O. Box 833 Ngong Hills	Mans.No.3 Olenairi Drive, Zambia Road, Off Ngong Road	Not indicated	0721 359 159	solidarity.sawa@gmail.com
42	Action Aid International Kenya	P.O. Box 42814-00100 Nairobi	AACC Building Waiyaki Way 2nd Floor	Agriculture, Others	020 4440 440/4/9	info.kenya@ctionaid.or
43	Pearl of Hope Organization	Not indicated	Not indicated	Population and Reproductive Health	Not indicated	Not indicated
44	Compassion International Inc.	P.O. Box 1945-00502 Karen NAIROBI	208 Kerarapon Road Off Ngong Road Karen	Water and Sanitation Education, Health	0709961000/0733 686 885	cikenya@ke.ci.org
45	Act Change Transporm	P.O. Box 76390-00508 NAIROBI	3rd Flr Elysee Plaza Kilimani Road Kilimani	Welfare	208 179 231	infor@act.or.ke
46	Development Foundation of Kenya Counties	P.O. Box 1162-10200 Murang'a	Taita Taveta	Not indicated	(20) 222-2121	devtkenya@yahoo.com
47	Africa Braille Centre	P.O. Box 27715 Nairobi	Barclay House Mai Mahiu Road, Off Lang'ata Road	Education	020 601 212/7208	abckenya@nbnet.co.ke
48	Galgubba Development Foundation	P.O. Box 13573 00100 Nairobi	South C	Education	Not indicated	Jchoke1961@yahoo.com
49	African Partners in Social Development	P.O. Box 1151 - 00200 Nairobi	Westlands, Bekim House, 3rd flr Apt 5A	Children	020 4452 285	apasod@gmail.com
50	Al-Maktoum Foundation	P.O. Box 26770-00504 Nairobi	Off Ole Shapara Avenue, Rumi Road South C Estate Nairobi	Education	020 5258164	almaktoumkenya@yahoo.com
51	Foundation for Pastoralist Women	P.O. Box 10349-00100 Nairobi	Isiolo	Education	Not indicated	info@fopawo.org

52	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction-Africa Regional	P.O. Box 66873-00800 Westlands Nairobi	Sports Road, Procmura Building 2nd Flr	Education	020 2370 039	admin@iir.org
53	Akili Dada	P.O. Box 27847-00100 Nairobi 00200	2nd Flr Riara Corporate Suites Riara Rd	Education	020 2013 873	info@akilidada.org
54	Green Charity Foundation	P.O. Box 146 00300 Nairobi	Kaka House 1st Floor, Nairobi	Health Education welfare	020 2346 557	info@greencharityfoundation.org
55	Association Of Volunteer St. Martin Ithanga Mission	P.O. Box 60300 Isiolo	Pastoral Centre Isiolo	Education	Not indicated	info@forithanga.org
56	Africa Muslims Agency Kenya	P.O. Box 31422-00600 Nairobi	Heidelberg Plaza Mombasa Road	Education	067 316 14/30748	amakenya2006@yahoo1.com
57	Muslim World League	P.O. Box 52871-00200 Nairobi	David Osieli Road-Westands	Relief	020 4446683	kenya@themw1.org
58	Umoja As One Perfect Mission For Peace Initiative	P.O. Box 55847 00200 Nairobi	Kayole	Education	0733829554/7338	perfmisgospel@yahoo.com
59	Poverty Eradication Network	P.O. Box 4932-00200 Nairobi	Aacc Compound Waiyaki Way Nairobi	Water and Sanitation	020 816 4164	info@penkenya.org
60	Goldenlife International Foundation	P.O. Box 26540-00100 Nairobi	Naivasha	Not indicated	0721 799 365	goldenlife.kenya@gmail.com
61	Kenya Education Fund	P.O. Box 384-00100 Nairobi	Ngong Road	Education	020 5260 258	infor@kenyaeducationfund.org
62	African Development Solutions	P.O. Box 70331 Nairobi 00400	Mijikenda Road-Lavington Nairobi	Education	000254 20 800 9268/0710607378	info@adesoafrica.org
63	Overseas Social Services International	P.O. Box 21797 00505 Nairobi	Ongata Rongai Offices (Ago Hse)	Not indicated	Not indicated	adan_nkiafrica@yahoo.com
64	Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric Aids Foundation	P.O. Box 13612-00800 Nairobi	Ariel House Westlands Avenue of David Osifi Road	HIV/AIDS	4454081/2/3	jmbitu@pedaids.org
65	Sisters Development Foundation	P.O. Box 69817-00100 Nairobi	Spring Valley, Nairobi	Welfare	Not indicated	sistersdevelopmentfoundation
66	Marie Stopes Kenya	P.O. Box 59328-00200 Nairobi	Kindaruma Road, Kilimani Off Ngong Road	Population and Reproductive Health	0721 488 607	info@mariestopes.or.ke

67	Act Change Transform	P.O. Box 76390-00508 Nairobi	3rd Flr Elysee Plaza Kilimani Road Kilimani	Welfare	020 8179 231	touchlives.international@gmail.com
68	Red R UK	P.O. Box 51645 00100 Nairobi	Silverpol Office Suites A 12 Nairobi	Relief	0719 249 920	cd.kenya@redr.org.uk
69	American Relief Agency For The Horn Of Africa	P.O. Box 80 Isiolo	Opposite County Commissioner's Office Isiolo	Water and Sanitation, Education	Not indicated	kenyaoffice@araha.org
70	Development Foundation of Kenya Counties	P.O. Box 1162-10200 Murang'a	Taita Taveta	Not indicated	020 2222 121	devtfkenya@yahoo.com
71	African Braille Centre	P.O. Box 27715 Nairobi	Barclay House Mai Mahiu Road, Off Lang'ata Road	Education	020 6012 12/720 8	abckenya@nbnet.co.ke
72	Galgubba Development Foundation	P.O. Box 13573 00100 Nairobi	South C	Education	Not indicated	Jchoke1961@yahoo.com
73	African Partners In Social Development	P.O. Box 1151 - 00200 Nairobi	Westlands, Bekim House, 3rd Flr Apt 5a	Children	020 4452 285	apasod@gmail.com
74	Al-Maktoum Foundation	P.O. Box 26770-0050 4 Nairobi	Off Shapara Avenue, Rumi Road South C Estate Nairobi	Education	020 528 164	almaktoumkenya@yahoo.com
75	Community Health Access Program	P.O. Box 2756-00202 Nairobi	Fair Bank Arcarde, Suite 2:203, Maimahiu Road, Nairobi West	Health	0736 866 589	chapafrica@gmail.com
76	Finn Church Aid Kenya	P.O. Box 35635 00200 Nairobi	Lwf Compound Gitanga Road Opposite Braeburn	Education	020 2605 802	info@kua.fi
77	Foundation For Pastoralist Women	P.O. Box 10349-00100 Nairobi	Isiolo	Education	Not indicated	info@fopawo.org
78	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction-Africa Regional	P.O. Box 66873 00800, Westlands Nairobi	Sports Road, Procmura Building 2nd Flr	Education	020 2370 039	admin@iir.org
79	Akili Dada	P.O. Box 27847-00100 Nairobi 00200	2nd Flr Riara Corporate Suites Riara Rd	Education	020 2013 873	info@akilidada.org

80	Green Charity Foundation	P.O. Box 146 00300 Nairobi	Kaka House 1st Floor, Nairobi	Health, Education, welfare	020 2346 557	info@greencharityfoundation.org
81	Community Development Resource Centre-Kenya Chapter	P.O. Box 9588-00100 Nairobi	South C Mugoya Phase Iv, Hse No. 45	Water and Sanitation	020 2691 262	mohamedi43@yahoo.com
82	World Vision Kenya	P.O. Box 50816-00200 Nairobi	Karen Road Off Ngong Road	Education Health, water and sanitation	0722209558/072	wv_kenya@wvi.org
83	Association Of Volunteer St. Martin Ithanga Mission	P.O. Box 344-60300 Isiolo	Pastoral Centre Isiolo	Education	Not indicated	info@forithanga.org
84	Africa Muslims Agency Kenya	P.O. Box 3142200600 Nairobi	Heidelberg Plaza Mombasa Road	Education	06731614/30748	amakenya2006@yahoo1.com
85	Muslim World League	P.O. Box 52871 00200 Nairobi	David Osieli Road-Westands	Relief	020 444 6683	kenya@themw1.org
86	American Relief Agency For The Horn Of Africa	P.O. Box 80 Isiolo	Opposite County Commissioner's Office Isiolo	Education, Water and Sanitation	Not indicated	kenyaoffice@araha.org
87	Umoja As One Perfect Mission For Peace Initiative	P.O. Box 55847 00200 Nairobi	Kayole	Education	0733 829554/73 8	perfmisgospel@yahoo.com
88	Poverty Eradication Network	P.O. Box 4932 - 00200 Nairobi	Aacc Compound Waiyaki Way Westlands	Water and Sanitation	020 8164 164	info@penkenya.org
89	Amref Health Africa In Kenya	P.O. Box 30125 - 00100 Nairobi	Lang'ata Road Nairobi	Water and Sanitation, Education,Research, Health	020 6993 000	info.kenya@amref.org
90	Goldenlife International Foundation	P.O. Box 26540 - 00100 Nairobi	Naivasha	Not indicated	0721 799 365	goldenlife.kenya@gmail.com
91	Kenya Education Fund	P.O. Box 384 - 00100 Nairobi	Ngong Road	Education	020 5260 258	info@kenyaeducationfund.org
92	African Development Solutions	P.O. Box 70331 Nairobi 00400	Mijikenda Road-Lavington Nairobi	Education	00254 20 800 9268/0710607378	info@adesoafrica.org
93	Action Aid International Kenya	P.O. Box 42814 - 00100 Nairobi	Aacc Building Waiyaki Way 2nd Floor	Water and Sanitation, Education	020 4440 440/4/9	info.kenya@actionaid.or

94	Community Health Access Program	P.O.Box 2756 - 00202 Nairobi	Fair Bank Arcarde, Suite 2:203, Maimahiu Road, Nairobi West	Health	0736 866 589	chapafrica@gmail.com
95	Overseas Social Services International	P.O.Box 21797 00505 Nairobi	Ongat Rongai Offices (Ago Hse)	Not indicated		adan_nkiafrica@yahoo.com
96	Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric Aids Foundation	P.O.Box 13612 00800 Nairobi	Ariel House Westlands Avenue Off David Osifi Road	HIV/AIDS	4454081/2/3	jmbitu@pedaids.org
97	Sisters Development Foundation	P.O.Box 69817-00100 Nairobi	Spring Valley, Nairobi	Welfare		sisterdevelopmentfoundation@gmail.com
98	Marie Stopes Kenya	P.O.Box 59328 - 00200 Nairobi	Kindaruma Road, Kilimani Off Ngong Road	Population and Reproductive Health	0721 488 607	info@mariestopes.or.ke
99	International Institute Of Rural Reconstruction-Africa Regional	P.O.Box 66873 - 00800 Westlands Nairobi	Sports Road, Procmura Building 2nd Flr	Education	020 2370 039	admin@iir.org

Appendix 7: Research Authorization Letters

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: kubps@yahoo.com
dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 810901 Ext. 57530

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School **DATE:** 6th May, 2019

TO: Agatha Makhanu **REF:** C82/30951/15
C/o Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies
Kenyatta University

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We acknowledge the receipt of your revised Research Proposal entitled **"Civil Society and Socioeconomic Development of Isiolo County, Kenya 1963-2015"** as per recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 18th April,2019.

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

REUBEN MURIUKI
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Chairman, Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies
Registrar (Academic) Att; Mrs. Lucy Njenga

Supervisor

1. Dr. Edwin Gimode
   C/o Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies
   KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
2. Dr. Joseph Wasonga
   C/o Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies
   KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

RM/cao

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

OUR REF: C82/30951/15

Date: 6th May, 2019

The Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR AGATHA MAKHANU REG. NO. C82/30951/15

I write to introduce Agatha who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. The student is registered for Degree programme in the **Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies in the School of Humanities & Social Sciences.**

Agatha intends to conduct research for project entitled, **"Civil Society and Socioeconomic Development of Isiolo County, Kenya 1963-2015"**

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

RM/cao

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/19/63612/30289**

Date: **29th May, 2019**

Agatha Makhanu
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on ***"Civil society and socieconomic development of Isiolo County, Kenya 1963-2015"*** I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Isiolo County** for the period ending **27th May, 2020.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Isiolo County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Isiolo County.

The County Director of Education
Isiolo County.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. AGATHA MAKHANU
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 43844-100
NAIROBI,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Isiolo County*
on the topic: *CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ISIOLO COUNTY, KENYA 1963-2015*
for the period ending:
27th May,2020

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/63612/30289
Date Of Issue : 29th May,2019
Fee Recieved :Ksh 2000

.....
Applicant's Signature

.....
Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.

National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NACOSTI

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 25010

CONDITIONS: see back page