

Article

Community Driven Development (CDD) Vs Community Based Development (CBD)

For Practitioners and Development Actors

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Community Driven Development (CDD) Vs Community Based Development CBD)**Abstract**

Community-driven development is derived from community-based development (CBD) which can include a much broader range of projects. Community-driven development (CDD) is a development initiative that provides control of the development process, resources and decision making authority directly to groups in the community. The “community-based development” approach may empower citizens and improve outcomes through three mechanisms: (1) an immediate direct effect of engaging citizens to decide how to allocate resources within the community-based development program, (2) an indirect effect on community organization that improves citizen engagement with other local institutions, and (3) an indirect effect on community organization that improves representation within centralized government structures.

Key Words: *Community Driven Development (CDD), Community Based Development (CBD), empowerment, Citizen.*

Introduction

Community Based Development (CBD) and its more recent variant, Community Driven Development (CDD), are among the fastest growing concepts for channeling development assistance in developing countries. To clarify concepts, CBD is an umbrella term that refers to projects which actively include beneficiaries in their design and management. CDD is a term, originally coined by the World Bank that refers to CBD projects where communities empowered and have direct control over key project decisions as well as the management of investment funds (Dongier et al 2003).Both

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CDD and CBD have become an important development assistance concepts for developing nation to reduce poverty.

For example, the financial institutions, such as the World Bank's portfolio alone approximating \$7 billion development assistance were made could be a good example for developing countries to ensure the community-driven development program (World Bank 2004). A review on CBD of the conceptual foundations and evidence on their effectiveness shows that projects that rely on community participation have not been particularly effective at targeting the poor. There is some evidence that such projects create effective community infrastructure, but not a single study establishes a causal relationship between any outcome and participatory elements of a community-based development project. Most such projects are dominated by elites, and both targeting and project quality tend to be markedly worse in more unequal communities (Dayton-Johnson, Jeff and Pranab Bardhan, 2002). A distinction between potentially "benevolent" forms of elite domination and more pernicious types of capture is likely to be important for understanding project dynamics and outcomes. Several qualitative studies indicate that the sustainability of community-based initiatives depends crucially on an enabling institutional environment, which requires government commitment, and on accountability of leaders to their community to avoid "supply-driven demand-driven" development. External agents strongly influence project success, but facilitators are often poorly trained, particularly in rapidly scaled-up programs. The naive application of complex contextual concepts like participation, social capital, and empowerment is endemic among project implementers and contributes to poor design and implementation. The evidence suggests that community-based and -driven development projects are best undertaken in a

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context-specific manner, with a long time horizon and with careful and well-designed monitoring and evaluation systems (La Ferrara, Eliana, 2002).

Ownership and Decision-making Power in CDD Program

Community-Driven Development (CDD) is an approach that gives control of development decisions and resources to community groups. Poor communities receive funds, decide on their use, plan and execute the chosen local projects, and monitor the provision of services that result. It improves not just incomes but also people's empowerment, the lack of which is a form of poverty as well. The "community-based development" approach may empower citizens and improve outcomes (Baldwin et al 2017). Community-Driven Development (CDD) programs operate on the principles of transparency, participation, demand-responsiveness, greater downward accountability, and enhanced local capacity. Experience has shown that when given clear and transparent rules, access to information, appropriate capacity, and financial support, poor men and women can effectively organize to identify community priorities and address local problems by working in partnership with local governments and other supportive institutions to build small-scale infrastructure and deliver basic services.

The World Bank portrays that CDD approaches and actions are important elements of an effective poverty-reduction and sustainable development strategy. The Bank has supported CDD across a range of low to middle-income and conflict-affected countries to respond to a variety of urgent needs including water supply and sanitation, rural access roads, school and health clinic construction, nutrition programs for mothers and infants, and support for microenterprises (World Bank, 2017). CDD operations have demonstrated effectiveness at delivering results. In a 2005 evaluation of the Bank's work to date in this

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area, the World Bank's Independent Evaluation Group rated World Bank-financed CDD operations completed between 1999 and 2003 as 73 percent satisfactory, just above the 72 percent average for the rest of the World Bank's portfolio (World Bank 2009). From the above mentioned evaluation report and experiences in developing nations, CDD initiatives in all levels demonstrated significant positive change in the lives of poor community. Learning from this global experiences the developing countries such as Africa, particularly Ethiopia should initiate and implement the concept of CDD projects for sustainable development strategy.

The Characteristics and Responsiveness of Community-Driven Development (CDD) to Local People

The characteristics of CDD programmes are motivated by their trust in people (Naidoo and Finn, 2001) and hence it advocates people changing their own environment as a powerful force for development. By treating poor people as assets and partners in the development process, studies have shown that CDD is responsive to local demands, inclusive, and more cost-effective compared to centrally-led NGO-based programmes. CDD can also be supported by strengthening and financing community groups, facilitating community access to information, and promoting an enabling environment through policy and institutional reform (Dongier, 2002). The field practitioners at the World Bank have denoted five key characteristics of CDD projects. Based on the World Bank perspectives, we can learn to adapt these characteristics according to our reality.

1. A CDD operation primarily targets a community-based organization or a

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representative local council of a community. This community focus means that the essential defining characteristic of a CDD project is that the beneficiaries or grantees of implementations are agents of the community. Since the focus on small communities is so large the CDD normally targets small scale subprojects in the community.

2. In CDD operations, community- or locally based representation is responsible for designing and planning the subprojects in a participatory manner. Since the concentration on participatory planning is considerable in CDD operations, often the possible types of subproject investment options are very large with only a small list of subprojects that cannot be carried out.
3. The defining characteristic of CDD projects is that a transfer of resources to the community occurs and control of the resources is delegated to the community. The amount of transfer and control of resources will depend on the CDD implementations.
4. The community is directly involved in the implementation of the subproject. Often the participation of the community comes directly in the form of labour or funds. However, the community may also contribute to the subproject indirectly in the form of management and supervision of contractors or the operation and maintenance of the infrastructure when complete.
5. An element of community-based monitoring and evaluation has become a characteristic of CDD subprojects. Most often it is social accountability tools such as participatory monitoring, community scorecards and grievance redress systems which allow for the community to ensure accountability of the CDD implementation.

What is the Difference between Community Based Development (CBD) and Community Driven Development (CDD)?

Tanka asserted that community-driven development is derived from community-based development (CBD) which can include a much broader range of projects. For example, CBD projects can include everything from simple information sharing to social, economic and political empowerment of community groups. However, CDD projects fit on the empowerment end of CBD by actively engaging beneficiaries in the design, management and implementation of projects. The stress on actual control of decision-making and project resources at nearly all stages of a subproject cycle distinguishes CDD from the previous generation of CBD projects. In this continuum of community participation covered by CBD, new-generation CDD projects are located at the extreme right (Tanaka, 2006). Since community-driven development has only recently diverged from the broad community-based development there are a few contrasts visible in the five characteristics of CDD programmes. In essence, all five properties of CDD projects exist together only in the newer generation of CDD implementations. Nevertheless, first attribute of community focus would apply to all CDD projects and CBD projects. In contrast, the second characteristic of participatory planning and design and the fourth property of community involvement are often visible among all CDD projects but very rarely in CBD projects. Moreover, community-based monitoring and evaluation which is the fifth aspect of CDD projects is only found in some of the newer projects. The fifth characteristic is what positions many of the newer CDD projects in the extreme right of the CDD cluster as diagrammatical ly demonstrated in Figure 1 below (Petr Matous (2013).

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As mentioned above, the third characteristic of community control of resources seems to be the key factor to conceptually distinguish between CDD and CBD projects. However, many of the early NGOs implementing CDD projects did not always interpret this factor rigorously (Tanaka, 2006). Thus, the distinction between CDD projects and CBD projects with CDD components was not always clear; however, this would be expected since there was a gradual evolution of CDD out of CBD.

To alleviate the earlier problems of over-reliance on central governments as the main service provider, CDD programs were launched by the World Bank to improve the accountability and services in key areas. However, NGOs quickly learned that well designed and implemented CDD programmes had ripple effects of promoting equity and inclusiveness, efficiency and good governance. By effectively targeting and including the vulnerable and excluded groups, as well as allowing communities to manage and control resources directly it was evident that CDD programs could allow poverty reduction projects to scale up quickly. Efficiency is gained through demand responsive allocation of resources, reduced corruption and misuse of resources, lower costs and better cost recovery, better quality and maintenance, greater utilization of resources, and the community's willingness to pay for goods and services. Good governance is promoted by greater transparency, accountability in allocation and use of resources because the community participates in project decision-making processes. Some of the principles of CDD—such as participation, empowerment, accountability, and nondiscrimination—are also worthy ends in themselves (Asian Development Bank, 2008).

Theoretical underpinning About Development as a Freedom

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Development as Freedom. Development as Freedom is a 1999 book by economist Amartya Sen, which focuses on international development. A state of poverty will generally be characterised by lack of at least one freedom (Sen uses the term *unfreedom* for lack of freedom), including a *de facto* lack of political rights and choice, **vulnerability** to coercive relations, and exclusion from economic choices and protections. From this, Sen concludes that real development cannot be reduced to simply increasing **basic incomes**, nor to rising average per capita incomes. Rather, it requires a package of overlapping mechanisms that progressively enable the exercise of a growing range of freedoms. On the other hand, Sen views free markets as an essential method of achieving freedom. His work has been criticized by those who claim that **capitalism**—and especially **neo-liberal** capitalism—reinforce unfreedoms. I argue that ‘development as Freedom’ is not only in the concept of international development, but, also in grassroots development program to fully involve the citizen.

The concept of ‘development’ is ‘empowerment’ and ‘change.’ Development project in the community could empower people and bring positive change at all levels for the citizen. The change could be observed such as in good governance, leadership practices, economic development and fair wealth distribution. It was as early as 1881 when T.H. Green who wrote about the maximum power for all members of human society alike to make the best of themselves (Zakaria, 1999). However, it was not until the 1970s with John Rawls’ book —A Theory of Justice and in the 1990s with Amartya Sen’s book —Development as Freedom where the notions of substantive freedom and the multidimensional nature of poverty were made explicit to the multilateral development banks. This recognition of the multidimensional nature of poverty as well as the combined failures of both markets and governments and the socio-political complexity of ground level realities has made it clear that relying on traditional top-down, state-led,-big development strategies would not be effective to combat poverty. Moreover, this

resurgence in participatory development and bottom-up approaches in the NGO and development sector has come in only the last two decades as explained above.

CDD and CBD Experiences in developing nations

Community-Driven and Community Based Development in Ethiopia is an emerging development theory. NGOs, local community and local government projects and implementation strategies are hardly use the principles of CBD and CDD philosophies at all levels in the society. The characteristics of all development interventions are the conventional approach which is not responsive and inclusive to local demands. Local communities are used rubber stamp form of participation in instead of involving as process owners in the development undertaking. Local government actors, and NGOs are implementing the project and program based on donors driven agenda, but not CDD principles to institute the bottom-up and demand driven development approach to bring fundamental change in the lives of the poor society (Dongier et al 2003). This approach is not only in Ethiopian, but, also in many developing countries including Africa. On the other hand, the traditional top-down, state-led development approach, such as the new NGOs legislation on right issues in development, the NGOs and development actors weak strategy of bottom-up approach are critical challenges to empower the citizen and poor society to design, manage, implement the community driven development projects in the country. It is a high time for practitioners and actors to adapt the CDD and CBD principles to benefit their community to impact lives (Agarwal, Bina, 2001).

Mansuri asserted that since the mid-1990s, community-driven development has emerged as one of the fastest-growing investments by NGOs, aid organizations and

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multilateral developments banks. This continued investment in CDD has been driven mostly by a demand from donor agencies and developing countries for large-scale, bottom-up and demand-driven, poverty reduction subprojects that can increase the institutional capacity of small communities for self-development (Mansuri, 2004).The success and scale of some CDD projects by the support of financial institutions are especially notable. Tanaka, (2006) discussed that donors initiated , particularly the International Development Association (IDA) at the World Bank, CDD projects have been instrumental in harnessing the energy and capacity of communities for poverty reduction. Since the start of this decade, IDA lending for CDD has averaged annually just over 50 operations, for an average total of US\$1.3 billion per year (International Development Association Report, 2009). This shows that donors have strong interest to support and initiate the CDD program for the reduction of poverty and empowerment of the grassroots community in developing nations. Moreover, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has funded 57 projects worth about \$2.5 billion between 2001-2007 that included community-driven development approaches to enhance deliver of inputs and beneficiary participation. They constituted 14% of the total loans approved by the Asian Development Bank during this period. Over one-third of the projects were in the agriculture and natural resources sector, followed by a smaller proportion of water supply and sanitation, waste management, education and health projects. The projects were primarily in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Central and West Asia, where the developing country governments were investing in rural development programs (Asian Development Bank, 2008).

In the last few years the International Fund for Agricultural Development has been working with the Agence française de développement (AFD), the African Development

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Bank (AfDB), the European Union(EU), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the UN Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) and the World Bank to create a platform for learning and sharing knowledge on community-driven development (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2010). Intensive forms of community participation have been attempted in projects of several donors for many years. Bilateral donors, such as the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) or Government of Canada Affairs, have used CDD-type approaches for a long time as part of their sustainable livelihoods and integrated basic needs development assistance in developing countries. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and Danish International Development Agency have used CDD principles in the mandate of a rights-based approach to the development projects they fund (FAO, 2010).

According to the African Development bank report, more than 80 countries have now implemented CDD projects. The breadth and activities funded by the CDD programs at the World Bank can be explained by providing a brief overview of a few of them. For example, The Second National Fadama Development Project II (NFDP-II) targets the development of small scale irrigation, especially in the low-lying alluvial floodplains or "Fadamall. NFDP-II increased the productivity, living standards and development capacity of the economically active rural communities while increasing the efficiency in delivering implementation services to an estimated four million rural beneficiary households and raising the real incomes of households by 45 percent (African Development Bank, 2003). For example, The Social Fund for Development in Yemen provided support 7 million people of which 49 percent were female and generated 8,000 permanent jobs. It also

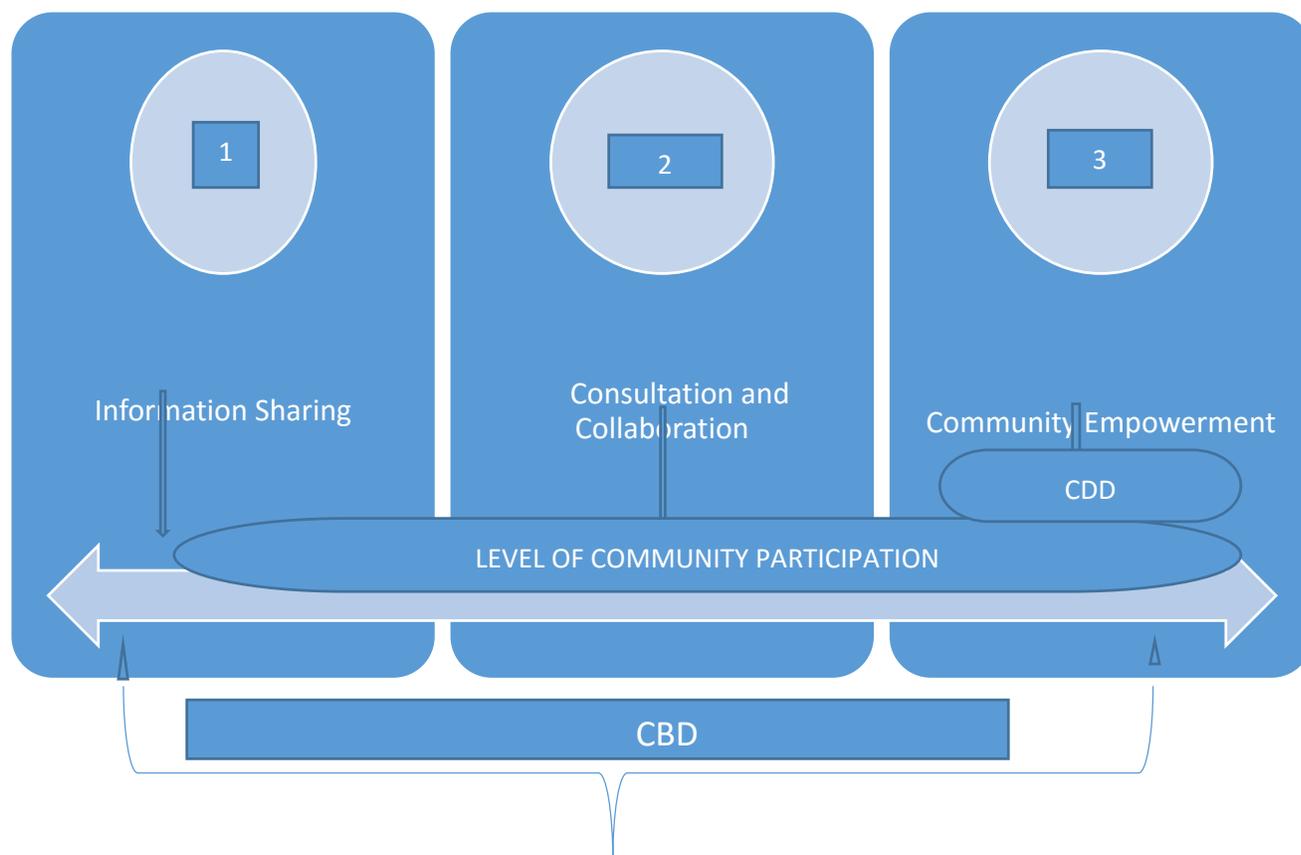
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increased the number of girls' schools from 502 to 554 and basic education enrollment rates from 63 percent to 68 percent. The program focuses on helping the poor to help themselves through providing income-generating activities and building community infrastructure rather than making cash transfers (El-Gammal, 2004). The Social Investment Fund Project V in Honduras benefited 2.5 million people with the implementation of 2,888 projects (1,446 rehabilitated schools, about 700 new schools, 163 new health centers, 347 small water/sanitation systems, and 461 latrines) resulting in all children in the targeted areas attending primary school. In addition the project communities were provided with better access to health care assistance and access to running water (Perez de Castillo, 1998).

Figure 1. Adapted from Asian Development Bank,

Community driven development is a subset of community based development.

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Conclusion

In conclusion, what does it mean for us as a practitioner? Both international and local actors requires a very long term horizon. Both institutions such as the international financial organizations, INGOs and local NGOs, and countries that take on the CBD/CDD agenda, need to realize that changing from top- down to bottom-up development in a manner that is effective and sensitive to local context and culture cannot be done hastily. CBD/CDD should also not be judged hastily. Initial evaluations may well be poor. The key is to fix the problems observed in the evaluations and work towards incremental improvements. All this requires a new vision for development – that is long term, well evaluated, honest, open to error, learning from error and less prone to the fashions of the

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moment. Absent these conditions, instead of “turning Development upside-down,” CBD/CDD is likely to join the long list of discarded fads that litter the history of Development. Therefore, one valid issue that needs to be debated is how the current institutional culture within multilateral organizations needs to change in order for the CBD/CDD agenda to be in their comparative advantage to so enthusiastically adopt (Dongier et al 2003).

All scholars agree that community control of resources seems to be the key factor to conceptually distinguish between CDD and CBD projects. However, many of the early NGOs implementing CDD projects did not always interpret this factor rigorously (Tanaka, 2006). Thus, the distinction between CDD projects and CBD projects with CDD components was not always clear; however, this would be expected since there was a gradual evolution of CDD out of CBD. To alleviate the earlier problems of overreliance on donors and central governments as the main service provider, initiating CDD programs as a start of community program could ensure ownership, improve the accountability and services in key development areas. However, NGOs quickly learned that well designed and implemented CDD programmes had ripple effects of promoting equity and inclusiveness, efficiency and good governance (The World Bank 2004). By effectively targeting and including the vulnerable and excluded groups, as well as allowing communities to manage and control resources directly it was evident that CDD programs could allow poverty reduction projects to scale up quickly. Efficiency is gained through demand responsive allocation of resources, reduced corruption and misuse of resources, lower costs and better cost recovery, better quality and maintenance, greater utilization of resources, and the community's willingness to pay for goods and services. Good governance is promoted by greater transparency, accountability in allocation and use of resources because the

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community participates in project decision-making processes. Some of the principles of CDD such as participation, empowerment, accountability, and nondiscrimination are also worthy ends in themselves (Asian Development Bank, 2008).

Community-Driven and Community Based Development in developing nations, particularly in Ethiopia is an emerging development theory. NGOs, local community and local government projects and implementation strategies are weak to use the principles of CBD and CDD philosophies in all levels in the society. Local communities have been used as a rubber stamp form of participation in instead of involving as process owners in the development undertaking. Local government actors, and NGOs are implementing the projects and programs based on conventional way or donors driven development interventions, but not demonstrating CDD principles to institute the bottom-up and demand driven development approach to bring fundamental change in the lives of the poor society. This approach is not only in Ethiopian, but, also in many developing countries including Africa. On the other hand, in Ethiopia, the traditional top-down, state-led development approach, and the conventional way of development strategy, the new NGOs legislation on right issues (CHSA, 2009) in development, the weak strategies of NGOs and development actors to adapt bottom-up approach are critical challenges to empower the citizen and poor society to design, manage, implement the community driven development projects in the country. It is a high time for practitioners and actors to adapt the CDD and CBD principles to benefit their community to impact lives.

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