

THE NATURE AND PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS
IN DEVELOPMENT //

By

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PART FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
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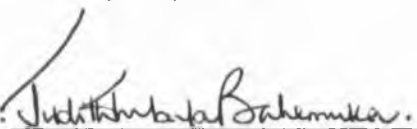
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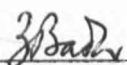
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Dedicated to
ALICE NZULA, My mother

A B S T R A C T:

Kenya's recent development planning process has emphasized on the participation of Kenyans in the nation's development process. This is to be attained through the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development policy, which came into effect on 1st July, 1983.

A central thesis of this study is that participation by local people in the development planning process ensures their sacrifice and commitment to the development projects and thus is an essential step towards the attainment of rural development. Local leadership is seen as an important ingredient in the process of initiating and sustaining rural development. The study identified the self help movement as one of the major ways through which participation in rural development has been successfully accomplished.

Using data collected through survey research (interview schedule), unstructured interviews, available data, simple observation and compilation of case studies, the study argues that participation in self help activities is determined by such factors as the participants socio - demographic characteristics, the benefits attainable, the perception and commitment of the participants to development activities.

The study argues that the type of leadership available at the local level, that is, community level determines the amount of development that may be attained. Poverty was identified as a major constraint to the effectiveness of leadership, and the level of participation leaders and members of self help groups may put into development activities.

The study established that leaders and non-leaders in the self help movement tend to have different socio-demographic characteristics. This is especially in view of the social values attached to the various socio-demographic attributes, such as age, sex, education etc. by the community.

The study found that community leaders are articulate about the development needs and problems in their areas. It, however, recommends that structures for participation in rural development decision-making namely, village and locational development committees, need to be established where they do not exist, and where they exist, they need to be revitalised, for effective rural development management.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S:

In the course of preparation and the eventual write-up of this Thesis, I have become profoundly indebted to certain people. I am therefore obliged to express my gratitude to them.

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CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION.

Popular participation in development has been a key issue in Kenya's development planning (See Kenya's Development Plans, 1974-78, 1979-83, 1984-88). It has also become a major issue with the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development, which calls for the use of local resources to complement government effort (Development Plan 1984/88:95). Such local resources include cash, labour effort and local initiative in the form of Local leadership.

Popular participation in development has been seen as the involvement of the "grassroots" or local level people in the development planning process (Oyugi; 1973). The belief is that involving them at the planning level of development activities leads to their greater commitment and support (see Killick 1981:117). Other benefits of involving people in development planning include a saving in time and costs of implementation. There is also a saving in the cost of extension services. This is because there is reduced resistance to the projects, change or innovations being planned for; since the people will be party to the planning process. It can also be argued that with local participation, development programmes stand to benefit the poorer members of society. This is because even the poorer members will have a chance to make their fate known within the development planning process.

Previous studies show that rural development has come to mean an approach to increase the level of participation of the rural population in the development process. It has also come to mean an

approach to improve the level of living of the rural population.

Mbithi (1972:1) observes that rural development in Kenya is seen as a multi-sectoral, inter-ministerial and inter-agency coordinated set of action programmes aimed at improving the incomes and the welfare of rural people and households. The action programmes are also aimed at increasing farm production through the fostering of better farming techniques by removing all obstacles in the way of the farmer. The action programmes also aim to increasing local participation in all development activities for all citizens to increase motivation, belongingness and positive commitment to national development. To an extent then, it can be observed that rural development has to do with rural farmers, the majority of whom are poor. Mbithi (1973) further sees rural development as an increase in the ability of the individual and of the community to increase it's span of control over factors which affect it.

Lele (1975:20) postulates that the process of rural development should be also self-sustaining. She defines rural development as:

Improving the living standards of the mass of the low income population residing in rural areas and then making the process of their development self sustaining.

It can be deduced from the definitions of the development cited above that broadly, development has to do with the material and non-material improvement of a people on a self help-sustaining basis. Material improvement has to do with the increased availability of such necessities as food, shelter and wholesome water among other basic needs. Non-material development has to do with cultivating and sustaining positive values and attitudes to change ideas. It has also to do with raising

the levels of awareness and education of a people.

It can also be deduced that to talk of rural development, it is imperative to talk of the rural people as the key actors in the rural development drama. A study by the International Labour Organisation sums up the situation by holding that:

development is impossible without a greater contribution from the vast working population in developing countries who are in the rural areas. (ILO, 1973:15)

Kenya's development planners, realising the importance of the participation of all Kenyans in the development process fall back on the African tradition of mutual social responsibility. (Development Plan 1984/88: 38). These tenets are also set down in Kenya's sessional paper No. 10 of 1965 that is,

a mutual social responsibility by society and its members to do their very best for each other with the understanding that if society prospers, its members will share in the prosperity and that society cannot prosper without the full cooperation of its members.

In Kenya, the situation is such that nearly 85 per cent of the population live and work in the rural areas (Kenya 1984:145). The involvement of the local people in development has mainly been through the spirit of "Harambee" which was given public acclaim by the late President Kenyatta at Independence, 1963. All Kenyans were called out to "pull together" to foster development.

The self help projects resulting from the Harambee movement have been accepted as vehicles for development. (see Nyangira in Nsibabi 1981:419). Given the pervasiveness of the Harambee effort in Kenya,

it can then be postulated that substantial development may have been attained through the self help movement, on the proviso that participants are effectively mobilised towards mass participation in the development activities.

The self help movement has been seen as both an economic and a social investment for the rural areas. This is in view of the income-generating projects undertaken as well as social welfare related projects of most self help groups. It has, however, been observed that the self help approach has been inadequate in tackling problems in the rural areas. This has been caused by poor planning at the provincial levels which has subsequently led to self help projects yielding minimal benefits. Local leaders were also mostly not consulted by the planners.

This study observes that by the local people participating in development planning (directly and or through their leaders) as envisaged by the district focus strategy, the planning process is expected to lead to better results and projects relevant and consistent with local community conditions. Indeed, it is to be noted that the objectives of self help symbolise the desires of the people. These desires can only be translated into viable development projects while also ensuring local level participation only if the people are involved in the development planning process. The local leadership acts as the link between the local people and the government, and other development agencies.

It has also been argued that, the fact that self help projects have mainly been oriented towards provision of welfare amenities and yielded only short term benefits, they are of limited development content. This study notes that there has been a gradual shift from purely social welfare projects, e.g. pit-latrines and general home improvement towards the integration of the welfare-related project or group activities with income-generating activities, such as handcrafts, poultry keeping etc. Hence the self help movement may be said to a great extent to be helping in the development of rural areas and especially as related to uplifting the social welfare and improving the material conditions of the people.

The main constraint of self help movement, as is to be noted later, is that most of the participants are poor. Hence when it comes to material and cash contributions towards a project, they are not able to raise adequate resources and hence projects may at times be delayed.

The study notes that besides local leadership, the vital resource in rural development is the local people themselves. It is, of course, to be noted that to an extent, it may not be possible to separate the local leaders from the people. They are one and the same since the leaders are generated from the people to act as the guardians of the interests of the people.¹

1. The fact that leaders represent interests of the people need not essentially imply that the leaders may not also have their ulterior motives such as political interests etc. Basically, however, the communal interests usually first prevail.

Other resources necessary for rural development include capital, appropriate technology, and government action.

Leadership in this study is looked at as it relates to the role of leaders in mobilizing their groups/projects towards the attainment of set goals. This study argues that for a leader to be able to effectively mobilize the followers, he/she has to have the characteristics conducive to the performance of that duty effectively. It is to be noted that the study does not postulate that there are universal leadership characteristics. Indeed, on the contrary, it holds that leadership characteristics may only be identified within social contexts. It is the social significance given by a particular society to a given leadership characteristic which eventually is of interest to the identification and understanding of leadership characteristics.

Leaders occupy certain positions and perform certain duties within their groups or organizations. That is to say, a Chairman of a self help group may be identified through his performance of top executive roles within the group. The followers select him because of their recognition of the capabilities in his person. Caution here is drawn to the existence of what may be termed as "informal leaders" within groups or organisations. These are the people who may not occupy any leadership position in a group, but otherwise command substantial followership among the group membership. Their opinion is sought even by the leaders holding offices in the group.

It is, however, to be noted that there is yet no universally agreed upon definition or method of identifying leaders and leadership characteristics. Leadership is looked at within the contexts of different studies.² This study looks at leadership within self help groups' context. It considers the holders of positions of leadership in the self help groups as constituting the leadership of the self help movement. Indeed, the study looks at leaders as they participate in their groups' activities. Within this context the study sees leadership as the interpersonal and group-based relationship where influence is exercised to attain set goals. That is to say, leaders interact with their followers within group settings and through their influence, mobilise the group members towards the fulfilment of group goals.

To usher in development into a community, two general approaches may be utilised. There is the top-down approach, where local people are generally incorporated into already planned projects. Planning is done at the headquarters, for example Nairobi, and field-staff in the districts implement them. There is limited participation of local communities and field-staff in this type of planning and development strategy. This strategy constitutes aspects of directed change and is referred to as the directive approach (see Batten 1967:5). This is because an outside agency decides more or less specifically

2. Some of the approaches which have been employed to identify leaders will be discussed in the next Chapter. These include the trait approach, situational approach and follower-oriented approach.

whatever it thinks people at the local level ought to value or ought to do for their own good, and sometimes even how they ought to behave. The agency can be a government Ministry or agency, or a non-governmental organisation. It provides staff, equipment and a programme, and it is hoped that the targeted people will avail themselves to the agency, and its programmes, yet always, the main initiative remains with the agency.

This approach is not favoured much because of its paternalistic stance: worker-client, supervisor-inferior relationship that it implies. This reduces the approach's effectiveness for local level development. This is because of the main factor of the approach's imposition of ideas or programmes on the people, at times, without having consulted the local people to identify their immediate needs. Hence limited local participation in the programmes impedes their success. In a top-down development approach there is limited feedback filtering back to the head-office and hence the development programmes tend to lack the refinement necessary to make them operationally acceptable and feasible. Hence their limited utility in rural development.

Should the local level be compelled to always accept programmes from the head office without question, there is the inherent risk of the local people's initiative being stifled and they become complacent. Hence they become dependent on the outside agency. This then means that their initiative is not utilised and this in itself is not development.

The other approach that may be used to usher in local level development is the bottom-up approach. This is where the communities

themselves, out of their felt-needs, organise themselves and marshal their resources to start projects so as to raise their own quality of life. The development programmes of development agencies such as the government, strive to incorporate the priorities of the local people, while also ensuring the suitability of the programmes to the unique conditions of the communities. The local people may get in touch with external agencies like the government or a non-governmental organisation for assistance. The agencies may help with things like material resources or ideas, but the people's sense of respect and self-worth is respected and maintained. This is because they are seen as having a greater part to play in their development. (see Batten, 1967).

It is the aspect of involving the people in the development planning process that enhances the operational utility of the bottom-up approach.

The district focus strategy for rural development entails the use of this second approach, the non-directive approach or bottom-up approach. This is in its stated aim of bringing the local people to the forefront in the provision of their own welfare, (see Kenya Development Plan 1984/88: p.xi). It leaves much of project-identification, planning and even implementation to the local people. Basically, the burden of this work falls on the local leadership, and hence leadership can be seen to be pivotal for any development effort within the communities, and by extension, the nation.

The government introduced the district-based planning for rural development so as to enhance the role of local people in the development of their areas. It provides a framework within which local level participation in development is to be increasingly attained. It was felt that by allowing and encouraging local level participation, the local people and also field staff will be more accountable for development in their areas. It was also felt that a district based development planning strategy will be able to more suitably identify the priorities of the people, while also ensuring that all the local resources available are taken into account within the development plan. These aspects of the district focus were not possible to be taken into account by the previous system of development, where one massive development plan was prepared for the whole country.

It was also considered that Kenya's different districts (and regions) had different and unique resource-bases and needs which could only be properly serviced and or utilised by a district development plan. Other considerations included the need to bridge regional inequalities in development, while also ensuring that there was equitable distribution of the "national cake" to the districts depending on their development needs, resources available and population size (Kenya; 1983).

It is within this broad framework that this study looks at the nature and participation of local (community) leaders in rural development.

PROBLEM STATEMENT.

This study addresses itself to leadership and participation in development. It looks at community leadership and participation in development through participation in the self help movement.

Community leaders are seen as the leaders of the self help movement, that is, the leaders of the self help groups and projects. These are projects such as women's groups, water projects and other general self help projects in the community. The rationale for treating the self help movement leaders and community leaders as one and the same, in this study is that the leaders emerging from within the self help movement do also take part in other community leadership functions. It has also been noted that the self help movement is the basis of all community activities, especially among the Akamba Society (see Ndeti, 1972). Group activities are emphasized in all the life-stages among the Akamba. This breeds an ingrained sense of working together, which to an extent underlies the traditional basis of the self help spirit among the Akamba community. Participation in self help activities, which is the subject of this study, is so widespread in Machakos such that almost all the households are represented or take part in one type of self help activity or another.

Other forms of leadership at the local level include the provincial administration and elected leaders such as councillors.

These leaders, while they also have a part to play in rural development, tend to be seen by the local people as representing the government and hence as outsiders. This is so because of the fact that they advise the local people of what the government wants done and to some extent, use their status to enforce such information to be acted upon by the people. Hence this study concentrates on self help movement leaders as the representatives of the community.

The district focus strategy for rural development is based on the belief that the local leaders, as community spokesmen, are aware of their community's needs and problems and as such can pinpoint the community's development priorities. Once the development priorities of the community are identified, the leaders also play a significant role in ensuring that the community participates in especially the implementation of the development projects. Hence the development role of community leaders stretches from taking part in the identification of the community's needs and problems to mobilising the community in the implementation of development project plans. The implication here is that the success or failure of development at the community level is to a great extent tied to the nature of leadership available in the community.

In view of this importance of community leadership, the study has the following aims:

- 1) It aims at exploring the nature of community leadership that is, identifying those typical characteristics of the leaders, which when taken together, can identify

community leadership. To this end, the study tries to identify the socio-demographic characteristics of the leaders and how they compare or stand out vis a vis the followers or the rest of membership of the self help groups.

The study hypothesizes that the leaders have distinct or different socio-demographic characteristics which set them apart from the rest of the community. The socio-demographic characteristics under consideration include: sex, age, level of education, literacy, marital status, training, leadership training, exposure (through travel, to mass-media, demonstration etc.), occupation, economic status and leadership style.

- 2) The study looks at the level of participation of the leaders in the self help activities, and tries to explain the factors influencing the levels of participation.

The pertinent questions to be asked include: whether the socio-demographic characteristics of the leaders influence their level of participation in development activities; whether the level of participation of the leaders and the quality or process of leadership³ is influenced by such social factors as:

- a) the benefits they have attained or expect to attain from the activities they participate in.
- b) the extent of commitment (i.e. level of affiliation to their group compared to others) they manifest towards their self help groups.
- c) the leaders' perception of the needs and problems of their groups (and area), and their articulation towards possible solutions.

3. By process of leadership, it is meant the actual practice and execution of leadership duties, and obligations.

It is the thesis of this study that these factors influence the level of participation a leader manifests in self help activities.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.

The study is concerned with one of the key-variables in development: Leadership. Kenya's new approach to rural development, the district focus strategy capitalises on participation by local communities in selecting and implementing development projects as well as contributing material and non-material resources to complement government development efforts. Kenya's 1984/88 Development plan (p. 95) outlining the expected role of the local communities and especially local initiative which is to be spearheaded by local leadership states:

the new district-based development policy is intended to facilitate local initiative by creating new opportunities for coordination with Ministry efforts. Self help contribution of money, labour and materials can be substantial in the overall context of district specific rural development, and DDCs should plan their use so that these local resources complement other resources.

The implication given by the above quotation is that the local communities will play a major role in the development effort, given that the community resources will have to complement government efforts. Hence given such a challenge for the local communities, a study to explore the nature of leadership (a local resource) within the communities is imperative.

This study builds upon the writer's earlier work on "Socio-economic factors and leaders participation in self help projects."⁴ In the former, it was found that the leaders of self help projects were mainly old aged and have upto primary school level of education. It was also found that the leaders were mainly occupied in farming or farm related activities. They were all married, and mainly of low economic status. This study, however, attempts to go further and establish whether leaders necessarily have different socio-demographic characteristics from those of the non-leaders. It tries to identify those factors which make leaders stand out and gain acceptability.

The previous study led to the suggestion that further work could be done on areas of leadership such as leadership patterns at the local level, or the nature and awareness of leaders, and the significance of that for rural development. It is therefore one of the aims of this study to look at the nature of community leadership.

Other studies in the area of leadership have not looked at rural community leadership, and especially the factors influencing the participation of leaders in rural development activities. For example, Mbithi (1974) mainly outlines the power bases of community leadership. Mbithi and Rasmussens (1977) in ;

4. See Muia D. M. (1984) B.A. (Sociology) disseytation: "Socio-economic factors and leaders participation in self help projects. The Case of Kalama Location, Machakos, "University of Nairobi."

a study covering coast, eastern and western provinces mainly outline some general characteristics of leaders. Anderson (1966) outlines the characteristics of the members of Board of Governors of Harambee Secondary school. Musyoki (1976) mentions some of the characteristics of local leaders. These studies do not tie the leadership characteristics to their role as leaders of ensuring rural development. Hence this study strives to take the argument farther by linking the socio-demographic characteristics of leaders with their level of participation in group activities as part of their rural development effort. It attempts to identify and explain the socio-demographic characteristics of leaders within a rural development context.

It is to be noted that there is limited literature on leadership and participation in development in Kenya. This study is hoped to avail some more information on the topic.

The study looks at some of the other social factors which influence leaders in development activities. It looks at the commitment of community leaders to their group goals. It also tries to establish whether there is a relationship between commitment, the benefits the leaders have attained or expect to attain, and their level of participation in group activities. This is expected to help explain the motivating factors for leaders in participation. It will also give an insight into leadership as a central factor in the attainment of rural development.

The study looks at leaders' clarity of perception of development needs. This is in line with the district focus strategy which

essentially expects local leaders to be articulate so that local initiative can be utilised by development agencies in the process of planning for development, that is, both at the level of project identification and implementation.

The study, in its discussion of leadership and participation at the local level, will enhance the present understanding of local leadership. It also will help in the identification of possible areas for reinforcement, such as, leadership training. This will help in facilitating the present trend of development towards the meeting of basic needs. The primary needs at the community level may only be identified by the communities themselves, and then brought up to the attention of planners through the leaders. This will enhance the present trend of development from below-(bottom-up). Hence the study is expected to avail useful information to rural development policy makers.

CHAPTER TWO



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW.

SELF HELP AND DEVELOPMENT - a perspective.

It is imperative to talk of development in the rural areas whenever one talks of development in Kenya. This is especially in view of the fact that the majority of Kenya's population live in the rural areas, mainly doing agriculture or related activities. It is to be noted that: agriculture is the backbone of Kenya's economy (see Kenya, 1985:36) that is its contribution to gross domestic product in the last decade averaged 30 per cent; agricultural products contribute about 70 per cent of our total exports and they are responsible for most of our foreign earnings; about 75 per cent of our labour force is engaged in the agricultural sector. Kenya's fifth development plan (1984-88: p. 46) states that:

... the bulk of the work of development takes place in local communities and rural areas. Eighty per cent of the people earn their living there either as farmers, pastoralists or suppliers of goods and services. The rural areas are also the source of the nation's food and export commodities.

The implication then is that it is in the rural locations that most of the nations' resources must be mobilised for meaningful development. This of necessity entails the making of the rural areas a better place to work and live in.

The Development Plan (1984/88: p.95) states that local self help has been identified as a resource for rural development. Other studies (see Barkan and Holmquist, 1986) have observed that Kenya's

Harambee or self help is a pervasive phenomenon which engages just about all rural dwellers, many city dwellers, most politicians and many state personnel. Hence it is to be found in almost all spheres of Kenya's national life.

Much of the development achieved in the rural areas has been through self-help effort, where rural communities have pooled themselves together into self help groups and projects to attain specified development needs such as clean water, schools, roads and similar social infrastructure.

Studies by such scholars as Mbithi (1973), Wallis (1976), Chambers (1974), Ndeti (1972) and Wandera (1972) argue that Kenya's self-help effort is a derivative of the African traditional way of life. In Kenya, the self help effort, which was basically communal effort, has come to be called "Harambee" (Let us pull together) In Tanzania, self help effort has been incorporated within the framework of the "Ujamaa" policy at the political level. Ujamaa for the Tanzanians broadly means people living together, working together and to an extent owing the means of production together (see Wandera, 1982:17). For Uganda, the self help movement has been commonly called, "Bulungi Bwansi," meaning "for the country." Self help effort has also been practiced in Nigeria's Bendel state from time immemorial (see Idode 1984:26). Rural communities use the self help effort for community development to up-lift their standard of living.

Mbithi (1973) argues that Kenya's self help projects and Tanzania's Ujamaa villages are cognizant of the fact that people must

advance as equal partners in development, without undue government patronage.

A different view on self-help is given by Bolnick (1974:15) who after studying the comparative history and theory of voluntary behaviour concludes that, because of the fact that self-help school movements are also found in the United States of America, it is probably more appropriate to suggest that the origins of Kenya's self help lie in normal sociological reaction to felt needs, rather than to traditional aspects of society. He contends that it is simply rational human behaviour among social (as opposed to economic) men which is at the root of Harambee.

It can, however, be observed that the self help effort today is accepted as a necessary means of incorporating people into the development stream, while Kenyans also have come to accept it as one of the way by which they can develop themselves and their nation. "Self Help" contributions are being made in almost all the spheres of Kenya's national life, for example, to build and equip hospitals, schools, for sending children for higher education, to build roads and even to get married (pre-wedding parties).

There is consensus among the scholars quoted above that what is special about Kenya's tribal traditions is not help help, but the spirit of cohesiveness. Basic in the self help movement is the communal spirit of sacrifice and participation for the people to develop their lot. The self help groups formed within the self help movement may be seen as a collectivity of people whose members cooperate in identifying their own problems and planning how to overcome them

in view of the resources internal to them. Turner (1967) sees self help groups as:

... those voluntary organizations geared to raising the welfare of members.

This study, however, defines a self-help group as, a collectivity of people who pool together and voluntarily make sacrifices of their resources to collectively uplift their standard of living. It is to be noted that the self help groups, in their quest to uplift their members' standards of living, they have to employ the resources at their disposal. That is, they make the necessary sacrifices of their labour and other scarce cash and material resources voluntarily.

Self help groups have been prevalent in Kenya, especially since Independence, 1963, because of two main reasons. (see Mazigira Institute, 1982:p.3). Firstly, there are limited development resources and thus the demand has been higher than the state can afford. At Independence, many people expected the state to do a great many things for them, such as provide free education, and health services among others. These expectations could not be fulfilled due to lack of resources, and what was provided reached only a minority of communities and individuals. Secondly, there was a conflict between priorities of the local people and those of the state. The state maintained that the economic growth of the nation could best be achieved when the limited resources were predominantly spent on economic projects, rural commerce, etc; while the local people on the other hand demanded social services such as

schools, health facilities, water and the like facilities. Hence the widespread commencement of Harambee projects, and their eventual dominance in the rural areas as the main vehicles for rural development. That is to say, the improvement of the material and non-material conditions of the community and the individual members in the rural areas.

There are several advantages of self help in the development of a country. Wandera (1982: 20) lists several of these as that self help allows for the use of local initiative, use of locally mobilised resources and local leadership. It can also be added that self help is based on the indigenously legitimised principle of collective and communal sacrifice and accountability. There is hence likely to be little resistance⁵ to participation in self help based development activities.

The self help groups or voluntary organizations as Turner (1967) calls them are faced with certain problems which may incapacitate them to the extent that they do not attain their goals. This study concurs with Goran Hyden's (1973) generalization of self help groups as para-cooperatives and sees their problems as similar. Self help groups just like cooperatives, are semi-autonomous bureaucracies based on voluntary membership. They have specific goals,

5. Caution is here drawn to the possible adverse effects of people participating out of social pressure. The long-term effect is that the commitment of the people to develop flags down and there may arise antipathy towards change agents. Hence the need to let people participate voluntarily.

that is, to improve the social and economic condition of the members through collective action. Goran Hyden sees the main handicaps towards these goals as poor management, poor and mis-informed leadership; the leaders are also leaders in other committees such as church and school committees, and this leads to their having limited time for each and hence their alienation from the group members; meetings are not properly guided and are prolonged.

The implication here is that leadership is presented as one of the problems of self help groups. On a broader scale, it can also be observed that local initiative has not been effectively used for development purposes. Leonard (1973:2) states that:

One major set of misused resources is the development energies of the rural people themselves.

This study's case is that the developmental energies of the rural people may be tapped if the people are effectively mobilised. This calls for innovative leadership⁶ at the local level.

That is to say, leadership that is able to skilfully incorporate the local initiative within the national development framework.

The study concurs with Mbithi's (See Leonard, p.3) argument that rural peoples have a large capacity for innovation and development within their own frame-of-reference. This potential, it can then be argued, may only be utilised within the national development process if it is

6. Wileden (1970: p. 204) observes that leaders may also be classified on the basis of whether they are innovators.

— interpreted for development purposes, within the conception and context of the local people. This is a role, the study argues, suited for local leaders, who are expected to understand both the local people and the local situation better vis-a-vis anybody else such as national planners.

It hence can be stated that leadership is a problem of self help (which manifests the desires of local people), as much as it is also a central problem to rural development.

The district focus strategy for rural development, which became operational on 1st July, 1983 (Development Plan, 1984/88:96), aims at the use of local resources to attain its aim of mass-participation, decentralised decision-making and planning to attain development. Local leadership has been identified as one of the local resources. It is pertinent in ensuring the mobilization of local people to participate in rural development project identification and planning.

Within the framework of the District focus strategy, development committees are expected to be set up at all levels from the village to the district through the sub-location, location and division levels. They are expected to facilitate the coordination of all the development effort of the government, local authorities, Non-governmental organizations and the local people. The net expected result is a much more community-based orientation to development.

The district focus strategy is a move to decentralize the development effort. Conyers (1986) defines decentralization broadly as any transfer of power from the centre to sub-national levels e.g. district level. This view is shared by Chitere (1980), who sees decentralization as division of responsibilities between Headquarters and field administration. Decentralization has however, been seen as a means of achieving a variety of different development objectives ranging from popular participation to better management of rural development and the maintenance of national unity.⁷ Conyers further argues that decentralization should be seen as a tool for development rather than merely a form of government organization.

Other proponents of decentralization such as Collins (1970), Chambers (1974, 1983) and Kayongo Male (1985) argue that more development is possible with decentralised development planning and implementation. At the local level, the challenge to shoulder development responsibilities falls especially on the community leaders, who this study also sees as the self help group leaders. This of necessity implies a need for leaders who participate more in group activities so as to enable the groups to attain their goals, and propel development in their communities. It also implies that leaders, and the local people alike, should be aware of the challenge to actively participate in development activities.

Kayongo-Male (1985) observes that part of development must be the improvement of the people to do their own planning, and a first step in empowering people to do their own planning is to make them aware of

⁷ See Conyers Decentralization and Development in Public Administration and Development. Vol. 4 p. 187 - 197.

their capacity to make their own decisions.

The implication from the above submission is that besides development being seen in material terms, it should also be seen in non-material terms. That is, in terms of encouraging and cultivating in the people positive values and attitudes, and the awareness of the need to actively contribute to the development of their area and community. This study, however, contends that more important is the need to generate the capacity and enhance it to a level that it becomes self-sustaining. This way, communities are likely to be able to solve their social problems as they come, and do so within the point of view of their needs.

It is thus within this framework that the study attaches importance to the role of the self help movement, hence local people in rural development.

LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION - a theoretical background.

Leadership, as a concept and as a process may be looked at in a group context. That is, it should be looked at as it relates to the group process of attaining set goals. The group process, however, involves the participation of the leaders and members alike in the group activities. Hence leadership becomes a process of effectively engaging the other group members rather than managing them towards the group goals.

Rice (1965:20) differentiates leadership from management by stating that:

At the manifest level of behaviour a leader has to be able to carry his followers with him, inspire them, make decisions on their behalf, with or without their collaboration, and communicate the decisions to others; he has to be able to act in ways that will not only further task performance but enlist the cooperation of his followers by mobilising the appropriate basic assumptions."

On the other hand, Rice states that a manager has to get the best results out of the resources he has available or can make available. Hence leadership entails the reliance of and the mobilization of the group towards group goals. For leadership, the group is more important, while for management, the result is more important. The leader seek cooperation while the manager orders .

Leadership in self help groups or projects is based on the use of social influence and power through persuasion to mobilize the self help movement towards their set goals. For the goals to be attained the leaders need also to participate and lead their groups or projects effectively. For this role to be accomplished, the leaders should have qualities which enable them to function effectively. The study takes into account Haiman's (1950:10) contention that;

... the qualities, characteristics and skills required in a leader are determined to a large extent by the demands of the situation in which he is to function as a leader.

It is therefore to be noted that it is usually the social context which makes a leader and not the individual. The study contends that to a large extent, leaders' characteristics need to be identified within given

situations, dynamic or otherwise.

It is within this context that the study looks at the characteristics of local leaders as they participate in the rural setting to foster rural development. In other words, it can be stated that the basic role of local leaders is one of conquering the constraints of the rural environment. As will be seen later, one of the biggest constraints has been identified as rural poverty.

Kariuki (1973) in a study in Nyeri, observed that if a permanent and global solution to rural poverty were to be found, it would have to involve promotion of rural people's capacity to actively and effectively participate in solving their own problems. This, to an extent, suggests the need to re-examine the dynamics at play in the rural areas so that they can possibly be manipulated, to allow a greater pace in development. Some obvious forces at play are rural leaders, the general rural populace and other constraining factors such as lack of capital and appropriate technology among others.

The concept of leadership has been defined differently by different scholars. Western scholars have seen leadership as a power-based position. Fiedler (1967:7) sees a leader as a member of the group who has the ability to mobilize the group towards its' goals through his/her exercise of authority. Other scholars such as Tannenbaum (1961:24) see leadership as interpersonal relationship between the leader and the led. Tannenbaum goes further than Hollander and adds that leadership as an interpersonal influence, is directed through a process of

communication whose target is the attainment of a specified goal or goals. It can, nevertheless be noted that there is consensus that leadership is a goal-oriented function, as well as a group-based relationship.

It should, however, be noted that there is yet no consensus leading to a universal definition of leadership. Hence the need for an operational definition of leadership for this study. Leadership is to be seen as an interpersonal and group-based relationship derived from the exercise of influence to attain set goals.

It is to be noted that leadership acts, if they are to be effective, have to rely upon some basis of power. French and Raven (see Carwright: 1960:202) list such bases or sources of power in relationships as reward power (based on ability to reward), coercive power (based on the ability to manipulate the attainment of valences), legitimate power (based or stemming from internalised values or norms), referent power (based on identification with significant other) and expert power, which is based on the extent of perception and knowledge of the power-holder:

These power-bases can come into play within a single or even multiple situations. For example, a self help group chairman wields legitimate power by virtue of the office he holds, while at the same time, he may wield referent power or any of the other power bases dependent on the qualities he holds.

As stated elsewhere in this study, much of the research on leadership has been done in the western world. This may be said it is because of their earlier start on the path to development. Local studies usually use their findings, and postulations of the western studies as their point of departure. The history of the study of leadership manifests a shifting focus in theoretical orientation. Tannenbaum (1961:22) states that initially, the focus was on the leader himself. This approach was referred to as the "trait approach". It was, however, realised that leaders do not function in isolation. They must deal with followers within a cultural, social and physical context. This was after it was found that universal traits were elusive and hence leaders could not purely be identified on the bases of their traits or characteristics. This realisation led to the situational approach in the study of leadership, where leaders were located within situations. Stogdill (see Tannenbaum p.23) observes that the qualities, the characteristics and skills required in a leader are determined, to a large extent by the demands of the situation in which he is to function as a leader. Later a third approach was developed. That is the "follower-oriented approach." It focused on personal needs assuming that the most effective leader is the one who "most nearly" satisfied the needs of his followers.

This study contends that to study leadership, three aspects, i.e. the leader, the followers and the situation need to be looked into at the same time. The applicability of the above approaches in identifying leaders in Kenya's local and especially rural situation may be limited by the fact that there are other forces at play. These include the fact that the rural communities are caught up in a transition between traditional and cultural normative life and the "modern" secular world. The rural people may as such not be seen as a homogeneous community. A case in point is the social values of education and especially in relation to participation in rural self help activities. The relatively well-educated despise manual work and hence usually make most of their contributions in terms of money (cash). The less-educated on the other hand contribute mainly in labour. The catch is, however, in the fact as much as the cash and labour contributions are necessary for the groups to attain their goals, the closeness and friendships that may develop from working shoulder-to-shoulder between group members is also a resource to be called upon as need arises. Hence the need to reconcile the values of the contributors in cash and in labour and within the dynamic social context. At the manifest level, those who do not take part physically in group activities are deemed to be low level participants despite the fact that they may contribute more in cash. The individual in his/her physical form is more important than to the group.

Placing leadership within a conceptual framework, it can be seen

as a form of social action. Fitch (see Harper and Duhram, 1963) defines social action as "a legally permissible action by a group or an individual trying to promote group action for the purpose of furthering objectives that are both legal and desirable." To this extent, it can then be stated that leadership acts become sanctioned by the group and within the group set rules which are to guide the group towards the attainment of its goals. Within this context, the leaders are the social actors.

Parsons (Cohen 1978:69) states that social actions are directed towards the selection of means and the attainment of goals. The actions of the actor are related to the attainment of the gratification and the avoidance of deprivation. This is influenced by the actor's knowledge of the situation he is operating within. To attain the goals, the actor ought to know and operate within certain norms and values which will govern his selection of goals and especially in view of his needs. Within the context of Parsonian social action, leadership then becomes guided by norms and values. It becomes also based on the knowledge of the goals of the group and the possible ways of going about meeting them.

Weber (see Cohen, (1978) in his social action theory states that action or conduct must be subjectively meaningful. The implication here is that in order to understand leadership, it may be necessary to observe not only what they do, but also what meaning they attach to their actions. Hence leadership should be looked at within the total situation of the group, since much of the leadership "acts" are reflected in what the

group is able to attain.

Marx (Cohen 1978) concurs with Weber and Parsons and states that men have certain goals and they would pursue them if the circumstances allowed, that is, "men make history but only under certain conditions."

In view of the above submissions by the social action theorists, it can be postulated that leaders are social actors who participate in group activities with a view to attaining set goals (which may be in the form of benefits). In doing so they are guided by group-rules, which are for ensuring that group goals are attained with the least conflict within the group. It is the contention of this study, however, that while the leaders may be at the centre of the group activities, their followers (also social actors) are equally important in the process of accomplishing group goals. The leaders are expected only to spearhead the direction of activity within the groups.

The process of attaining group goals by the social actors (the leaders and the followers) is through participation in the group activities. This study concurs with Musyoki (1976) in the observation that data on social participation within the local situations are relatively scarce. Studies on participation in Kenya's rural areas have mainly focussed on Harambee (self help) with relatively little concern for participation and leadership as areas needing specialised attention. This study, as such, can only be at an exploratory level.

The essence of participation is for groups to attain their goals of development. A goal is a desired state of affairs, (Etzioni 1976:6). Groups which attain their goals can be said to be successful.

Kayongo-Male (1965:97) observes that failure of groups to be successful can be attributed to poor leadership, coupled with internal conflict, lack of government assistance and insufficient funds. While accepting the importance of these factors, the human factor of leadership can significantly be utilised to solve some of these problems and have the group goals attained. This may be done through leaders seeking maximum cooperation from their followers, while also setting goals which address themselves to the immediate needs of all the group members. The quality of leadership may be improved by giving the leaders some training on organization procedures, project development management, leadership skills and communication techniques. Nevertheless, the other factors may be important with the effect that they militate against the process of participation and goal attainment, hence they should be taken into account alongside with leadership.

Looking at participation in general, and as it relates to voluntary organizations especially in the rural areas, it is suggested that one can only work with a limited scope of definition. Lewis notes that:

as a result of measurement problems, any attempt to generalise about participation levels within rural communities is difficult (1979: p:195).

It is thus noted that levels of participation can only be looked at within set backgrounds, such that the type of measurement used reflects the type of environment or setting of a particular study. This study, being rural based, operationally looks at participation as the way in which one supports the goals of his/her group or project. This is "support" at the level of making contributions to the group or project

in the form of labour, time, ideas, techniques and money. The study borrows Clark's definition of participation, where participation is seen as:

the degree to which the member meets the role expectations of the organisation (see Musyoki (1975:p.7)

Participation can hence be seen as a means to an end (e.g. goal attainment) and not an end in itself. In the context of this study, participation is a means to the uplifting of group members' welfare, and broadly the development of the rural areas. Local people, and especially local leaders may be expected to manifest either a low or a high level of participation towards their groups' goal attainment. The implication for rural development is that if rural leaders manifest low level of participation, meaning, failing to meet their role expectations, then there may be limited development in the rural areas.

Participation can also be looked at within the framework of social exchange theory. A central idea underlying the concept of social exchange is that behaviour is not random, but purposive and goal oriented (see Edwards 1973:6). Behaviour is oriented to achieving rewards and to avoiding non-rewarding situations.

Conceptualizing participation in terms of exchange assumes that participants behave according to some standards of rationality in attempting to maximize their rewards and minimize their costs. The levels of participation may, however, be determined by factors such as group rules, the resources at disposal of the participants among others. Within the context of rural development, it can be postulated that participation is likely to lead to rural

development if the participants (local leaders and their followers) attain some returns from their inputs to the self help movement (in terms of contributions of labour, cash and material among others). While the challenge to attain rural development falls on all the local people, a bigger challenge may be said to fall on the local leaders who are expected to propel the local population towards development by initially ensuring the self help groups they lead attain their goals. It is within this framework that the initial benefits will ensure continued zest to participate in development activities.

There are a few studies which explore the relationship between participation and such factors as the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants; the benefits they perceive or have attained; the levels of commitment to their groups and the levels of perception of the participants regarding development needs. They are even fewer in relation to rural realities.

Looking at socio-demographic characteristics as they relate to the level of participation, it can be expected that these characteristics will influence the level of participation leaders and non-leaders alike will exert in their self-help group activities.

This study, while taking note that different situations demand different types of leaders, and hence the futility of universal definitions, holds that the social contexts within which the different leadership characteristics

are identified and interpreted may enhance the understanding on leadership. Hence it is the social value attached to a characteristic which is of concern to the study's argument of the relationship between the given leadership characteristic and participation.

Studies by Mbithi (1974), Mbithi and Rasmussens (1977) in Eastern, Coast and Western provinces of Kenya, Musyoki (1976) in Mbooni, Machakos and Anderson (1966) in Kikuyu, to mention a few, show that leadership in self help is dominated by male farmers with little education. This writer's study (1984) in Machakos, found out that most of the self help group/project leaders were relatively older men with upto primary school level of education, and mainly engaged in farm related activities. Stockton (1971) in a study in Nyeri found that with working-age men away, the bulk of the 'modern' male population is not available for leadership. Some leaders are drawn from younger educated people, perhaps 30 - 40 years old, who are locally employed often as teachers or government officials. They are mature but not aged, are people who worked in their youth in cities or European-owned farms but are now permanently at home. Some of these are older people who lend the dignity of age and wisdom to committees and boards. That is to say, the bulk of the leaders have accumulated those resources, experience and characteristics towards which society as a whole is striving, i.e. they worked outside the district, are more literate, can speak Kiswahili and or English and have greater experience. They also command some authority.

Two typologies appear from the literature reviewed above. According to Mbithi, Musyoki and this writer's previous study, leaders of self help projects are mainly old people, with little education, and mainly occupied in farming. The other typology is that presented by Stockton, where leaders are said to be drawn from old retired government officers, who are literate, have been exposed to the outside world (i.e. travelled or worked in other areas) and have some experience and authority.

These studies were done mainly in the mid-seventies and it can be expected that owing to the passage of time, a decade to-date, changes have taken place. Hence it may be expected that leaders' characteristics have changed in line with social change, given that as time passes, societies undergo structural change. Social change (see Rogers 1971:6) refers to a process of alteration in the structure and functioning of a social system. It can start from within, hence immanent change or from without hence contact change. Social change may also be brought about by the interaction of the two forces, i.e. from within and from without.

This study to a great extent sees leaders as agents of change. This is in their role of mobilizing communities to attain development (positive change). The structure of a social system is provided by the various individuals and group status which compose it. Leadership, hence, can be said to be subject to social change.

Musyoki (1976:194) observes that the disadvantages, especially at the local level, which are reflected in the rural farmers' lack of schooling,

low levels of education, poor incomes and therefore lower standard of living should generate the need for change. Such a change may be in the form of a generation of a more articulate leadership with characteristics that reflect the needs of the people and their satisfaction (i.e poverty and low standard of living).

The study looks at leadership and leaders' characteristics within a dynamic perspective. It expects rural leaders to have characteristics which are functional and relevant to the rural communities' development. This includes the need to mobilize their groups to success with the effect that members feel that they benefit, belong and hence have a sense of pride, thus deriving psychological satisfaction from remaining in membership.

Turning to participation as it relates to the benefits gained or to be gained, the study submits that a leader's decision to participate in group activities is based on the evaluation as to whether they (leader and the group) will benefit or not from being in the leadership of a project. Social exchange theory postulates that behaviour is not random, but purposive and goal-oriented (i.e. oriented towards achieving of rewards and avoiding non-rewarding situations). The study argues the leadership behaviour is no exception to this norm.

Some of the benefits to be gained include status, and ego-boosting from the group attaining it's goals; a token or a prize in appreciation from the members or even government agencies. Riesman (1950) sees groups as giving members a sense of belonging and identity, help in

curbing impulses through the process of socialization, and work generally to give members psychological satisfaction by engaging in group activities.

Edwards (1973) linking rewards, resources and participation, observes that some participants have certain resources which tend to increase their organization's chances of attaining its goals or ends, while others do not have those resources or have them to a lesser extent. The study, however, notes that the fact that one has more resources may not essentially mean they will participate more in group activities. Indeed, this researcher's field experience was that some of the most active members of self help groups are the relatively less well-off. The study notes that the more chances of getting rewards from a group, the more one is likely to participate in group activities. It should be noted that the researcher is not arguing that there is outright motive of profit in taking part in group activities but that the high chances of groups attaining their goals (hence benefits to the members) are likely to lead members to 'double' their effort in the group activities.

The benefits and or rewards may be forthcoming immediately or in the future. The study explores whether the expectation of benefits or rewards has any influence on leaders' level of participation in self help groups (i.e. collective effort to solve collective problems and needs). It is hence hypothesized that leaders who expect to gain or have gained benefits from their groups (or through their groups) tend to participate more than those who do not expect or have not benefitted.

Another concept of importance to this study is perception of leaders. It is within the expectation of the District Focus Strategy that leaders will be able to articulate the needs and problems of their communities. It can then be expected that for leaders to do this effectively, they may need to have a higher level of perception, as compared to the ordinary members so that they may be armed with a foresight and the ability to mobilize their followers accordingly.

The concept of articulation of leaders, is best explained by Kariuki's study (1973) in Nyeri on informal leadership, Edwards' study (1971) on social participation in urban areas, and Rogers' (1971) study on communication of innovations. Rogers (1971:218) observes that opinion leaders are usually "above" the members even in participation. Their greater social participation broadens their scope of perception. Social participation here is conceptualized as the number of various social activities one may indulge in.

Kariuki (1973) finds in Nyeri that informal leaders were also the opinion leaders. He saw opinion leaders as more cosmopolite, which he equaled to a higher level of perception, and hence concluded that they (opinion leaders) had a better perception of their areas's needs. He further talks of leaders travelling outside their district as related to their exposure to more information, ideas, and also as related to a better level of perception of their area's needs, problems and possible solutions.

This study, however, hastens to submit that local leaders are more than merely cosmopolite (see Kariuki argues) or just "above" the rest of the rural populace. Indeed the study argues that self help activities are not just dominated by what Mbithi and Rasmusson's (1977:42), call "the rural poor, the marginal groups and a sprinkling of political leaders displaced from the centre". Self help (as the study also argues elsewhere) has come to be part of life, especially in Machakos district. The leaders, infact tend to be selected from within the communities, and where a leader is from outside (i.e from an urban setting) he is one of the local people who maybe works in the urban areas and has kept in touch with local people. It is the experience of this researcher in the field that local people tend to be sensitive to political or any other kind of manipulation. It is hence on this ground that the study hypothesises that the level of perception of a leader will influence his/her level of participation in the group activities.

Turning to commitment and participation, it may be noted that commitment of leaders should mean their willingness to sacrifice their time and resources for their group's goal attainment. Commitment has been to some extent equated with involvement as for instance by Babchuk and Booth (1967:37) who see commitment as indicated by frequency of meetings attendance, committee memberships held, office holding etc. Those with greater frequencies of such enumerated qualities are said to have a higher level of commitment. The opposite of this is alienation.

Tarcher (1966) observes that alienated leaders, that is lowly committed leaders, are caught up in a situation where they do not know their rights and obligations, and says that it is questionable whether such leaders are committed. Tarcher (p.9) holds that commitment is indicated by:

holding of at least one leadership post, having a broad understanding of society, the ability to solve problems within leaders area of competence and interest, avoiding dogmatismSM and hence relating the group as it's educator, philosopher and also relating the group to the outside organizations.

Hence Tarcher sees little difference between a committed and a capable leader. However, it should be noted that capability has more to do with an individual's endowments while commitment has to do with disposition towards something. To assess a leader's level of commitment, it then follows that those attributes which influence or contribute to influence a leader's disposition towards the attainment of group goals need be looked into.

A different view of commitment is that of Nypan and Vaa (1970:22) and Mbithi (1974). They concur in their observation that a project chairman can also be a village elder, church elder, chairman of a cooperative etc., and this concentration of several positions in a few hands (or one man) means a corresponding concentration of influence and power. They, however, further observe that while this may be a useful trend, it may lead to a gap existing between what they are expected to do and what they can do. Role conflict may arise and this may lead to poor performance by the leaders.

This study defines commitment as reflected by the holding of a few positions of leadership. Role conflict is hence minimised and leaders may be able to concentrate their energies in a smaller area of operation.

The projects led by such committed leaders are hence likely to have better returns as the leaders will be more affiliated to the groups/projects and are likely to manifest a relatively higher level of participation. The study hypothesizes that the level of commitment of a leader influences the leader's level of participation in group activities.

In summary, the following points have been noted in the course of the literature review:

1. That leadership in self help groups is based more on influence and persuasion than power, owing to the voluntary organizational principle of the groups.
2. That self help movements make a significant contribution to national development. The District Focus Strategy is intent on using certain aspects of the self help movement to usher in rural development. Self help leadership is seen as one of the main tools to ensure that meaningful development takes place in the rural areas.
3. That factors seen as necessary in the identification of leader's characteristics include socio-demographic characteristics. - Expected or attained benefits, the levels of perception and commitment also help explain the nature of leadership. It is noted that the special nature of Kenya's self help organizations may require a more rationalised and adapted method of studying it's leadership. This is because the classical approaches such

as the trait approach, situational or follower-oriented approaches and the typologies they posit may not apply to Kenya's local (rural) situation, where traditional and cultural norms as well as forces of social change are concurrently at play. Hence the need for study of leadership within a rather dynamic rural situation.

4. Since only a few studies have been done within the confines of Kenya's rural areas, and with leadership (and participation in local organizations) as a major theme, this study is to be typified as exploratory or within the realm of preliminary enquiry.

Hence the major hypothesis for this study are stated thus:

H Y P O T H E S E S.

- H₁ The socio-demographic characteristics of leaders influence the leader's level of participation in group activities.
- H₂ The individual (and group) benefits which leaders attain or expect to attain influence their level of participation in group activities.
- H₃ Leaders level of perception of group problems (and possible solutions) influence their level of participation in group activities.
- H₄ The level of participation by a leader is influenced by the level of commitment he/she portrays to the group

CHAPTER THREE



C H A P T E R T H R E EMETHODOLOGYINTRODUCTION:

The discussion in this Chapter centres on explanations of the following: the site of the study: how and why subjects (respondents) for the study were sampled; the choice and justification of the methods used in both data collection and data analysis. Lastly the operational definitions of the variables of the study are given. It is to be noted that the operational definitions given are meant to suit the purpose of the study.

The discussion thus is a rationale for the research design and techniques used to avail data as per the study's aims. That is to say, to look at the socio-demographic/^{characteristics} of local leaders, how they differ from those of non-leaders and how they relate to the leaders' level of participation in community development activities, namely, self help group activities. It is to be recalled here that this study is an exploratory one.

Thus in this Chapter, the assumptions and values that serve as rationale for the research and the criteria to be used in interpreting the data and reaching conclusions as to whether to accept or reject hypotheses are outlined below.

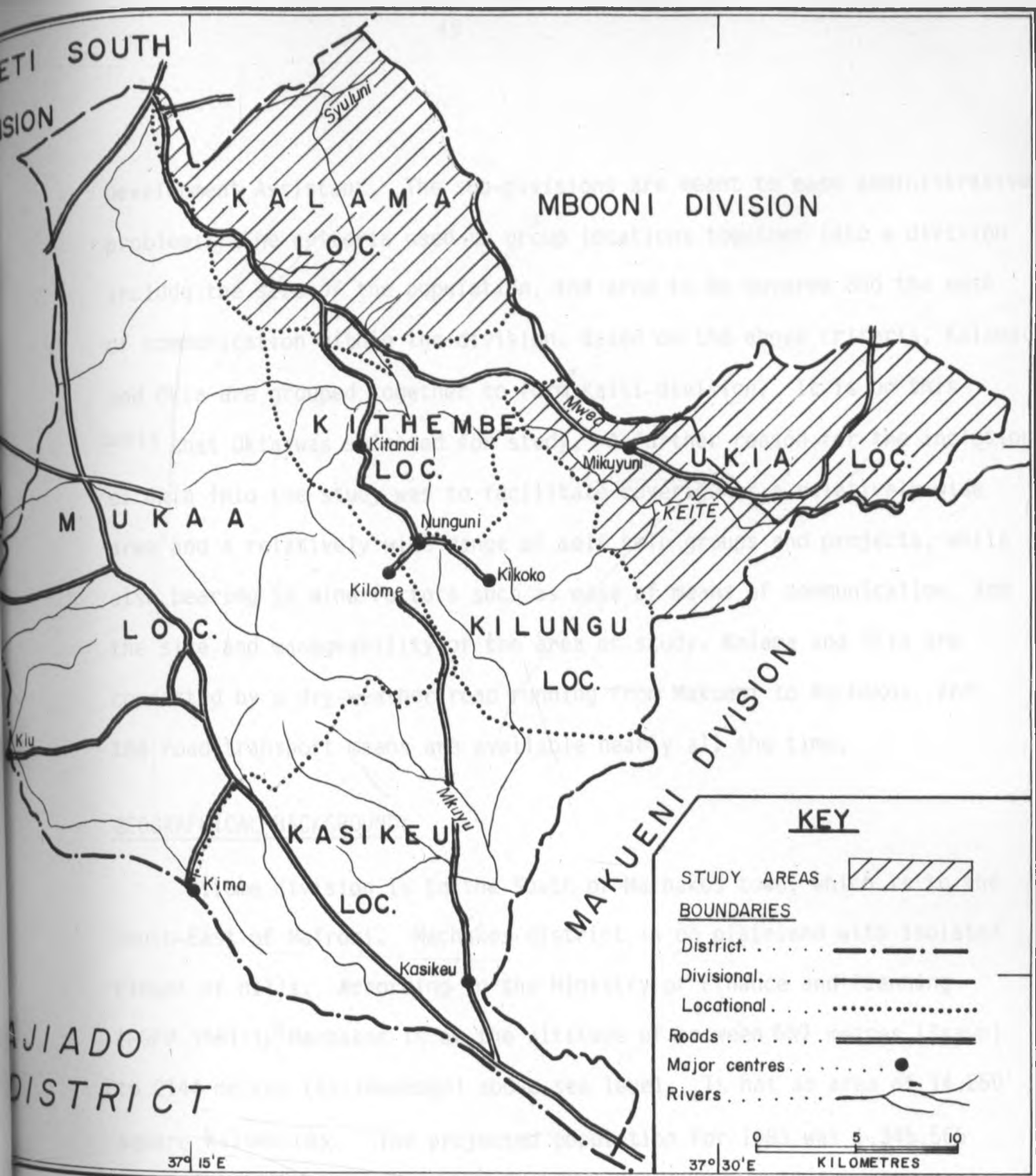
SITE DESCRIPTION:

The data for this study was collected from Kilome division of Machakos district. Kilome is one of the eight divisions that constitute Machakos district. The other divisions are Mbooni, Makueni, Yatta, Kibwezi, Kangundo, Iveti South and Iveti North. Kilome is in turn divided into six administrative locations, namely, Kalama, Kilungu, Kasikeu, Kitherbe, Mukaa and Okia (see map overleaf).








The choice of Kilome as the area of study was based on certain factors. Firstly, this study is on grass-root organizations and hence necessitated that the researcher should have an intimate knowledge of the area, the people and the language. This is more so in view of the fact that there was a limitation of the time and resources such as cash and personnel available to the researcher. The researcher's knowledge of Kilome led to the division being chosen as the site of this study. Secondly, the study builds on the researcher's undergraduate work, whose data was collected at Kalama, one of the locations in Kilome division, and hence a return to Kalama meant a return to Kilome division.

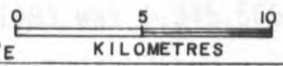
The collection of the data for this study was, however, confined to two locations of Kilome division, that is, Kalama and Okia. These two locations constitute what the Social Development Office, Machakos calls Kaiti Division. It is to be noted that Machakos district is sub-divided into fourteen social development divisions, each under a Divisional Social

KILOME DIVISION: MACHAKOS DISTRICT



KEY

- STUDY AREAS . 
- BOUNDARIES
- District 
- Divisional 
- Locational 
- Roads 
- Major centres 
- Rivers 



37° 15' E

37° 30' E

Development Assistant. The sub-divisions are meant to ease administrative problems. The criteria used to group locations together into a division include the size of the population, the area to be covered and the ease of communication within the division. Based on the above criteria, Kalama and Okia are grouped together to form Kaiti division. It is on this basis that Okia was selected for study. A further reason for the inclusion of Okia into the study was to facilitate coverage of a relatively wide area and a relatively wide range of self help groups and projects, while also bearing in mind factors such as ease of means of communication, and the size and manageability of the area of study. Kalama and Okia are connected by a dry-weather road running from Makueni to Machakos, and the road transport means are available nearly all the time.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND:

Kilome division is to the South of Machakos town, which is to the South-East of Nairobi. Machakos district is on plainland with isolated ridges of hills. According to the Ministry of Finance and Planning (MOFP 1981:1)⁸ Machakos is at the altitude of between 660 metres (Tsavo) to 2144 metres (Kilimambogo) above sea level. It has an area of 14,250 square kilometres. The projected population for 1985 was 1,345,566 people, while the 1979 census figures show that the district had 1,022,522 people by then.

⁸ see Machakos District Development Plan, 1984/88 p:1: physical, demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Kilome has a population of 155,082 people as of 1979 census, while the projected population figures for 1985 show that the division had 203,986 people and a population density of 140 people per square kilometre.

Rainfall ranges between 250 and 1270 millimetres per year. More often than not, it is unreliable and droughts are experienced with consequent famine. Vegetation and soil types are much a function of rainfall, altitude and man. However, soil erosion, particularly in the hilly areas is a major threat to agricultural potential.⁹ This has the implication of making the farms yield less while the farmers have to spend long days on their farms to control it through terracing the farms. It is to be noted that most of the self help groups studied have soil conservation as one of their aims. The amount of land that can be effectively put under cultivation is to some extent restricted by the threat of soil erosion.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND:

Much of Kilome division is within the medium potential agro-ecological zone.¹⁰ The main land-use activities in Kilome division include, growing coffee, cotton, maize, beans, pigeon peas, sunflower, sorghum, citrus fruits and livestock rearing. Human settlement pattern is influenced by soil types, terrain and the distribution of rainfall. Kilome division is on average densely settled.

9. The Machakos District's Development Plan, (1984-88, p.4) observes that soil erosion is a district-wide problem and it reduces the districts agricultural potential.

10. agro-ecological zones are divided based on the ratio 'in percentage of average annual potential evaporation. In Kilome the range is 37 to 67 (see MOFP. 1984. p.8)

Kilome Division has no perennial rivers. Water for domestic use and for use by livestock is mainly obtained from hillside springs and from the sand-bed of the seasonal streams. Indeed, in most parts of Machakos District, sufficient water of any kind is largely unavailable (see (MOFP. p.31). In Kilome division, there is a basic problem of water availability, growing worse in the dry months of February, August and September, when especially women and livestock have to cover long distances to fetch water. Because of the seasonality of the rivers, no irrigation is possible, and this limits the land use activities possible in the area.

Means of communication is mainly by road. The roads are mainly dry-weather roads and present problems of accessibility during rainy seasons. Postal services are largely available. Manual telephone exchanges at Kola, Kilala and Nunguni serve the Division, although public call-boxes have yet to be installed in most parts of the division.

The economic life in the division is mainly centred on the farm. It should, however, be noted that there is no established cash-crop in the area, save for coffee and sunflower which are grown in small scale. Other economic activities include rural commerce and trading, transport, building and selling of bricks, making and selling of handicrafts by individuals and groups. The implication from the above is that there is no well-established source of income in the division, especially since the economic life gravitates around the farm (which in turn is subject to the vagaries of weather and especially rainfall, hence low yields). Hence the area can be said to present a situation

of economic marginality, with a substantial number of the households remaining poor (see Machakos District Plan, 1984. p.8)

SAMPLING PROCEDURES.

In sampling subjects for any study, certain sampling considerations are taken into account. The assumption in studying samples is that the characteristics of the sample will adequately reflect the characteristics of the statistical population from which it has been drawn. The major objective of sampling is to make statistical inference to the total or whole population. Other considerations behind sampling include resources and time factors, that is, the length of time available for fieldwork, the finance and personnel available to the researcher. Sampling procedures require that the target population and the sample be clearly defined. The sample should be representative and adequate (Yeomans, 1968).

In this study, the major factors considered during the sampling of subjects was the time factor and the finance resource, which were limited. The researcher had upto three months in which to complete the fieldwork. Given the study design, which necessitated that certain specified respondents be reached, that is, leaders of self help groups, only a small sample was considered feasible.

Before any sampling was done, the researcher spent some time in the District Social Development Office, Machakos, looking at the reports on self help activities in the district. This involved looking at the monthly, quarterly and annual reports on self help activities in the district. The District Social Development Officer was interviewed on some of the development issues arising from the reports. He also gave the researcher a picture

of the social and welfare development activities in the district. Some more time was spent at the locational community development offices and at the divisional office.

It was found that there were over 196 registered self-help groups in Kaiti Division. (Kalama and Okia locations). These were the groups that were active, that is, in existence as of the latest report, October, 1985. Kalama had 93 registered self help groups, while Okia had 103 groups.

The unit of analysis for this study is the individual leader of a self help group . Record books of the groups were looked at, while a general discussion was held with the group leaders with a view to adducing background information to the whole concept of participation of the leaders in the group activities. The non-leaders in the self-help groups were also included in order to yield comparative data in the study. Hence the leaders' and the non-leaders'(group members) characteristics were looked at comparatively with a view to identifying the characteristics of self help leaders in the rural areas.

From the list of the self help groups, six groups were randomly selected. From each of the six groups, five leaders and five non-leaders were selected for study. Of the leaders, the Chairman, the treasurer and the secretary were among those selected. To some extent, the selection of the subjects for this study can be said to have been based on the principles of purposive sampling. This is because the study is targetted at a certain population, that is, leaders of self help groups and certain leaders like the chairman,

secretary, and treasurer had to be included in the sample, and hence the purposiveness in the sampling.

To enhance the comparative analysis of leaders characteristics, four community wide projects were randomly selected for study. Three leaders, that is, the chairman, secretary and treasurer were selected for study.

Hence this study sampled 30 leaders and 30 non-leaders of self help groups, and 12 leaders of community wide projects for study. This gave a total of seventy two (72) respondents.

The key informants selected for unstructured interviews and case studies included the chairman of all self help groups in Kalama Location, and the chairman of all women groups in the location. Three members of the locational development committee were selected for interview. They were selected on the basis that they represented sub-locational self help interests in the development committee. Three members of divisional development committee were selected also for interview. The criteria of selection was that they had to be representing locational interests, and that they were not government or any other agency employees. Finally, the field staff, that is, the community development assistants at the locations (Kalama and Okia), the Divisional Community Development Assistant and Provincial Administration staff were also treated as key informants. The information they gave is presented as part of Chapter Four of the study and is also used to augment the data analysis Chapter (Chapter Five).

There are certain limitations related to the sampling procedures:-

1. The nature of the study necessitated a purposive sampling procedure to be undertaken. This limits the scope of the study and especially as related to generalization of the findings. The researcher concurs with the opinion of Bailey (1978:81) that within the non-probability sampling, and purposive sampling is one of these, the researcher may not generalise or say the study is representative of the larger population. However, this study, as noted elsewhere, is to an extent exploratory. It is conducted basically for the purpose of establishing the operative criteria in the study of leadership.
2. Closely related to the above, is the limitation of the statistical variation which may be attained while using a small sample. Taking into consideration the implication of Yeoman's (1968:18) definition of a statistical population, that is,

a statistical population is every member of a group possessing the same basic and defined characteristic, but varying in amount or quality from one member to another.

It is to be noted that the amount of statistical variation decreases with the sample size. This is anticipated as a problem in the data analysis section of the study. Case studies were conducted in this study with an aim of countering this problem.

3. Most of the self help groups are closely-knit together systems. Since it was not always possible to do all the interviews of one group on the same day, there was the problem of the group members discussing what the researcher had asked those already interviewed. This tended to lead to almost stereotyped responses. Hence the researcher had to do much probing and cross-checking of responses to overcome this problem.

DATA COLLECTION:

Field work for this study was carried out during the months of October, November and December 1985, and June 1986. The data was obtained through the use of the following tools: an interview schedule, unstructured interviews, secondary data, simple observation and compilation of case studies.

The interview schedule was employed as the main tool because of its certain advantages. Bailey (1978:57) says that the interview schedule ensures a high response rate; it is flexible and allows for probing: spontaneous responses are easily taken note of and idealised responses¹¹ are minimised, while also the respondents' verbal and non-verbal behaviour is easily observed. This reduces the rate of cheating by the respondents. Through the use of the interview schedule, it is possible to ensure that responses are complete, and that all questions are responded to. It can also be noted that given the site of this study, the interview

¹¹ by idealised responses, is meant answers that are in the "ought to be form", instead of "what is the actual situation."

schedule had a specialised function in that the area of the study being rural and respondents largely illiterate, the interview schedule proved to be the only viable tool for this study.

There are, of course, certain shortcomings in the use of this method. Moser and Kalton (1968), and Bailey (1978:p.158) state that it is costly and time-consuming. The interviewer may introduce bias and the respondent may not be given time to consult documents.

Chambers (1983:47) adds to the list of disadvantages of survey research as undertaken through the use of an interview schedule the fact that the interview schedule takes more resources and enslaves the researcher. This is in terms of the human costs for the researchers, and the high opportunity costs involved. He further observes that interview schedules tend to make rural people appear ignorant when they are not. Chambers (p.49) criticises the interview schedule by further holding that all the data collected is not utilised. He observes that surveys may embody the concepts of the researcher rather than those of the subjects under study and thus impose meanings on the subject's reality.

The interview schedule was chosen as the main tool of data collection for the study based on the following considerations. First, in view of the shortcomings of the use of interview schedule, other methods of data collection were used to augment it, and thus try to reduce the adversity of the use of the interview schedule. For example, unstructured interviews were given to key-informants to facilitate and avail information that could not be adduced through the use of the interview schedule. Case studies were compiled

to further widen the data base of the study. Thus the choice of interview schedule as the main tool of data collection was based on this consideration of using other methods to complement it. Secondly, the researcher's constraints in terms of time and money led the researcher to avail himself of the advantages of interview schedule, namely, the ability to control the research environment and the speed of data collection. Thirdly, to ensure that useful and truthful information was availed, the researcher utilised probes and prompts to ensure that respondents gave consistent and complete information. That is, the researcher interrogated closely (probed) as well as suggested or instigated at situations and things to help the memory of the respondents (prompted) so as to get fuller information. Lastly, the interview schedule was constructed in a way such that it consisted of both open and closed-ended questions. The open ended questions had the advantage of giving the respondents ample leeway to express their opinions as they wished.

Unstructured interviews: This was the main method of data collection used to augment the formal interview schedule. The unstructured interviews were administered to key-persons such as the social development officials, Chiefs and members of the locational and the divisional development committees.

The advantages of this tool are that it allows for much more in-depth probing and hence soliciting for more complete and accurate responses. Kerlinger (1973: p.481) states that unstructured interviews are more flexible and open. He observes that:

"... although the research purposes govern the questions asked, their wording are entirely in the hands of the interviewer."

Thus the researcher is able to get a fuller appraisal of the problem situation without the restrictions imposed by other methods of data collection such as the questionnaire.

The danger inherent here is that the researcher may influence the respondent and thus introduce bias. This problem was overcome by the researcher first realising that it was important that a detailed data base be available for the study and thus the essence of allowing the respondents to give their views. The researcher tried to probe as much as possible while also avoiding any possible influencing of the opinion of the respondent. Thus this tool, the unstructured interview, availed useful data for the study.

The third source of data collection was the available or existing data, i.e. secondary data. Records and reports at the Social Development Offices both in the district level and the field offices were scrutinised for data, especially for statistical purposes. The self help groups' records and report books¹² were looked at. This was so as to provide some control over the response each respondent was likely to make. The researcher used the information from the records and report to cross-check the information given by the respondents.

12. It is a requirement by the Department of Social Services that all groups should keep record and report books, and present them to the social development assistant (SDA) once every month to facilitate the SDA's monthly report and monitoring.

It is to be noted that the researcher was aware of the shortcomings of the records, namely the incompleteness of the records, and bias in what the group or social development assistant wanted recorded or left out. These shortcomings are otherwise referred to by Bailey (1978:270-1) as selective survival.

This problem was overcome through the researcher asking for the necessary explanation from the Social Development Assistant and also the group secretary, where the records were not fully clear. Thus statistical information for the study was available.

Simple observation method was employed mainly to collect non-verbal and other observable data. This was with the researcher's realization that the observation method is the primary technique for collecting data "on non-verbal behaviours" (see Bailey 1978:215). The advantage in using this method is that behaviour takes place in its natural environment, and the method is less reactive. That is, the subjects are not made to react as information is obtained.

The shortcomings of using this method include the researcher's lack of control over the environment, and that the data so collected present problems of quantification. This tool was however employed since it gave the advantage of giving the researcher first hand information about the self help groups and the respondents. It also helped generate baseline data for the study.

The last tool used for data collection was the case study method. It should be noted, however, that the case study is both a data collection as well as a data analysis technique. The advantage inherent in the case study

method was that it provided an opportunity to generate and present detailed information which essentially gave the background data of the study.

The case study method as noted elsewhere in the study, has the advantage of providing valuable insight into social reality which is unattainable through statistical analysis. It is also able to reflect on the relationships between individual behaviour and the social context. These advantages thus fit in with the study's aim of identifying leadership characteristics in the rural areas and the analysis of leaders' participation in local self help activities.

It is to be noted that the above methods were used in concert in the study so that their various advantages could be drawn upon for the benefit of the study. Thus the data presented in the study was availed through the combined use of the data collection techniques outlined with major adjustments to suit the research context. For example, the researcher used the language the respondent was most comfortable in. This was either Kikamba for most self help group members and English for the social development officers.

Certain extreme factors influenced the process of data collection.

SOME EXTREME FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED DATA COLLECTION

The main problem experienced was that of the availability of respondents. Due to the design of the study, certain specified respondents had to be reached. Hence visits and revisits had to be made in most cases to ensure that these specified people were got for interviews.

This meant a lower speed in covering the intended interviews.

The time of the fieldwork coincided with the planting and cultivation period in Machakos, that is, the time of the short rains. This meant that people were busy in their farms and at times, they had to disrupt their activities to give interviews. This situation was not conducive for exhaustive interviews because the respondent, already tired from his/her work, was also aware of the fact that he/she had to finish with the interview and go back to work. Hence they were at times pre-occupied with the work during the interview. On the other hand, the rains meant that the researcher could not cover some interviews already scheduled for that time because at times it could rain the whole day. The roads, being impassable in such weather, compounded the problem.

A great deal of walking had to be done. This left the researcher at times wary, leaving him less energy for effective interviewing.

However, despite the above problems, and with the cooperation of the respondents and government field staff, the data presented in this study was collected.

DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

"Data analysis consists of running various statistical tests on the data (Bailey 1978:307).

The procedure and the statistical tools employed in the analysis of this study's data were as here below outlined.

First, all the interview schedules were numbered, hence every respondent was assigned a number.

To reduce¹³ the data to a statistically manageable form, the data were treated to two levels of categorization. At one level was the measurement of the variables which were not directly quantifiable. At this level, scores were assigned and totals arrived at, out of which categories were derived. The categories were then given codes.

At the other level was the directly quantifiable data, that is, data where categories could be directly developed, e.g. on sex where the two categories are male and female.

The codes assigned to the categories were meant to facilitate the computation and cross-tabulation of the data through a computer programme. The Special Programme for Social Sciences; (SPSS) was utilised. A code-book was prepared. It is to be noted that a code-book is meant to define the meaning of the numeral code and tell the location of the variable on the computer card (see Bailey 1978:313).

The data were presented in contingency tables or cross-tabulations in the form of percentages. One advantage of percentages was that comparison of data was facilitated. As noted elsewhere, this study aimed at comparing the qualities of leaders and non-leaders and hence the use of percentages.

Variable categories were developed and collapsed through employing what Bailey (1978) calls the "theoretical principle", that is to say, based on the researcher's theory and goal. The theoretical argument determined in

13. data reduction generally consists of coding the data, often to make it suitable for analysis via for example, a computer. (see Bailey 1978:307).

most cases where the variable was to be split. For example the categories for level of participation were split into two, low and high based on the argument that certain leadership qualities could be associated with either low or high levels of participation. It should however be noted that the researcher was aware of the main danger of "collapsing", namely, the resultant loss of information, usually reflected in the reduced manifestation of variation and range in the statistics.

The implications of collapsing variable categories in this study was that, as noted above, there was limited variation in the statistics. It was, however, the considered opinion of the researcher that given the small sample size (i.e. 30 in one group), if many categories were developed, many zero-cells would have resulted. This would have hindered both a detailed analysis as well as the testing of hypotheses through the use of the chi-square statistic. It would also have been impossible to discern the pattern of the data and thus limit it's utility.

The shortcoming in terms of reduced range of statistics usable with collapsed data was countered through the use of descriptive data and case studies which helped bring in the social contextual implication of the data.

STATISTICS USED IN HYPOTHESIS TESTING:

Hypothesis testing involves showing through statistical analysis of data that an hypothesized relationship between variables actually exists (Bailey 1978). Statistical theory of probability does allow us to prove

the hypothesis within a margin of error.

Given that most variables in this study were measured at nominal and ordinal levels, the chi-square was used to assess the statistical interdependence between variables. The chi-square test is limited to establishing relationship between two variables only, by establishing the difference between the calculated and the observed frequencies.

The chi-square statistic is computed using the formula.

$$x^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

where E is expected frequency
O is observed frequency.

To be significant, a chi-square statistic should be tested at most at 0.10 and normally at 0.05. Most of this study's hypotheses were tested at 0.10, that is, ninety per cent level of confidence.

The information available through key-informants, including case studies and unstructured interviews were content analysed, i.e studied, interpretations done and presented in Chapter Four of the study.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF VARIABLES.

THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS:

The socio-demographic characteristics covered in this study include age, sex, marital status, education, literacy, training, occupation, economic status and exposure.

AGE: Was taken to mean the number of years lived since birth.

SEX: Male or female.

MARITAL STATUS: This was taken to mean the state of being single, married, divorced, separated or widowed.

Age, sex and marital status are important factors in the study because they contribute a vital criterion on the bases of which social roles, in especially Akamba society, are assigned to individuals. Leadership is one of the roles assigned to people of usually a certain age, marital status and sex dependent of the social situation. Hence the adage that age goes with wisdom in African societies, and that one has to be married to be regarded as a mature person. Hence the study's quest as to what the age, sex and marital status of community leaders are.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION: was taken as the total number of years of formal education. The level of education one has attained may be correlated with the level of responsibility that can be given. Stating the importance of education, Nyerere (1978:4) observes that the purpose of education is to,

"... transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of society and to prepare the young for their future membership of the society and their active participation in it's maintenance or development."

This underlies this study's treatment of education as one of the factors in leadership and participation in development. It should be noted that besides formal education, there is the informal education which in the African societies constituted the "word of wisdom". Modernization,

mainly an after-effect of colonization, has somehow down-played the informal education's value and over-played the value of formal education with the consequent replacement of the traditional mode of education.

LITERACY: Closely related to the concept of level of education is the concept of literacy. Literacy is the ability to read and write. Scholars such as Lerner (1963) and Rogers (1962), see literacy as an indicator of modernization, and indeed illiteracy has been seen as a problem of development. This is especially as relates to transmission of innovations and other development communication. Hence the ability to read and write at least in one language is an asset within the development framework. The ability to read and write in, for example, Kenya's national language (Kiswahili) or official language (English) places an individual on a better footing for the understanding of development information and even the dissemination of the same. The study categorizes the variable as follows:

- Ability to read and write in:
1. English
 2. Kiswahili
 3. Vernacular
 4. None.

TRAINING: Training involves the imparting of a specialised package of information to a targeted or a chosen people. The study looks at training in two broad perspectives. First there is the general training for career or occupational development. The advantage of this kind of training is that it makes the individual a better asset to the organization or community they work or live in.

This kind of training is placed into three categories based on what type of training one has received:

1. farm-related training
2. Non-farm
3. None.

The emphasis here on whether it was farm or non-farm type of training was based on the fact that the study is rural-based and as noted elsewhere, the majority of Kenyans live and work in the rural areas.

The second type of training looked at was leadership training. The study aimed at identifying leadership characteristics and it was hence necessary to also look at what type of leadership training local leaders have received and especially on its scope.

The following categories were developed based on whether one had attended

1. Short courses (One week or more)
2. Seminars
3. None.

EXPOSURE: Closely related to the concept of training is the concept of exposure. It is to be noted that all training need not be in the form of formal instruction. It may also be in the form of demonstrations, exhibitions in agricultural shows, visiting other groups or areas; listening to the mass-media, especially the radio, or reading the print-media information. This is what this study refers to as exposure. That is to say, one who has been exposed to the above is likely to gain knowledge and maybe put it into practice, or pass it on to others.

A leader is in most times expected to be more knowledgeable than the average group member. This is because as a leader one is expected to be a source of information. Hence the value of this concept of exposure to the study.

The variable was placed into two levels, high and low exposure, based on scores assigned as hereunder:

TABLE III:1 COMPUTATION OF LEVEL OF EXPOSURE

Exposure Items	Yes Response (score)
Attended ASK Show	1
Field day or demonstration	1
Educational tour	1
Listen to radio (development) programmes	1
Visited other groups/areas	1
Total possible score	5

One is considered as highly exposed if they have attended most of the listed events, and vice versa. Hence two categories were developed as below:

High level exposure 4 - 5 scores

Low level of exposure 0 - 3 scores.

OCCUPATION: Occupation refers to any form of economic activity from which an income is derived to meet the day to day expenses of life. As noted elsewhere in this study, Kenya's situation is such that upto 80 per cent of

the population live and work in the rural areas, and are mainly occupied in farm or farm-related activities. Other economic activities undertaken in the rural areas include business (training) and other non-farm occupations such as government services. Hence the study placed the concept of occupation into three categories:

1. Farming
2. Business
3. Non-farm

The experience one gains in the process of occupation may be utilised in other settings, and in this case, self help group decision-making. It is because of this particular reason this variable is important for this study. A previous occupation gives a person an even better leverage and a wider experience. So the study also looked at the types of occupations the respondents had been occupied in in the past. The concept of past occupation was placed into four categories as below:

1. Farming
2. Business
3. Non-farm
4. None.

The concept of past occupation is given more weight by the fact that the study expected that some of the people already living and, or working in the rural areas have in the past, worked elsewhere or in a different occupation, (and or retired). Retirement in itself or having had some other jobs in the past implies the one is likely to have accumulated

widespread experience which may be useful in the development of the rural areas. The particular individual, due to having possibly worked outside the area, may have developed useful contacts in places of authority, which may be called upon for assistance, material and or moral, as the case may be.

ECONOMIC STATUS: The economic status of an individual may determine what level of participation he/she puts in development activities. Self help activities have been seen as one way of uplifting the levels of living of the participants. Most of the participants in this study tended to come from the low economic strata of society.

To be able to categorize the economic status of the respondents, this study computed the status based on whether a respondent possessed certain attributes. Scores were assigned as below:

TABLE III: 2: COMPUTATION OF ECONOMIC STATUS

Item	Yes Response (Score)
- Source of Income: Salary	1
- Cash crop	1
- Family members	1
- Type of main House-Permanent	1
- Size of land - If more than 10 acres	1
- Crops (acreage) - Cash crop over 2 acres	1
- Food crop over 2 acres	1
- Livestock - Grade cattle	1
- Over 4 heads local cattle	1
- Over 10 goats and sheep	1
- Other property - State	1
- Reliance on hired help - Permanent	1
- Casuals	1
Total possible score	13

Three categories, i.e. high, average and low economic status were developed as below:

High economic status	9 - 13 scores
Average	5 - 8
Low	0 - 4.

High economic status means that one has most of the listed attributes, while low economic status means that one has very few of the attributes. These are the attributes that, otherwise, indicate the level of economic well-being of an individual within a society. Society attaches values, which this study used as arbitrary scores to compute levels of economic status.

BENEFITS: There are different kinds of benefits attainable from or through participating in a self help group. Some of the benefits are material and cash (money) and can be easily quantified. These are what can be called tangible benefits. The other types of benefits are social and psychological benefits and are not quantifiable. These constitute intangible benefits.

This study looked at benefits within the contention that human behaviour is goal - oriented. It expected that respondents who had benefitted or expected to benefit participated more in their group activities.

For the purposes of analysis, the variable was placed into two levels:

1. Whether one expected benefits (tangible and intangible)
 1. Yes
 0. No.
2. Whether one has benefitted already:
 1. Yes.
 0. No.

The extent to which a respondent has benefitted was calculated through a scoring system as below. Those who had received the most attributes were regarded as having benefitted, while those who scored less were regarded as not having benefitted.

TABLE III:3 COMPUTATION OF BENEFITS ATTAINED

Item	Yes Response (scored)
Received:	
- Cash	1
- Labour	1
- Material	1
- Prize token	1
Attended:	
- Course/represented group	1
- Intangible benefits - friends, praise etc.	1
Total possible score	6

PERCEPTION: This variable is aimed at measuring the level of articulated-ness of the respondents with regard to issues concerning their groups, their area and general development matters, problems and possible solutions. The significance of the variable is based on the understanding that for one to participate in any organization or cause, he/she has to be able to understand the goals and reasons for the same. The perception of leaders has also been seen as resourceful (see Nypan and Vaa. 1974:9).

The level of perception of the respondents was computed here through the assigning of scores based on the responses to set question and knowledge of their responses. The scores were assigned as below:

TABLE III: 4 COMPUTATION OF LEVEL OF PERCEPTION

Item	Yes Response (Score)
- Knowledge of:	
- When group started	1
- Reasons for starting	1
- The initiators	1
- Rules of the group	1
- Problems of the group	1
- Problems of the area	1
- Ability to suggest solution in a perceptive manner	1
- Awareness of the	
- Existence of development committees	1
- Committees' functions	1
- Fact that local people should decide on what projects to start	1
- Role of local leadership in development	1
- Ability to	
- Analyse problems of leadership	1
- Suggest how decision-making process can be improved	1
Total possible score	13

It was decided that if a respondent scored more than half of the total possible scores, he/she was considered to be highly perceptive, while if a respondent scored less than half he/she was considered to be lowly perceptive. Hence the two categories:

Highly perceptive: 7 - 13 scores.

Lowly perceptive 0 - 6 scores.

COMMITMENT: To determine the level of commitment a member manifested towards his/her group, selected questions were asked and the responses given scores. The questions were based on this study's definition of what is meant by commitment.

A respondent was considered as highly committed to their group if:

- he was not a leader in other self help groups. It was expected that the person was not likely to be alienated and does not have to share his energies among many groups and commitments. (see Tarcher 1960).
- he obeyed all group rules.
- he showed more affiliation to his group as compared to other groups.
- he ensured that members did not continually break group rules.
- he would accept to be sent or called upon by group on short notice.
- he manifested a relatively low level of money (cash), material and labour contribution to other groups with the possible relevant effect that this left him with some resources to contribute to his group.

It is to be noted that the researcher's experience in the field was that it is normal to find people becoming members in several groups. The drawback of such practice is that some are members only by registration in some groups. This is because they can not find adequate time to attend all the groups' functions.

Scores were assigned as hereunder:

TABLE III: 5 COMPUTATION OF LEVEL OF COMMITMENT.

Item	Yes Response (Score)
- If not a leader in other self help groups	1
- Obey all group rules	1
- More affiliated to this group than others	1
- Ensures no member continually breaks group rules	1
- Would accept to be called up by the group on short notice	1
- Low contributions to other groups - cash	1
- labour	1
- material	1
Total possible score	8

The study considered one as manifesting a high level of commitment.

He scored more than half of the total possible scores. Hence:

High level of commitment 5 - 8 scores

Low level of commitment 0 - 4 scores.

It was the expectation of the study that a member, and' especially a

leader who showed high level of commitment, was likely to manifest a high level of participation in the group and essentially facilitate the group's attainment of its goals.

LEADERSHIP STYLE.

The study defines leadership style as the mode of exercise and or execution of leadership roles. Two levels of leadership were conceived Democratic and autocratic.

Democratic: Leadership style is where a leader consults other members and is consulted by other members during group discussions, and outside the group settings; the leader ensures that his actions are clear to all members and hence does not use office power to the detriment and or suppression of the opinion of the members. The leader is mindful how his actions are effected and affect his followers. White and Lippit (In Cartwright et al (1960:354) observe that such a leader is objective and fact minded.

The other level is that of autocratic leadership style which essentially is the exact opposite of the above. The exercise of leadership is basically a one-man show.

Within this concept of leadership style, the study examined the distribution of power in the self help group/project committees by determining through question to the respondents who the most influential, most popular and most consulted person on the committee, was.

These terms may be defined as below:

- a) By influence, it is meant the ability to affect the direction of thinking of most of the committee and group members. That is, to say, the influential person is one who persistently is likely to affect and effect changes in opinion, attitudes, and values of the followers. French and Raven (Cartwright 1960:p. 260) see influence as the force exerted over a system with resultant positive or negative results. Positive if it leads to compliance.
- b) Popularity refers to the level of reputation a person has on the committee. The reputation and the high esteem the person is given may be based on the fairness and open-mindedness of the leaders and hence his appeal to the followers.
- c) Consultation is here looked at as the reference to a leader by the followers of issues mainly for approval and also discussion. The approval necessarily need not be because one is the chairman or secretary, but because one is conceived of as having some "hidden" authority. This constitutes elements of reference and expertise power (see French and Raven in Cartwright 1960: p.266-7).

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: The dependent variable in this study is participation in group activities. Participation was here conceptualised in terms of the level of contribution in terms of cash, labour (time), material and the level of involvement in the group in terms of attendance of meetings and taking part in decision-making.

Mbithi (1974:124) states that participation at the local level includes involvement in planning and implementation of group activities. This, by extension, constitutes local level involvement in the formulation and execution of development projects and hence rural development. Wandera (1982:44) conceptualizes participation as the engagement of grass-root leaders and members in realization of self help group issues, decisions and goals.

Participation thus becomes the process by which individual interests are integrated into group interests and sacrifice in terms of time, energy and both mental and material resources are made to attain set goal. Thus participation can be seen as the process of involvement and actual contribution to attain set goals.

To facilitate analysis, the concept of participation may be divided into two sub-variables. The first is contribution in terms of cash, labour and materials. It is to be noted that contributions of cash and labour are seen as mutually commutable. That is, if a member cannot raise the required cash, he/she is allowed to offer labour to compensate for it; while those who cannot offer labour because of, for example, a trip coincides with a work-session, they can pay up in cash, if they do not wish to work during a different time span to make up. It was also found that one can send someone else to work on their behalf, but not always, only in those exceptional cases. It should also be emphasized here that the practice is that all labour and cash contributions should be made (unless in special cases as cited above).

To compute a scale for measuring contributions, weights were assigned. Material contribution was thought to be more important because there was no generally stipulated requirement for material contributions by most groups studied. They tended to be given more on volition to ease group's work. It hence followed that one who, on top of meeting their cash and labour commitment to the group, also gave material contribution, could be said to participate relatively more than the rest. This is because the material contribution greatly enhanced the group's work. Hence this study assigned double-weight to material contribution as compared to cash or labour. The material, e.g. seeds, also saves on the group's money which could have been used to buy them.

TABLE III:6. COMPUTATION OF LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION

Indicator	Weight	Value	Weight x height Value
Cash (money)	1	more than 3000/= 3	3
		100-299. 2	
		1-99 1	
		none 0	
Material	2	tool 1)	6
		seed 1) 3	
		other 1)	
Labour	1	20-32 hrs. 3	6
		10 -19 hrs.2	
		1-9 hrs 1	
		none 0	
Total possible score			12

Those scoring more than half the total possible score were regarded as high level contributors, hence the first sub-variable was categorised into:

High 7 - 12 scores

Low 0 - 6 scores

The second sub-variable is that of attendance and decision-making, that is, the level of involvement of a member in the group's organization towards decision-making. This involves attending meetings (general and committee) and the level of contribution towards the decision-making process.

Scores and weights were assigned as below (table III. 7). Double weights were assigned to the indicators such as, if one introduced a new idea, and if the group benefitted through one's effort. This is because these aspects of contribution manifestly placed one on a high level of participation than the other attributes, such as arbitration or attendance of group meetings which in any case is the normal group thing.

TABLE III:7 COMPUTATION OF LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION:

ATTENDANCE AND DECISION-MAKING

Indicator	Weight		Weight x highest Value
- Group meetings (last month)	1	0 - 8 times 1 0- 3 0	1
- Committee meetings (last year)	1	4 - 6 times 2 2-3 1 0-1 0	2
- Introduced new idea	2	at least 1 idea	2
- Group attained goal because of your effort	2	at least 1 goal	2
- Influenced decision-making		Once 1	1
- Represented group	1	One 1	1
- Did arbitration	1	Once 1	-
Total possible score			10

If one has scored more than half the total possible score, the study considered him/her a high level participant, hence:

High level of attendance and decision-making - 6-10 scores.

Low level 0-5 scores.

The total level of participation in group activities was derived from the above two sub-variable taken together. The combined total possible score was 22. If one attained more than half of the scores, he/she was considered a high level participant, hence the categories.

High level of participation 12 - 22 scores.

Low level 0 - 11 scores.

Having thus outlined the methodology of the study, presented next is the analysis of the data (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

CHAPTER FOUR

C H A P T E R F O U R

BACKGROUND TO SELF HELP IN KILOME DIVISION

INTRODUCTION.

The information contained in this Chapter was obtained through unstructured interviews with key people in the self help movement and development administration in Kilome division. They include the Chairman of the self help groups in Kalama Location; the chairperson of the Women groups in Kalama Location and representatives to the locational and divisional development committees (Kilome division).

A case study approach was employed with the effect that the personal socio-economic characteristics and other background information was recorded. Also recorded were the views of these informants on issues such as: the basis of self help in Ukambani; the activities undertaken within the self help movement; specific problems faced by participants and leaders within the self help movement, and the solutions that have been sought.

THE BASIS OF SELF HELP MOVEMENT IN UKAMBANI.

Self help, as a concept, has come to be synonymous with Harambee, a term that became popular after the acclaim at Independence in 1963 by the late President Kenyatta. There is consensus, however, that the spirit of self help has existed and persists as part and parcel of the way of life of the Akamba people.

The traditional basis of self help is reflected in the fact that self help activities are organised on kinship basis, family basis, clan basis, village basis from the smallest to the larger scale sub-location projects. The rationale is that people work together to solve a common

problem or handle any crisis. More basic, however, is the value attached by the respondents to the unity and closeness generated by working together to help each other.

To ensure the continuity of the self help movement, it was noted that the norm of reciprocity operates. This means that each member of the community is to ensure that they help out any needy member of the community when called upon, so that should their turn of need arrive, they are not left unaided. This notion has been incorporated into the self help groups which have come up in furtherance of the reciprocity.

Another notion incorporated into the self help movement is that of accountability. The social organization among the Akamba was and is such that all community members had to show some degree of accountability by at least being seen to take part in all community activities. Any deviance was taken seriously and such deviants were and are still suspected and accused of such levelling manoeuvres as witchcraft against the rest of the community.

The Akamba society was and is characterised by a feeling of a sense of mutual social responsibility. Satisfaction is derived from the socio-psychological benefits attained through sacrifice of time and energy to undertake a communal activity which is likely to benefit the community as a whole. A look at some of the activities that have been undertaken through the self help spirit makes the above postulation clear.

The activities that characterised the traditional form of self

help include: cultivation for sick and disadvantaged kinsmen; building and thatching of a kinsman's house; and the general concern by the community for the welfare of its' members. A case in point is that clans collected and still collect money to pay school fees locally and or pay air-fare to enable kin-children get education. Hence the self help spirit being utilised to ensure fulfilment of communal responsibility. This finding concurs with Ndeti's (1972:81) contention that the basis of communal work in Akamba society is the belief that all people are kin, and that in the up-bringing of children within the Akamba Society, group activities are highly emphasized.

It can hence be seen that individualism was and is highly discouraged. Members of community who manifested such tendencies, traditionally were either punished or exorcised. A typical case cited to emphasize the above notion is one where in case a woman thatched or unthatched her house alone, without asking for the help of the other women in the neighbourhood, she is fined, and at worst, she can be exorcised. The fine is simple, so as to ensure ease of re-establishment of favour with the rest of the womenfolk. She has only to prepare tea for the other women in the neighbourhood and then cooperation is re-established through the sharing of that tea.

It was, however, the observation of most of the respondents that the self help movement has experienced changes over time. These changes have mainly been in the nature of activities undertaken presently, and in the scale of the activities. Significantly, however, the basic rationale of working together towards a common end remains unchanged.

As concerns the nature of activities, it was observed that within the traditional setting, self help activities were mainly aimed at uplifting the welfare of the members, for example, provide shelter. While this is also the case presently, it can be noted that there is a move towards starting and undertaking of activities that are income-generating. This is reflected by activities like making of handicrafts like ropes and 'Kyondo', digging holes and planting of citrus fruits and vegetables for home consumption and sale. Some self help groups have such ambitious goals as acquiring and developing a plot so as to start operating a retail shop to service their needs as well as raise funds for the group.

Turning to the aspect of the scale of projects, it was observed that the trend is towards starting projects that cover a wider spectrum of the community upto sub-location level hence, overrunning the idea of only clan or kin-based projects. Such projects that cover wider communities include water projects, Harambee Secondary Schools and Youth Polytechnics. It should be noted that at this level, there has been the phenomenon of government involvement in self help activities, particularly since Independence. Non governmental organisations have also come into play. This has made possible the starting of these large scale projects.

ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN.

The activities undertaken under the self help movement fall under two broad categories, mainly based on the size of operation.

First, there are the community wide projects. These are projects

like secondary schools; roads and bridges (drifts); water projects and youth projects. They are undertaken by a large section of the community and all the members of the community are expected to participate. A management committee is elected to take charge of the day-to-day running of the projects, including liaising with government officers and non-governmental agencies.

One finding is that several self help groups have come together and are working towards building water tanks for members. The coming together is aimed at making it easier to raise the large sums of money needed for a water tank, that is, Ksh. 1,800.00 per tank. This is in view of the fact that most groups have on average thirty members, and hence it would be a big burden also in view of the workload involved. The world neighbours, a non-governmental organization, is involved in the water tanks project and is assisting in subsidising the cost of the tanks, which would otherwise have cost Ksh. 3,600.00 per unit. Water tanks are necessary in Kilome because of the basic fact that there is no piped water system in the area and water for use is available mainly on river-beds and hill-side springs. Women have to cover long distances in most of the places to go and fetch water. Hence fetching water is one of the main activities of the day for most of the households. Hence the value community attaches to water-tanks, which besides making water available within the homestead facilitate the growing of vegetables under irrigation, i.e. in "Kitchen gardens".

Secondly, there are self help group projects. These include

those activities undertaken by individual groups, that is self help groups and women groups. The activities undertaken by these groups are mainly aimed at uplifting the socio-economic welfare of the members directly and indirectly (long term).

The activities that are directly aimed at uplifting the members welfare, include:

1. Cash contributions on a rotational basis. This is otherwise referred to as merry-go-round, since it makes all members benefit and hence be happy.
2. Home Improvement activities. These include: building of water tanks; buying of utensils; planting of vegetables like cabbages and onions; planting of fruit trees like oranges and bananas; and poultry keeping.
3. Handicrafts. These are mainly ropes and 'Kyondo' which are for sale to raise cash.

The activities that do have direct benefits, but in the long term, include: soil conservation; planting of trees, cultivation, and building of sub-surface dams.

The women groups, besides the above activities, are also involved in activities such as sewing, cookery and advising or sharing ideas on how to keep peace and harmony in the home.

Soil conservation activities were started in Machakos back in the late forties. This is when the colonial government, through the chiefs initiated the move to prevent soil erosion in the area.

It is to be noted, however, most of the soil conservation groups covered in this study were started mainly in the late seventies. The reasons given for this phenomenon were that firstly, the Ministry of Agriculture, in conjunction with the Machakos Integrated Development Programme had promised to start paying the self help groups in accordance with the length of terraces done and reported to the community development office. Besides the promise of payment, there was also a promise of working tools like jembes, shovels, and pangas. The tools were given to various self help groups, though the payment for the work done was never given. Secondly, soil conservation is a continuous activity given the vagaries that necessitate it. Hence the groups chose it as a basic goal because it could not ultimately be attained, and hence the group break up. To ensure that the members benefitted in the short-run, it was then necessary to start other short-run income-generating or benefitting projects as noted elsewhere.

The bigger or larger scale projects have been made possible by the assistance given by Non-governmental organizations presently operating in the area. These include World Neighbours, backed by the United States; World Vision International and Danish Volunteers from Denmark.

It is to be noted here that just like the department of Social Services does, these non-governmental organisations provide only the hardware and materials needed for the various projects. The community, and the groups have to provide the labour and local materials like sand, stones for concrete and organization, that is leadership for the projects.

BENEFITS.

It was reported that a wide range of benefits have been attained from and through the self help groups and projects. Some of the benefits have accrued to the individual group members while others have accrued to the group members as a collectivity. The benefits are tangible as well as intangible in form.

The tangible benefits accruing to the self help group members include money (cash), utensils and water tanks. In the members' farms, terraces have been dug, and it was reported that an increase in farm yields has been experienced. Fruits such as bananas and oranges have been planted and holes for planting the same have been dug. Trees have been planted in the members farms. Members of some of the self help groups are already keeping poultry as a result of being members of the self help groups. Educational places are presently available to children in the schools built by the self help group members.

The intangible benefits derived include gain in leadership experience, especially where members are presently in a position to carry out leadership roles more easily than otherwise because of the experience gained while doing group leadership duties.

Another intangible benefit reported is that leaders and members alike, through their having to work and share ideas with each other, have matured and are able to share ideas with the other group members and people outside the group freely and without inhibitions. Those who were shy and could not possibly voice their ideas in the presence of a large number of people are now able to freely contribute to group discussions. Hence through the relation-

ships developed during the groups work sessions and meetings, secondary socialization processes take place and people's personalities are as such influenced. The old people in the groups, through stories are able to educate the younger ones in the group. The reverse also takes place.

The married women reported that they are presently able to undertake their household and family roles as wife and mother more easily, and possible family conflicts are avoided. This is as a result of the wealth of information available through the group and from other members of the group.

The friendships and close-ties established during group activities prove useful in times of need, material or otherwise. They are hence regarded as benefits by the members of the self help groups.

Some group members benefitted through training in the form of leadership courses and seminars. Some members were sponsored fully, while others are sponsored partly by their groups. The knowledge thus gained benefits both the group and the individual members.

Benefits in terms of exposure are attained through members visiting other groups, going out on educational tours, and when the group is visited by government and non-governmental organizations staff.

Since almost every village is represented in a self help group, when the chief or his Assistants want to convene a meeting (Baraza), they at times do so through the group chairman. It has been accepted that these barazas provide a forum where new information such as

on innovation or new seeds is disseminated. The benefit to the participant is then in the fact that he/she does not miss this information since the chairmen usually ensure that their members attend such meetings. The chairmen may, also, be given the required information to pass on to their group members. This means that those who are members of groups benefit.

From the study, the overwhelming impression one gets is that self help is a way of life for the people in Kilome, and has immense benefits to the individual participants in the self help groups/projects, and the self help movement as a whole.

SOME PROBLEMS OF PARTICIPATION IN SELF HELP

Several problems, which make it difficult for the members and the group to attain their goals were reported. These, essentially, were the problems which make it difficult for the members to participate fully in their group/project activities.

The most reported problem was that the members and the groups equally did not have adequate tools to work with, and that they did not have the money to buy tools with. This is an aspect of the general problem of poverty discussed below.

A pertinent problem reported is that of poverty, that is, inequality in terms of resource-endowment amongst the members. This is the case where some members may not easily raise required amount of money or material for the group or project to reasonably accomplish a task it is undertaking. A case in point is where water tanks were being built. Each member had to contribute upto five

hundred shillings so as to have a water tank build for him or her and then the rest of the money may be paid up later. Some members were not and are not likely to raise that amount of money, although they would be happy to have the water tanks. Due to this inequality, it can then be found that the economically better-placed members are not able to get water tanks because the economically less-well-off members do not make their monetary contributions as promptly. This, as well as delaying benefits to the individual members, ultimately holds back the group/project progress.

The above problem manifests the existence of some sort of social stratification of the participants in self help activities. This is a stratification based on the economic ability of the participants. It can be noted that while the sole aim of participating in self help is to elevate the economic state and the social welfare of the participants, this inequality inherently acts as a blockade to the achievement of that goal. Hence a sort of vicious circle of poverty develops.

Cases of politics were reported, that is, politics in the form of members competing for the facilities or benefits the group is offering. A case here is where the decision as to who is to get the first water-tank within the group, or on whose parcel of land the group will dig terraces first, is likely to generate much talk and division. Everyone wants to be the first one to benefit and hence cooperation suffers. However, this despite being a potential

threat to the self help movement, is not a serious problem in Kilome.

A problem specific to community wide projects is that of attendance to the projects' work sessions. It can be noted that these projects are usually the brain-child of a few people in the community. They then sell the idea to the other members of the community. The provincial administration officers may be invited to the meeting. The Community Development Assistant (CDA) is also invited. Once it is agreed there is a need for such a project, the community then commits itself, and then the project is started and registered with the department of Social Services. Such projects in Kilome include roads, water projects, Harambee Secondary Schools, and drifts. The problem, it was reported, then comes at the time of implementing the project. Some members are reluctant to make their contribution, i.e. money, labour and or material. It must be noted that despite the fact that initially the initiators of the project mobilised the community for support, and that the proposed benefits of the project looked easily attainable, the realities to be faced to attain these goals, that is to say, long hours of work and sacrifice in terms of cash, are such that they put off some of the members of the community. Hence some members drop out. At this point, in the interest of the project and the community, it was reported, the chief or his assistant are called in to help mobilise the people. This then in effect, converts the project leadership from being community based to provincial administration based. This is, in the opinion of the project members. This is because there is the fear of the chief invoking his powers. This problem then

threatens the very basis of participation in community self help projects, that is, mutual self help. Hence the need to re-define the whole concept of self help by answering the basic question of what really motivates people to participate in self help activities.

Considering the above problem, then it can also be said that there is the need to train the leaders of self help projects so that they are able to mobilize their followers, and also to understand them, and their needs. Such training can be in the area of communication. That is, training in the methods of organising their followers, arbitrating any differences in opinion and then ensuring that the objectives of the group/project are clear to all, and hence there will be no need to resort to public administration for support.

A peculiar problem reported was that of husbands not allowing their wives to participate in group-work. This, it was reported, involves especially the young and newly married women. The reason given was that the husbands do not see the need for their wives' participation in the group-activities. The husbands fear that their wives will get into what a respondent termed as bad company. This, to some extent, explains why the young (women and men) are not significant participants in the self help movement. It can be noted that this is essentially a cultural problem, to the extent that the cultural role of the husband as the head of a household maybe used invariably despite the change of times. This is especially in view of the fact that the economic realities have become such that the husband is no longer the sole breadwinner for

household. The wife participating in self help activities is also making a significant contribution to the economic welfare of the household. Hence it is necessary that those husbands who do not allow their wives to participate in self help activities change their attitudes through some exposure by education or just travel and study tours.

Looking at these problems of participation within the perspective of the social action theory, it can be noted that participation in self help activities is a rational response to the dictates of the situations the participants find themselves in. That is, they realise that to attain certain goals, it is necessary to come together and form a self help group. It can be noted that Marx's (Cohen 1968:79) model of social action assumes that men have certain goals, and that if circumstances permit, they will use any means available in the pursuit of these.

This is what Weber (Cohen 1968:81) calls rational action. It follows that problems of participation in self help activities can only be detrimental for the individual and the group as a whole. This is because the goals set to be attained through participation in self help activities will not be attained and this then will lead to a cost in development to the individual participants, their groups and the nation as a whole.

CASE STUDIES.

INTRODUCTION.

So as to avail complementary information for this study, case studies were done. Case studies have the advantage of providing an insight into

social reality unattainable through statistical analysis. Case studies also help reflect in the relationship between individual behaviour and social context.

The relevance of case studies to this study is that some more background information on leadership characteristics and participation in development is made available to back up the statistical aspect of the study.

The case studies presented here are on leaders of self help groups, and a self help project. The selection of the leaders was based on their outstanding position within the self help movement in Kalama Location, that is to say, they are the locational leaders of the self help movement, despite their position as leaders of self help groups.

The self help project chosen for study is a community wide project, project A. It's unique characteristics are that it covers a large area, almost a sub-location; it is in contact with the department of Social Services and a Non-governmental Organisation. Project A has a rather detailed leadership structure that may be recommended for other self help projects.

CASE STUDY I.

BACKGROUND:

Case study I is on the chairperson of all the women groups in Kalama Location. She was born about 51 years ago, and grew up in a christian family. She was not exposed to any significant problems, since the family was otherwise well placed economically, owing to the salaried position of the father, who was a chief.

She attended an intermediate primary school up to standard eight and qualified for admission to secondary school. She, however, did not join the secondary school because her father was not willing to let her go on with her education.

Her present family situation differs somehow from the type she had in her early life. She is presently widowed, and has a family of eleven children, five boys and six girls. Her family's economic status can be said to be low. She has a small piece of land of about two acres; a semi-permanent house; no cash crop, and relies mainly on the support of her sons and daughters and the income she gets through her group. She reported that she never experienced problems in raising her children until her husband passed away in 1965. This is when she went to work for Maendeleo Ya Wanawake organisation and received a monthly salary of thirty five Kenya shillings. She was working as a public health assistant until 1971. Later in 1979, until 1981, she was employed as a casual worker by the Machakos Integrated Development Programme (MIDP).

In the area of training, she has attended several courses. She could not, however, remember the dates and the certificate of attendance were reportedly kept by the sons, hence inaccessible. She reported that she has attended Maendeleo Ya Wanawake course about three different times at the District Community Training Centre, Machakos. She has attended an Animal Husbandry, and general agriculture course at Farmers Training Centre, Machakos, as a result of which she zero-grazes a dairy grade cow. She attended a one week leadership

course in 1983 at the community training centre, Machakos. She also reported that she attended several seminars and leaders' meetings within the location and the division.

LEADERSHIP HISTORY.

This lady reported that in her youth, she was a Sunday School teacher, and also was appointed school prefect during her school days. She, however, became involved with self help group leadership back in 1967. Since then, she has been the locational chairperson for the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation, other positions include being the chairperson of all women groups in Kalama Location: She sits in the Locational development committee. She is the chairperson of a self help group, which she started. She has been responsible for the initiation of other two self help groups which are presently active.

The reasons she gave for her initiating self help groups included her need and desire to see, especially women united and working together toward self reliance. That is, not always having to ask for money for even the smallest item from their husbands. The aims were hence to improve farms, start income generating activities such as crafts and embroidery.

The major set-backs she faced in her efforts to initiate these groups were that it was difficult to get the cooperation of the people. Hence a mobilization problem. That is to say, people were sceptical about the benefits they could gain and hence it took sometime to get a big group started. They only turned out and joined a group immediately they saw that there were benefits to be gained from being in the group. These benefits included soil

conservation, pit latrines, and the unity and assurance of help from the group members in the event of sickness and any other problem.

LESSONS FROM GROUP LEADERSHIP.

By virtue of being in group leadership, this respondent has been able to realise that a leader should be patient, understanding and committed to the cause of the group.

In group leadership, it was reported that it is necessary that a leader gets the cooperation of the people he/she leads. This then calls for the participation of all, the leader and the followers in the group activities with the leaders being exemplary.

PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP.

This respondent reported that leadership problems include the need to sacrifice personal time and money when attending to group and other leadership matters. It can be noted that despite the fact that their participation in self help activities is supposed to be voluntary and on self help basis, the concept of payment for services has arisen. This brings in the idea of monetarization of the self help movement.

Another problem reported is that of lack of cooperation from the members and especially where a leader tries to bring in new ideas and goals which may have financial implications to the members. A comment on this problem is made in a later section.

Lack of training was reported as a leadership problem, and especially where a leader felt he/she needed more information on

certain aspects of leadership. Such aspects include, how to communicate effectively and how to mobilize followers and gain cooperation easily.

SUGGESTED SOLUTION:

It was the opinion of this respondent that leadership problems could be minimised. Some of the ways of solving the problems include, making the leaders and the community they serve aware of their duties and obligations to each other. This could be achieved through education to the leaders and the community through seminars and meetings which may be organised by the leaders themselves or by the department of Social Services in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services.

Exposure of the leaders and the community to activities like farm demonstrations, field days or agricultural shows, and forums like barazas can do also act as medium for education.

CASE STUDY 2:

This is a case study on the chairman of all the self help groups in Kalama location. He was born back in 1934.

During his youth, he participated in the youth dances (wathi), and he was a leader in his section, (Kivalo). He attended an intermediate primary school, but only for one term. This was because he was asked by his father to go and look after cattle. The little education he has was gained later during his employment by the settlers on coffee farms, in Central Province. He can now read and write. His earlier ambition was to be a clerk. This he attained when he was made supervisor¹⁶ over other workers in the coffee

¹⁶ Some kind of a foreman.

plantation. His work included keeping records, this was between (1944 - 1952).

From the above, it can be observed that the chairman of self help groups started leadership responsibilities quite early in his life.

His other occupational experiences include working as a chef in New Stanley Hotel, Nairobi, where he was employed shortly after 1952 after he had been sacked from the coffee plantation due to the declaration of the state of emergency. Presently, he is a farmer, and grows among other things, maize, beans and coffee.

The chairman's present economic status is average. It is to be noted that his family background was within a high economic status, given that his father had many heads of cattle and hence rich by the standards of that time. These were, possession of many cattle, many wives and children. He, however, has a relatively large family of twelve children, six boys and six girls. The problems he has experienced in the course of bringing up his family has been that of educating his children. This has mainly been in raising school fees, buying uniforms and books.

The training he has received include leadership and farming courses. Of the farming courses, he has attended four agricultural training courses, the first one in 1973 at the Farmers Training Centre, Machakos. The others he attended much later in the late seventies. Each course lasted three weeks. He attended two leadership courses at the Community Training Centre, Machakos in 1980. In 1982, he attended a leaders seminar at Kilungu. It can as such

be deduced that he has had experience in and exposure to leadership aspects over time.

LEADERSHIP HISTORY:

This respondent started being involved with group leadership in 1975. This was when he and other leaders started a self help group by the name of Muka Mukuu self help group. He was responsible for the initiation of another self help group in 1977. These groups are still active.

The reasons behind his initiating these groups include his desire to unite people and his desire to have people in the community work together towards soil conservation, and plant fruits and vegetables which are to be for food and also a source of income.

The difficulties he experienced while initiating these groups were mainly lack of cooperation from the people, owing to their (the people's) varied problems, the chief of which he pointed out as poverty. It is significant to note here that the aim of forming the groups was to fight the problem of poverty.

LESSONS LEARNED WHILE IN GROUP LEADERSHIP:

The most important lesson learnt by this chairman during his leadership life is the importance of unity. The unity of the group members leads to cooperation in the village. In the event of any conflict, arbitration is done easily, since none of the parties want to lose face in their community.

While in group leadership, he has also realised that a leader has to be ready to sacrifice his time, and effort. He has to be fair to all sides, even if some quarters within the leader's followers will not like it. Hence the essence of commitment in leadership.

PROBLEMS IN LEADERSHIP:

The problems he has personally experienced include the fact that a lot of travelling has to be done and more so on foot, if one has to go to all those areas his attention is needed. This also entails monetary costs. Hence this leader has had to make personal sacrifice.

On the more general aspect of leadership, he noted that, when it comes to arbitration, vested interests by some group members and leaders come into play, and this make it difficult for the leader to gain useful cooperation. A case he cited was one of a self help group which was experiencing a problem of how to determine who was to have water tanks built in their houses first. There was the fear that quite a number of the members may not afford to pay up the required amount, and eventually some members may never get water tanks. The in-fighting was as a result of the better-off members trying to make it that only those who can afford to pay get the water tanks first, yet the aim of the group was to uplift the standard of living of all its members irrespective of their personal state. This manifests vested interests of some members, over-riding group aims. Closely related to this problem is the issue of political divisions being introduced to the groups and projects. This, he noted, brings in divisions among the group

members and the local leadership as a whole.

His major suggestion as to how these problems can be curbed was that leaders need to be given extensive training so as to know how to carry out their roles in view of the above problems. The leaders can also be paid more visits by the government personnel, and be given supportive services and advice by the local community development staff.

A GENERAL CONCLUSION ON CASE STUDY I AND 2:

From the two case studies presented, some conclusions on leadership qualities may be drawn. It can be noted that parallels can be drawn between the qualities of Case Study I and Case Study 2.

Consistent with the theories of human development, it can be stated that leadership attributes and the desire for leadership are formed early in a person's life. Amongst the two leaders studied it was found that their childhood aspirations included becoming leaders, to be able to lead and come up with ideas. These leaders as such started their leadership early in their youth: Case Study I was a Sunday School teacher while Case Study 2 was a dance-group leader.

It can also be noted and possibly concluded that leaders in their initiating ideas and projects, they may be reacting to stimuli within their environment. Case Study I and 2 grew up in relatively rich families. Their present economic status is not high, and indeed, it was noted that their aims in initiating projects was to uplift the economic welfare of the members

(theirs included). So it may be stated that their having grown up in rich environments, and now finding themselves in what may be said to be relative poverty, then their actions of forming self help groups may be a sub-conscious reaction against poverty and a fight to regain the high economic status they grew up in. As it will be noted later, initiation of projects is not a province of leaders only. However, the case of Case Study 1 and 2 being prominent leaders and initiating several projects, while making personal sacrifices in the process, should and points to the fact that as a leader one should also be at the forefront in introducing new ideas.

Closely related to the above point is the issue of sacrifice and benefits. Social exchange theorists maintain that human action is directed towards actions where reward is attainable and away from where there is punishment (see Edwards 1973:6). Hence it may be noted that since the two respondents report that they have made sacrifices towards their groups and the self help movement in the location, and that they also report to have benefitted significantly from and through their leadership positions in the self help movement, then it can be concluded that sacrifice, in taking part in a role has a relationship with the benefits attainable in return. It is in this context then that leaders of self help groups should be made to appreciate that their sacrifice in terms of the services they render to their groups/ projects are beneficial to both the individual leaders and their group members.

From the two case studies, it can be noted that these leaders hold leadership posts in many other groups and organizations. They

have held leadership responsibilities in their previous occupations, and besides the experience they have accumulated, they also have a lot of training in leadership and other fields. In this regard then, it can be stated that their being appointed into leadership may be related to what has been referred to as expert power (Cartwright, 1960:267).

Their followers see them as experts in the leadership field in view of their experience and training and hence defer to them. Interestingly, it can be noted that those respondents in case study 1 and 2 do not have a high level of education. They have what may be called functional literacy. However, this fact does handicap them in their execution of leadership roles. It possibly should be noted that functional literacy is more useful in rural leadership and it is in this light that in a later section, it will be argued that high levels of education prejudice the holders of this education against participating in rural self help activities.

The two leaders studied were mainly occupied in farming. They, however, have previously worked in other occupations. The significance of this can be said to be that the posts they hold, as heads of the self help movement, require persons who are always available for consultation in case of need. Farming, despite being demanding, does not necessarily mean a person may not take time off and do other demanding roles in concert with the farming. Other occupations, for example in the salaried professions, are such that the employer has to maximise his returns and may as such not release a person as often. Hence the farming occupation becomes relatively suitable for a rural community leader given that leadership roles demand time

to accomplish. It may then be suggested here that leaders of self help groups/projects be necessarily people available at any time and this calls for them to be occupied in farming. The two leaders in the case studies are farmers. In any case, the majority of the rural people are farmers by occupation.

The two leaders studied above were articulate and perceptive about the goals, and problems of the self help movement. They were also able to suggest viable solutions to these problems. If they are then to be taken as role - models it can then be stated that leaders should be highly perceptive people. A later section of this study will elaborate this concept.

CASE STUDY - PROJECT A.

Project A was started in 1978. It started as a horticultural project, and is registered with the Department of Social Services as a self help project.

MEMBERSHIP.

The project was started by a group of 30 people, who belonged to close families. It has grown over the years and presently, it covers about a whole sub-location. The project chairman estimated that they covered about one thousand households. They have coopted other self help groups so as to help each other in working and contributions, towards the accomplishment of their projects. That is, when the project members are working on a particular project activity, they invite the coopted groups to come and help and vice versa. There are three (3) such coopted groups. This aspect of cooperation has the advantage of enabling groups to accomplish their

projects faster, while the reciprocal relationship stands as an insurance, and motivates people to participate in their project or group activities.

GOALS OF THE PROJECT:

The basic and original goal of this project was to find a way of raising their economic status through self help. Hence they started by having an horticultural project, where they planted vegetables, onions and pepper in a nursery, which were later to be transplanted into a group plot; and to members' plots. The aim was to avail food and money at the same time. This project, however, did not last long, because of the problems of water shortage. There was also a problem of getting the market for the products.

The other aims of the project include mainly the improvement of the members economic welfare through starting of income-generating projects like leasing parcels of land and planting crops for sale; improving agricultural yield by terracing the farms, and applying manure, and planting of citrus fruits. Further aims include building of water tanks; technical centre and youth polytechnic; and above all the chairman stated that the group wants to be as self-reliant as possible. This, he said, called for the full cooperation and participation of all the members in the group activities.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PROJECT A.

This project has, amongst its many achievements, a large number of membership and this is a resource since it makes working easier, and more contributions can be realised for a big project. As an example,

the project has, as its achievement built water tanks for the majority of its members, it has built three dams to avail sub-surface water. They have developed a plot with two shops and have bought a one acre plot, while as of the time of field work, they were putting up a youth polytechnic.

It is to be noted that to attain the above, the project members made cash, material and labour contributions. For example, when they were developing their plot, every member was required to pay five hundred and ten (Sh. 510/=) Kenya shillings. As regards the labour input, the area covered by the project was divided into zones and the different zones worked during alternate days. This arrangement allows people to work in their own farms, while project work is also in progress.

Project A has been assisted at one time or another by several non-governmental organisations. The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) assisted them with "food for work" - relief food, where members worked for the group first to receive the food; UNICEF has given them the technology of constructing V.I.P. toilets; and "World Neighbours", has given them building materials for their plot.

THE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE.

The leadership structure of this project is such that it tallies with the activities the project undertakes. It is to be noted that every member of the committee is responsible for a certain aspect of the group activities. Hence the project is composed of departments.

these departments are concerned with activities that are otherwise meant to solve certain problems proposed and agreed upon by the project members.

The project has nine departments all centrally organised by a coordinator, who is also the Secretary of the committee. The nine departments are: Water, Agriculture, Income-Generation, Social Problems, Health, Technical Centre, Soil Conservation, Storage Programme and Members Training. The heads of these departments form the project leadership.

It was reported that the members of the project determine by themselves what they feel is of immediate concern to them and set up a committee to look into it. To elaborate on this, two departments, Social Problems and Agriculture, will be looked at.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS DEPARTMENT.

This department is headed by a lady who is in her middle age. She was selected by the members to head this department. The reason explaining her selection was that since the department essentially is concerned about family problems, and women have come to be accepted as the ones spending most of the time at home, and as such aware of most of the family problems, then a lady to head the department was selected. It was further reported that this lady commanded respect amongst the members because of her fairness and patience when discussing group issues, a trait which the group members felt would be useful for the head of the Social Problems department.

The chairman of this department, through an unstructured interview, reported that the main concern of her department was family problems.

That is, issues like children in the community who are not clothed; gardens that are neglected, people who do not keep livestock, yet they have land; family conflicts like wife-beatings; school fees for expelled children; immorality and school girl-pregnancies; drunkenness on the part of husbands and neglect of homes.

After the problems are identified, discussed and solutions suggested, the people concerned are talked to. That is, a few people are selected to go and talk the issues out with the individuals concerned. However, in case solutions are not found, they approach higher authorities for advice. These include the community development assistants in the area. It can be noted that the aim here is to ensure that community life runs as smoothly as possible.

The problems faced in the endeavour of counselling the people who are at fault or present problems, for example wife beaters, is that they absolve themselves of any guilt by blaming the other party. This also brings a problem of cooperation and a lot of time is taken to solve a problem.

It was, however, reported that family conflicts and drunkenness among group members have declined since the inception of the department. This, it was reported, can be attributed to the fact that the group pressure, and the security the members enjoy, and the fear of losing face compels the members who might have otherwise gone astray to conform. Hence this represents a case of group pressure leading to conformity with the social norms, and hence the wishes of society prevailing over those of the individual. However, it will be noted that while group

pressure may lead to conformity, there is need to overhaul the whole social situation, that leads to the specific problems. A suggested way of doing this is for the leaders analyse the individual cases of deviance and helping the individual concerned solve the problem from the root-cause. For example, if it is a case of a wife-beater, it may help if besides the individual being subject to social pressure to stop beating his wife, he should also be helped to solve once and for all the possible causes of their problem with the wife. Project A, as noted above attempts an approach close to this suggested here.

In overall, the lesson to be learned from this case study is that a community knows its problems, and it can also come up with viable solutions to them.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT.

This department is headed by a male member of the project. Its aim is to ensure better yields from the members fields.

This aim is accomplished through the project leasing a farm, which acts as a demonstration plot. The members discuss and share ideas on the best way of planting the various crops. They are expected to do the same in their farms. It was reported that the members fields are giving a better yield as a result of this practice.

A committee is set up in this department (and indeed in all departments) to make decisions relevant to the department. These include decisions on how to get seeds, storage of the seeds and the planting. While the seeds are bought by the members, the yield from the project farm is sold and the proceeds go to the project's account.

Of significant interest in this department is what they call "kitchen gardens". These are small plots next to the homeyard where vegetables are planted and irrigated using the household's waste water. The water tanks that the group builds are meant to complement this water the household uses to irrigate the gardens. These kitchen gardens are meant for ensuring that the household has a steady and cheap supply of vegetables and thus while ensuring a healthy diet for the household, the households budget is saved.

The problem experienced by this department is that of inputs like seeds, fertilizers and tools being in short supply.

LESSONS FROM THE CASE STUDY, PROJECT A.

Several important lessons can be noted from the case study of Project A. It can be noted that project A's aims constitute an attempt at solving all the community problems in its locality. The project has broad goals which cover all the aspects of the community's life: economic, social and even moral aspects. This is with a view to ensuring that the community's welfare is uplifted. It will be noted here that one's economic status can be raised through participation in self help projects, like project A. A case in point here is the water-tanks built for the members by the group. Besides the water tank being a status symbol, the water is used to irrigate 'kitchen gardens' which provide basic household vegetables. This represents an economic saving on the money that would have otherwise been spent on vegetables. The nutrition status of the family is raised. The labour-time that would have been spent on going to fetch water from

another source is saved. Hence in overall the welfare of a participant in a self help group or project is raised. Income generating activities, like crafts, despite the problem of lack of markets, represents a direct income-earning to the participants in such groups.

Of importance to note is the leadership structure of project A: that is, its structure of organization. The fact that every aspect of community life is covered and there is a committee responsible shows the kind and level of concern the members have for their welfare. This structure of organization is expected to ensure broad-based participation of all the members in the solving of their problems, and this augurs well with the district focus strategy which aims at mass-participation in development.

It should, of course, be noted that the general practice with self help groups/projects, and also the recommendation of the department of Social Services is that self help groups set out specified and limited goals which until they are attained, new ones may not be set. The aim here is to ensure there is no haphazard allocation of group resources, since this restricts the group to only those few set goals. However, these goals may not be functional and burning issues to some members of the group by the time of accomplishment, owing to the dynamics of social change. This factor, may be said to explain the drop-out rate of members from small groups with few goals. This problem points to the need for a constant review and up-dating of the group goals so that the group/project aims reflect the social-economic needs of the members at any one time. This is the approach, to an extent, utilised by

project A, and it was reported it has led to more widespread benefits, while also ensuring the full effect of group pressure for the members to conform to group and social norms.

Project A would be categorised as based on a felt need motivation to start projects. This is because of the fact that the members come up with their list of felt needs and set up a committee to look into the ways of meeting these felt needs of the members which they present as problems to be tackled within the self help group context. It is then within this context that it can be seen that project A's operational structure manifests that a community knows its needs and problems and can also come up to solve them. For example, project A's social problems department is a product of the social, and moral needs of the community, and as stated above, problems like drunkenness and family conflicts have been significantly dealt with and reduced. This finding sits well for rural development in view of the aim of the district focus strategy of bringing local people to the forefront in the provision of their own welfare (see Development plan 1984/88: pxi) given that the communities are aware of their needs and possible solutions.

The large number of project members ensures that duties and even contributions are easily done. While the large size may lead to leadership problems, the project's departmentalization based on the members needs ensures delegation of responsibilities, and this is likely to lead to a higher level of commitment to the group/project. This is because the responsibility acts as a disciplining factor. It is also to be noted that the responsibilities are shared out based on the traditional role-expectations. That is, a woman traditionally more concerned with

home based problems, heads the social problems department, while a man, who traditionally owns the land-rights, heads the agricultural department. This is meant to ensure that there are no cultural conflicts generated in the process of the group leadership. It is, however, to be noted that there is a growing tendency towards women taking up roles traditionally held by men. These are roles like making decisions on the farm: what to plant, and where and the like.

In view of the above, it can then be suggested that small self help groups may duplicate the leadership organisation structure of project A, and even merge with others to form bigger groups so as to achieve more benefits.

It can also be noted that project A has links with other self help groups and can get or give assistance to the other groups when called upon to do so. This is a practice which should be encouraged within the self help movement in view of the benefits attainable from doing so, as manifested by the study of project A.

Project A has tried to have income-generating activities, which are meant for ensuring that members get a source of income. It should be noted that this trend, while it is helpful to the group as such, it is also a way of generating wealth in the nation. Hence if all the self help groups could be encouraged to start income generating projects and assisted to succeed, then definitely, the national economy would benefit significantly. This is because of the large income which will be generated by the many self help groups we have in Kenya.

It can be noted that project A is able to do its extension service. That is, they are able to generate and effectively transmit ideas across the membership. For example, in the area of agriculture, they meet and discuss on what to plant and how to do it, and this is expected to be replicated by the members. The social problems department visits and talks to the members with the various problems they are concerned with, and they attempt to help each other in solving them. Attempts are also made to get the help of the government staff responsible for extension services. These are officers like the agricultural technical assistants, the community development assistants, public health officers and the like other officers from non-governmental organisation. However, the advantage inherent in the method utilised by project A, that is getting the information, from the specialists and then discussing amongst themselves before adoption is that the new ideas are more easily understood by the project members since the members are given a chance to understand them from their own people, i.e their leaders who at times are given the new information by the technical staff, and those of their members who have a faster understanding of new ideas.

This contention concurs with the submission of Freire (1974) that human beings should be allowed or helped to make their own choices and hence they should not be looked at as "objects" but as "subjects" of social change. He recommends dialogue or communication methods in

extension, which he sees as means of liberation. This method of dialogue can be said to be actually what is practised by project A.

CONCLUSION:

In summary, some important observations on leadership and the self help movement in Kilome can be made both from the foregoing case studies and the researcher's field experience.

The main observation made in the course of the survey was that the spirit of self help was very strong in Kilome. Leaders and self help members alike manifested enthusiasm towards their projects, and thus a wide range of benefits were attained from participating in self help activities. These benefits included farm and home improvement, monetary benefits, gain in leadership skills and experience, sharing of ideas and establishment of close friendship ties among the self help group members.

These benefits, admittedly, were attained against a background of a plethora of problems experienced by the self help group members. These included lack of tools and money, poverty and hence problems of slackness in meeting the group's dues in terms of contributions.

It should also be noted that the majority of the people in Kilome are peasants, whose main pre-occupation is survival, that is, meeting the basic requirements of life. Their activities in the farm and indeed their other development activities are subject to such vagaries beyond the peasants' control as the weather, market for the products and great uncertainty of success.

It was, however, observed that the leadership of the self help groups was quite articulate. Indeed they were found to be aware

of their needs and problems. This is clearly demonstrated by, for example, the case study of project A, where the group has identified its needs and problems and devised ways of meeting them. It hence confirms the argument of this study that local people need be seen not as recipients but as partners on the path to rural development. Thus mitigating for their inclusion in the process of participatory rural development. That is to say, all the local people and development agencies operating towards rural development to join hands as partners in progress. The local people thus only need to be given a voice and forum in which they can be heard and express their opinion on rural development. This way, they will have been given the power they lack to assert their relatively important position in development. It is with the foregoing in mind that this researcher observes that the structures for participation, namely local level development committees need to be strengthened in Kilome.

For leadership to be effective, it was observed that it is necessary the people led cooperate and make leadership a trully group process. The cooperation shown in the case study of project A attests to this argument. Much of the success of the project was attributable to the cooperation of all group members and leadership in the project leadership.

In the course of fieldwork, it was observed that there was agreement that such traditional attributes of leadership as education were not emphasised as a criterion for leadership. The attributes stressed upon were that a leader should be patient, understanding, committed, just and able to guide the followers.

It was observed that all the self help groups had a very strict set of rules. These rules included such punishments as stiff fines for lack of punctuality or non-attendance, and fines for being disorderly during a group meeting session. The rules ensured the chairman got respect while also ensuring the chairman respected the members. Thus the self help groups led their business in a very orderly manner, and with a great sense of purpose and direction.

It thus can be concluded that the self help movement is a resource and a force that goes along way in ensuring rural development.

Lastly, it is to be noted that the concept of community leadership need to be re-defined. This is in view of the fact that at the manifest level, position leaders, and especially politicians, have been seen as the representatives of the people. This researcher's field experience was that politicians rely on opinion leaders in communities for their community support. Most of the self help group leaders also tend to be opinion leaders. It thus can be argued that the talk of community leadership should essentially be the talk of not just political or position leaders who this study found mobilise people by proxy, thus populism.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE DATA: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.

INTRODUCTION:

The findings of this study are presented in this Chapter. They are based on a sample of seventy two (72) respondents: 30 leaders, 30 non-leaders (members) of self help groups and 12 leaders of community wide projects.

In the presentation of the data, both descriptive and inferential statistics are employed. The descriptive statistics, mainly relative frequencies, are used to help in the explanation of the nature of leadership in self help projects. This is through the presentation of socio-demographic characteristics of the leaders. However, a comparative approach is taken, since the characteristics of the leaders are looked at in comparison with those of non-leaders. This helps determine whether leaders and non-leaders in self help groups or projects have distinctly different characteristics.

The inferential statistics, mainly the Chi-square, is used to determine whether there is any significant relationship between the independent variables. The findings are related to the theoretical issues raised in the literature review (Chapter Two), and then the hypotheses of the study are tested.

The findings are presented in sections based on the operative variables of the study. Central in the discussion is the findings with regard to the major variables of the study, i.e. socio-demographic characteristics of self help participants, their perception levels, levels of commitment, benefits, and leadership style and how they relate to the level of participation manifested by both the leaders and non-leaders (members) in self help group or project activities.

PARTICIPATION IN SELF HELP ACTIVITIES.

One of the central aims of this study is to explore the extent to which leaders participate in their self help group/project activities. It is to be noted that the extent to which one participates in his/her group or project activities, that is, the level of one's participation is indicative of the degree to which he or she meets the role expectation of the group or project. In this regard, if one manifests a high level of participation in his or her group, it may be said that he/she has met most of the obligation to the group or project.

For purposes of analysis, participation is here looked at in two ways, that is, participation in terms of contributions (cash, material and labour); and participation in terms of attendance and contribution to decision-making in the group or project. Further, the level of participation is measured at two levels, that is, high and low. Given the above meaning of participation, a high level of participation means that a participant meets most of the expectations of their group/project, while a low level of participation means that a participant does not meet as many expectations of the group or project. For example, if a participant in a self help group manifests a low level of participation in terms of contributions, it then means that the participant has made little or no contribution to the group or project in terms of cash, material and labour effort.

Looking at participation in total, that is, participation in terms of contributions and participation in terms of attendance and decision-making combined, it is to be noted that the majority of leaders in self help groups and community wide projects are high level participants in their group or project activities. That is, the majority of the leaders in self help activities meet most of the expected (cash, material and labour) contribution and that they attend most of the self help meetings and contribute to decision making in their groups or projects. The study found that 66.7 per cent of the self help group leaders and 83.3 per cent of the community wide project leaders are high level participants in

self help activities.

On the other hand, the study found that the majority of non-leaders (members) in self help groups are comparatively low level participants in self help activities. Only 40 per cent of the non-leaders were high level participants. Table V.I below, gives the findings.

TABLE V.I DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Level of Participation	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
High	66.7	83.3	40
Low	33.3	16.7	60
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

Looking at the two levels of participation separately, it is to be noted that the above pattern, where the majority of leaders in self help activities are high level participants and the majority of non-leaders are low level participants prevails.

Table V.2 shows that the majority of the leaders in self help groups and community wide projects are high level participants in terms of cash, labour and material contributions, while the majority of the non-leaders are low level contributors. For purposes of analysis, each participants amount of contributions were computed for a period of one year.

TABLE V.2 DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTIONS. (this year)

Level of Participation (contributions)	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
High	60	66.7	46.7
Low	40	33.3	53.3
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

The findings in Table V.2 indicate that 60 percent of the self help group leaders and 66.7 per cent of the community wide project leaders are high level contributors to self help activities, while 53.3 per cent of the non-leaders (members of self help groups) are low level contributors. In other words, these findings show that the majority of leaders in self help groups and community wide projects met most of the expected or required cash, material and labour (effort) contributions to their groups or projects over the year, while most of the non-leaders did not meet most of the expected contributions.

Turning to the second category of participation, that is, participation in terms of attendance and decision making, it is to be found that the majority of leaders in self help groups and all the leaders of community wide projects are high level participants with regard to attendance of meetings and contributing to decision making in their groups, while the majority of the non-leaders in self help groups tend to be low level participants.

Table V. 3 gives the findings.

TABLE V 3: DISTRIBUTION BY ATTENDANCE AND DECISION MAKING

Participation: Attendance and Decision Making	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
High	56.7	100	26.7
Low	43.3	0	73.3
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

Table V3 shows that 56.7 per cent of the leaders of self help groups and 100 per cent of the community wide projects are high level participants, while 73.3 per cent of the non-leaders in self help projects are low participants. In other words, these findings show that the majority of leaders of self help activities attend all or most of the self help meetings and actively participate in the decision-making in the self help activities while the majority of the non-leaders poorly attend self help meetings and are not active in the decision-making.

In conclusion, it is the finding of this study that the majority of leaders of self help groups/projects are high level participants in

the self help activities, while the majority of non-leaders are low level participants. This means that it is mainly the leaders of the self help groups/projects who meet most of the expected contributions of their groups or projects and attend most of the meetings and participate in decision making, while the majority of the non-leaders are not active participants.

The above observation poses a serious question of what the role of leaders is in relation to general participation of the non-leaders in self help activities. This is in view of the expected role of leaders as mobilizers and motivators. While the majority of the leaders have manifested a high level of participation on their part, it is interesting to note that the ordinary membership (non-leaders) manifests a low level of participation. However, it is to be noted that this finding concurs with that of Rose (1973) which states that in contrast with non-leaders, leaders are more active social participants. These findings were in relation to a study on alienation and participation, a comparison of group leaders and the masses.

The finding, that leaders are high level participants, while the non-leaders are low-level participants, has a further implication for the need for local leadership to re-define their role in making their groups/projects attain their desired goals, that is, raising the welfare of the members. In the literature review, it was observed that development is impossible without a greater contribution from the vast majority of the working population, who are mainly in the rural areas. Thus there is a need to have the ordinary rank and

file, i.e. the majority participate more actively so that their groups can attain their goals of helping to uplift the welfare of all the members.

To further explain participation in self help activities, and the disparity in the levels of participation between leaders and non-leaders, their (leaders and non-leaders) characteristics are presented in the following section. In the same Section, the nature of leadership in self help activities is explained. The first hypothesis of the study that the level of participation by leaders is influenced by their socio-demographic characteristics is then tested.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PARTICIPATION

AGE AND PARTICIPATION:

The findings of this study on the age-distribution of participants in self help activities are presented in Table V.4 below.

TABLE V.4 DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

Age	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Upto 30 years	10	16.7	0
31 - 50	56.7	50	53.3
51 or more years	33.3	33.3	46.7
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

From Table V.4, it can be noted that the leaders of self help groups come from all age-groups. It is, however, of interest to note that there is a concentration between the ages 30 to 50 years, both for leaders and non leaders (members) of self help groups. It is to be noted that 50 years of age is considered as Kenya's voluntary retirement age, and this study adopts it as the dividing line between old and middle age, which for purpose of this study, starts at 30 years of age, when usually most people have finished with formal education and started families and hence are obliged to join any organizations within their communities, and thus may not be regarded as young.

The study found that 56.7% of self help group leaders, 50% community project leaders and 53.3% non-leaders of self help groups were in the ages between 30 and 50 years. It also found that 33.3% of self help group leaders, 33.3% of community project leaders and 46.7% of non-leaders were over 50 years of age, while only 10% of self help leaders, 16.7% of community project leaders and no non-leaders were 30 years or less in age.

The above age distribution shows that age distribution for leaders is more or less like that for non-leaders. This fact may, possibly, be attributed to the democratic way of selecting leaders to the leadership committees, which ensures that any member is free to contest or be selected for any seat in the committee.

It should be noted here that the above findings are in disagreement with the findings of previous studies, including this writers' own

study of 1984. Mbithi (1974), Musyoki (1976) and Stockton (1971) indicate that leaders are mainly old-aged people. Stockton, however, hastens to add that young and educated people, working in the locality are also included in leadership. This study found the concentration to be in the middle ages of 30 - 50 years.

In relation to the age of participants and the level of participation in group or project activities, it is to be noted that this study, just like this writers' previous study (1984), found that there was no statistically significant relationship between the age of a participant and his or her level of participation in self help activities. Table V. 5 below gives the findings.

TABLE V. 5 AGE VS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Age (Years)	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION			
	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
Up-to 30 years	6.7	3.3	0	0
31 - 50	43.3	13.3	23.3	30
51 or more	16.7	16.7	16.7	30
TOTAL	66.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
$\chi^2 = 3.16$, not significant at $p = 0.10$, $df = 2$			NOTE: Because of the two zero cells chi- square was not calculated.	

The most significant observation that may be made from Table V.5 is that self help group leaders, who are in the middle ages (31 - 50) tend to be high level participants. It is to be noted that 43.3% of the high level participant leaders are in this age-group, while the majority (30%) of the non-leaders in the same age-group are low level participants.

It can also be noted that while some of the leaders were 30 years or less in age, none of the non-leaders was in this age group. It thus can be observed the young members of self help groups are being given leadership responsibilities in the groups, and 6.7% manifest a high level of participation in group activities.

It is, however, the argument of this study that age per se may not influence the level of participation a member manifests in group activities. It is the social value and meaning attached to one's age that influences a person to act and in this case participate in group activities. It was the opinion of most key-informants that leadership roles were assigned based on age, with the effect that the aged members were seen as a source of knowledge and were also relied upon to give guidance as well as arbitrate any conflicts. The young, who tend to be also educated provided the secretarial services.

SEX AND PARTICIPATION.

Sex, which is the biological differentiation between a male and a female is here treated as a social rather than a biological factor.

Taking into account that the majority of Kenya's population is composed of women, it may be expected that they dominate in other spheres of life, including local leadership. According to Kenya's population Census 1979 Report, out of the population of 15,327,061 people, there were 7,719,948 women (as compared to 7,607,113 men). In Kilome (the area of study) out of a total population of 155,082, there were 82,771 women as compared to 72,311 men.

This writer's previous study, however, found that men dominate self help project leadership. It was noted then, as well as in this study that men were even members of registered women groups. The implication here is that there is a traditional bias of women drawing men into their organizations. Indeed it was this researcher's field experience that women, tended to allow men into their groups mainly because of the traditional conception of men as leaders.

It is interesting, however, to note that while community wide project leadership is dominated by men, women dominate the leadership positions in self help projects. This finding hence is in disagreement with the finding of the previous study, as stated above. The above phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the social conception of leadership roles is based on sex division of labour where men have been traditionally holding leadership positions in their communities with women holding limited leadership positions.

TABLE V.6 DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

Sex	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Male	6.7	91.7	26.7
Female	93.3	8.3	73.3
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

Table V. 6 above shows that women are the majority (i.e. 93.3%) in self help group leadership. They are also the majority (73.3%) amongst the non-leaders in self help projects. Men constitute only 6.7% of self help groups' leadership and 26.7% of the non-leaders of self help groups.

The community wide project leadership, on the contrary, is dominated by men, who constitute 91.7% of the leadership, with women constituting only 8.3 per cent.

Several possible explanations may be given for the above phenomena. It can be argued that significantly, women are visibly the majority in Kenya's rural areas. The statistics quoted above indicate that among Kenya's adult population, women are the majority.

There has occurred what may be termed as selective rural urban migration, where men have migrated to the urban areas in search of jobs, while leaving their families in the rural areas. In the absence of men, women have had to take up the roles traditionally reserved for

men. These include leadership. Also, noting that most of the self help groups are kin-ship-based, clan as well as village based, and that most of them have tended to concentrate on home-related activities, more women have hence become members in the self help groups. The net-effect of all the above processes is that self help group membership and leadership have become dominated by women. Thus the emergence of women in self help groups leadership.

Community wide projects are androcratic (male-based) because of the fact that while the changes stated above have taken place, it is to be noted that men have been allowed to be members of women groups and leaders of community wide projects mainly because of the traditional belief that men should be leaders over women. This researcher observed during a meeting of a group which was headed by a woman, but had male members that the women leaders still looked upon the men to assist and at times sanction what they (women) were saying. It was an attitude which visibly was ingrained in the conduct of the women. Hence the question of the distribution of leadership amongst the sexes is based on such ingrained traditional attitudes and beliefs of participants. It was, however, reported during interviews with key-respondents that changes in attitudes are taking place, such that leadership positions in women groups are guardedly given to women. The male members may only be ordinary committee members.

Previous studies in especially Machakos by Mbithi (1979) and

Musyoki (1976) found that leadership in self help groups was dominated by men. It is hence necessary to note the development stated above where rural self help groups' leadership has women featuring in greater numbers.

Looking at the distribution of the leaders and non-leaders of self help group leaders by sex against their level of participation, it can be noted that women are relatively high level participants.

Table V. 7 below presents the distribution.

TABLE V. 7 SEX VS TOTAL PARTICIPATION

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION				
Sex	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
Male	6.7	0	6.7	20
Female	60	33.3	33.3	40
TOTAL	66.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
n = 30, $\chi^2 = 0.067$ not significant at p = 0.10, df = 1			n = 30, $\chi^2 = 0.35$ not significant at p = 0.10, df = 1	

The chi-square values in the above table show that there is no statistically significant relationship at 90 per cent level of confidence between the sex of a participant and the level of participation the participant manifests in the self help activities. It can, however, be noted that 60% of the self help group leaders are high level women participants. All the male leaders in self help groups are high level participants.

While 33.3% of the 40% high level participants among the non-leaders are women, it is interesting to note that women constitute 40% of the low level participants among the non-leaders. This implies a need for the women leaders to mobilise their followers to participate more actively. Of the 26.7% men among the non-leaders, it is noted that 20% are low level participants.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the majority of women leaders are high level participants. The non-leaders, male and female, tend to manifest low levels of participation. This finding, as noted elsewhere in this section, strengthens the argument that women have taken up and are actively playing the roles traditionally set aside for men. Leadership was one of them and it is of interest to note that women do not lag behind in this area of participation in self help activities. Leadership in the self help activities, hence, may be seen as constituting a base in the changing of cultural values.

This finding concurs with that of Mutiso (1971) whose study, "Mbai Sya Eitu", found women very active in politics to the extent of overshadowing men and even staging a successful campaign for a candidate

who eventually won a parliamentary seat, yet Kenya's politics have by and large been a domain of men.

MARITAL STATUS AND PARTICIPATION.

Marital status is important when an individual is being chosen for leadership position. Amongst the Akamba, and most other societies in Kenya, unless one is married, he is still seen as young (even a child), and cannot be entrusted with leadership. The divorced or separated are not given high esteem in Akamba society and usually they are not chosen as leaders. This is based on the belief that if one cannot manage their household, they are unlikely to be effective leaders elsewhere.

This study found that the single, and the separated or divorced, did not take part in self help activities. It also found that all the non-leaders were married men and women, while all the leaders in community wide projects were married. 6.7 per cent of the self help group leaders were widowed, while the rest, 93.3 per cent, were married.

This finding, hence, indicates that one has to be married to be eligible for a leadership position. It has been observed that just as a lot of responsibility goes with a leadership position, so is great responsibility needed if a marriage is to succeed, and hence the society treasuring the institution as a basis for awarding status, among other things.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND PARTICIPATION.

The data on education shows that participants in self help activities have relatively low levels of education. The distribution is shown in Table V. 8 below.

TABLE V. 8 DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Level of Education	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Form III and above	3.3	8.3	0
Form I - II	6.7	25	10
Std. 5 - 8	50	58.3	33.3
Std. I - 4	10	8.3	26.7
Adult literacy	16.7	0	13.3
No education	13.3	0	16.7
TOTAL	100	99.9	100
BASE	30	12	30

It can be seen from the above table that the majority of self help group members have upto primary school level of education and lower. Only 10 per cent of the self help group leaders, 33.3 per cent of community wide project leaders and 10 per cent of the non-leaders in self help groups have secondary school level of education or higher. It can also be seen that 50 per cent of the self help group leaders, 58.3 per cent of the community wide project leaders and 33.3 per cent of the non-leaders between standard 5 to 8 level of

education. While it can then be concluded that leaders tend to have a relatively better level of education than the non-leaders, it can also be noted that 13.3 per cent of the leaders in self help groups and 16.7 per cent of the non-leaders have no education at all. It can also be seen that 16.7 per cent of the self help group leaders have adult literacy education as compared to 13.3 per cent of the non-leaders with the same kind of education.

In general, it can be deduced that there is no significant difference between the level of education of the leaders and non-leaders of self help groups. It is only in the leadership of community wide projects, it was found that all the leaders have had some formal education. This aspect may be explained by the fact that these projects, covering a wide area like they do, attract leaders from those groups of people who have formal education. These include primary school teachers, government staff in the area. Others working outside the area. The idea is basically to have people who are enlightened about larger-scale projects and, people who can make contacts with agencies outside the area, including the government's district offices for any assistance, material or otherwise. This then calls for leaders with some formal education.

It can, however, be seen that in general the levels of education for the leaders are fairly low. This may have negative implications for development noting that much of the written material available on development, including government policy guidelines may require

to be interpreted for the followers, and this means leaders need to have what may otherwise be referred to as functional education, that is, a level of education compatible with one's role expectations.

It has been argued that the state of under-development of the poorest nations means that the formal education system has not spread widely as only a small minority of children in the rural areas complete primary education level, and half of the population lack a minimum level of education (World Bank, 1974). Kenya has been committed to the provision of education to all and presently the government is spending up to 25 per cent of the total budget expenditure on education. There is also the Adult Education programme which is aimed at eradicating illiteracy amongst the adult population. All this is being done on the understanding that formal education has a role in rooting permanent literacy among people.

It can be argued that as one goes through the formal education system, they also benefit from the exposure to a wider reading material.

The exchange of ideas during the process of learning widens their frame of reference.

Closely related to the level of education is the concept of literacy, that is, the ability to read and write. It can be noted that literacy in Kenya has generally been gained through the formal education system. There are, of course, the isolated cases which

get to know how to read and write from outside the classroom, but these admittedly, are very few. In Kenya, the official language is English, while Kiswahili is the national language. Much of the development literature and policy material are either in one of these or both of the languages. The implication here is that then for a leader to be effective, they should be able to read and write in at least one of the two languages.

Literacy rates in the rural areas are relatively lower than in the urban areas, where much of the communication is done in the vernacular. The front-line staff (extension workers) have also to use vernacular to reach their targetted population effectively. The implication here is that development related information could move faster if the local level leadership is educated and literate.

The findings of this study, however indicate that literacy rates are high in Kilome division given that 70 per cent of the self help group leaders, 100 per cent of the community project leaders and 50 per cent of the non-leaders in self hlep groups could read and write in at least Kiswahili , and indicated in Table V. 9.

TABLE V. 9 DISTRIBUTION BY LITERACY

Literacy	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
English	43.3	75	30
Kiswahili	26.7	25	20
Venacular	6.7	0	20
None	23.3	0	30
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

It can therefore be deduced that there is a higher literacy amongst the leaders than the non-leaders, in self help projects. It is lamentable that a relatively high percentage, 23.3 per cent of the leaders of self help projects are illiterate. It was however reported that leadership posts like those of treasurer can be given to anybody, literate or illiterate, so long as they can be trusted with the self help group's moneys. The implication here is that the whole concept of education and literacy, is at times over shadowed by traditional values like trust and honesty in the rural areas.

This study, however, finds that one's level of education influences the level of participation in group activities, as shown by the significant values of chi-squares, in the able V. 10.

TABLE V 10: LEVEL OF EDUCATION VS CONTRIBUTIONS (This Year)

Level of Education	Level of Participation - Contribution (this Year)			
	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
Secondary School or Higher	10	0	0	10
Primary	50	10	40	20
Adult Literacy	0	16.7	0	13.3
None	0	13.3	6.7	10
TOTAL	60	40	46.7	53.3
BASE	18	12	14	16
n = 30, $\chi^2 = 25.18$, significant at p = 0.10, df = 3.		n=30, $\chi^2 = 9.11$, significant cant at p = 0.10, df = 3		

The findings in Table V 10 indicate that the level of participation tends to increase with the level of education, with a peak at primary-school level and dropping as the level of education rises. It can be seen that for the self help group leaders, 50% of the high level contributors have upto primary school level of education, while the other 10% of the high level of contributors have secondary school level of education or better. Of the low level contributors, among the self help leaders, 13.3% have no education at all, while 16.7% have attended adult

literacy classes.

The findings on the part of the non-leaders of self help groups indicate that 40% of the high level contributors have upto primary school level of education. It is also noted that 16.7% of the non-leaders who are high level participators have no education at all. Of the low level participants, 10% have no education at all, while 13.3% have attended adult literacy classes. It is also keenly noted that 10% of the non-leaders who are low contributors have secondary school or higher level of education.

In overall, thus it can then be concluded that both leaders and non-leaders who have had primary school education manifest high levels of contribution, with leaders being among the majority of high level contributors (participants). That is, 50% of the leaders as compared to 40% of the non-leaders are high level contributors. The 10% leaders with secondary or high level of education are high level participants, while the 10% non-leaders with the same level of education are low level participants.

The explanation that may be given for the above finding is that with formal education, there also comes awareness, and that social status in the rural areas is related to formal education, then those with relatively higher levels of education make sacrifices to safeguard that status. With the education, they are also in a better state of evaluating benefits before they commit themselves and their resources into projects.

A catch-point, however, as the level of education increases, there is low participation. For example, the case of the 10% non-leaders with secondary or high level of education, who are low level participants. This turning point is where due to the kind of education being given, which is essentially with white-collar (office) jobs bias, the recipients of such education feel that they may not undertake such activities as soil conservation and other related blue-collar (manual) group activities. They only register as members so that they are not isolated or feel alienated from their village-mates and social milieu.

The other reason that may be given for low level of participation among those relatively well-educated is that they tend to hold salaried jobs as primary school teachers etc. and hence are not available at most times for group work. They may not send any money to compensate for their absence or send a member of their families on their behalf, which is allowed by the group rules.

The findings of this study with regard to the level of education and combined participation, that is, both categories, of participation considered together, indicate a pattern of distribution similar to the one above for level of education and contributions. There is a predominance of the holders of primary school level of education among the high level participants. This could mean that they also contribute significantly to the decision-making process of the groups.

The above observations then point to the fact that leadership in rural self help projects may not attract many of what may be called highly-educated people. That is, secondary school level and above. This could be because the holders of such levels of education are few in the membership of the self help projects. It has been noted above that they also tend to manifest low levels of participation.

These findings concur with the findings of Mbithi (1974:43) and Musyoki (1976:24) that self help group leaders tend to have little education. This writer's previous study found that most of self help group leaders had primary school level of education. It should also be noted that while the level of formal education is an important pointer to social status, rural communities also have their scales of judging the acceptability of an individual as a leader. It was reported that such considerations include the general disposition of an individual towards understanding, respecting and cooperating with the people. Indeed it was the opinion of the key informants that formal education was not a central criterion for consideration when choosing community and group leaders.

TRAINING AND PARTICIPATION.

Bearing in mind that 85 per cent of Kenya's population lives and works in the rural areas and that the major occupations in the rural areas include farming and pastoralism and some few non-farm activities, the type of training a respondent received was recorded either as farm

related or non-farm related. Leadership training was recorded separately. The essence of giving people some training is to make them better equipped to do their work. Indeed training is categorised as a human development endeavour. It is the interest of this study to look at whether rural self help leaders are exposed to any training and how this has affected their participation in self help group activities. Below is a table on the distributions by type of training received.

TABLE V. II DISTRIBUTION BY TRAINING

Type of Training	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Project	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Farm Related	23.3	0	16.7
Non-Farm	26.7	83.3	10
None	50	16.7	73.3
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

Table V.11 above shows that 50 per cent of the self help group leaders and 73.3 per cent of the non-leaders in self help group had no training at all in their area of activity. This leads to the conclusion that most of the participants in self help group activities do not have any training at all. However, it can be seen that 83.3 per cent of the leaders of community projects have had non-farm type of training. These

include trainings like teaching, business, accountancy, dress-making and the like. Only 16.7 per cent of the community wide project leaders had no training at all. The reason for the above is that some of the community leaders are former employees in non-farm related occupations, while others are still working in non-farm occupations.

Of the self help group leaders, 23.3 per cent have received farm related training. This compares with 16.7 per cent of the non-leaders who have the same type of training. 26.7 per cent of the self help group leaders have received non-farm training, while only 10 per cent of the non-leaders have received the same.

The implication from the above deduction is that relatively speaking, more leaders have had some training as compared to the non-leaders. The advantage is that through training, one is able to acquire higher skills and knowledge and hence as a leader and with training, one can impart ideas more confidently during group decision-making. However, the number of self help group members (leaders and non-leaders) with any training is lamentably low, which is mirrored in the low productivity of the people in their occupations or day to day activities in life.

Looking at the distribution of self help by leadership training, (Table V. 12) it can also be noted that the majority of the participants in self help activities have no leadership training at all.

TABLE V:12 DISTRIBUTION BY LEADERSHIP TRAINING

	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Self Help
Course	10	50	3.3
Seminars	40	8.3	10
None	50	41.7	86.7
Total	100	100	100
Base	30	12	30

Fifty per cent of the self help group leaders, 86.7 per cent of the non-leaders and 41.7 per cent of the community wide project leaders had no leadership training at all. This further implies that most of the leaders of self help activities have no leadership training. Indeed it is only 10 per cent of the self help group leaders, 50 per cent of the community wide project leaders who had attended a leadership course. As relates to the attendance of leaders' seminars, only 40 per cent of self help group leaders and 8.3 per cent of the community wide project leaders had attended. It was reported that these seminars were usually a one or two day affair and hence they could not be expected to cover a great many aspects related to the whole concept of leadership and development. Hence it can thus be

concluded that leadership training for the rural leaders is yet to be taken seriously by especially the rural communities. The divisional community development assistant reported that leaders' seminars are organised as frequently as 2 to 3 times a year, and held at the locational offices or any places convenient such as a locational secondary school. Self help groups are asked to send people for training. It was, however, reported that the attendance is at times poor or some groups do not send representatives, and to some extent this explains the low rates of leadership training in the area.

The head of the Community Training Centre at Machakos reported that while the centre is supposed to offer development related courses, the participants have to be sponsored. The participants are sponsored by their self help groups or by themselves, while the Department of Social Services sponsors the courses. It was the opinion of this respondent that the Department of Social Services should take more initiative in leadership training and sponsor more courses at the centre, while also ensuring more courses and seminars are taken to the locations where it is cheaper for the participants to attend. More people can attend and less expense will be incurred. This observation becomes more substantial when it is recalled that most respondents spoke of lack of money to pay for the courses at the Training Centre, while household commitments also prevented them from attending a week-long course away from home. If more people

and especially the leaders, are given leadership training, it is expected that more progress can be attained in the rural areas, given that the leadership situation as it is, has steered self help groups to great progress.

Moreover, the findings of this study indicate that there is a statistically-significant relationship between leaders' training and the level of participation they manifest in their self help groups.

Table V. 13 below gives the findings.

TABLE V. 13: LEADERSHIP TRAINING VS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Level of Participation.				
Type of Leadership Training	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
Course	33.3	6.7	0	3.3
Seminar	10	0	10	0
None	23.3	26.7	30	56.7
TOTAL	66.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
n = 30, $x^2 = 5.7$ significant at p = 0.10 df = 1.			n = 30, $x^2 = 5.4805$ significant at p = 0.10 df = 1	

This study finds that 43.3 per cent of the 66.7 per cent high-level participant leaders had received some leadership training. 10 per cent of the 40 per cent high-level participant non-leaders had received some leadership training. On the other hand, the study found that of the 33.3% low level participant leaders, 26.7 per cent had no leadership training at all, while 56.7 per cent of the 60 per cent low-level participant non-leaders had no training at all.

This data hence shows that leadership training is a significant factor in enlisting participation within self help group activities. It can be seen that the leaders portray a relatively higher level of participation and a bigger number of members of the leadership have received some leadership training, as compared to the non-leaders.

The development implications for training self help group leaders on leadership techniques include the fact that besides the leaders themselves participating more actively, they also tend to organise the other members in a more concerted and productive way. The net effect of this on the nation may be said to be increased material and non-material well-being for the nationals, and hence development. It should, however, be pointed out that more training sessions need to be made available so that more rural people can benefit.

Closely related to the concept of training is the concept of exposure. By exposure, it is meant the attendance of functions or going on educational trips or listening to the radio or reading the print-media, to the extent that one gains new information,

ideas and experiences which otherwise could not have been gained. They are useful to the receiver or the person so exposed in the furtherance of their role either as a group member or a leader. The net effect is as important as training.

The findings of this study indicate that the majority of the leaders of self help activities had a higher level of exposure than the non-leaders. (see Table V. 14 below)

TABLE V. 14 DISTRIBUTION BY EXPOSURE

Level of Exposure	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
High	53.3	83.3	40
Low	46.7	16.7	60
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

The findings presented above show that 53.3 per cent of the self help group leaders, 83.3 per cent of the community wide project leaders and only 40 per cent of the non-leaders in self help groups manifested a high level of exposure. The majority of non-leaders manifested a low level of exposure, as indicated by the fact that 60 per cent of them were lowly-exposed.

The implications of the above finding on development of the rural areas is that since the majority of the self help group/project leaders (hence in effect the local leaders) are highly exposed to the extent that they get new ideas and experience, they are more likely to come up with more rational solutions and useful ideas during the decision-making process. This is a vital finding given the district focus expectations of the local leaders, since they are seen as originators and movers of development in those areas.

The above findings on training and exposure, show that the experience gained is useful in leadership, and hence local leaders can be selected on the basis of whether they have had some training, and exposure both within and outside their localities. This concurs with the findings of Stockton (1971) in Nyeri. Stockton found that leaders in Nyeri were selected from those members of society who had accumulated such resources as experience from working and having travelled outside the district, being more literate and hence commanding greater authority. It can be noted from the above submission that training and exposure do serve to uplift one's social standing in society and are valuable resources, which society falls back upon when seeking those on whom to bestow leadership positions.

The importance of exposure in the selection of leaders is given more credence by finding that the level of exposure a leader has had influences his/her level of participation in the self help activities.

The findings indicate that the level of participation of leaders increased with the level of exposure (see Table V. 15 below).

TABLE V: 15 EXPOSURE VS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Level of Participation				
Level of Exposure	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
High	46.7	6.7	16.7	23.3
Low	20	26.7	23.3	36.7
TOTAL	66.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
n = 30, $\chi^2 = 4.838$, Significant p = 0.10 df = 1.			n = 30, $\chi^2 = 0.05208$ not significant at p = 0.10 df = 1	

The data above shows that 46.7 per cent of the 66.7 per cent high level participants amongst the self help group leaders were leaders who also manifested a high level of exposure. Only 20 per cent of the high level participants among the leaders had a low level of exposure. It can also be seen that 26.7 per cent low level participants amongst the leaders had also a low level exposure. This statistically supports the above argument that the level of participation increases with the level of exposure. A

significant chi-square value of 4.838 at 90 per cent level of confidence shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

However the relationship between the two variables is not statistically significant in the data for non-leaders. The chi-square value is 0.052 and is not significant at 90 per cent level of confidence. Since the data on leaders shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables, and that other studies (eg. Stockton, (1971) in Nyeri) have shown that exposure is a Key - variable in the study of leadership, then this study maintains that the level of exposure of an individual should be a factor of consideration when selection for leadership positions is undertaken. The data on non-leaders indicate that the majority of low level participants in self help group activities had low levels of exposure, thus supporting the argument presented above.

Leaders with a high level of exposure would bring their groups into touch with both the social and physical environment with the aid of appropriate media. The environment of the groups include change agents such as the Community Development Assistants, Technical Assistants from the Ministry of Agriculture, Non-governmental Agencies etc. The inherent advantage here is that since leaders with a high level of exposure are also high level participants in the group activities the new ideas, information and innovations are likely to be dramatised by the leaders within and without the group situation. The followers, hence will have a source of innovations.

Implied here is the notion of diffusion of innovation. That is, the highly exposed leaders are likely to be early adopters of new ideas, which in turn will be passed on or adapted by the followers. It may thus be argued that a highly exposed leadership, besides being aware of what is happening and needed within their own localities, will also have a chance to learn about the performance in other localities in the identification of their needs and solutions.

By the above process of adoption of new information, such localities are likely to have the advantage of jumping the first four stages (or at least going through faster) in the "adoption process." (see Rogers 1971:100). These are the awareness stage, interest stage, evaluation stage and trial stage. This is because the leaders will bring to their localities the innovation when it is at what Rogers callsthe adoption stage. They will have most likely applied their judgement of adoption based on their intimate knowledge of what their local situations demand. Hence there may result a higher rate of adoption of innovations and faster rate of rural development.

The above argument becomes stronger when it is also considered that the study found that the majority of leaders have had relatively higher levels of both general training and leadership training. It thus can be expected that they can handle innovation (ideas, information etc) more diligently for the benefit of their followers and communities.

OCCUPATION (PRESENT AND PAST) AND PARTICIPATION:

Occupation is here taken as any economic activity from which an income is derived to meet life's daily needs. Noting that Kenya is basically an agricultural country, and that 85 per cent of her people live and work in the rural areas (Kenya, 1984: 45), it is to be expected that self help groups and project leadership is largely composed of people engaged in farming or farm-related occupations.

This study shows that farming is the main occupation. 83 per cent of the leaders and 83.3 per cent of the non-leaders in self help groups were engaged in farming. It is only amongst the community projects leaders that a low 16.7 per cent were occupied in farming, with 33.3 per cent in business and 50 per cent in non-farm occupations.

Table V: 16 gives the findings.

TABLE V. 16: DISTRIBUTION BY PRESENT OCCUPATION

Type of Occupation	Leaders Self Help Projects	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Farming	83.3	16.7	83.3
Business	10	33.3	13.3
Non-farm	6.7	50	3.3
TOTAL	100	100	99.9
BASE	30	12	30

The variation between the leadership of community projects and self help groups can be explained by the fact that community projects cover wider areas and thus tend to attract more "elites." Also, given the fact that the projects' leadership has to be in contact with government officers and other change agencies, the leaders selected tend to be in those occupations which are esteemed by the community, and hence non-farm occupations.

It is to be noted that despite the fact that the majority of Kenya's population are engaged in agriculture, farming is yet to be accepted as an important and esteemed occupation. This is especially so with the young and relatively educated people, who through education, they have been socialized to anticipate office jobs. Hence the phenomenon of non-farm occupied persons dominating community project leadership. The kind of farming done in Kilome is small scale and largely at subsistence levels. This further limits the financial resources of the leaders. As was noted in Chapter Four, poverty is a factor limiting the participation level of people in self help activities.

Kenya's Development Plan (1984/85) notes that the education system, during the plan period is to be tailored such that people's attitudes towards agriculture and farming as such, are positively influenced and cultivated. This is essentially the underlying factor to the starting of the 8:4:4 system of education in Kenya. That is in realization of the fact that jobs are available in the agricultural

sector, yet most of the school leavers are not interested in them because of the inherent negative values towards agriculture acquired through the education system. There are cases in the coffee, tea and sugar plantations in the country, where it is always claimed there is lack of adequate labour. Of course, there are constraining factors such as the seasonality of agricultural jobs and weather factors.

Looking at past occupations, the findings are that 70 per cent of the self help leaders and 93.3 per cent of the non-leaders had no previous jobs. This essentially means that they have been farmers all-through. The case for the community projects leaders was a bit different in that only 16.7 per cent had no previous occupation, while the rest, 83 per cent had been previously in non-farm occupations. This remains a fact that most of the rural leaders are occupied in farming, given that the community wide projects are usually relatively fewer. The essence of a previous occupation is that a wealth of experience is acquired as one does various jobs and the contacts made during such engagements facilitate in the exchange of ideas. These previous experiences may be called upon in the present situation of leadership, hence its vitality, especially in the area of decision-making. It was reported by key informants that it is this fact of a previous experience in a past non-farm occupation that contributes to one being selected a leader in a rural community wide project.

As concerns the relationship between the type of occupation one is engaged in and their level of participation in the self help activities, this study finds that there is no statistically significant relationship between the two variables. However, the argument advanced above shows that the occupation one is engaged in determines his or her other social activities, and especially in leadership. Table V: 17 gives the findings.

TABLE V: 17 PRESENT OCCUPATION VS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Type of Occupation	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
Farming	53.3	30	33.3	50
Business	10	0	3.3	10
Non-farm	3.3	3.3	3.3	0
TOTAL	66.6	33.3	39.9	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
$\chi^2 = 1.83$ not significant at $p=0.10$ $df = 1, n = 30$			$\chi^2 = 1.875$ not significant at $p = 0.10$ $df = 1, n = 30$	

The data presented above indicates that the majority of the leaders engaged in farming are also high level participants. That is, 53.3 per cent of the 86.7 per cent leaders who are farmers manifest a high level of participation in their group activities. All the leaders who are in

business also manifest a high level of participation. Among the non-leaders, the majority of the farmers are low level participants, while the businessmen also manifest a low level of participation.

It may be concluded that it is because of the responsibility bestowed on the individuals that makes them manifest a relatively high level of participation. This is in view of the fact that the majority of the leaders who are farmers and businessmen show a high level of participation, yet the majority of their counterparts who are non leaders poorly participate in group activities.

It should be noted here that previous studies have indicated that rural leaders should be drawn from those in farming occupation Stockton adds that they should be old retired officers who should have worked outside their locality. Mbithi (1977) and Musyoki (1976) found that leaders were mainly farmers, and this writers previous study (1984) came up with a similar finding .

In order to hasten development in the rural areas, attention should be focused on the improvement of the farms. This is in view of the fact that much of Kilome is in the low potential zone and hence the geographic factors are such that relatively low yields are received from the farms. The farms are also small, and hence lower yields, given that most farmers may not afford farm inputs such as fertilisers or hybrid seeds. There is also no established cash crop, although coffee is grown in small scale on the few high and medium potential areas of the Division. Hence all the above factors need be looked into as a way of also uplifting the economic state of the majority of local leaders.

ECONOMIC STATUS AND PARTICIPATION

In the previous Chapter, it was noted that the basic objective for starting self help groups is to raise the welfare of the members. Musyoki (1976) and Mbithi et al (1975) see membership in Harambee or self help projects as a manifestation or dramatization of a feeling of relative deprivation. It is against this background that it can be expected that the majority of the participants are of low economic status and that they manifest high levels of participation in their group activities.

TABLE V: 18 DISTRIBUTION BY ECONOMIC STATUS

Level of Economic Status	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Projects
High	50	58.3	6.7
Average	26.7	33.3	36.7
Low	23.3	8.3	56.7
TOTAL	100	99.9	100.1
BASE	30	12	30

The data presented above indicates that 30 per cent of the self help group leaders, 58.3 per cent of the community project leaders and only 6.7 per cent of the non-leaders in self help groups were of high economic status. The majority of the non-leaders, that is 56.7 per cent, were of low economic status. This compares with the 23.3 per cent of the leaders and only 8.3 of the community project leaders.

The general picture then is that while leaders of self help groups/projects, tend to be dominated by relatively rich people the non-leaders are mainly poor people. However, as it relates to levels of participation, the low economic status both leaders and non-leaders tend to manifest a relatively high level of participation. Table V: 19 presents the findings' data:

TABLE V: 19 ECONOMIC STATUS VS LEVEL OF TOTAL PARTICIPATION

Level of Economic Status	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
High	26.7	0	3.3	3.3
Average	20	3.3	20	16.7
Low	20	30	16.7	40
TOTAL	60.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
n = 30, $x^2 = 9.94286$, significant at p = 0.10 df = 2.			n = 30; $x^2 = 1.84715$ significant at p = 0.10 df = 2	

From the data presented above, this study establishes that a leader's level of economic status influences his/her level of participation in their group/project activities. A significant chi-square value of 9.94286 at 90 per cent level of confidence, 2 degrees of

freedom show this. However, the data on the non-leaders shows that there is no statistically significant relationship between one's level of economic status and their level of participation. Despite the statistical implications, based on the distribution of the data, several conclusions may be drawn.

There seems to be two categories of participation in self help activities. These are high economic status (rich) people who are usually given leadership positions, and the poor who do not lead.

Noting that the sole aim of joining or forming a self help group is to uplift one's level of living, and also that there is a basic inequality in individual endowments, it may be expected that self help group or projects to a great extent facilitate a redistributive role in terms of the high economic status members contributing more, while the low economic status or poor members contribute less. It was, however, the experience of this researcher during field work that the self help groups' regulations expected all the group members, whether rich or poor, to make equal amounts of contribution, whether cash, labour or material.

The inherent danger in the above structure of participation is that the low economic status members may become apathetic to their groups and their leaders who the study found tend to be of high economic status (rich). This finding and observation may be understood in the context of a problem of participation cited in the case study in 'Chapter Four, that there is lack of cooperation from the non-leaders, which a respondent attributed to poverty.

Further, on the issue of differential participation, it is to be noted that despite the fact that the benefits are enjoyed equally, Barkan and Holmquist (1986) see the low economic status (poor) individuals as "free riders" subsidized by the richer members. This is in their study on politics and the peasantry in Kenya where they also observe that most studies have assumed a rather homogeneous peasantry, and failed to examine the differential popularity of self help in terms of the varying material circumstances of the different strata within the Kenyan peasantry.

It can, however, be noted that while participation in self help is voluntary, the dynamics of Harambee in Kenya, due to its' traditional basis, manifest hostility to individualism, and hence individuals bow to group pressure, while they also seek identifications. This thus explains the coexistence in one group of low and high economic status individuals. It is the submission of this study that members of self help may not be looked at as an homogeneous community.

As noted earlier in Chapter Four, the low levels of participation in group activities may be attributed to the low levels of cash and material contributions, which the poorer members are not able to contribute significantly to their groups. They are, however, very active in terms of contributing labour (effort) to their group. They also actively participate in the groups' decision-making process.

In spite of the fact that the low economic status members manifest low levels of participation in group activities, which was attributed to their poverty, they continue to be members of self help groups. This study's position is that poverty and the need to alleviate it

makes the people to stick together in the self help groups.

To hence solve this problem of poverty the efforts of the self help group members may need to be complemented, for example by the government or any other development agency. This may be in the form of advice on the best available methods of attaining at a sustained level group goals.

The other alternative solution is for group members to utilise the method of problem identification and solving employed by project A, as cited in the case study, Chapter Four. That is, the group members sit down and identify their problems, suggest solutions and set up sub-committees to come up with relevant solutions to their problems. It is only in those areas where technical information is lacking where field staff may be contacted. The inherent advantage here is that the self esteem of the members is not sacrificed, and in case of the Department of Social Services or any other agency intervening on invitation, the group members will not feel like their ideals have been compromised. The end result of all this is likely to be an increase in the welfare of the self help group members, hence development.

The effect of rural poverty on the quality of leadership may be explained both from a sociological and a psychological perspective. At the sociological level, leadership may be ineffective because of the mere fact of the followers and the leaders alike having to come together to fight the adversities of poverty, such as the inability to augment, for example, the labour contribution with material or monetary contribution. For the leaders this means that they are not likely to be

exemplary and thus their mobilization of the followers becomes greatly curtailed.

At the psychological levels the leaders feel inadequate and may not be articulate in group decision-making. This is because with poverty there is an attendant feeling of insecurity. This hampers leadership effectiveness.

It should, however, be noted that poverty is relative. The communities from which community leadership is generated are not homogeneous and thus through collective action the deeply adverse effects of poverty on leadership are somewhat, not altogether though, contained. Thus with the reduction of poverty, it can be expected that community leadership would be greatly strengthened.

INITIATION OF PROJECTS, BENEFITS AND PARTICIPATION

It was noted in the literature review that human behaviour is not random but purposive and goal oriented. That is, oriented to achieving rewards and to avoiding punishment. In the previous Chapter, it was reported that people start or join the already started self help groups with the sole aim of getting rewards as the group attains its goals. These rewards, are here treated as benefits. They are looked at from two levels: expected benefits, that is, the benefits the participants in a self help group anticipate; and attained benefits, that is the respondents were asked to state whether as at the time of interview, they had benefitted by being in the self help group/project. Benefits whether tangible, for example, cash, material or intangible, for example praise or labour were considered.

The concept of benefits is here treated into two sub-variables that is, expected benefits (tangible and intangible) and attained benefits. It is important to look at the distribution of the respondents as to whether or not they were among the initiators of their groups. (see Table V:20).

TABLE V: 20 DISTRIBUTION BY INITIATION OF PROJECTS

Whether an Initiator	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
YES	83.3	91.7	60
NO	16.7	8.3	40
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

From the data above, it can be seen that 83.3 per cent of the leaders of self help groups, 91.7 per cent of the community project leaders and 60 per cent of the non-leaders of the self help groups were among the initiators of the groups/projects they were participating in. That means the rest, 16.7 per cent of the self help group leaders, 8.3 per cent of the community project leaders and 40 per cent of the non-leaders joined the groups when they had already been started. The explanations given for joining the groups were that the new entrants, had seen the benefits that were accruing to those already in the group/project, and hence joined the group with anticipations of benefit.

The findings of the study show that there is no statistical relationship between the initiation of projects and the level of participation manifested by respondents. The statistics, however tend to point to that most of the non-initiators tended to be also low level participants. (See Table V 21 below).

TABLE V:21 INITIATION OF PROJECTS VS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Whether an Initiator	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION			
	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
YES	60	23.3	26.7	33.3
NO	6.7	10	13.3	26.7
TOTAL	66.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	30	12	10	18
n=30. $\chi^2=0.75$, not significant at $p=0.10$ $df=1$.			n=30. $\chi^2=0.052$, not significant at $p=0.10$. $df=1$.	

Among the self help group leaders, 10 per cent as compared to 6.7 per cent of the non-initiators are low level participants, while 26.7 per cent compared to 13.3 per cent of the non-leaders are also low level participants.

The data on the leaders indicate that the majority of the initiators are also high level participants. Among the non-leaders, however; the majority of the initiators are low level participants. This may be explained by the fact that as the groups attain some of the initial goals, the zest and enthusiasm of some of the initiators tend to slacken

if new goals are not set, hence a low level of participation.

A solution to this problem, lies in the groups constantly reviewing group goals so that at any one moment, the goals reflect the burning issues and problems of the members. This ensures motivation to participate in the group activities is always there. This in itself will then lead to development to the extent that the groups will be solving the "obstacle or problems" to a better level of living.

Regarding benefits, participants in the self help activities, leaders and non-leaders alike, expect benefits (tangible and intangible) in return for their participation in self help activities. The data shows that 90 per cent of the self help group leaders, 100 per cent of the community project leaders and 73.3 per cent of the non-leaders expected at least some benefit, tangible or intangible from their groups or through their self help groups. Only a small minority of 10 per cent of the self help group leaders and 26.7 per cent of the non-leaders reported that they did not expect to gain any benefits from their groups. On probing some of the respondents who had given negative answers about whether they expected benefits, it was established that almost all the respondents expected to benefit in one way or the other. The probing was being done through the respondents being asked to give their reasons for either starting or joining the self help groups. Hence the cases recorded above as those who did not accept they expected benefits, were for those cases who could not clearly express their reasons for joining the self help groups. They were only giving their

reasons for joining the groups as "I just decided to join the group", or "I joined the group because the others were joining ..." but on probing them, were refusing to accept they wanted the company of their other friends in the group and feared isolation.

Looking at the relationship between expected benefits and the level of participation, this study finds that, although there is no statistically significant relationship between the two variables, a pattern emerges where the majority of the leaders who expected benefits, also put in a high level of participation in their group activities. Table V:22 below gives the findings.

TABLE V:22 EXPECTED BENEFITS VS. LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

WHETHER EXPECTED BENEFITS	LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION			
	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW
YES	63.3	26.7	26.7	46.7
NO	3.3	6.7	13.3	13.3
TOTAL	66.6	33.4	40	60.0
BASE	20	10	12	18
n=30, $\chi^2=0.41667$, not significant at p=0.10			n=30, $\chi^2=0.0639$ not significant at p=0.10. df=1	

Amongst the non-leaders, although more than half of the high level participants (26.1 per cent of the 40 per cent) expected benefits it is interesting to note that 46.7 per cent of the low level participants had expected benefits from their groups. The interest arises when it is noted that without putting in adequate effort in the group activities, the group goals could not be attained. Their case means that people sit down and wait for development to take place without their participation. This poses a case for the leaders who apparently seem to see the need to put in a high level of participation so as to attain their expected benefits, to educate their followers on the essence of being active in group activities so as to be able to attain the set goals and hence the expected benefits.

Available literature and especially in relation to social exchange theory point to the direction that human behaviour being goal oriented, (see Edwards, 1973) the amount of input may be determined by the level of expected benefits. Oyugi (see Bolnick 1974: P17) though discussing participation in a broad sense, observes that popular participation depends on the amount of direct benefit that the individual or family can hope to derive from the particular development project. To this it can be added that rural development then can only be achieved through popular participation if the goals and desires of the local people are taken into account during planning of projects. This is basically the gap the District Focus Strategy is meant to fill by having the local people actually participate in the process of project identification and implementation.

This study found that the majority of the participants in self help activities had attained benefits in return for their participation

self help group activities. 96.7 per cent of the self help leaders, 83.3 per cent of the community project leaders and all the non-leaders reported that they had benefitted from their groups/projects. See Table V: 23 below).

TABLE V: 23 DISTRIBUTION BY BENEFITS ATTAINED

Whether Benefitted	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-leaders Self Help Groups
Yes	96.7	83.3	100
No	3.3	16.7	0
TOTAL	100	100	100
BASE	30	12	30

Given these findings, it can then be stated that the self help groups' projects as vehicles of development, had delivered some of the expected benefits. It was observed during the time of field work, that the levels of (or) extent of benefits varied with the type of group/project. There was a problem of getting a uniform unit of measurement of the amount of benefit. Hence any benefits reported were as such recorded without regard to the relationship to other projects. It should however be noted that certain groups had benefitted significantly to the extent that there was a significant material manifestation of the benefits. Such benefits included water tanks, bench terraces and fruits have been introduced to their farms, but still in small scale subsistence levels.

Hence the submission that significant development has been attained in the form of benefits and betterment of the living conditions for the members. Benefits such as the intangible forms of satisfaction with group company, pride in having helped start an idea, could not be measured, yet they are benefits attained all the same.

The data shows that statistically the level of leaders participation is not influenced by whether or not they have benefitted from the group. A non-significant chi-square value of 0.1293 at $p=0.10$, one degree of freedom tests to this. The pattern appearing from the distribution in the table

below, however, shows that the majority of the leaders (66.7 per cent) who had benefitted also were high level participants. All non-leaders had benefitted, but only 40 per cent were high level participants.

TABLE V: 24 BENEFITS ATTAINED VS. LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Whether Benefitted	Level of Participation			
	Leaders Self Help Project		Non-Leaders Self Help Project	
	High	Low	High	Low
Yes	66.7	30	40	60
No	0	3.3	0	0
TOTAL	66.7	33.3	40	60
BASE	20	10	12	18
n=30, $x^2=0.1293$ not significant at $p=0.10$ $df=1$			x^2 not calculated because of the more than one-zero-cell.	

In an attempt to explain why one may manifest a high level of participation while he/she does not benefit, the following points, which were observed to characterise the self help movement in Kilome may be advanced. The traditional aspect of self help movement where communal responsibility was such that individualism and to a greater extent the individual benefit motive was played down is still operational in Kilome. There were reports and observations of cases of personal sacrifices being made towards group success. These included cases of giving personal tools like wheelbarrows, oxen, etc for group work without expecting any direct individual benefit. Group and peer pressure was such that people were compelled to join self help groups and

also participate in the group activities. This group pressure, however, could not be equally reciprocated by proportionate levels of participation. Hence the variation in the levels of participation, despite benefits attained by different individuals.

LEVEL OF PERCEPTION AND PARTICIPATION.

A set of questions were used to help assess the levels of perception of the participants in self help activities. The level of perception was otherwise a measurement of how articulate the individual participants were about their environment (their group and the area). That is, articulateness about the needs, problems and possible solutions to the same.

In the literature review, Kayongo-Male (1985) and Kariuki (1973) are agreed that a people's capacity to actively take part in solving their own problems is a major determinant of development. To a great extent, it is this capacity which is being looked at as the level of articulation, the level of perception and knowledge in this study.

This study has found out that leaders in self help activities in Kilome manifest high levels of perception and knowledgeability than the non-leaders.

TABLE V: 25 DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF PERCEPTION

Level of Perception	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
High	66.7	91.9	40
Low	33.3	8.3	60
Total	100	100	100
Base	30	12	30

The data above shows that 66.7 per cent of self help group leaders and 91.7 per cent of the leaders in Community projects as compared to only 40 per cent of the non-leaders manifest a high level of perception.

It was observed in the literature review and elsewhere in this chapter that being able to perceive things and being knowledgeable and hence able to bring up ideas with foresight is an essential aspect of the participants in the process of development. The fact that most of the leaders in Kilome are highly perceptive and knowledgeable is a positive trait that can boost development in the area. This is so especially with the District Focus Strategy which expects that decisions on development projects will originate from the local populace and hence their leaders will essentially have to shoulder that responsibility, given that all the people cannot as a mass rise and effectively say what they want and hence their representation by their leaders. The responsibility vested on the leaders requires a perceptive and knowledgeable leadership to shoulder it, and this is what this study found in Kilome.

This study found that the level of perception of the leaders influenced their level of participation in self help activities. This is shown by a chi-square value of 6.768, which is significant at $P=0.10$ (90 per cent level of confidence) one degree of freedom. See Table V:26 below.

TABLE V: 26 LEVEL OF PERCEPTION VS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Level of Participation				
	Leaders Self Help Groups		Non-Leaders Self Help Groups	
Level of Perception	High	Low	High	Low
High	56.7	10	23.3	16.7
Low	10	23.3	16.7	34.3
Total	66.7	33.3	40	60
Base	20	10	12	18
n=30 $\chi^2=6.768$ not significant at $p=0.10$, $df=1$			n=30, $\chi^2=1.672$ not significant at $p=0.10$ $df=1$	

The data on the leaders show that 56.7 per cent of the leaders who are highly perceptive and knowledgeable are also high level participants in the self help group activities. The finding strengthens the argument advanced above concerning the leaders that by being perceptive and knowledgeable, they stand as a useful asset for utilization in the development process. In the previous Chapter, it was noted that self help movement has brought in quite some development in the rural areas and that it is a way of life for the rural people. Hence the finding that the rural leaders are articulate about their needs, problems and they participate highly in the self help movement as a

way of solving some of those problems leads to the conclusion that the rural people can be relied upon to be able to identify their needs and their possible solutions.

This finding further disapproves the argument of scholars as Mbithi (1974), Mbithi and Rasmussens (1977) and Leonard (1973) that rural people should be seen as not very articulate and hence development programme should be done for them from above. This is because this study found out that besides the local leaders being highly perceptive and knowledgeable about their great needs and problems, and solutions, they also put up a high level of participation in the group activities. This can be understood as a positive way of solving the rural problems by the leaders. It can then be suggested that instead of the leaders being seen as recipients of ideas and programmes, they should also be seen as originators of ideas. This means that the District Focus Strategy implementers should utilize the local leaders effectively.

The data on the non-leaders, shows that there is no statistically significant relationship between the level of perception of the non-leaders and the level of participation they manifest. The distribution, however, shows that the majority of low level participants have also low levels of perception and knowledgeability. More than half, that is 23.3 per cent of the 40 per cent high level participants of the non-leaders were of high level perception.

It can then be stated that for the majority of the non-leaders to participate highly in the self help activities and hence in

development, programmes of mass-education and training may be administered so as to help raise their level of knowledge. This study finds that education and training have a direct relationship with the amount of participation put in by self help group leaders.

Leaders are selected from the mass of the group members. Hence any training and education given should eventually lead to high level of participation in group activities and development of the rural areas as such.

COMMITMENT AND PARTICIPATION

In measuring the level of commitment of participants in their self help activities, consideration was given based on issues like whether a member was a leader in other self help groups, obeyed group rules and the like, to the extent that commitment was broken into two levels, high and low commitment. High commitment means that one is more affiliated and attached to their self help group, and hence shows less attachment to the other self help groups they may belong to.

This study found that the majority of the participants in self help activities, leaders and non-leaders alike, manifested high levels of commitment to their self help groups/projects.

TABLE V:27 DISTRIBUTION BY LEVEL OF COMMITMENT

Level of Commitment	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
High	63.3	66.7	50
Low	36.7	33.3	50
Total	100	100	100
Base	30	12	30

The data in Table V:27 shows that 63.3 per cent of the leaders of self help groups, 66.7 per cent of the leaders of community wide projects and 50 per cent of the non-leaders of self help groups manifest high levels of commitment. Relatively more of the leaders than non-leaders are in the high level commitment category. This is shown by the 63.3 per cent of self help group leaders and 66.7 per cent of the community project leaders as compared to 50 per cent of the non-leaders in the same category.

The implication of the above finding that the majority of the leaders are highly committed to their self help groups/projects is that the possibilities of role conflict arising between a leader being a leader in one group and also a leader in another group, and in obeying possibly different sets of rules of the different groups, does not arise. In the literature review, Nypan and Vaa (P28) see the advantage of high level commitment as high level performance by the leaders.

The findings of the study show that leaders who are highly committed are also high level participants in their group activities. The data however, shows that there is no statistically significant relationship between commitment and level of participation both in the cases for leaders and non-leaders. A chi-square value of 0.448, which is not significant at 90 per cent level of confidence, one degree of freedom, shows that level of commitment does not significantly influence the level of participation of the leaders. For the non-leaders, the chi-square value is 0.1389 which also is not significant at 90 per cent level of confidence. The findings are as in Table V:28 below.

TABLE V:28 COMMITMENT VERSUS LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Level of Commitment	Leaders Self Help Groups		Leaders Self Help Groups	
	High	Low	High	Low
High	46.7	16.7	23.3	26.7
Low	20	16.7	16.7	33.3
Total	66.7	33.3	40	60
Base	20	10	12	18
n=30, $\chi^2=0.448$; not significant at $p=0.10$. df=1.			n=30, $\chi^2=0.1388$, not significant at $p=0.10$. df=1.	

The finding above, that the majority of leaders are highly committed and participate highly in their self help activities has the implication that self help groups would increasingly have their performance bettered if more and more of their members can be more committed. This can be achieved through their groups yielding more benefits to them so that the members can see the advantage of concentrating their energies in one project at any one time. The benefits can, however, be achieved if the members were increasingly encouraged to participate in fewer groups/projects and they ensure the group goals reflect their immediate needs.

LEADERSHIP STYLE:

Under this sub-heading is considered the practice of sharing power in the groups/projects. This is done at two levels: democratic and autocratic leadership styles. It is to be noted that this study looks at leadership as more of a group process and hence questions were posed at the leaders to assess whether their leadership behaviour and practice were democratic and hence they shared leadership functions with the others or not and hence were autocratic.

Within the committee, certain persons either the office bearers or the committee members can also be such that they stand out more than others. These practices were looked at by identifying who among the committee members was the most influential, popular or consulted. These variables have been used to identify leaders in communities in studies

done in the West (Cartwright and Zander 1960; French and Raven, 1960).

Going back to the question of whether self help group/project leaders shared power with the group members, this study found that the majority of the leaders reported they consulted other members, and were consulted by the members, that they ensured all their actions were clear to all members and to the interest of the members. They reported that they did not use office power but gave their followers an equal platform when discussing group issues. They reported that they took caution and ensured their actions were effected with the acceptance of the followers. Hence it can be stated that the majority of the leaders were democratic in their practice of leadership. (See Table V:29 below).

TABLE V:29 DISTRIBUTION BY LEADERSHIP STYLE

Leadership Style	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Wide Projects
Democratic	60	66.7
Autocratic	40	33.3
Total	100	100
Base	30	12

It can be observed that 60 per cent of the self help group leaders, and 66.7 per cent of the community project leaders manifested a democratic approach to leadership. To this extent, it can then be said that self

help group and project activities are fairly a group activity where all participate in the decision-making.

It was reported by almost all the self help groups studied that the procedure for making decisions is that the committee sits down and makes deliberations which are then presented to the members all seated in one meeting. Everyone is allowed to air their views. The group rules are such one person speaks at any one time, otherwise if a person tried to bar the person on the floor, most groups had a fine for that person. The advantage inherent in such a procedure is that the members are likely to come to a consensus over what they feel at the moment to be their pressing problem. This would motivate them to put in more effort in the group activities.

Before further deductions are made, it may be necessary to look at distribution of power and influence in the committees in terms of influence, popularity and consultation.

As relates to influence, the respondents were asked to state who was the most influential person on the committee. Influence of one person over another has to do with reference power, which is one of the basis of legitimacy in leadership (French and Raven, 1960).

The majority of the self help group leaders and members responded that the chairman of the group/project was the most influential person on their committee. (See table V:30 below).

TABLE V:30 DISTRIBUTION BY INFLUENCE ON COMMITTEE

Who is the most Influential	Leaders Self Help Group	Leaders Community Project	Non-Leaders Self Help Group
Chariman	76.7	66.7	96.7
Secretary	16.7	33.3	3.3
Treasurer	6.7	0	0
Committee Member	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100
Base	30	12	30

It can be observed that 76.7 per cent of the leaders in self help groups, 66.7 per cent of the community project leaders and 96.7 per cent of the non-leaders in self help groups reported that the chairman of their group was the most influential person in their group. The second person who was nominated as the most influential person was the Secretary, but by a smaller number of people. Hence much of the influence in the self help groups/projects lies with the Chairman.

As relates to popularity, it was reported that the Chairman of the group/project was the most popular person with everyone in the group. The data presented below shows that 80 per cent of the Community wide project leaders and 93.3 per cent of the non-leaders in self help groups reported that the Chairman of the group was the most popular person with everyone.

TABLE V:31 DISTRIBUTION BY POPULARITY

Who is the most popular person in the committee	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Wide Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Chairman	80	83.3	93.3
Secretary	13.3	16.7	6.7
Treasurer	0	0	0
Committee Member	3.3	0	0
Total	100	100	100
Base	30	12	30

The Secretary of the self help groups/projects got the second nomination .

The consultation pattern was such that the chairman of the self help groups/projects was the most consulted person. The data presented in Table V: 32 below shows that 83.3 per cent of the self help group leaders, 83.3 per cent of the community wide project leaders and 93.3 per cent of the non-leaders stated that their Chairman was the most consulted person on the committee.

TABLE V:32 DISTRIBUTION BY CONSULTATION

Who is the most consulted person on the committee	Leaders Self Help Groups	Leaders Community Projects	Non-Leaders Self Help Groups
Chairman	83.3	75	90
Secretary	16.7	25	10
Treasurer	0	0	0
Committee Member	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100
Base	30	12	30

The issue of who is consulted by who is based on who has the expert power (Mbithi 1974.154). That is, who is perceived of as having the expert knowledge necessary in that particular instant. The methodology involved in the identification of the most consulted person is otherwise socio-metric nomination.

From the findings presented above it is clear that while the style of leadership is democratic and hence the majority of the group members participate in the leadership process of their group/project, the chairman of these groups/projects still remain the most important persons on the groups. They are the most consulted, they are the most influential. This has the implication that the chairman can be very

vital link between the communities and any change agents or agencies. It means that the success of any innovation being adopted at the level may depend on the level of involvement of the chairman in its introductions. This hence has the wider meaning that for the new rural development strategy, the District Focus Strategy, to take root in Kenya's rural areas, the chairmen of the groups/projects would be very important agents for the government in marshalling the support and participation of the local people. This presents a strong case for the local leaders, and especially the chairmen to be educated and trained about the concept of the district focus as a first step in ensuring the participation of all in the development of the rural areas. This is so because the chairmen appear to be the focus of all the activity in the self help groups, and hence can be vital sources of new information for the followers. This is in view of the fact that the followers trust the chairmen's choices and decisions.

TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

The foregoing discussion is centred on the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable of the study. In this section will be presented a discussion on the hypotheses of the study. It is to be noted that the testing of the hypotheses is based purely on the quantitative statistics of the study. As noted elsewhere in this study, the relative importance of descriptive data in a survey research such as this one should be taken into account when data is being analysed and the statistical patterns of the data interpreted.

It is in this light that statistically non-significant relationships between variables was given credence in the study, and thus the pattern of the data interpreted.

The decision- criterion on whether to accept that there was a significant relationship between variables was at ninety per cent level of confidence. This decision was based on fact that the chi-square statistic should be tested at most at 0.10, i.e. allowing for ten per cent error (See Bailey, 1978). Also, the study's statistical data was to be augmented significantly by descriptive data and hence increase the validity of the study's argument, by descriptively explaining the pattern presented by the data (statistics).

Testing of H_1 that:

"The Leaders socio-demographic characteristics Influence their level of participation in self help activities".

The findings of this study (see table V :10, V :13, V :15 and V :19) shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the levels of education, leadership training, level of exposure, and economic status, and the level of participation leaders manifest in the self help activities. In this regard, it may then be stated that the leaders levels of education, training, exposure and economic status influence their level of participation in self help activities.

On the other hand, the data shows (see tables V :5, V :7, V :17) that there is no statistically significant relationship between the ages, sex, occupation of leaders and the level of participation they manifest

in self help activities. Hence the finding that age, sex and occupation of leaders do not influence their level of participation in self help activities. However, collaborative evidence from the field work, compilation of case studies and observations showed that these characteristics were of vital importance in the study of community leadership. This was especially in view of the social meanings and values attached to most of the socio-demographic characteristics.

Hence it may be concluded that socio-demographic characteristics of leaders influence their level of participation in self help activities.

The second hypothesis of the study was that, "The level of leaders' participation in group activities is influenced by the benefits they have attained or expect to attain". The data of this study rejects this hypothesis. The chi-square statistic (see table V:24) shows that there is no significant relationship between the benefits attained or expected and the level of participation put in by the leaders into their self help activities.

This finding thus points to the fact that involvement in self help groups is dependent on other factors and not just the benefits derived from the group. Of importance to note is the fact that the group rules were such that they ensured compliance to the groups' expectation on the members. There is also the aspect of the traditional basis of the self help movement, that is, the fact that people have to be accountable and the norm of reciprocity is prevalent. Thus participation in self help may need to be understood from this perspective, where the benefits attained are not a significant factor if one is to take part

in the self help activities.

The data of this study accepts the third hypothesis that: Leaders' level of perception of group problems (and possible solutions) influence their level of participation in group activities. The study established (see table V:26) that there is a statistically significant relationship between the leaders level of perception and the level of participation in group activities (at ninety per cent level of confidence)

The study's finding thus underscores the importance of exposing rural leadership to the influences of mass media, travel and demonstration. The effect of the above process is tantamount to giving the leaders new skills and ideas to utilise in ~~undertaking~~ their roles in rural development.

Turning to the last hypothesis of the study, it is to be noted that the study's findings reject it. The study's data (see table V:28) show that there is no statistically significant relationship (at 90 per cent level of confidence) between a leader's level of commitment to the group and the level of participation the leader manifests. Hence the hypothesis that: "the level of participation of a leader in group activities is influenced by his level of commitment in the group" is not true.

It is of importance to note at this juncture that commitment as defined in this study, that is, being a leader in one self help group and that being more affiliated to one group more strongly than others has the advantage that one has more time and energy to devote to

that one group. It was the experience of the researcher in the course of field work that most self help group leaders tended to be leaders in very many self help groups. This may be explained from the fact that most self help groups initially had only one goal representing only one problem or area of need. Thus the leaders (who most of the time were the initiators) tended to be members of these diverse groups. It is to be noted that most groups after inception, develop more goals and thus address themselves to more needs of their members. It thus, means that one is able to meet most of their needs by belonging and devoting most of their energy to the group. This be as it is, the point being voiced is that as groups continue to address themselves to most of the needs of their members, there is an increased chance of group members concentrating only on one group and hence lead to higher levels of participation in the group activities.

In conclusion, it can be noted that the study has been able to prove two of its hypotheses (H_1 and H_3). Hypotheses two and four have, however, been rejected by the data of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

CHAPTER SIXSUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The following are the major findings of this study.

The study's argument was that leadership was central to participation in, and attainment of development. The leaders, to be able to execute their duties, should have certain distinct characteristics, which enable them to gain acceptance by the followers. This study found that leaders tended to have different characteristics from those of the non-leaders. The most distinct of these characteristics was that the majority of leaders tended to manifest high levels of participation in self help activities. This finding concurs with Rose's (1973) finding that leaders are usually more active participants.

The study also found that the majority of leaders were of high level of perception. While the majority of the non-leaders were of low level perception.

It was also found that leaders tended to have different socio-demographic characteristics from those of the non-leaders. Significantly, leaders tended to have higher levels of exposure to the influences of mass media, travel etc. Leaders, as compared to non-leaders had high literacy rates. The majority of the leaders also tended to have had leadership training and even general training, whether farm or non-farm training. Relatively, levels of education attained by the majority of leaders tended to be higher, with the majority of non-leaders having either adult literacy education or none. The majority of leaders as compared to the non-leaders, tended to have average to high economic status.

There was, however, no significant difference between the distribution of leaders and non-leaders in such characteristics as sex, marital status, education and occupation.

It can therefore be concluded that the first set of leadership characteristics, i.e. levels of participation, perception, exposure, leadership training, other general types of training, education levels and economic status typified leaders. Looked at closely, these factors essentially can be said to actually enhance leaders capability in executing their roles.

An additional set of leadership characteristic was identified through the compilation of the case studies. That is, the key-informants stressed that while the above stated characteristics were necessary in determining who was selected to be a leader in a self-help project, other factors were also taken into account. These were stated to include that the leader should have manifested a sense of keeping unity in the group; he/she should maintain and enhance cooperation between the group members. The leaders should also be understanding, patient and just. It was also reported that a leader should also be accountable and hence responsible. He/she should be ready to make sacrifice for the group.

It should however be noted that rarely in life do we find perfection in human beings. Thus it can be stipulated that given the above leadership qualities, a person who qualifies to be a "good leader" is one who combines as many of the attributes as contextually necessary for the group.

These qualities, it should be noted, and indeed it was evident during the survey, can only be identified within a given social context. The

qualities point to the fact that a leader is expected to have the deeply ingrained moral and social values the society bases its norms upon. The leader thus is a guardian of the social values of his/her community.

It can thus be stated that the above qualities of leadership may operate in a rural setting and not in an urban one. These qualities may not be operational in an urban setting because of such factors as cultural heterogeneity, mass or great numbers and mobility phenomenal of urban life and the relatively higher levels of monetarization or commercialization of social life with the effect that individualism and anonymity is the norm. Hence leadership qualities may only be discussed within a specific social-cultural context.

It is of interest to note that the rural areas are also affected by the influence of the monetarization of the economy. However, the salient tenets of African socialism and brotherhood still hold the people together. This has been reinforced by the fact that in rural areas the mode of settlement is such that people of close blood or kinship relationships live together. Indeed the philosophy prevalent in most rural areas is that all people are kin and hence/greater friendship ties in the face of/the commercialization. Individualism is greatly discouraged in the rural areas.

While a democratic style of leadership was reportedly the most common among most self help groups, this study established that the locus of

control in self-help groups was the chairmanship. The study found that the group chairman was the most popular, the most influential and the most consulted member of the group leadership. This study thus suggests that the chairmen of self help groups should be seen as the 'gate-keepers' of their groups and indeed communities. Hence they should be considered as a resource in the event of seeking entry into the community and also when participation of the members is needed in a programme. A case in point is where this researcher on approaching a group member for interview, in a number of cases the group members asked whether their chairman had also been interviewed.

The argument above becomes more important when it is considered that for any effective involvement of the local people, leadership, and extension staff, in participatory projects there has to be mutual trust among the parties. It is in such a situation where all can make their contributions freely, as colleagues in the development effort.

Thus it should be noted that this study does not argue that the theory of diffusion of innovation provides the solution in mobilising of local people towards development. The argument is that all the participants in rural development should come out and get involved on their own right. The local leadership should only perform a coordinating role.

In relation to the factors influencing participation, the data of this study established (through the use of the chi-square statistic)¹⁴

¹⁴ It should be noted that the chi-square statistic only shows whether or not there is statistical relationship between two variables.

that participation in self help activities was influenced by such factors as the participants' levels of education, training and leadership training, exposure to influences of media etc., perception, literacy, and economic status. Decision criteria was at ninety per cent (90%) level of confidence. The implication here is that these factors need be considered when identifying leaders. This is in considering that leaders are expected to be guides and actually exemplary.

On the other hand, the study found that there was no statistically significant relationship between a participant's level of participation in self help activities and the participant's age, sex, occupation, level of commitment to the project and expected or attained benefits. The study, however through informal or unstructured interviews with key informants and case studies, found that these factors were also central in the identification of leaders. They were also reportedly determinants of the performance of leaders in the self help group activities. Thus the study's explanation of the pattern of participation, based on these factors, despite the fact that no statistically significant relationships existed between the variables. This thus underlines the value of qualitative data in social science research, as it also significantly establishes trends in data.

The study argued and found evidence to the effect that leadership was central to participation in development. Hence leadership problems can be seen as problems of participation and by extension as development problems. The study identified certain problems which in effect make

the leadership process a difficult one. These problems mean that leaders' goals as well as group goals can not be attained.

The main problem was identified as a problem of mobilization. While the study found that almost all the participants expected and also to a larger extent had attained benefits from their self help activities, levels of participation especially among the non-leaders were relatively low; that is, the majority of non-leaders manifested low levels of participation. This problem becomes confounded when it is also recalled that key-informants reported that it was difficult to get cooperation of the people in development activities.

Implied above is that leaders were unable to mobilize their followers effectively for development activities. It was learned (by this researcher) during fieldwork that the above problems were caused primarily by poverty. Barkan and Holmquist (1986) contend that 'poverty and the need to alleviate it makes people stick together'. This however does not seem to be the case with this study, as outlined above. This study thus tries to explain the problem cited above from the perspective of the rationale of participation in development activities. The study found that the major aim of most self help groups was to better the levels of living of the people. More specifically, it may be said that the main reason for joining a self help group was for one to meet his/her immediate needs. Thus by and large involvement in self help group activities becomes a way of solving individuals problem of relative deprivation.

The foregoing may be seen as a problem of poor identification of what the immediate needs of the group members are; setting of short run goals for the group to that effect can thus ensure the enthusiasm of the group members does not waver. Broadly, it should also be taken into

account that rural people are not an homogeneous community and hence there should also be relativity in approach to their needs.

In a nutshell, it can then be concluded that leadership problems lead to participation problems resulting in development problems or uneven development and hence poverty. Thus a vicious circle emerges.



It is thus prudent at this juncture to submit that there is a need to define and understand the motivating force for people participating in self help activities. This becomes more important when it is considered that the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development visualizes local people as key actors in the rural development programme. Yet this study finds that there already exists both leadership and participation problems in the form of lack of cooperation in the self help activities. The solution may thus lie in the local people themselves in conjunction with

their leaders and the technical extension staff coming up with a set of project goals and activities that address themselves both to the short-run (immediate) and long-run needs of local people.

This study contends that local people are articulate about their needs and problems and they are aware of possible solutions to the same. All that is needed is to make the local people self reliant in solving their problems, by encouraging them to draw solutions from within their frame of reference. Both technical and material support from outside agencies may be availed to complement the local inputs.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The study makes a few recommendations as to how the above problem situation may be alleviated and the vicious circle broken. First and foremost, the study submits that poverty is an ongoing problem for leaders as well as a target for elimination through participation in development activities by the participants, i.e. the local people, government and non-governmental agencies, etc. Secondly, the Kenya government's policy documents, i.e the sessional paper No. 10 of 1965, successive Development Plans and the "new" District Focus Strategy for Rural Development hold that poverty can only be alleviated through the participation of all in the national development effort.

It is to be noted that rural development can only be effectively attained, if there is sustained participation of the parties involved, namely, the local people, local leadership and the external agencies,

government and non-governmental. The study suggests the following as ways of increasing participation in rural development activities, and thus eventually reducing the magnitude of the problem of poverty.

1. To mobilise local people to be more active in development, there is need for increased awareness among the participants in rural development. There is need for positive attitudes by the participants towards the development activities as well as towards one another. This thus calls for confidence in the role of each party. That is to say, the local people should have confidence in their leaders and the extension staff, and vice versa. They, the local people, of course, have to have confidence in their capability to handle rural development.

The most direct way of increasing levels of awareness of the local people, as well as influencing their attitudes is through training. The study postulates that all the people and agencies involved in development should be trained. Specific areas, of training should be in functional literacy to help the largely illiterate rural people be able to easily appreciate other types of training and skills, communication techniques and motivation techniques need, to be core topics of discussion. The suggested training can be organised by district staff at the district level to first train the frontline staff who will in turn go down to the

location level and train self help group leaders. The self help group leaders will then train the rest of the group members. The advantage inherent in the suggested method of training is that it addresses itself to the problem of shortage of trained staff. It is a method that can easily lead to many trained personnel, both government and the local level leaders to also become trainers. Thus most participants in self help activities are reached. This study takes note of the fact presently there is an acute shortage of trained personnel who can act as trainers of trainers (T.O.T.) and hence the above suggestion to combat the problem.

It should be noted here that this study established that participation in self help activities is influenced by the levels of training and exposure participants have had.

The quality of training will help the local people and the development or change-agents to choose relevant goals, suitable methods of goal implementation and ensure sustained commitment to the process of achieving the goals. The method of goal selection should be such that all the participants' interests, immediate needs and problems (hopes and fears) are catered for. Thus the relevance of the goals and the selected mode of training that should motivate people to participate more in their group activities since their immediate needs will be met.

The method of training at the local level should preferably be in form of discussions. The aim should be to ensure that the local people operate within their frame of reference and thus can also make a contribution to the training effort.

2. This study established that self help was a way of life for the people of Kilome division. A great deal of benefit had been derived through the self help movement. Tangible benefits included cash, utensils, water tanks, improved farm yield. Intangible benefits included sharing of ideas, friendship ties and general education gained in the course of group work.

This study recommends that self help groups venture into income generating projects, so as to enhance their economic gain from self help activities. It was noted that most groups had large amounts of money at the bank, which could form working capital and even pay for the fixed assets for the groups.

Some groups had already put up commercial plots, while others were already running retail shops successfully.

Thus more and more self help groups could be encouraged and mobilised to benefit from such enterprenial ventures. They could set up residential houses for letting; they could also install "posho" mills. The group members should set up strict rules on how to share the benefits

so that there is equity in benefits attained (or losses incurred).

3. Closely related to the above recommendation is the fact that most self help groups tended to be very small in membership. This limited their capability of handling projects requiring relatively large amounts of cash (money). Hence the projects they undertake are usually small in scale and have limited income generation capacity. It is hence a considered opinion of this study that self help groups may be amalgamated, thus made bigger in membership so that they may be able to undertake viable projects as suggested above. This may be done without loss of the identity to the initial group. The aim would be to ensure that the group members' social and economic welfare are catered for at the same time.
4. The study established that local people are aware of their needs and the constraints involved in pursuing them. It was also the finding of the study that local people are able to devise appropriate ways of solving their problems within their contextual limitations. It is within this premise that the study sees the new role for self help group (hence local people) as originators of ideas. Indeed the study holds that there is need for a reorientation of the approach towards the self help movement: the self help movement should not be seen as a consumer of development resources but as "partners in development" right from the point of planning the project to its' last level of implementation. This new outlook towards the local people should motivate them and give them a renewed sense of efficiency and pride.

However, social structures should be set up within which the voices of the local people could be heard. Such forms of social structures can be elders councils, or a village development committee which should feed the locational development committees with information.

It is to be noted that the lower-down one goes from the centre into a community the more authentic the representation of the community needs. Thus the study suggests that researchers for district focus strategy may benefit more if they get information from such community based social structures as village committees. The problem of populist leaders is thus combated. Politicians, who most of the time are more interested in votes than the interests of the people they lead, should thus be held suspect as bone-fide leaders at local levels.

Thus the study stresses the need for development workers to go into communities in search of the bona fide community leaders, namely, opinion leaders, self help group leaders and village elders.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that the study's findings point out the need for a reorientation of the popular understanding of leadership as mainly represented by positional leaders. The opinion leaders, and thus village level leaders should be seen as actually the basis of all other types of local leadership. This is because the opinion leaders are the ones mainly relied upon by the other forms of leadership to mobilise the local people. This is, of course, taking into exception provincial administration, who mobilize people as the basis of legislative authority.

The study's finding that local people are articulate about their needs and possible solutions gives credence to the expectation of the District Focus Strategy that participation by the local people will enhance rural development. This is in view of the fact that once people are able to identify their needs and problems, it becomes easier to attend to them. It should however be noted that the structures that are meant to facilitate participation by the local people in developmental decision making, namely, Development Committees at the grass-roots level are rather weak, and thus need strengthening for effective functioning.

This researcher found that the locational development committee was the lowest functioning committee and that the committee had not met for a long time. The District Focus strategy postulates that there should be development committees at sub-location down to village levels. These committees were found to be existing but non-functional.

The government is keenly monitoring the implementation of the District Focus Strategy for rural development. The strategy is presently on its fourth year of implementation, which in development terms is still a short term. It thus is expected that these problems will be solved in due course as they are identified. It thus is the concluding remark of this study that with increasing involvement of local people in development planning, especially at the decision-making level, the people's capabilities will have been given a chance to unfold into developmental programmes and thus achieve development with the people.

SUGGESTED AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH:

This study has only dealt with one aspect of the general area of leadership, that is, community leadership as represented by the self help movement leadership. It is the opinion of this writer that other forms of leadership operative in the local communities may also be evaluated and their role in rural development thus explained. This is especially true in the case of church leadership. Is the role of the church just spiritual guidance without material development? The extent of the involvement of church leadership in development may be a starting point for a study on the church and rural development.

Another area of study that this researcher did not venture into is that of the relationship between local leadership and non-governmental organizations' programmes and the dialectic between this and rural development efforts. The area of concern should be on how local leadership can interact with non-governmental personnel and still maintain the locus of control within the local communities, thus avoiding possible manipulation of local leaders by the non-governmental organizations.

It thus can be concluded that the study of leadership is pertinent in rural development efforts.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Good day, my name is Muia. I am a research student from The University of Nairobi, interested in information related to your self help project. The information will be used in future decision making to help develop the rural areas.

NAME OF GROUP/PROJECT:

SAMPLE NO:

POSITION OF RESPONDENT:

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS:

1. Age: _____ Years

2. Sex

1. Male

2. Female

3. Marital Status: _____

4. Education Level _____

5. Literacy (language one can read and write in) 1. English

2. Kiswahili

3. Vernacular

6. Training or courses attended: state:

Type

Duration

Date

Sponsor

1.

2.

7. Leadership training: state:

Nature

Duration

Place

1.

2.

8. Exposure: Have you attended the following (tick)

- 1. a. Agricultural show _____
- b. Field day/demonstration _____
- c. Education tour _____
- d. Visited other groups _____

2. Do you listen to radio programmes - State which

- 1.
- 2.

9. Occupation (present) _____ where _____

10. Past occupation (s) _____ Period _____

- 1.
- 2.

11. Main sources of income:

- 1.
- 2.

12. Type of main house:

- 1. Permanent
- 2. Semi-permanent
- 3. Temporary

13. Size of Land: Piece (size) _____ Location _____

- 1.

14. Crops grown this season:

Type: _____ acreage.

15. How many of these livestock do you have:

1. Local cattle
2. Grade cattle
3. Sheep
4. Goats
5. Other

16. Other properties

1. Car/Motor cycle/bicycle
- 2.
- 3.

17. Do you rely on hired labour? Yes/No.

If yes, a. How many permanent workers do you have? _____

b. How much do you pay each per month Ksh: _____

c. If you spent some money on casual labour,
how much _____

18. For what activities do you need the hired labour?

LEADERSHIP STYLE:

19. How are decisions made in this group?

20. Who of the committee members is the most influential

Name. _____ Position _____

Why?

21. Who of the committee members is popular with everybody (i.e. Other leaders, members, administration and government agencies)

Name: _____ Position: _____

Why

22. Rate the following officials on the popularity scale:
of the following people:

The Scale:

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Very popular | 1. The Chairman - | 1. Other members _____ |
| 2. Popular | | 2. Other Leaders _____ |
| 3. Not popular | | 3. Govt. and CDA _____ |
| | 2. The Secretary- | 1. Other members _____ |
| | | 2. Other leaders _____ |
| | | 3. Govt. and CDA _____ |
| | 3. The Treasurer | 1. Other members _____ |
| | | 2. Other leaders _____ |
| | | 3. Govt. and CDA _____ |

23. Do you consult members of your group/project when making decisions:

Yes/No.

If yes, how many did you consult:

Last week _____ Last month _____

24. Have you been consulted by members of your group on any matter? .

Yes/No.

If yes state: No. of people _____ matter: _____

25. Which leaders have you consulted and on what matters:

<u>Leader</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Matter.</u>
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1.

2.

26. When there is an unfavourable action or idea to be effected, how do you approach the other members? (tick those applicable).

1. Explain it clearly to members

2. Ensure the action is in the interest of all members

3. Introduce the action and veto with office power

4. Do not care about the interests of the group as long as the action has been effected.

PERCEPTION AND INFORMEDNESS.

27. When was this group started? _____

28. What were the main reasons for starting this group?

1.

2.

3.

29. Who were the initiators of this group?

Name:

Position in community

1.

2.

3.

30. What are some of the rules of this groups?

1.

2.

3.

31. What are the main problems facing this group?

1.

2.

3.

32. What solutions have been sought

1.

2.

3.

33. What ^{are} the main problems in this area?

1.

2.

3.

34. What do you think the Community should do to solve them?

1.

2.

3.

35. Are there any development committees in this area

Yes/No.

If yes, specify.

36. What do you think are their role in development.
37. Who do you think should decide what projects should be started in this area:
1. The Government
 2. Local leaders
 3. C.D.O.
 4. Local people
 5. Other (specify)
38. What do you think should be the role of local leaders in national development policy?
39. What do you see as the problems of leadership in development?
40. How do you think the decision - making process can be improved?

PARTICIPATION.

41. a. How many days does your group work per week _____
and how many hours per day _____
- b. How many hours did you put in for your group:
Last week _____ Last month _____
- c. If any shortfall, how do you explain it, and how did you make up for it? _____
42. How much money have you contributed to your group/project this year?
- Membership fee - Kshs.
- Regular contribution - Kshs.
- Other (specify) Kshs.

43. Material contribution:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Value</u>
1.	Kshs.
2.	

44. Have you ever introduced any new idea for your group? Yes/No.

If yes, which one and how was it received?

45. Did you influence the making of any decision in your group?

If yes, which one and how?

46. a. How frequently does your group have

1. Committee meetings

2. General meetings

b. How many have you attended this year

Committee _____

General

c. Explain any variation (if any).

47. Has there been any conflict in the group in the past?

Yes/No.

If yes, what was it about and what part did you play in resolving it?

48. Have you ever represented your group in any function? Yes/No.

If yes, state which ones and where?

COMMITMENT.

49. Are you a member of other self-help projects? Yes/No.

If yes, what are your activities in these other groups?

50. Are you a leader in other groups/projects? Yes/No

If yes, state:

- | | <u>Position</u> | <u>Period held.</u> |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Self help (specify) - | | |
| 2. Community wide project | | |
| 3. Cooperative | | |
| 4. Other (specify) - | | |

51. What was your material contribution to other group last year?

- | | <u>Type</u> | <u>Value.</u> |
|----|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | | |
| 2. | | |

52. How many hours do you put in for other groups per week on average? _____ hrs.

53. How many hours did you put in for other groups last week _____ hrs.

54. How much money have you contributed to these other groups last year?

1. Membership fee Ksh. _____
2. Regular contribution Ksh. _____
3. Other (specify) Ks. _____

55. Have you broken any of your groups rules in the recent past:.

Yes/No. _____

If yes, which rule and what was done to you?

56. Between this group and those other groups, where do you find yourself more affiliated?

57. What would you do personally in the following situation?

- a. If a member breaks a group rule?
- b. Sent by a group to a distant place on short notice?

58. Do you think your leaders are committed to your group?

Yes/No. Explain what you see as the problem.

BENEFITS:

59. What benefits do you expect to gain from this group?

<u>Tangible</u>	<u>Intangible</u>
1	1
2.	2

60. What benefit have you attained from/through this group?

<u>Tangible</u>	<u>Intangible</u>
1.	1
2.	2

61. If you have not gained any benefits, why?

62. Are you satisfied that your colleagues have chosen you as their leaders?

63. What achievements has this group attained as a result of your effort?

64. Have you received any prize by virtue of your group leadership? Yes/No. ____

If yes, state:

<u>Prize/Reward</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Personal/Group</u>
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65. What other comments can you make on leadership and development in this areas:

Thank you.

APPENDIX II

CHECK LIST QUESTIONS

FOR CASE STUDY - KEY INFORMANTS:

NAME. Type of Project

SEX: Position

BACKGROUND (PERSONAL) INFORMATION:

1. Date of birth:

2. Youth:- any significant happenings related to leadership.

3. What problems did you experience in your earlier life?

4. Schools attended:

1.

2.

3.

a. If any drifting, why?

b. What were your experiences and aspirations while in school?

c. What courses did you take?

d. What are your experiences now? Have you fulfilled your aspirations?

Explain

e. What were your responsibilities in school.

5. Family information:

a. How was your family economically?

b. What is the economic status of your family now?

c. How big is your family _____ boys

girls

d. What problems have you experienced in raising your family?

(ii)

6. Occupational experiences (from past to present):
7. Record of courses attended; when and where:

LEADERSHIP HISTORY:

1. When did you start being involved with group leadership?
_____. Which organizations; when; how long and what leadership positions have you held?
2. List any groups you initiated:
3. What led to your initiating these groups?
4. Who else were you with? What positions do they hold in the community?
5. Is the group still active?
6. What were your difficulties in the initiation?
7. What lessons have you learnt while in group leadership?
(What have accomplished?).
8. What problems have you experienced personally as a leader?
(If not trained as a leader how have you managed to do your duties as leader?).
9. What are your leadership problems as a committee?
10. As a leader, how do you ensure cooperation with other members of the group?
11. How do you think leadership can be strengthened?

HISTORY OF SELF HELP IN KILOME:

1. What are the activities/projects undertaken under the self help movement?
2. Do you think there is a difference between the traditional self help (mwethya) and the present day Harambee (explain what changes have occurred, if any) in this area?

3. What are the problems faced within the self help movement?
4. How has the government helped solve these problems?
5. What help have you received from Non-governmental organization? (NGOs)
6. As a local leader, do you think you are doing a national duty or you are only serving your locality? Explain
7. How do you think the self help movement in this area can be improved to lead to more development?

Thank you.