Decentralised Service Delivery in Nairobi and Mombasa

BY
WINNIE V. MITULLAH
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

PRESENTED AT A SEMINAR ON URBAN GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN AFRICA
AFRICAN CENTRE FOR CITIES, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN,
CAPE TOWN
5TH JUNE, 2012
Introduction
Theoretical Perspectives
Decentralisation in Nairobi and Mombasa
Policies and Party Politics in Decentralised Service Delivery
- Governance Reforms
- Politics of service delivery in Nairobi & Mombasa
  - Solid waste management
  - Water and sanitation
- Inter-play of politics and service delivery
Concluding Remarks
INTRODUCTION

- Kenya in Constitutional transition
- Rapid urbanisation:
- Urbanisation, decentralisation and governance
  - Interaction with global forces and local development
- Rapid urbanisation since independence
  - Urbanisation concentrated in major urban centers
  - Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret account for over 70%
  - Nairobi population = 3,133,518
  - Mombasa population = 938,131
  - Kisumu population = 409,928
- Reclassification of cities under the Urban Areas and cities Act, 2011
Introduction: National Strategies & Urban Development

- National strategies
  - Providing quality life to all citizens by 2030;
  - Infrastructure development;
  - Improving urban public transport;
  - Access to electricity and safe drinking water
- Requirement for effective, inclusive governance framework based on citizen participation
  - Effective elected leaders and technical staff
- Provisions of the Kenya Constitution 2010
Theoretical Perspectives

- UN-HABITAT global campaign on urban governance & importance of decentralised service delivery
- Transfer of power and resources to different sub national levels of a unitary state
  - Local level should be understood from a municipal level
  - Paper concentrates on two Kenya cities
  - Views the seat of authority, town hall as the centre and wards as lower levels of decentralisation.
Theoretical Perspectives Cont.

- Forms of decentralisation
  - Deconcentration, delegation, devolution, (Privatisation)
  - Reflect varying levels of power assigned to sub-national governments
- Promotes principles of local governance (participatory democracy, subsidiarity, equity, accountability, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability)
- Irrespective of form, decentralisation is noted to address governance challenges:
  - Dominance and autocratic state tendencies
  - Capture of local level politics by central government
Theoretical Perspectives Cont.

- Is centralisation the major problem?
- Importance of leadership and impartial party politics
- Weak political parties:
  - Majority revolve around individuals
  - Ethnic bases and ethnic coalitions
  - Lack of ideology for articulation of interest
  - Inability to develop vision and effective programmes
  - Mere platforms for recruitment of politicians
Theoretical Perspectives Cont.

- Push for Decentralisation by development partners
  - Pressure to decentralise since 1990s
  - Call for good governance for effective service delivery
  - Citizen participation
- Decentralisation as a tool for accessing donor funds
  - Partly explains the failure of decentralisation
  - Decentralisation conceptualised as a technical tool ignoring political dynamics
  - Challenge of remaining apolitical in a vertically divided context – some withdraw support
  - Partisan politics affect donor support
  - NGO projects better managed and free of politics
Theoretical Perspectives Cont.

- Importance of local context (history, tradition, institutional and political and economic realities)
- Link between national and local politicians
- Party manifestos and link to local issues
- Local politicians hardly pursue party vision nor curve own visions and strategies
- Technical staff have to struggle to sale vision & strategy of local councils to political leadership
- Vertical Vs horizontal focus
Decentralisation in Local Authorities in Kenya

- Cities and urban areas beginning to decentralise functions and services to lower levels
- Semi-autonomy with resources
- Post 1990 reforms resulted in Local government Reform Programme
  - Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF)
  - Local Authority Service Development Action Plans (LASDAPs)
  - Supporting administration in LAs (45%)
  - Water and Sanitation, and food security (25%)
  - Housing Construction (5%)
  - Transport (25%)
- LA lack autonomy, Kenya Constitution 2010 to revert situation
Decentralisation in Nairobi

- Partially operating in few urban areas
- Nairobi since 2003
  - 8 Administrative divisions, and 55 wards
  - Staff from environment, enforcement in wards
  - Offices for Division Managers
  - Offices for ward Councilors
  - Construction of offices
- Minimal improvement of basic services
- Technical staff still to decentralise
- Weak roll-out due to lack of resources for service delivery
Decentralisation in Mombasa

- Partial conceptualisation done – control
  - Divisional units with commanders
- Few services in divisions and wards
  - Inspection and enforcement
  - Social services
  - Environmental and cleansing services in Likoni ward.
Envisaged Decentralisation in Cities
Policies and Party Politics in Decentralised Service Delivery

- Dates back to independence
  - Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1965 supported devolution
  - Provinces, districts and municipalities
  - Local Government Act of 1967
  - District Focus for Rural Development of 1983
  - Local Government Reforms since 1999
- Decentralisation scuttled by party politics
  - Provision of primary education, healthcare and roads transferred to the centre
  - Graduated Personal Tax abolished
- Service charge introduced in 1988 but collected by central government and not effectively transferred
- Reduced revenue and weakened LAs
- Reliance on development partners
- Impoverishment of Local Governments
- Local leaders viewed as appendages of the centre
- Kenya Municipal Programme covering 15 LAs (WB)
- Sub national government administration (45%)
- Water, sanitation and food protection (25%)
- Housing construction (5%)
- Transport (25%)
- Swedish Government funding development of urban policy
Policies and Party Politics in Decentralised Service Delivery Cont.

- Governance reforms
  Fiscal reforms since 1999
  - LATF
  - LASDAP
  - CDF (2003)

Management reforms since 2003
  - New Public Management (NPM)
  - Result Based Management (RBM)
  - Performance Contracting (PC)

- Reforms improving service delivery
Politics of Service Delivery in Nairobi and Mombasa

- Both cities provide all services
  - Supported by central government, development partners including civil society
- Multiplicity of service delivery channels working in parallel
  - Historical absence of vision and strategic plans
  - Lack of effective planning and coordination resulting in duplication of efforts and conflict
- Partnership approaches under NPM reforms
- Management Boards expected to improve services
Solid Waste Management

- Environmental management a major focus
- Availability of waste management policy
- Decentralised in Nairobi and centralised in Mombasa
  - Dominance of informal settlements and inability to manage waste
  - More waste generated than collected
  - High income areas served better
  - Lack of appropriate dumping sites
  - Private firms and CBOs in waste collection
  - Reliance on ad hoc approaches often influenced by political interests
  - Competition to influence contracts of private firms
Water and Sanitation

- Better organised and operate under the Water Act
- Benefited from reforms which began in 2003
  - Include commercialisation of services with cities as major share holders
  - Nairobi established a company to manage service
  - Mombasa managed by Coastal region operations office under the Water Act
- Civil society organisations working with water agencies and in isolation
- Challenges of delivery exist: infrastructure, ability to pay, low pressure, weak regulatory framework, institutional arrangement and lack of accountability to consumers
- Influx of private providers and manipulation by councilors
Inter-Play of Politics and Service Delivery

- Both cities generate more resources but struggle to deliver services
- Complex system: politics, inter-governmental relations, donors, and other development actors
- Inter/intra-party, personal interests derail effective debates and decision making
- Councilors defraud councils through contracts as agents of firms doing business with council
- Oversight role negated by political manipulation and personal interest
- Case of minister Najib Balala and mayor mohdhar
Inter-Play of Politics and Service Delivery

- Case of magic Mwangi in Nairobi (1992)
  - Formed inter party committee
  - Organised a convention on ‘Nairobi We Want’
- Approach lured central government and donors
  - Local intra-party fight and ganging with Minister of Local Government undermined process
  - Mayor magic ousted from office
  - Continuous hostility pushed him to resign
  - Constant interference by central government for control
  - Five years dealing with inter/intra party rivalry as opposed to service delivery
Inter-Play of Politics and Service Delivery Cont.

- New Public Management Approaches has not eliminated political allegiance, patronage and intrigues
  - Constant attempt by central government to undermine urban authorities
  - Intra/inter party, and personal interests minimally reduced
  - 2011, the mayor of Nairobi accused Treasury of blocking transfer of LATF funds
  - Intense intra party politics during 2011 mayoral elections in Nairobi
  - Dynamics compromise cohesion and shared vision for service delivery
Inter-Play of Politics and Service Delivery Cont.

- Intense party politics since independence
- LAs main source of competition and abuse by party functionaries & individual politicians
- Political parties struggle to capture main cities
- Cities used as springboards for national politics
- Nomination of councilors does not serve purpose
- Competition not informed by ideology & desire for service delivery
- Negligence of cross-cutting city issues
- Any hope in Kenya Constitution 2010 provisions?
Inter-Play of Politics and Service Delivery Cont.

- Development partners have to operate within existing political and institutional constraint
- Development partners bridging the service delivery gaps
- Relationship between central and local government not conducive
- Blame game between central & local government
- Party politics, and individual interest not viewed as problematic, hence not being addressed.
Concluding Remarks

- Analysis reveals a disconnection between theory and practice
  - Councilors compete to attract available resources to their wards but resource allocation is not reflected in planning and delivery of services;
  - Service delivery issues are disconnected from the councilors and largely driven by technical officers, national government and development partners;
  - Management and leadership politicised along party and ethnic lines, thus shifting focus from service delivery to struggles over political power and influence.
• Reluctance to devolve power which exposes urban authorities to political manipulation and perpetuation of self interest
- Manipulation prevents LAs from effective service delivery to urban residents, who have in turn lost confidence in local governance;
- In spite of reforms and the new Constitution, genuine devolution and provision of services free of political manipulation will continue to be a daunting uphill task in Kenya;
- There is need for committed facilitative leadership both at the central and local government levels. The leadership must have ability to take responsibility, cooperate, consult and formulate effective policies, strategies, including devolution of resources and amicable inter-governmental relations.