PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING PROCESS IN KENYA:
A CASE STUDY OF GITHUNGURI DIVISION

BY

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AND LIBRARY

"A thesis submitted in 'part' fulfillment for the Degree of Master of Arts (Planning) in the University of Nairobi."

JUNE, 1977
"This thesis is my Original Work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University."

"This thesis has been submitted for examination with approval as University Supervisor."
Both the field work and the execution of this work would not have been successfully accomplished without the co-operation and goodwill of many people.

I am grateful especially to my Supervisor, Mr. Maxwell Miring'u, who has guided me and has offered useful comments on the draft of this thesis, the head of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Professor Subbakrishniah and the Department as a whole for the co-operation received in the two years of my post-graduate course and also the Department of Physical Planning in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement for sponsoring me for Master of Arts (Planning). Special thanks also are due to all those who have helped me in my field work:— the District Officer, Githunguri; Assistant Community Development Officer, Githunguri; Sub-chiefs, Project Chairmen and Secretaries, Rural Water Supply Section of Ministry of Water Development, Departmental heads of Githunguri Division and Kiambu District Community Development Officer and to all others who helped me in any way.
ABSTRACT

Public participation in planning process is a prerequisite of a successful plan implementation, be it physical or economic development plan. In some countries like Britain, Planning Acts state clearly the role the public should play in planning process to ensure successful plan implementation and co-operation between planners and the public. Effective public participation in planning process in Kenya is in its embryonic stage and there are no rules of conduct as regards such public participation. In recent time, the government has been seeking ways of involving the public in planning process.

This study has been concerned with training the development of planning policy in Kenya in relation to public participation, the nature of public participation vis-à-vis the planning principles followed by professional planners; the impact of public participation on development policies and the possible methods of improving and activating public participation in planning process. The study is in TWO PARTS.

The first section of PART ONE - Introduction - discusses the theoretical justifications underlying the concept of public participation in planning and relates them to the Kenyan situation in general. The second section of PART ONE - (Chapter II and III) - traces the development of public participation and its nature from colonial era to the present time.
The first section of PART TWO - (Chapters IV and V) - is a case study of Githunguri Division of Kiambu District in Central Province in which an attempt is made to analyse the nature of public participation and assess the capacity of the local people to participate in planning process. Self-help planning has been used as a case in point.

The last section of PART TWO - discusses the major findings and proposing appropriate reforms, both in policy matters as well as the execution of plans and the limitations which are envisaged.
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The process of development over a specific period of time may be seen as starting with planning and ending with the implementation of the plan(s). Development planning requires the concerted efforts of physical, social and economic planners and its success will depend, among other things, on the cooperation of the public who are the main implementing agents of such plans. In a country like Kenya there are a few fully qualified professional planners and masses of unskilled workers who form the bulk of implementing agents of the plans the planners prepare. One of the characteristics of developing countries like Kenya is that resources for development purposes are scarce while problems related to development are too many. It would, therefore, require a thorough knowledge of these problems, by planners, in order to give priorities to the more pressing needs, when preparing development plans. But due to the lack of sufficient number of qualified planners in the country much information on development problems is not available. As a result, many of the pressing problems are left out when plans are being prepared. Also modern planning is a relatively new profession in Kenya and people, especially in the rural areas, know very little about it. These, however, are the people who know and experience the problems the planners try to solve. When these people are entrusted with the task of implementing plans which often fail to include solutions to their more pressing problems there is no enthusiasm and these plans are seldom carried through to the implementation stage. Instead people embark on solving the more pressing problems which they feel should be given priority whether such problems appear in the published plans or not.

In Kenya, planners have no powers to force implementation of their plans. Awareness of this weakness made planners attempt to seek cooperation of the local people in planning and implementation. In every district, should participate in the development programme in order to:
(i) seek willing and active participation of local communities in the planning and implementation of development programmes and

(ii) train local leaders and officials with a view to making them planning conscious and to providing them with a wider understanding of the development process*

This study aims at examining the role the public has played in planning process; the consequences of their activities; the effects of these activities on the published plans and solutions to any identified problems. The intention is to make planners see the importance of involving the people, they plan for, when preparing plans, or at least seek their "felt" needs and aspirations before preparing a plan. At present there has been little contact. It is hoped that the resulting information will be useful to future planners and researchers. The study has been carried out with the following objectives in mind:

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To analyse the development of planning policy in Kenya in relation to public participation.

2. To establish whether the development activities the public are involved in follow planning principles followed by professional planners.

3. To examine the effects of local development activities on the planned development policies i.e. examine whether such policies are influenced by people's development activities.

4. To establish how the public participation in planning process has been conceived by planners and policy makers.

The purpose will be to reveal the nature of people's involvement in the process of development planning. This will involve the analysis of the procedure(s) followed by the people in initiating a development project; from initial stage to the implementation. It will also require study of the past trends as regards public participation in development planning.
HYPOTHESES

1. Although there has been a marked change in planning policy in Kenya it has not reached a point of effective involvement of the people.

2. Although the public participate in development of the areas they live in, such development does not follow planning principles followed by professional planners.

3. Local development activities influence planned development policies either positively or negatively.

4. The approach followed by authorities to involve the people in planning process will not achieve the desired goals.

The premise is that in order to make it possible for plans to be better implemented the gap between planners and the local people need to be narrowed. Local people should be brought to the field of planning. They should be made aware of what planning is all about. They should not be taken as implementing agents only but part and parcel of planning and implementation machinery.

1.3 APPROACHES

The concept of public participation has often been used in development literature and its success has been said to depend on political support, existence of formal and institutionalised provisions and the ability of the people themselves to participate. Various schools of advocacy for public participation have been propounded. The more common ones are three: the felt-need approach; the grass-root democracy and the extractionist schools of advocacy.

THE FELT-NEED SCHOOL

This is common in community development literature and with traditional conservatives. The argument is that the people in any given locality should be allowed to determine for themselves on their own initiative what are the things that they feel they need most. In order to make them accept plans planners have to involve the people in the plan formulation.
This has been mainly associated with less developed communities who are said to resist change from outside. The supporters of this school argue that the people should be left to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative with provision of technical aid and other services only when it is needed to encourage initiative and self-help. This closely resembled the situation in Kenya soon after Independence.

**THE GRASS-ROOT DEMOCRACY**

This is more common in countries which are more developed politically such as United States. It is a fight for grass-root or individual democracy where the Local people get involved in all matters which affect their individual rights. Such matters include planning matters. Advocates of this approach argue that nothing much can be achieved by way of development unless the people to be affected decide on what to be included in the plans. They insist on political and institutional decentralization.

**THE EXTRACTIONIST SCHOOL** hold that nothing much can take place at the Local Level without the intervention and initiative of central government. The role of local people in contributing to national development is realized by the central government and efforts to involve them in planning process is mainly to help in getting more out of local areas. An individual is seen as being capable of contributing money or his labour to matters of development hence the need to involve him in planning. He is given incentives to make him contribute more towards development.

Various governments have adopted one or the other of the above approaches or combination of these approaches. The centralistic and more totalitarian governments like Soviet Union have adopted the "extractionist" approach for its contributive potential while "grassroot democracy" finds support in countries like United States of America where the concept of democracy is more adhered to.
In developing countries like Kenya, political development does not allow effective "grass-root" democracy approach to public participation. Since Independence the Government has adopted the "felt-need" type of participation and gradually it has come to resemble the "extractionist" system. At the Independence people were left alone to embark on such developments as they would think was appropriate to them. Then in the late 1960s the Government started to intervene in the development activities of the local people. It has encouraged the people to contribute money, materials and labour towards projects, but insist on guiding such development.

1.4 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.

Much literature has been published relating to public participation. United Nations has published several of such articles. While many of these articles discuss public participation in planning process many of them are concerned with the obvious expression of the need to involve the public in the planning of activities which will affect them. Very few deeper to identify the problems which may help in paving the way to effective involvement of the people in planning process.

There are some however which seem to be more relevant to this study. These are: Skeffington Committee Report on "Public Participation in Planning", The Town and Country Planning Act (of Britain) 1971 PART 11, Town and Country Planning - Summer School Sept. 1973 and Participation in Development Planning at the Local Level" by W. O. Oyugi.

The terms of reference of Skeffington Committee were to consider and report on the best methods, including publicity, of securing the participation of the public at the formative stage in the making of development plans or their areas. The Committee came up with suggestions of the techniques for participation which include community forum, advisory panels, co-opting members of public to the planning committees and community development approaches. The Committee's recommendations included the urge to keep the public informed throughout the preparation of a structure or local plan for their areas; publicity of the initial statement when the decision is made that a plan should be prepared;
convening of meetings, in the areas affected by the proposed plans, for the purpose of setting up community forums; educating and informing people about planning matters etc., guidance to local Planning Authorities on how they might fulfil the statutory obligations which the Town and Country Planning Act (1971) required them to fulfil as regards involving the people in formative stage of planning process. Britain's Town and Country Planning Act 7 states that the Local Planning Authority had to take such steps as will in its opinion secure that:

(a) adequate publicity is given in its area to the report of survey (or any relevant matters arising out of the survey) and to the matters they propose to include in a plan and

(b) people who may be expected to want an opportunity to make representations on matters to be included in the plan are made aware of their rights in this respect and are given an adequate opportunity to make representation.

The Secretary of State has to approve the procedures followed before the plan is approved. While in Kenya Local Authorities are not as developed as in Britain to warrant autonomous planning rights the recommendations of the Skeffington Committee and the contents of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 offer useful literature relevant to the type of involvement planning.

The Town and Country Planning Summer School Conference 8 addressed itself to the problems and successes of public participation in developing countries with specific examples of Tanzania and resettlement schemes of Volta Communities in Ghana. While it does not provide much, it indicates the awareness of the problems experienced in involving the people in planning process. It however, generalises conditions related to public participation in developing countries.
A more relevant article is "Participation in Development Planning at the Local Level". Its concern was the analysis of the human and institutional factors which combine to explain the nature of participation in planning at the local level in Kenya using a case study of Migori Division in Nyanza Province. This is especially relevant because just as the present study the unit of analysis was a division, but differs from this study because Migori was under Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) while Githunguri is not. It will be interesting to compare the findings of the two studies under different situations. In his study Oyugi concludes that the state of underdevelopment in Kenya makes autonomous participation by the people in planning an unobtainable objective. It will be the objective of this study to see whether this statement holds in a different situation. Another point by which the present study will go beyond Oyugi's study will be in relation to the Local Level. This will need more emphasis because it has been noticed that the least developed aspect of physical planning in Kenya is in relation to the involvement of the public in the planning process.

Much more literature has been published on public participation in planning process while planning in urban setting is different from experiences of rural planning, such literature, though in a different environment offers more techniques of involving the public in the planning process. The townships and service centres in rural areas will also need planning.

One common characteristic about these publications is that they all stress the need to involve the people in planning the development of their areas. But while the Skeffington Report and Town and Country Planning Act indicate the methods to be applied and involve the people in planning directly, the Literature concerned with developing countries argue that direct involvement of the people in planning process is not possible and the only effective method is through indirect methods. Reasons given to support this are that people in developing countries are not fully politicised and not educated enough to become conversant with planning matters. One such indirect method is the involvement of elected representatives of the people who sit in development committees.
This method is widely used in the area of study and it will be used in the area of study and it will be useful to find out how effective it has been.

More research in developing countries will help in identifying other methods of involving the people in planning process and the present study is one of such researches.

1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Public In this discussion "the public" will refer to people seen as organized groups as well as an aggregate comprising all individuals and groups within the area.

Public Participation - the awareness and active involvement either in person or representation of the public in the decision making, planning and implementation of programmes which affect them.

Planning - A process for laying down a course of action that is to be followed in order to achieve stated goals. Planning in this context should include clear goals and adequate policies, objectives and strategies along with concrete projects. These are rather fluid terms. They are used in this context for operational purposes and will be useful in analysis stage.

1.6 AREA OF STUDY

Githunguri is one of the five administrative divisions of Kiambu District in Central Province. It has an area of about 268 sq. km. and had an estimated population of 102,949 by 1975. The division is mainly an agricultural area and is among the most developed areas in the country. It is estimated that by 1974 income per farm family was over 3,400/- per annum. Main cash crops include coffee, tea, pyrethrum and passion fruits. Dairying is a highly developed farming occupation, compared to other parts of the district. By 1974 the division had 15,138 grade dairy cattle out of 45,297 cattle in the whole district.

Matching the agricultural development is the infrastructural development and other social welfare projects. Much of this development has been through self-help efforts. At the end of 1976 the people of the area had 30 water projects, 7 cattle dips, 27 churches, 46 primary schools, 2 village polytechnics and 1 community hall.
7 health centres, 6 nursery schools and 14 secondary schools which they were building or extending by self-help efforts. The division has a well established system of development Committees from village level to Divisional Level.

One of the observed problems is related to land for development of social facilities such as schools dispensaries etc. Farm sizes are also small forcing people to result into intensive farming and market gardening. Other problems include transportation facilities for farm products, farm inputs such as fertilizers and marketing facilities of farm products other than cash crops and dairy products.

1.7 STUDY ORGANIZATION

Planning in Kenya goes back into colonial times. At first directives came from Colonial Office in London and were implemented in Kenya. The Local people were not involved in decision making and were coerced into implementing whatever the Colonial Administration had planned for the country. After Independence there was a change of planning policy. The importance of incorporating the public in the development planning was expressed by policy makers.

The development of planning policy and its relation to the public participation will be dealt with in the PART ONE of this study. PART TWO will be devoted to the experience of the study area. It will also contain the analysis chapter and recommendations and the concluding chapters.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The type of information which the study intends to generate will demand various methods of data collection.

1. Use of library materials, office records and documents.
   The most relevant ones are:
   - Kenya National Development Plans
   - Kiambu District Development Plan 1974-78
   - Kiambu District Community Development Annual Reports
   - Githunguri Division, Community Development Annual Reports,
     The Division Office Annual Report etc.

2. INTERVIEWS

It has been found not possible to design one questionnaire which could be used for all respondents. Instead, interview schedules have been designed for the following groups of people or individuals.
- Project chairmen/secretaries
- Development Committee Leaders
- Community Development Assistant
- Other Departmental Heads in the Division
- District Community Development Officer and District Development Officer
- District Officer.

3. FIELD SURVEYS

Up to date map of the study area showing existing development and location of projects is not available. Nor is there sufficient documented information on the spatial distribution of development activities in the area. Such information can only be obtained through field surveys.

1.9 LIMITATIONS

Problem of Definition

Although much literature has come up on public participation, very little of it approach the problem in a multidimensional approach. Each discipline tends to over emphasize its importance in relation to public participation. For instance, a political scientist treat public participation as if it means political emancipation only. Or a sociologist sees it in the sociological perspective. An interdisciplinary treatment of this subject which combines the socio-economic, political and physical aspects of public participation in planning process which is vital for development planning is lacking.

AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION

A well planned study may be spoilt by failure to get the necessary data. Some respondents have been reluctant to give valid information being often suspicious of the outcome of the study. Incomplete reports of the field officers made it difficult to assess the contribution of the public in development planning. Published data, about the division, relevant to this type of study was found to be very scarce forcing one to travel widely to locate projects and respondents in the field.
Foot notes


2. For detailed discussion on this see Oyugi W.O. "Participation in Development Planning at the Local Level" p. 1-3


5. See UN HABITAT 1976 P. 74: Also Community Development and National Development New York 1964

6. See Skeffington Report chapter on Recommendation and conclusion

7. For details see Town and Country Planning Ad - PART II (Gt. Britain 1971)


9. W.O.Oyugi Participation in Development Planning at the Local Level IDS: Discussion Paper No.163


CHAPTER 11
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN KENYA

2.1 ASPECTS OF PLANNING

Development planning may be seen as a synthesis of physical, social and economic planning. Physical planning is the process of interpreting the socio-economic aspects into spatial organization of development. It deals with land use and layout, locational, transport and design problems in both rural and urban areas. Social planning is concerned with welfare and social services, the alleviation of social problems, self-help and community development. Economic planning has the task of organizing all of the nation's resources into concerted and co-ordinated development.

For development purposes, each one of the planning aspects is necessary but not sufficient to bring change. Of these aspects physical planning has the least public participation having its offices at provincial level only. Social planning has had more public involvement in Kenya because of the Harambee activities since Independence. Economic planning is the earliest aspect of planning being the main type of planning prepared during colonial days.

2.2 ORIGIN AND TREND OF PLANNING IN KENYA

Planning in Kenya stemmed from the early attempts by the British Government to rationalize and co-ordinate development and budgetary activities in its overseas colonies. Colonial planning in Kenya began with the establishment of a "Development and Reconstruction Authority in 1945 and the formation of a Planning Committee under its jurisdiction in 1948."¹

The procedure followed by colonial planners lacked any consideration of African participation in planning the development of their country. They only considered the role of white settlers who constituted less than 0.5% of the total population in Kenya. The planning machinery was centralized and all planning work was done by colonial representatives. Before the Second World War the governor sent the estimated expenditure for the year to the Colonial Office in London.
and the Colonial Officer in London provided the funds. The main function of the Colonial Government was to create appropriate conditions for the development of private sector, which was predominantly held by the white settlers, through the maintenance of Law and Orders; creation of social and economic infrastructure and loans to the settlers so that they develop the country for market economy. Therefore, there was very little to involve the African population with except mainly in provision of labour which in many cases was forced labour.

After 1945, collection of information for preparing the development expenditure estimates was done on departmental and provincial basis. An ad hoc planning committee was given the political task of allocating priorities on the basis of the data received. The implementation was entrusted to the "Development and Reconstruction Authority." Between 1946 and 1964, a total of five plans were published, but they were mainly on recurrent and capital budgets of the colonial government.

Planning between 1948 and 1963 was purely an executive function being mainly in the form of estimates of government expenditure. There was no visible element of public participation. However, there was agitation by Africans for more involvement. But what people were fighting for was mainly public participation in political affairs since not much was known about formal development planning even by civil servants let alone the public. Even in Community Development, where one would have expected more participation, the situation was of teacher-pupil relationship. That is, the masses were supposed to accept what they were given by Community Development Officers and their opinions were never sought. The suppression of African initiative both in political and economic activities was lightened bit by bit through diplomatic and violent pressure to the colonial government by Africans; and at the time of Independences there was more African involvement in development activities than experienced 1940s and 1950s.

The early planning process in the Independent Kenya became a function of Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. The preparatory Development Plan of 1964/70 and the first more detailed Plan of 1966/70 differed little from the past efforts of colonial government in that they remained centred around Central Government expenditure estimates.
Other ministries were required to send their recurrent and capital expenditure estimates for the planning period and this was the information used in preparation of these plans. Therefore there was little that the public could be involved in. The task was entrusted to the economists led by a Chief Planning Officer and his regular professional staff.

The identification of needs and setting of priorities was the task of the professional. But the suppression of public initiative in development which characterised colonial administration ceased. Although not integrated into the official national plan self-help activities became of important significance in the development of Kenya. What lacked was the method of incorporating these development activities into the planned development.

In the later years of 1960s and early 1970s the planning responsibility was broadened into other operating Government Ministries. Some established planning units which collaborated with the planning department of Ministry of Finance and Planning. It had been realized that for the plan to be successful more concerned parties had to be involved. Before 1970 even participation within government ministries was very limited.

As plans became more comprehensive and involved more than budgetary estimates, the need arose for making people more aware of the need to plan; and since more data was required it was realized that planning had to be decentralized to District level. "The District will be regarded as the basic operational unit for planning and implementation of district plans." It was further directed that every district should participate in the development programmes in order to seek willing and active participation of local communities in the planning and implementation of development programmes and train local leaders and officials with a view to making them planning conscious and to providing them a wider understanding of development process.\(^5\)
In summary the trend of public participation in planning process may be traced from colonial times when it was virtually non-existence as far as African Population was concerned, through the transitional period at the time of Independence when planning was still centralized but the need to involve the people was acknowledged though no methods of how to do it were defined, to the current time when strategies to involve the people are being laid. In the current planning period such strategies include the decentralization of the planning organisation to the District Level so that people would become more and more aware of the planning of the development in their areas. The other type of strategy being applied is setting up development committees composed of government officers and elected members of the public. The organisational structure of such committees is analysed in PART II of this study.

2.3 IMPLEMENTATION

As stated above the development of Kenya during colonial period was entrusted to the white settlers who constituted a large portion of private sector, and the colonial government was primarily concerned with creating appropriate conditions so that such development could thrive. The local population had to be used as farm labourers. The Colonial Administration together with the white settlers used African labour force to implement the capital project programmes and this is mainly the type of participation the African were used to. This was compulsory participation and people detested it.

Implementation of development projects at the time of Independence became a voluntary task in the sense that people were not forced to work as labourers a phenomenon characterising colonial era. Plans were drawn setting up programmes with the hope that the field officers would be in a position to explain to the local people and implementation was assumed could have taken place with no problem. It was, however, realized that such plans were not implemented as effectively as anticipated. Even the field officers were found to have not understood the plans since they were not involved in the planning stage. It was found also that various ministries were not following development plans strictly. This led to the establishment of Planning Units in various Ministries which liaise with Ministry of Finance and Planning.
At the same time there was awareness that for successful implementation of such plans the implementing agents should be made aware of planning process. This realization made the 1974/78 Development Plan to state clearly that the local people should participate in the planning and implementation of development programmes. 6

6 Ibid P. 111
# Planning and Implementation Trends and Public Participation in Kenya

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<td><strong>TYPE OF PLANNING</strong></td>
<td>Drawing of recurrent and development expenditure estimates</td>
<td>Sectoral Planning. The departments gave estimates of their recurrent and capital expenditure. Planning aimed to attract private investors who were to develop the country.</td>
<td>Not much different from late Colonial Planning. It remained recurrent and capital estimates. More development programmes added.</td>
<td>More integrated and comprehensive plans. Physical social and environmental aspects became better defined.</td>
<td>Decentralization of Planning to District level. Project analysis and inclusion of self-help projects encouraged.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 PLANNING POLICY AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The scope of development planning objectives and policies in Kenya have become progressively wider since Independence. The development of planning policy in Kenya since Independence has been accompanied by a gradual development of involvement of the public in planning process after an awareness that effective implementation of plans can never be successful unless people are aware of the plans and have participated in their preparation. Steady efforts have been made to educate the people into understanding government policy and people's participation have also influenced policy formulation. For instance the self-help activities led to policy of decentralising planning to involve people at the local level. The public have been involved in development activities, but it is only coincidental if their activities follow development policies. Efforts are made to find ways of making sure that people's participation is not in variance with government policies.

The above Chart indicates how in future the flow of information is expected to be. Currently the information does not flow as intended.
Foot notes

1. N. Barbu "Colonial Planning" P.91 see also Sessional Paper No. 51 of 1955

2. Dharam P. Ghai "Unified Approach to Development and Planning the Kenyan Experience" P.37.

3. Ann Seidman "Comparative Development Strategies in East Africa" P.67

4. Kenya 1974/78 Development Plan Vol. I P.112 see of Independence in 1963, President Kenyatta initiated the term "HARAKH" as a political slogan meaning "let us pull together", "let all the people of the country roll up their sleeves in a spirit of self-help to create the true fruits of UHURU. THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN BY HARAKH. This slogan then came to denote community self-help efforts and self-reliance. The critical distinction between harakhi projects and other development programmes supported by government or other agencies is often fussy but the principle distinguishing character includes local village, neighbourhood, regional origin, initiative, use of locally mobilised resources, use of local leadership and legitimation. However, this type of self-help is not simply an aggregate of semi-voluntary or necessarily formed from loose organisations. It is in many cases a cohesive solidarity movement at different social levels, founded on common social psychological, economic and political needs in different combinations.

5. Ibid P.111
CHAPTER 111

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1 THE CONCEPT OF HARAMBEE

While Kenya has made major strides in development through Central Government efforts since Independence, a significant proportion of the total development in the country has come about as a result of Harambee self-help activities. At the time of Independence in 1963, President Kenyatta initiated the term "HARAMBEE" as a political slogan meaning "let us pull together", "let all the people of our country roll up their sleeves in a spirit of self-help to create the true fruits of UHURU. THIS is WHAT WE MEAN BY HARAMBEE". This slogan then came to denote community self-help efforts and self-reliance. The critical distinction between harambee projects and other development programmes supported by government or other agencies is often fuzzy but the principle distinguishing components include local village, neighbourhood, regional origin, initiative, use of locally mobilized resources, use of local leadership and legitimization. However, this type of self-help is not simply and aggregate of work parties or necessarily formed from loose organisations. It is in many cases a cohesive solidarity movement at different social levels, founded on common social psychological, economic and political needs in different combinations.

PERCEPTIONS OF HARAMBEE

Harambee has been used connoting basically the same thing but with various emphasis. To some it brings the idea of production and investment-oriented symbol content. To others it is merely a working force "Working as a team."
To others it is a political slogan to incite the people at political rallies. Socially oriented projects are clearly in the majority in numbers and investment volume (see Tables 1 & 11.) Educational projects constitute the majority of the social projects.

It has been found that through these harambee activities the grassroots level movement accounts for about 30% of the total national investment in rural development and 60% of all secondary school enrolment. This has come about as a result of people's realization that the government is not able to provide for all their needs. The people therefore, accepted the challenge and took up the self-help and self-reliance call by leaders.

The role of politicians in harambee activities is very important. Harambee fund raising meetings are held every weekend led mainly by politicians. To some politicians it has become a channel to publicity and a way of political campaign for support. To the administrators it is viewed occasionally as activities which are unorganized and some-times waste of scarce resources. Therefore supervision becomes very important. Collection of money must be licensed by the District Commissioner. Harambee self-help development projects are predominantly rural phenomena. To the urban elites the very local harambee projects usually do not attract them. They are more willing to participate in bigger projects such as water projects or schools where there is more publicity.
However, it has been observed that these people are now being used by rural people in collection of funds in urban areas to develop rural projects. It has also been observed that the young educated people in urban areas are less willing to contribute or participate in rural development.  

While there is an opportunity of persuading urban residents to contribute to rural development, the bulk of manual work and identification of priority will remain the work of the rural community. Also it has been noticed that instead of being purely harambee involvement the government is becoming more involved.

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5 These observations were made when the writer was involved in collection of money for certain project.
# TABLE 1

## NUMBER OF SELF-HELP PROJECTS IN KENYA IN 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF PROJECT</th>
<th>CONTINUED FROM 1974</th>
<th>STARTED IN 1975</th>
<th>ABANDONED PROJECTS</th>
<th>COMPLETED</th>
<th>CONTINUED TO 1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Facility Projects</td>
<td>8826</td>
<td>2057</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>1229</td>
<td>9377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Projects</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Projects</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructural Projects</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Projects e.g. cattle dips</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>1072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Projects</td>
<td>2464</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>2622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical section of Ministry of Housing and Social Services.

**NOTE:**

Comparative figures for wholly government founded projects could not be compiled because self-help projects are based on Calendar Year while those of the Government are based on Financial Year which begins in July. This also explains the lack of comparative expenditure on wholly government projects in Table II.
## TABLE 11

### VALUE OF SELF-HELP PROJECTS IN KENYA IN 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF PROJECT</th>
<th>CONTRIBUTION BY PEOPLE</th>
<th>CENTRAL GOVERNMENT</th>
<th>LOCAL AUTHORITY</th>
<th>OTHER DONORS</th>
<th>OVERALL TOTAL</th>
<th>% OF GOVT. AND LOCAL AUTHORITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Facility Projects</td>
<td>3,482,403</td>
<td>222,124</td>
<td>11,282</td>
<td>187,741</td>
<td>3,903,550</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Projects</td>
<td>94,672</td>
<td>11,885</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6,102</td>
<td>112,702</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Projects</td>
<td>236,821</td>
<td>47,620</td>
<td>4,563</td>
<td>8,386</td>
<td>279,390</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructural Projects</td>
<td>32,207</td>
<td>6,983</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>36,917</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Projects</td>
<td>223,068</td>
<td>41,937</td>
<td>3,399</td>
<td>7,417</td>
<td>277,821</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>645,768</td>
<td>114,065</td>
<td>9,695</td>
<td>24,394</td>
<td>793,922</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated from Statistical Section of Ministry of Housing and Social Services figures.

**NOTE:**

The reliability of the figures in Table 1 and 11 depends on the Statistical returns by Provincial Officers. There is suspicion that such figures may not be very correct but it would be quite difficult to prove them wrong.
3.2 IMPLEMENTATION WITHOUT PLANS

A significant fraction of Kenya's development has been as a result of the self-help activities described above. These are characterised by local identification of needs, mobilization of local resources and implementation by the local community. They have been also characterised by absence of national outlook and impromptu initiation of projects. The local community may decide they want a school today and tomorrow they start clearing site and digging the foundation without first assessing the cost of the project or how to run the school when it is finished. Problems are solved as they come. In many instances such problems force projects to be abandoned. The impromptu nature of activities and the disregard of national development plans while initiating projects is what is referred as "implementation without plans." Generally such projects start as follows: a meeting is convened to discuss a local problem which the community has been experiencing for a long time. Such a meeting may be called by a local leader, sub-chief or a group of people after some informal consultation, with the affected people. After discussion of the purpose of the meeting the people elect a project committee to supervise the collection of funds and implementation of the project. In case of community facilities such as schools and dispensaries a site is obtained by the people arranging that if an individual is willing to donate a piece of land, they would approach the county council, so that the individual would be given plots in another area. This way many projects have been constructed, completed, others not completed and yet some others abandoned. (See Table 11).
In the first few years after Independence 1964 - 1966, there was minimal control by the Central Government and little supporting fund through community Development Department was given by Central Government.

The people, being free to embark on what they wanted, started projects indiscriminately - apart from the scattered nature of such harambee projects, a community would start several projects simultaneously instead of completing one project at a time. For instance, in one area the people had started to build a secondary school then they embarked on a dispensary before the school was off the ground and at the same period they were digging a road. After sometime the road was abandoned completely and the dispensary is not complete yet.

By 1965 the Government had started to point out that the self-help projects should be brought in line with planned development. "Self-help projects must be fitted into the plan and self-help efforts must be guided into useful channels." Gradually it was realized that there was a missing link between the national planning machinery and the local development activities. Self-help activity could not be stopped because it has an important potential for development. So the alternative was to find a way of bringing it into planned development.

3.3. DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

District Development Planning was initiated as a solution to the above identified planning problem. It was introduced as a result of the increased awareness of the weaknesses of the national planning policy which tended to ignore the physical, economic and social diversities of different parts of the country;
and also the weakness of national planning machinery in guiding development by local people through self-help activities. A Commission of Inquiry (Ndewa Commission) set up in 1971 recommended that plan-making and plan-implementation ought to be extended down to the level of the District and even into the Division where Administration comes to grips with local realities. The recommendations of the Commission were accepted and incorporated in the 1974/78 Development Plan.

The District Planning was to concern itself with:

(i) The disaggregation of district programmes and projects from the National Development Plan.

(ii) Identification of district specific projects to be financed through the use of special Grants from Treasury.

(iii) Making District Plans basis for preparing the National Development Plan.

It was specifically stated that the district level planning will aim at "willing and active participation of Local Communities in the planning and implementation of development programmes." Training has to be provided to local leaders and officials to help them participate in planning more effectively. It was assumed that the composition and activities of District Development Committee would help in bridging the gap between the national policy and local activities.
The District Development Committee was to be composed of a District Development Officer (DDO) as the secretary, the DC as the chairman, District sectoral heads, councillors and local members of Parliament. The assumption here was that the membership was representative and local problems and priorities would be conveyed by these members.

The District Development Committee depends on recommendations of Divisional Committees and they in turn rely on information from locational and village committees (where they exist). It should therefore be noted that if the source of information is wrong this will be carried forward up to the District and eventually to the national level.

Part II of this study is therefore concerned with the analysis of the activities of these committees at the Divisional level and below, people's participation in development and critical evaluation of people's participation and suggested solutions.
Foot notes

1. Sessional Paper No. 10 1965

2. See Phillip M. Mbithi & Rosmus G. Rosmsusson "The Structure of Grassroots Harambee within the Context of National Planning 1974"

3. See Phillip M. Mbithi "Self Reliance and Self-Development with special emphasis on rural Development" January 1977

4. See "Public Collection Act and the Public collection Regulations 1960"

5. Sessional Paper No.10 1965 P.36

6. Ndewga Commission P.112


Table III shows the projects which were in the process of implementation in 1976. Table IV indicates the contributions of the people in setting up these projects compared with the aid of government and other donors.
4.1 DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter Githunguri Division is well developed in many respects. The issue of public participation is mainly identified in harambee projects. The people of the area are development conscious and, as once expressed by the District Officer, it has been easy for government officers to carry out their work because they deal with understanding people. The people do not wait for government officials to urge them to start projects. Rather it is the people who urge the officials into new areas of development. They have participated energetically in the self-help movements giving generously of their enthusiasm, money and labour.

Table III shows the projects which were in the process of implementation in 1976. Table IV indicates the contributions of the people in setting up these projects compared with the aid of government and other donors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT TYPE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>CONTINUED FROM LAST YEAR</th>
<th>NEWLY STARTED</th>
<th>COMPLETED</th>
<th>NOT COMPLETED</th>
<th>ABANDONED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-help Groups</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Projects</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Dips</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Polytechnic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Halls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Centres</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery Schools</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>304</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Self-help groups include women "mabati" groups whose activities include building of residential houses, construction of roads and starting of businesses.

Source:

Githunguri Division Community Development Annual Report 1976
In the same year the following amount have been contributed by the people for self-help projects:

**TABLE IV**

PUBLIC CONTRIBUTION (IN CASH, KIND AND LABOUR)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT TYPE</th>
<th>CONTRIBUTION KSH.</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL CONTRIBUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-help Groups</td>
<td>259,350</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Projects</td>
<td>308,774</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Dips</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>835,890</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>553,040</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery Schools</td>
<td>36,135</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td>215,750</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Centres</td>
<td>76,500</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Polytechnic</td>
<td>89,335</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Halls</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,461,774</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:

Githunguri Division Community Development Annual Report 1976
In the same year the outside aid was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aid Given</th>
<th>KSh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Government</td>
<td>162,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authority</td>
<td>100,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Donors</td>
<td>345,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>608,119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Githunguri Division Community Development Annual Report 1976

NOTE:
This table shows that of the total cost of all the projects in 1976, 80% of the total cost was met by the local people.

Central Government provided 30% of the total cost and local authority 35%.
Many more of such projects have been completed in the previous years. The study revealed that the community participates more in projects which have more social welfare returns than economic return of projects. They are more individualistic when it comes to money making activities. The observed reasons of participation will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.2 PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

The topographical features influence the spatial pattern of development in the area. The upper section of the division to the north and west is longitudinally dissected by fast running streams and rivers making communication across ridges difficult (see map1). It is more convenient and easier to go to a shopping centre three miles away than walk across and up steep valley sides to a centre one mile away. This has also influenced the pattern of development. People have closer communication along ridges than across ridges and social interaction is more along ridges. The projects of minor order such as a nursery school or cattle dip are started according to ridges. Only projects which require participation of communities of several ridges bring people of different ridges together for self-help activities.

Roads mainly run along the ridges and the pattern of project development follow the same direction. The population along one ridge may constitute different clans, but this usually have relatively insignificant influence in the pattern of different. Many of the community development projects such as schools and dispensaries are put up outside the service centres mainly due to lack of land in the centre for such development. (See Map111)
4.3 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The study revealed that people are involved on different levels of participation. There are activities which involve a few households while others bring people of a large area together. Three steps of involvement were identified in the area.

RIDGE LEVEL INVOLVEMENT

This level of involvement deals with small projects which are of minor order in terms of inputs. This includes projects such as cattle dips, nursery schools, women group activities like building residential houses or constructing roads etc. These are based on ridges and affect a community of about 50 households on one ridge or a section of it if it is too long. In some cases social structure play an important role in defining the community. Personal Interaction is very high at this level and problems common to members of such a community are initially expressed in informal discussions. In the community are "leaders" who the community take as their spokesmen.

At this Local Level they may be progressive farmers, teachers or status leaders. Such leaders are the ones who make the community express their felt needs formally. Ad hoc meetings of a few people in drinking places or after Sunday service discuss the need of starting, say, a nursery school or a cattle dip. The Local Leaders who in many cases take messages to sub-chiefs, approach the sub-chief and seek permission to hold a harambee meeting and to collect money for the project.

Given the permission the Local Leaders call the people of that particular ridge to a meeting. The speakers in the meeting explain formally the purpose of the meeting.
The people are enthusiastic. Where public land is not available a local farmer provides a plot freely or in exchange of another by the country council. The siting of such projects are mainly determined by the availability of land.

Most of the time in the first meeting is spent on electing caretaker committee for the project. The procedure followed is that a person is proposed as chairman, secretary or treasurer. If more than one person is proposed a vote is taken by show of hands and whoever wins takes the post. After the chairman, secretary and treasurer are elected, six to nine committee members are also elected. These mainly are elected to represent different local areas of the same ridge. In the same meeting people start contributing money and materials. Each family is asked to contribute a given sum of money. There is no pre-planning analysis of the cost of such projects except in case of cattle dips. In case of cattle dips, it is easy to know how much each family is to contribute because the cost of construction is uniform in the whole division, Shs. 22,000 and people know they are required to raise Shs. 9,000 and the remainder is outside aid usually by the Danish Cattle Dip Scheme.

In case of nursery schools or construction of a road or bridge the total costs are only rough estimates. Family contribution is not based on what each family could raise but is uniform. Therefore some families are capable of raising the money immediately while others may take too long to raise the set amount or fail to reach the target amount. The time lag of such projects is mainly caused by these delays in raising the money. Where local community is poor projects of this nature are not many.
For these village level projects there is very little involvement of government officers. The Planning and design of such projects is purely people's task. In many cases there are no formal designs for projects like nursery schools or log bridges. The design of cattle dips however, is done by Veterinary, Department and construction is supervised by Dip Officers. Local masonaries and carpenters guide the construction of other projects. Unskilled workers provide manual labour.

Starting of such projects does not wait until all materials are available but construction starts as soon as materials necessary for the construction of foundation are available. In some cases it was learnt that materials had to be found after the ground had been cleared. In one particular case a foundation for a nursery school was prepared, but money to buy building stones could not be realized and the foundation has been lying there for the last three years.

Where the local community is willing and capable of raising the money the project takes a relatively short time. But in many cases such projects take years to complete or are built in phases. In the past over-ambition caused people to start several projects which could not be completed. Recently they have become more cautious and do not start so many projects at the same time.

The maintenance of the completed projects is the responsibility of the local people except in case of nursery schools which have been taken over by the County Council. The caretaker committee in consultation with the people set up a monthly fee which goes to maintenance fund. It pays the nursery school teachers and cattle dip attendants.
THE SUB-LOCATIONAL LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT

The services and cost of setting up some projects require a larger community than one ridge would have. Such projects include primary schools, road constructions, social halls and water projects. Such projects make people from several ridges, normally one sub-location, come together in an effort to start a project of a higher order than ridge level. The sub-chief, being the person who authorises public meetings in the sub-location, has unofficial representatives from each ridge who inform him of the development suggestions of the people in each ridge. These are mainly the people who have been identified as close to the people of the ridge through whom the people can channel their problems. They may be progressive farmers, teachers or people who have earned respect and status because of their inborn leadership. The procedure generally followed is that each ridge is represented by one or two persons. These people form a sub-locational development committee for projects which involve people of the whole sub-location. Such committees, have usually 15 - 21 members. The number is odd in order to help when voting. At this level, the role of sub-chief as the co-ordinator becomes important. The need is expressed by local people. It may be needed for piped water. Each ridge representative express the needs of the people in his ridge to the sub-locational committee meeting. The meeting discusses the priorities of the suggested projects and selection is done by considering the immediate use of the project and size of population to be involved. When they agree on which project to be given priority the sub-chief then calls a public meeting (baraza) in a service centre or a series of such meetings in various ridges and lets the people know that he has been approached and had agreed there was need for such a project.
If people show enthusiasm to start the project a sub-locational meeting is held in which caretaker committee is elected in the manner of ridge level committee.

The Official of project committee may not necessarily become members of sub-locational development committee, but the chairman or secretary becomes a member.

Subsequent activities concerning such projects are handled by the caretaker committee. Occasionally membership of these project committees are changed through elections.

At this level there is more contact with Government officers and planning process tends to be influenced by these people. Designs of primary school are obtained from country council draughts officer while water project designs and technical work is provided by Ministry of Water Development.

Primary Schools are maintained by funds from the government and building fund paid to the schools by the parents. Maintenance of other types of projects is through special arrangements of contributions by project members.

**CONSTITUENCY LEVEL INVOLVEMENT**

These are projects which are intended to involve people of the whole constituency. These are not many. They include major water projects which aim to incorporate smaller water projects into one scheme to make it cheaper to operate. They also include specialised institutions.

At this level individual participation in the planning process of such projects become less and less. The influence of the constituency's member of Parliament (MP) Councillors, the District Officers, Community Development Assistants and other government Officers is high.
Designing of the project is not done by the people themselves but contracts are given to qualified professionals to prepare such plans. At this level there are the formal Community Development Committee and other Development Committee at Divisional Level. The members of these committees are the ones who express the need for such projects. The MP plays a very important role in this division. Occasionally he comes up with the idea of starting such projects.

In some cases it has been found that some projects are started and costs met with minimal public participation. The local MP only asks whether the public support the project and the money to build such projects is raised elsewhere by the MP.

4.4 **DIVISIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES**

**Divisional Development Committee.**

Participation through representation is fairly well established at the Divisional Level. The Divisional Development Committee has been in existence since 1973. The District Officer (DO) is the chairman and membership include all divisional officers, the member of Parliament for the area, councillors and elected representatives at ridge level. The committee meet occasionally to discuss development matters. It is charged with collection of the necessary data for planning, which is later passed to the District Development Committee. The other major task is identification of projects which would be of use to the whole division. For instance the Divisional Girls Technical School at Cathirimu which currently is at the final stage.

While divisional development committee is an extension of DDC which is under the auspices of Ministry of Finance and Planning, the more active committees are under the Community Development Department.
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Historically the Community Development Committee System has played a very important role in "planning" and implementation of social infrastructure in the rural areas. The self-help project committees, which relatively are the most representative committees for the purpose of popular planning come under this system.

In the area of study it was found that the Community Development activities go down to the sub-locational level. There is one Divisional Community Development Assistant (DCDA) and four Locational Community Development Assistants (LCDA). There are Locational Community Development Committees. The LCDA is supposed to be present at sub-locational project committee meetings and should explain to the people the development policies of the government in the relevant fields.

The LCDA see that all projects identified by the various communities are aggregated and reconsidered as a package by the sub-locational development committee. In the same manner the locational committee review the sub-locational projects and the divisional committee review the locational projects. It has been pointed out in this chapter that each development project at the local level has a "caretaker committee". The chairman or secretary of such a committee becomes a member of the Sub-locational Community Development Committee. The Sub-locational Committee then elect representatives to sit in the Locational Committee and in the same manner representatives of the Location sit in the Divisional Community Development Committee.

It should be pointed out that the study revealed that the functional differences of the Divisional Development Committee and the Divisional Community Development Committee are very minor. The projects which the Divisional Development Committee discusses are mainly projects which have been starred or to be started on self-help basis which automatically become a function of DCDC.
Also the membership of these two committees overlap.

For illustrative purposes a few specific project analysis are presented in the next section.

RIDGE-LEVEL PROJECT - CASE STUDIES

As stated earlier in this chapter, these are very many and localised in nature. For illustrative purposes three different types of projects have been studied in details. These are a cattle dip, a nursery school and a water project.

IRIAINI CATTLE DIP

Sometimes in early 1970s, the Ministry of Agriculture, Veterinary Department in collaboration with Danish Cattle Dip Scheme started a programme whereby they encouraged the local people to start constructing cattle dips communally instead of the previous hand sprays used by farmers.

At first the estimated total cost of a cattle dip was Sh.18,000. And the arrangement was that the local people raise Sh.9,000 and the Danish Cattle Dip Organisation would raise the rest in form of technical aid. Each sub-location could have up to 5 aided dips and all were built under the same plan.

Iriaini area is about four square miles situated in Kagaa Sub-location of Gatamaiyu Location. It has a cattle population of about 400 heads of cattle.

Before 1973 people were using hand spraying atomizers to spray the cattle against ticks. This spraying was a tiresome job especially if a farmer has quite a number of cattle. Also it used to be an expensive job because of wasteful nature of the spray. People therefore expressed a need of building a dip. They had examples in other areas of the division and some of the local farmers were aware that if they raised some amount of money they would be aided through Veterinary Department.
One prominent farmer who happened also to be treasurer of Local Dairy Co-operative Branch approached the other farmers who had cattle and they discussed how they could raise the money. He was directed to the sub-chief who allowed them to start the project. At the first meeting attended by only a few farmers they raised 500s. They selected a committee, the prominent farmer being elected the treasurer. The Secretary was a teacher and the Chairman another progressive farmer. These three then went and opened an account with Danish Cattle Dip Scheme as the procedure was. They had already registered with Community Development Office and Veterinary Department.

Each farmer was supposed to contribute Sh. 500.

Because of the time the people needed to complete the dip it was realized that farmers could not raise the agreed amount immediately. The farmer who initiated the idea of the dip who also happened to be treasurer to the dairy Co-operative Branch arranged with the Co-operative to lend them the money and the procedure of recovering the money was by monthly deductions from the sale of milk the farmers took to the dairy. The same farmer donated the site.

The design and construction of the dip was done by Dip Officers employed by Danish Cattle Dip Scheme. Labour was provided by the local people. Within one month the dip was in operation. The dip is maintained by a dip attendant who is paid Sh.350 a month.

For maintenance costs, there is a charge of 30 cts. per cow per dipping and dipping is done every Saturday.

No cattle moves more than 1.5 miles to the dip.
Until 1970s provision of nursery schools (day care centre) had been an urban exercise mainly. With primary education becoming more intensified in the rural areas more and more children started to join when they were young. Due to their age the primary teachers expressed the need for pre-primary preparation of the kids and this became even more necessary with the introduction of four year free primary education which allowed more kids to go to school thus increasing competition entry to standard one. It is in the light of this background that the Ngeteti Nursery School was started.

Ngeteti is one of the local areas of Githunguri Sub-location in Githunguri Location - two miles west of Githunguri Township. It has a population of over 8,000 people in an area of about 20 sq. Km. There is only one Primary School which caters not only for that area but also for other areas of the Sub-location. The competition therefore has been very high. With the suggestions of the primary school teachers the parents started to see the need for pre-primary preparation for the children before joining the Primary School. In 1971 parents of Ngeteti area met and decided that they would build a nursery school. The more educated parents explained to the others the need for the nursery school and one parent who also happened to be working with Kiambu Country Council donated a plot in exchange with another outside the area. The site is centrally situated.

The person who was elected the chairman was the Country Council employee. The secretary was a teacher and the treasurer was a progressive parent. There were six committee members. At first each parent was required to contribute Sh.100.
At first only a few parents showed enthusiasm. By 1973 they finished one class and enrolled over 50 children and one teacher. Gradually more parents joined in and by 1975 they finished another class and the third classroom is in the process of completion. Design and construction of the school was done by local artisans. In the initial stage there has been minimal influence from outside area except for few donations in form of money. However, the learning of the nursery school has now been taken over by Kiambu Country Council.

**OBSERVATIONS**

Some of the children walk for more than 3 km. to the school. At first people are reluctant to participate and some wait until they see the project has succeeded.

From planning point of view the location of the school is the best. Maintenance problem has been removed by taking over of the school by the Country Council.

**NGINDURI SELF-HELP HARAMBEE WATER PROJECT**

This is a community water project aimed at providing raw piped water to a small part of Nginduri Sub-location, Komothai Location of Githunguri Division. There is a major scheme "The Komothai Water Scheme" but owing to the fact that the construction of this scheme may take a long period, the members of this small area of Nginduri Sub-location decided to form a subsidiary scheme on self-help basis. The village leaders played an important role in identifying the need to start this project with the hope that when the major Komothai Water Scheme will be complete the Nginduri project would be connected to it, but by that time the people of Nginduri would have already started using piped water.
At first a village meeting was convened where the need for such project was expressed. Initially other people from other areas did not support the idea and even the Member of Parliament for the area was not in favour for such a small and locally oriented project, but the people were determined to continue. A caretaker committee was elected and contributions started.

The people selected the site according to what they thought was the best site. They applied for technical aid from Ministry of Water Development. When the officers from Ministry of Water Development came to survey the area they found that the site the people had selected was unsuitable because there were three families whose homes were above the tank site by 1.5 metres which meant that these families could not get water because of altitude. This problem was solved by raising the tank to a height 6 metres above the masonry tank site.

The project which started in April 1976 was intended to serve 100 people, 400 heads of cattle and 200 sheep was estimated to have a water capacity of 2,200 gal. per day and the total estimated cost was Sh.300,000. The survey, planning and design of the project was done by people from Ministry of Water Development. Main sources of finance were local contributions which included membership fee, school collections and members contribution, District Development Committee, Corporation of American Relief Everywhere (CARE) External harambee funds raised by elites and MP. etc.

Construction is supervised by Water Development people and skilled and semi-skilled labour is provided by contractors. Local people provide manual labour.
GITIHA SELF-HELP HARAMBEE HOSPITAL

Gitiha Sub-location is a peripheral area bordering the tea estates and the gazetted Kimotu forest to the west of Githunguri Division. The nearest health centre is Githunguri Dispensary about 13 km. to the east at Githunguri township.

For a long time people of Gitiha have been experiencing problems of medical attention because the health facilities are far away and transport facilities are poor. In early 1970s people from different parts of the same Sub-location started to express the need to have a dispensary. A meeting was convened by the Sub-chief and at the meeting people said that they would build a hospital rather than a dispensary. A project caretaker committee was elected following the procedure described above.

The project was estimated to cost Sh. 500,000. Although there was expressed need for the hospital there was the question of land. The only government land available was a hectare which was about 1 km. from the forest and tea estates which border the Sub-location. The plot was found not enough since already there was a tea buying banda. A local farmer with land adjacent to the piece of government land offered another 0.5 hectares in exchange with another plot outside the sublocation. Therefore a plot of 1.5 ha. was got. People started to raise money and materials started to be brought with local artisans and local people, the construction of the hospital started. The design was obtained from Kiambu Country Council draughts office, but planning and construction is done by local people.

Together with the identified need for a hospital the people of the area also expressed the need for a police post since the nearest police station is in Githunguri a distance of 15km. The problem of land was still pressing. The people decided, therefore, to build the hospital and a police post at the same time and on the same plot.
The hospital was supposed to be big enough to have a maternity ward. By June, 1976, three treatment rooms and workers' houses had been completed at an estimated cost of Sh.160,000.

The police post was started but had stopped due to lack of funds to buy materials.

At a later date some of the people demanded that the plot could also accommodate a 'milk buying centre.' A public meeting held on 12th June, 1976 sparked a row and protest over the reasoning behind having a tea buying banda, a hospital, a police post and a dairy centre (purely commercial project) on a 1.5 ha. plot. At the meeting one member of public stood up and said "you cannot keep all your stock in one house .... proper planning is needed. We must be far-sighted and we want to know what should be built where."¹

A visit to the area later on, revealed that another site was found for the milk dairy and there were proposals to remove the "tea buying banda so that the 1.5 ha. plot would be used for hospital and police post.

¹ See Daily Nation, Tuesday, June 15, 1976 P. 5
PLATE ONE  GITHUNGURI HEALTH CENTRE

PLATE TWO  THE FIRST PHASE OF GITIHA SELF HELP HOSPITAL
PLATE THREE  SURVEYING THE GROUND FOR SITE PLANNING BY THE PUBLIC

PLATE FOUR  SITE PLANNING BY THE LOCAL PEOPLE
CHAPTER V

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE EXPERIENCE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN
GITHUNGURI DIVISION TOPLANNING PROCESS

Chapter IV attempts to show the levels of involvement in development planning in Githunguri division and the organisational nature of the public participation. From the analysis two types of participation may be propounded.

(i) The apparent complete public participation.
(ii) The partial participation.

It has also been pointed out in chapter three and four that the very local level self-help development activities are mainly the responsibility of local resident communities, while in projects which the people partially participate, in relative terms, the role of the educated urban elites and provincial administration become more important. Planning problems manifest in these two levels of participation differ, but in some cases they suffer from the same weaknesses. For instance there is always reluctance to join harambee projects by some people until they get convinced that these projects would succeed. They both also experience problem of raising money.

Taking the basic premise of professional planner's outlook of procedure in development planning, which as stated earlier in the introductory chapter, would be the analysis of problems which include making projections of what is likely to happen; goal formulation, the determination of the objectives, preparation of the plan or design of the projects and finally the implementation of these plans and assuming for the time being this is the basic approach currently accepted by planners the experience of development activities in Githunguri Division may be analysed using these assumptions.
It should be pointed out that the concept of participation used here is based on the operational definition given in the introductory chapter and evaluation of the types of such participation is a function of the given definition. For the purpose of analysis the two types of participation identified above will be analysed separately in this chapter and an attempt will be made to diagnose the problems manifested in these public participations and related to planning process.

5.1 THE APPARENT COMPLETE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The resident community at the local level is predominantly farmers. Their educational background is very elementary. Except on a few cases one would not be very wrong to state that the majority of them can only claim to have been in school and that the type of education they received which rarely went beyond primary school, have not much significant influence to their development activities. The other characteristic of this local population is that it is dominated by school going children, the pre-school children, middle-aged and elderly people. The educated youth have migrated to town and those left behind have little development ambitions as the parents.

Lack of formal educational aspects introduces restrictions to adoption of professional planning procedure. First as already described in the previous chapter the people have a system of expressing their felt needs. They therefore play the role of identifying the problems. But the usual formal analysis of such problems, which occupy much of the professional planner's time is not exercised. There is no formal data collection and analysis. Projections are mere speculations which often result into an unexpected situations such as expenditures which people cannot afford.
For instance building of a nursery school is not based on projections of population trends, but their immediate concern is on the existing problems. To plan, one would argue, is to attempt to solve present and future problems, which are anticipated, by stipulating the solutions of such projected problems. In the case of local participants their "planning" is intended to solve the present problems only. The goals and objectives of project initiations are never documented but people know why they want this project or another type.

Priorities are set on general consensus, not using the rigorous professional approach of analysing costs and benefits of each project and eventually coming to the one most viable. But, although such formal approach is absent people know what they would give priority according to their pressing needs. The design or preparation of plans of these minor projects as pointed out earlier is the task of local artisans. They do not waste time in drawing and redrawing and consultation until one assumes it is a workable plan. If it is a nursery school a mason knows a classroom should be so many meters long and so many meters wide and such a classroom requires so many meters of stone blocks and so many iron sheets. This is the basis of his design. If the materials are there the implementation starts immediately.

But while all this is absent in documented form, discussions with these local people revealed that these people are not as ignorant as they may seem to those who only judge people's ability by what has been documented.

Unlike the planners who do not know the area thoroughly, and would need time to gather data, identify problems so that they prepare plans, the local people have been in the area, they know these problems because they experience them.
Infact the data which planners may use come from these people. Therefore every one knows what the problems are only that some people are passive. The main weaknesses are found in projections and implementation. Future estimates are not based on past and present trends, but people know that there would be some change of some sort. With implementation it is a question of availability of funds. Where funds are available good structures are constructed with minimum time. An example of such is Ngeteti self-help harambee nursery school described above in chapter four which took less than three years to complete three classrooms. The formal planning process has not been applied at this level but there are no obvious crisis on this type of development.

5.2 THE PARTIAL PARTICIPATION

As mentioned above these are cases where by the local people are involved in projects together with other people from outside the area – that is provincial administration, other ministrial personnel, District Development Committee and other agents. Such projects as water projects, cattle dip projects etc. fall in this category. To see the nature of participation in such projects an example of participation in a water project is used.

Water is an essential commodity for survival and need to be used carefully. There are water legislations and Conservation Acts and a National Water Board in Kenya to control and guide the use of this essential natural resource.

Before 1973, the responsibility of constructing small-scale rural water projects was a task involving the local people just like any other project described above.
People were ignorant of existence of some of these water laws and regulations and tapping of it was their main concern not the consequences of its exploitation.

After 1973, the Government found that the sporadic building of water projects was raising threat to environment safety by failing to assess volumes of water in rivers which are tapped, destruction of catchment areas and lack of consideration of effects, of tapping water upstream, to the people and domestic animals downstream. Apart from that it was obvious that a water project requires more expert knowledge about physical features of the area such as altitudes, distances and types of pumps and pipes to be used, a knowledge which local people did not have. Also it was realized that water projects cost a lot more than other projects and on many occasions, projects were never completed after wasting so much resources.

Therefore, the then Water Department of the Ministry of Agriculture (now a full Ministry of Water Development) was charged with the overall responsibility for conservation, development, operation and maintenance of water supplies. It was to become a source of assistance in design, supervision of construction and subsequent operation and maintenance of self-help water supplies. This is illustrated in the analysis of participation in the development of water project in chapter four. But not until 1976 did the small scale rural water section of the Ministry become more effective.  


2. 1974/75 (now Ministry of Water Development, but the annual report in these projects are not easily available).
The pattern of participation in the division is as follows:

The identification of the need is by the people themselves. They initially follow the procedures of meetings and selection of committees as described in chapter four. Then the chairman/secretary goes and registers the project with the Divisional Community Development Assistant's Office. They write an application to the Ministry of Water Development, Water Law Section. Then the Water Board sends their representative to the area and survey the area.

The preliminary study by the field officers include population analysis both people and domestic animals which would use the water. Sources of water, organisation of the community and how they expect to finance the projects. Background of the decision to have the project and who would be potential donors has also to be studied.

If the water officers get satisfied that the project is viable they write a report on their findings and the next stage is the technical survey. This involves determining the altitudes, distances covered by the project, the design, recommendation of pipes to be used and the suitable pumping machines. The third stage is costing of the project part by part and finally the grand total costing of the whole project.

A final technical report is compiled and people can use this to raise money for the project. In such a project the District Development Committee and other donors give substantial financial aid. After all the study is done by agents from outside the Community, then the participation by the Local Community resumes. Supervision of construction of intakes and tanks and laying of pipes is done by officers of Ministry of Water Development, but the manual work is done by the local people. People's participation in these types of projects therefore is mainly limited to identification of needs, provision of funds and providing manual labour.
The greater part of planning process is done by civil servants or other agents. Even in some cases contracts are given to private companies. In such projects formal planning process is followed.

5.3 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION REVIEWED

From the account of types of public participation given above it is seen that the type of activity which may deserve a definition of public participation as per the definition in chapter one is the one which relates to the parochially initiated projects. Here people are actively involved from the time of expression of needs to implementation and maintenance stage. The second type of involvement "partial participation" does not give the people the opportunity to participate in the middle stage of planning which happens to be decisive part. They are used to identify problems and as implementors. Their role here is more passive than active.

Advocates of public participation would like people to be involved in planning process as in the first type described above. But the nature of this type of involvement has also its points of weaknesses. First the success of the public participation as described above is mainly due to the localised nature of the problems. Social interaction is very high and people know of their common needs. While this is the case it has, however, been found that even at this level not all people participate from the beginning to the end of a project. Some join in only when they see the project is actually materialising. The other point is that the people are not educated into the value of planning projects and hence little of expert knowledge is applied. The scale of such local projects demand little planning expertise. The open discussions held in public meetings would serve as very useful open forums for deciding priorities.
But much of such times is spent on petty politics and personality discussions of who should hold which office. In fact majority of the people attend such meetings as observers than contributors to planning discussions, although when it comes to money contribution they participate.

The other weakness in this type of participation is that the form in which money is demanded is almost by compulsion. Contributions are not based on individual assessment of ability to raise the money but on fixed targets which every family is required to raise. To some people there is no problem in raising the money. To others they strain to keep up and in the process it becomes like a forced exercise. For instance in construction of Iriaini self-help cattle dip people were required to raise Sh. 500. Some raised without problem while others could take long time to raise the money. When the dip was completed (with some short-term loan to augment the already raised amount) those who had not raised the Sh.500 could not take their cattle there, and a directive had already been given that no more hand sprays would be allowed in the area. This compelled some people to go and borrow from friends in order to complete their contributions. This obviously is forced contribution although people would not have worried much if they had the money.

The other major weakness of this public participation is in its officialdoms. An eloquent but illiterate person stands a better chance of being elected in the project committee than a literate but quiet person. Wealth also plays an important part in election of committee members.
Charged with the responsibility of running the affairs of the projects their deliberations are usually not documented (very few project committees keep minutes of their discussions in the meetings.) What they keep mainly is records of money collected.

The other planning weakness identified at the local level public participation is lack of regional and national outlook. At the local level the magnitude of problems is not felt until the anticipated objectives are not achieved. For instance people may have the zeal to build a school or a dispensary and may be able to raise the money to erect the structures, but they may not have projected or planned for how teachers, students in case of schools, or medical personnel and equipment, in case of dispensaries would be got. A good example is a secondary school in Gatamaiyu Location with four classrooms intended for forms one to four and with a total enrollment of forty-four students only, despite the fact that the school was started in 1968.

This type of participation which is relatively workable (though not perfectly) at the local level would be an impossible task on regional level. The seemingly minor problems which loom at the local level are magnified at regional level and planning become futile.

At the ridge level people express several felt needs. When this extends to sub-locational level they even become more. More objective and rational decisions would be required for setting up priorities. This then brings the question of whether it is possible to have every person's views expressed and listened to. Since this is not possible the issue of delegated responsibility comes in. Instead of every person going to express his views at a sub-locational public meeting and above representatives are elected to represent areas as described in chapter four.
Also at this level the task of planning demand more formal approach and co-ordination. A corporate effort of local people, provincial administration and other government agents become pertinent.

Social interaction which play a very important role in achieving consensus on priorities at the ridge level has little impact on locational level and above. For instance people of the same sub-location feel they belong to the same community when it comes to matters of locational or divisional level, but at the sub-locational level they are more tied to ridge level commitments.

5.4 THE IMPLICATION OF THIS TYPE OF PARTICIPATION TO PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PLANNING

A local area such as a ridge is a sub-system of a regional system and a region is a sub-system of national system. Any activity at the ridge level contributes to the aggregate of regional activities and consequently aggregate activities at the national level. A project started on a ridge should not be seen as an isolated case but a part of a larger whole. It will have effects on physical and social-economic aspects of planning. For instance a nursery built in one ridge helps children of that ridge reducing the distance they could have walked attending another nursery school which could have been further away. Socially it has helped the people in the area because it has brought educational facility nearer. If such a school was built next to another one, not because there were more children, but due to petty politics and disagreements, or if the structures are erected but no teachers to take care of the children then it has been a waste of resources or misallocation of resources. This is bad economic and physical planning especially if it has been built in an areas where it causes a lot of inconveniences such as locating it next to a noisy factory.
It is imperative that physical and social-economic considerations are made before a project even at the very local level is started.

As the case is, there is an obvious lack of awareness of these planning principles at the local level. Whatever people "plan" they do it not because they read it in books or they have been trained in planning matters, but because of the zeal for development and use of their judgement of what is good for them. Any contradictions that arise between peoples activities and the official planning policies is not a stubborn refusal of the policies by the local people but ignorance of existence of such policies.

From the analysis of data got from the field, and discussion with local people, it was found that apparently there is very little awareness of physical planning policy that is "Growth Centre Policy" which encourages concentration of services and community facilities such as schools and dispensaries at the service centres to have maximum utilization of services. Nor do people follow the economic planning procedure of analysing projects on cost-benefit basis. Relatively they are more aware of social planning due to community development activities which have extended to the sub-localational level.

In the Division the effects of people's participation on planned development is not very serious. The physical planning policy which was used to designate growth centres state that any facility within a radius of three miles could be included as a facility of that centre. As indicated in the map (see map 2), Githunguri has very many service centres and such things as schools and dispensaries are at least within such radius although on very rare occasions you find them within the service centre boundaries itself.

Also since people are able to raise money to build these community facilities, area disparities within the Division are not much.
Although Gatamaiyu Location seems less developed and facilities relatively more spaced than in Komothai or Githunguri Locations it is not as badly off as many other parts of the country. Health services are more spaced than schools and this is where main disparity has been observed between areas.

5.5. THE EFFECTS OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

The nature and scope of public participation in policy making to a large extent will depend on the openness and initiative of political system. That is the degree to which the political system is prepared to listen to or solicit public opinion on matters which affect or are likely to affect their wellfare. This at present is not very effective in Kenya since Independence. Various Committees, both, representative and technical have been established - all aimed at giving advice in the policy process. The system so far has not worked very well. In most cases this is mainly because these committees have not been given the opportunity to meaningfully participate in the policy-making. Often they have been presented with operational problems rather than with policy problems. A development Committee in Kenya today, such as District Development Committees, does not discuss how certain aspects of government policies are likely to affect them, or how together they can reshape them for the good of the community. Instead they usually discuss the question of how to implement those policies. Often one hears "It is the policy of the government that this should be this etc. and hardly one hears "Should it be the government policy that we cannot do things this way.

However due to the widespread public participation in development projects which have a very strong impact on the
planned development the established policies have been revised
and the new ones take into account the possible impact by people's
activities.

Development projects which the public get involved in one way
or another in Kenya range from the unnoticeable activities such as
building of Artificial Insemination Shed to building of Institutes
of Science and Technology. These physical structures and whatever
activities therein have such an impact on the countries development
that they have in the course of time influenced the Government's
development policies. Let us take an example of education
development policy. The period before independence the Government
policy was to aid only government schools. Private schools had
to finance themselves. The period soon after Independence was a
period of rapid development of Harambee schools. Numberous of such
harambee secondary schools were built and their role was the same
as that of government schools. In the period between 1966 and 1970
the Education Policy was mainly to support the government aided
schools. Harambee schools were intended to care for themselves
except minor assistance from Government.

The number and quality of harambee schools by 1970 had
influenced Education Policy Makers. It was estimated that well
over K£2 million had already been spent by the public in maintaining
Harambee Secondary Schools. The Government therefore decided to
take over the financing of new form one classes in the existing
Harambee Secondary Schools.

This went further and by 1975 the Government started a "Harambee
Package Programme" which is a scheme of aid to the Harambee
Secondary Schools. Fifty harambee schools per year were to be
offered government aid in form of fully qualified teachers.
Also the establishment of District Development Committees was as a result of government awareness of the effects of public participation in development planning. Instead of planning from Nairobi Planning has been decentralized down to District Level and even the aim is to decentralize further to divisional level where administration comes to grips with local realities.

While the Government is seeking ways of bringing the people into the planning process the approaches it is using may take a long time before full public participation could be achieved. Although efforts are being made to have structural reorganisation of the planning machinery by decentralizing planning to District level, the strategies to be applied to bring the functional change seem not to be very effective. The District Development Committee composed of relevant Departmental heads at District level, councillors, District Commissioner and Members of Parliament for the area. In this Committee elected representatives of the people are the Members of Parliament and Councillors. With all due respect these people are politically elected and does not necessarily mean that they are the best representatives when it comes to development matters. Also life is becoming more and more complex and one cannot leave all the problems to the few representatives who number about five in the case of Githunguri Division. The method used to bring various projects to the attention of the District Development Committee has been described in chapter IV.

The local people identify the project and this means that the primary planning stage is done by the people. As yet no formal programme has been introduced to teach people the best methods of setting up priorities in selecting projects. The Government also
does not have a programme to teach its field officers development planning based on recent experiences. Some officers are very hard working, but their experience is mainly from colonial period which conflicts very much with development strategies necessary in an Independent developing country. Therefore unless more efforts are made the approach followed by authorities to involve the people in planning process will not achieve the desired goals.

5.6 CONSTRAINTS TO PROPER PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING PROCESS

The development of planning and public participation in Kenya was analysed in Chapter II and from the analysis it was found that, although there has been a marked change in planning policy in Kenya, not until later after Independence that the Government started to find practical ways of bringing the public into the planning arena. The findings from the area of study reveal that although the public participate in development of the areas they live in, such development does not follow planning principles followed by professional planners. It has also been observed in this chapter that local development activities influence planned development policies either positively or negatively and that the approach followed by the authorities to involve the people in planning process need some revision.

In one way or another various factors which contribute to the weaknesses of the concept of public participation in planning process, such as interference by the civil servants, compulsion nature of the contribution etc. have been mentioned. In order to suggest solution to such deficiencies it would be proper to list
them. In this section an attempt is made to list those constraints which have been found to be more crucial to an effective public participation in the Division.

The first major constraint is an obvious lack of education for planning. As yet public participation in development activities has not been guided by an understanding of good planned development. At least there is no formal forum where the public is taught what development planning is all about. In some cases even the Government officers at the local level are poorly informed about the essence of planning. The Community Development Assistant (CDA) who is supposed to guide self-help development activities would have been more helpful in planning matters, but as the case in his training is not on development planning and his role turns out to be encouraging people to be more actively involved in Community Development matters not to give advice on how and where projects should be located. In fact the CDA comes to know about the projects only when the people come to register them. This means that no guidance in selection of site and size of projects, which are very important parts of planning process.

The other major constraint to sound planning especially when it concerns self-help activities is land. There is very limited public land in the division which could be used for building social facilities. Land in the area has been fully adjudicated and most of it is free-hold. Farms are very small averaging about 3 - 4 ha. and intensively developed. While people may be willing to give plots for some projects to be built the suitable locations may be found in an area where the farmers have such small plots that they
cannot afford to forfeit a piece of it or even others are willing to donate such plots whether land is available or not. This makes some projects such as the Gitiha self-help Harambee project described in chapter IV to be built almost next to the forest because only there that the land was available.

Another constraint is related to social-political factors. Some projects which could have been located in more suitable sites where even land was available are mislocated purely due to political squabbles. An example of this type of constraint is identified in the Division is the location of the biggest hospital complex in the division at Kigumo Centre, an undesignated centre almost at the northern bounder of the Division instead of building it at Githunguri Town, a designated Urban Centre and centrally situated in the Division. At first the proposed hospital was to be built at Githunguri Centre, and even the foundation was started, but local political squabbles led it to be moved to Kigumo. On minor scales social differences have influence on location of projects. This is mainly common with community facilities such as the churches.
Foot Notes

1. 1970/74 Development Plan p. 366
3. 1966/70 Development Plan p. 309
5. 1974/78 Development Plan p. 420
7. See Geoffrey S. Kuria "The District Officer: A Colonial Shell in RURAL ADMINISTRATION IN KENYA" by David K. Leonard (edit)
CHAPTER VI

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 PREVAILING SITUATION

The previous chapter attempted to highlight the problems experienced in public participation in planning process in the Division which generally may be said to be common in the country as a whole. In this chapter an attempt is made to offer solutions to these problems, but let us first recapitulate the main prevailing situation.

Since independence, Kenya has made tremendous efforts in development planning. At the same period tremendous development has come up through self-help harambee activities, which has been identified as the only direct participation in development, but which is claimed not to follow formal planned development.

THE PLANNING PRACTICE IN KENYA

Just like in fields like education administration etc., Kenya inherited its planning practice from the developed countries such as Britain. Both economic and physical planning advisers and other personnel come from these countries. The formal planning process require gathering of relevant information, analysing the data and from the basis of the findings from this data plans are prepared. The developed countries like Britain where we tend to copy planning practice have reached a situation where the level of education and development makes it easy to get the relevant data for planning and their data banks are well established. Also due to their educational advancement people are ware of what government requires for planning.

The situation in developing countries like Kenya is that their level of development has not reached a point where majority of people know how to read and write.
Qualified planning personnel is very small and data necessary for effective planning very scarce. With the very sketchy information available planners in developing countries trying to reach the same standard as their counterparts in developed countries in preparing development plans use rough assumptions to fill the gaps of missing data. This type of planning then differ from planning in developed countries in two ways.

1. Such plans are based on an inadequate information and often supplemented by unqualified assumptions.

2. The plans so produced are meant for a community which is mainly uneducated not only in planning matters but also in the basic education of how to read and write. In such a community only a few who makes things happen, scores who watch them happen, but the majority are not aware of what is happening.

Also the gap between professional planners and the rest of the officers is such that sometimes the officers, who are supposed to help in implementation of these plans do not understand the plans themselves. Therefore, often based on inadequate and sometimes unreliable information and directed to people who rarely comprehend them, such plans often do not get implemented fully.

THE PUBLIC AND THE PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING PROCESS

It has been pointed out that the community one is dealing with is mainly composed of the children and the farmers. The young educated lot are in urban areas. It is also pointed out that the rural Community has minimal education, that is, knowing how to read and write let alone being educated into planning education process.
However, these are the people one is trying to involve in planning process. These people are ready to participate in development as already shown by their harambee activities, but they do not follow the formal planning process challenged above. The weaknesses of such participation is also pointed out above in chapter V.

Therefore, while advocating active public participation in planning process it will also be imperative to advocate a change in planning system and institutions in a country like Kenya in order to achieve effective public participation.

6.2 EDUCATION FOR PLANNING

1. GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AT LOCAL LEVEL

The first stage for effective planning process at the local level is to train the Local Officers to understand planning process themselves. It is important that these divisional and locational officers who happen to be directly involved with local problems should be able to plan how to solve such problems from a formal planning point of view. Such training should be aimed at teaching these local officers the basic elements in planning. A unified course on development planning should be taught to all officers be it agricultural Assistants, Medical Assistants Community Development Assistants etc.

The methods which could be used could be short courses at Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA) or seminars conducted by professional planners, that is physical and economic planners. They should be taught to identify data which is relevant for planning so that they help in collecting such relevant data for planning purpose which has been found to be a major weakness in preparation of plans.

The act of adding more load of work to these divisional heads as regards planning matters may strain their working capability or make them relax on some other routine work essential for their various depts.
To alleviate this it is important that officers specifically appointed for planning matters be recruited to work at the divisional level. The appointment of professional economists and enumerators at divisional and locational levels respectively has been proposed previously. While such an idea would be welcome, it is observed that there are a few professional planners and economists and considering the resources available it would take longer time to have such professionals at the divisional level.

The gap between the professional planners operating above the district level and the local community could be filled up by recruiting planning assistants both economists and physical planning assistants who could also be enumerators, for which secondary school leavers may be fully trained to understand and together with other local officers guide development at the divisional level and below. Such planning assistants would be the technicians in the field who directly aid the community in its growth, multiply the effectiveness of planners and relieve the acute shortage of senior professionals. They would be permanent and active members of every planning office, contribute to development by conducting surveys at the national, regional and local levels and collaborate both in the analysis of problems and in finding ways to solve them. They would collect relevant planning data in a community and through analysis help to define immediate and long-term solutions to perceived problems. In this process they should co-operate with other government agencies as well as the public in preparing a comprehensive community development plans. In establishing such programme the government would learn from the experience of such programmes in Ghana, Tanzania and India.
The government could utilise the existing colleges of Science and Technology built on harambee basis throughout the country to introduce such courses.

With such a team of local departmental heads and planning assistants it would be possible now to educate the people in the planning matters in their own fields, since criticisms often levelled against civil servants for failure to foster popular participation is that they lack the commitment, competence and confidence necessary to do so.3

2. THE PUBLIC

The first major constraint to more effective public participation in planning process is simply one of public education, encouraging them to have an awareness and ability to have the best of alternatives of the many choices.

It has been mentioned above that the community one is largely illiterate. Efforts are being made of adult literacy campaign to teach people how to read and write. While this makes people literate there should be more to it than literacy. Those concerned with development planning of the country should join in the campaign and teach people how to perceive planned development. They should not wait until the people who are involved in literacy campaign finish up their job so that they come in.

Lessons have been learnt, from agricultural field demonstrations and courses in agricultural institutes for instance Waruhiiu Agricultural Demonstration Farm, that even illiterate farmers can grasp ideas and adopt innovations in farming without necessarily knowing how to read and write.
Campaigns should be launched to make people aware of things to observe when starting projects. They would be better off, than planners, because they know their local situations. The people should be trained to identify development constraints and alternatives. They can also be coached into identifying needs and ways of arriving at priorities without going to the rigorous academic analysis of the problems which planners tend to waste much of their time with.

In short what one would look for is functional training of the people in order to help them to understand the necessity of planned development. This recommendation is put forward in consideration of the fact that the people are capable of grasping such ideas although they do not know how to read and write.

The people who should be responsible of putting these ideas across to the public should mainly be the planning assistants in collaboration with the other divisional heads who as pointed out above will already be trained into understanding planning matters. This would be the initial step towards effective public participation in planning process.

6.3 THE PUBLIC THE OFFICERS AND POLICY MAKERS

From the description and analysis of public participation in development activities the reader will have noticed that in all intent and purposes there is one sort of interference or another in the public participation and also they in their part do not follow the planning principles as stated in the policy statements. Total autonomy in public participation would be utopian advocacy, since the government and the people are operating within the same national boundaries and whether a project is started by the people or the government, the ultimate goal is to benefit the society.
Instead of advocating total public participation which in all practical purposes is unachievable, using the given definition of public, advocates of public participation should seek ways and means of avoiding the negative connotation which has been associated with planning process. That is the criticism that both planning and implementation tend to be processes in which people are directed as though they were resources rather than consulted as conscious agents who have wills, desires and needs. As of present planning decisions occur at central regional and local levels but almost always in the context of government. The ultimate consumers, that is, the members of public see and experience the final plan as something which has its origin outside themselves and their local communities while planners and policy makers have been viewing public participation as a necessary evil which makes their professional efforts futile, but an evil which they will have to put up with since it plays a vital role in the country’s development and alleviates most of the social discontent which could, otherwise, be present if government were to provide all facilities under planned programmes. If the local officers and local communities have overcome the initial constraints, that is, lack of education for planning through the methods described in (6.1 and 6.2), then what sort of participation would be anticipated?

6.4 THE ANTICIPATED PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING PROCESS

The planning process which is being anticipated will be a concerted effort of planners, other officers and the public. Each one of the group will have an important role to play for the effectiveness of the whole. In this set up the planner at the local level ought to concern himself principally with determining the best programmes for achieving selected goals. Selection of goals will have to be a combined effort.
The local officers of other various departments should provide technical advise in the manner the Water Department has been doing.

The public themselves should be encouraged to participate in the preparation of plans by helping with surveys providing information for planning data and other activities as well as by making comments on priorities. They should be encouraged to participate in all activities they can manage in the planning process.

6.5 THE ROLE OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND M.P.

In some countries, especially the Communist Countries, the party plays a very important role in the day today activities in the country. In countries like China, development and other activities are carried out on party lines. As the case is in Kenya, party activities have not been very influential in part of development. The influence of local member of Parliament stems from parliament and not from the party. In the case of KANU, it has been characterised by the absence of strong central institutions and the district and constituency base of its politics and by its open internal factionalism. Because KANU's Central Institutions are weak and the party fails to operate in accordance with its own constitutional provisions for elections of party officials and convening of party conferences and councils there has been a tendency to dismiss party in Kenya.

The administration and co-ordination of development in the country need a very strong institutional structure. In the absence of a strong party system in Kenya, this role has been fulfilled by the Provincial Administration. The Provincial Administration provides a representative of the government's authority from the village level leading up through a simple and well understood hierarchy of sub-chiefs, chiefs, District Officers, District Commissioners, Provincial Commissioners to the President.
It provides an institutional arrangement which harmonizes the activities of all government and quasi-government organizations throughout the country so that they mutually support each other towards the achievement of the targets which the government has set in the broad national plan. It also represents the Central Government view point to the people and the people's view point to the functional Ministries of the Central Government. It is the system through which the Central Government ensures that its authority and its services reach, and are accepted by the people in the rural areas.

It is in this background that the Local Member of Parliament and Provincial Administration should be central in effecting public participation at the local level. The Local MP is the representative of the people, he should be the person who should be spearheading the public participation in planning process. Just as he is a central figure on self-help activities, he should be a central figure in bringing the public to participate in planning process. He is therefore treated as central figure in making the planning education campaign a success.

The Provincial Administration has changed its role from what it used to be, that is maintaining law and order in the area to that of boosting development. The District Officer (DC) is a very powerful figure at the divisional level. The chiefs at locational level and sub-chiefs at the sub-locational level are also very powerful at the local level when it comes to development matters. However, many of them have no planning experience. They should be trained together with other officers on planning matters. In the case of the DC, their courses at K.I.A. cover much of development matters but the course should be expanded to include physical planning course which seemingly has been given low priority.
Participation by representation, that is, by electing committees should continue and Community Development Committees should be merged with other Development Committees to avoid duplicating their workings.

6.6 COMMUNITY SETTLEMENTS AND LAND POLICY

Urbanisation Policy in Kenya recommend concentration of facilities and services in service centres since it is more economical to provide them in one place. However, over 90% of Kenya population live in scattered homesteads in the rural areas and service centres have very few residents. The scattered nature of homesteads make it difficult to plan for services in the rural areas. Also it becomes very difficult to bring people together for educational purposes. The other observed problem is related to the scarcity of public land in the rural areas. This forces facilities like dispensaries and schools to be located in places where land is available irrespective of whether it is ideal from physical planning point of view.

For effective mass communication and easier provision of services the government should start to think in terms of changing the settlement pattern of the people in the rural areas. The people should be settled in villages like the ones shown in map 2. This will make it easy to pass information as well as provision of services. This also has other advantages. The sub-division of land and building of homesteads in every piece of land is reducing the amount of land which is available for economic purposes. Villages could be more better planned than homesteads scattered all over the rural areas. But a campaign will have to be launched to make the people change the negative attitudes towards villages which were developed in the period of emergency villages in the 1950s.
PROPOSED INFORMATION FLOW CHART

NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND PLANNING

OTHER MIN. PLANNING UNITS

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

PHYSICAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT

DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

ECONOMIC AND PHYSICAL PLANNING REPRESENTATIVES

OTHER MINISTRIAL REPRESENTATIVES

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

DIVISIONAL PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES

DIVISIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

PLANNING ASSISTANTS ENUMERATORS

DEPARTMENTAL HEADS

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

PROJECT REPRESENTATIVES

LOCAL COMMUNITY
Foot notes


2. Oyugi P. 16


4. There has not been Kanu elections at National Level since 1964

5. For a more detailed account see Gartzel "Government and Politics in Kenya p. 365."


CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this study has been to establish, among other things, the role of public participation in planning process, the consequences of their activities, the effects of these activities on the published plans and then to offer solutions to any identified problems.

Public participation has been defined as "the wareness and active involvement, either in person or representation, of the public (groups or individuals) in the decision making, planning and implementation of programmes which affect them." And "planning" has been taken to mean a course of action that is laid down to be followed in order to achieve stated goals (see chapter 1).

Chapter II has attempted to describe the development of planning process in Kenya in relation to public participation. It has been found that there has been marked change in the planning development in Kenya since colonial times and attempts have been made to involve the people but it has not reached a point where people are effectively involved. The government has been very involved in trying to involve the people but has not come out with a practicable technique of involving the people. The planning process be it economic or physical planning is still a government work. Chapter III describes the type of participation the Kenyan public have been involved in. The harambee self-help activities which are mainly the type of participation, do not follow the established formal planning principles and the government has been trying hard to bring the people in the planning arena by guiding and controlling harambee activities.
Planning of self-help project has been a haphazard exercise which often contradicts the official development plans. The establishment of District Development Committees for planning purposes was an attempt of harmonizing the local development activities and the formal planning process. Since the District has become the lowest planning unit in the government formal planning, the study has tried to establish the type of public participation at divisional level where people and local government officers have greater contact. The detailed account of the development activities pattern of development types of public participation and the structural organizations of the project committees have been analysed in chapter IV. The relationship between the government officers and the community and the role of the Community Development Department and other development agencies at the divisional level have been researched on.

The analysis of the public participation in development activities was carried out in details so that it will be possible to see where the weaknesses are. It has also been necessary to relate the people's participation to the perception of the government officers. The research revealed that the government officers at the local level also do not understand the planning process. Their contribution towards co-ordinated planned development is not much, for they themselves need some training in planning matters.

The critical analysis of the nature of public participation in relation to the planners and policy makers' perception of planned development has been brought up in chapter V. The planning system itself was found faulty and a lack of awareness of the plans themselves at the local level was prevalent. This gap between planners and the people they plan for that is the community was found to contribute more to the type of development activities found at the local level.
Therefore, in addition to proving the hypotheses right, it was found that before effective public participation the government will have first the task of training its officers at the local level, to teach the people.

Although the study was done in one division development literature also support the findings of this study and in the recommendation section the recommendations are intended to apply to the country as a whole not of the division alone. In the recommendations the reader will find that the emphasis has been put more on education for planning. The study found that adult literacy, though useful, does not bring out the importance of planned development. It was discovered that even the local officers have much to learn about development planning. So it has been concluded that unless the officers themselves know about planning the public will not know what they are required to do and how to contribute in planning process. If the local officers are enlightened they will be able to educate the people into planned development. Otherwise people will continue starting projects without planning awareness. It has also been emphasized that complete participation into every stage in planning process by the public cannot be realized because there are some sections which are technical in nature which will need the attention of an expert. Therefore it has been pointed out that the anticipated type of public participation is one which will give the people the opportunity to get involved in all planning aspects which they will be capable of handling, but more important, to have an awareness of the necessity for planning conscience. It is therefore suggested that the type of planning anticipated should be one of concerted efforts between planners, other officers and the public.
The role of public participation in planning should be recognised and be made effective. Planning should be brought down to the people and be made a part and parcel of their development activities. The difficulties which may arise out of this type of involvement have been discussed and possible solutions have been suggested.

This research study opens a field for further research. The people's activities at Githunguri may differ from those of other areas in the country but how different would make a topic for further studies. Also further research should be done on the field of types of projects people tend to be involved in since in Githunguri majority of the projects were for social facilities such as schools, and dispensaries. It could be interesting to establish whether people could be persuaded to involve themselves in other projects or in the future the changes which would occur in the types of projects. A research of the same nature should be done in another area. Preferably an area where there is not very much development like in Githunguri and without Special Rural Development Programmes (SRDP) since this has been done in Migori Division. This way comparative information about public participation in different parts of the country will be analysed.

Research of this nature will be quite useful in a developing country like Kenya where planners and policy makers are still in search of the ideal development strategies to fit the local situations which are different from developed countries which developing countries borrow planning techniques.

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1 See Oyugi
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The respondent: Chairman/Secretary of project Committee.

Questions:

1. Type of Project

2. Distance from the nearest service center

3. When was it started

4. Who identified the need for such a project.
   Tick the appropriate answer:
   (i) Government Officer
   (ii) Village leaders
   (iii) Local Community
   (iv) Others (state)

5. How was the need expressed

6. Who registered the people's desires for the project

7. How was the site determined?

8. How was the site obtained.
   Tick
   (i) Public land
   (ii) Private land
   (a) bought
   (b) donated

9. Who determined the size of the project?

10. How was it determined?
    Tick
    (i) by cost consideration
    (ii) by population size
    (iii) both
    (iv) other considerations
11. In case of problem to whom did people seek help? 

12. Who designed the project?

Tick. 

(i) Government Officers/County Council Officers  
(ii) Local people  
(iii) Others (state)  

13. Which were the sources of finance.

(i) .................................................  
(ii) .................................................  
(iii) .................................................  
(iv) .................................................  

14. Who provided labour? .................................................  

15. When the project is completed how is it to be maintained?

Give any other information .................................................
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