

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING:
CASE STUDY OF KANDARA COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CENTRES
PROGRAMME:

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for the Degree of Master of Arts (Planning) of the
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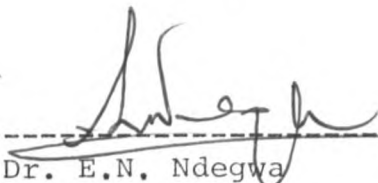
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DECLARATION

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This Thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

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ABSTRACT

Community Development Programmes devoid of sufficient community participation cannot be as successful as would be expected. This is the contention of this thesis and, hence, the advocacy for community participation in decision-making in such community programmes. According to this study the success of a community programme is not largely determined by whether or not the community is the one that initiated the programme in question. Rather, the crucial factor is whether the local community who are the beneficiaries were involved in the subsequent planning and implementation stages.

Kandara Community Development Centre (KCDC) Programme, though not initiated directly by the local community, had the option of incorporating the community in the subsequent design, planning and implementation stages. However, the study has found out that this involvement was limited and insufficient, and these are factors that have contributed significantly to the poor performance of the Programme.

Other minor, though important factors contributing to poor performance of the Programme are management and financial problems, limited involvement of the Government of Kenya and political influence.

For KCDC to be revived and to fully incorporate the issue of community participation in decision-making a major structural overhaul is recommended. This option, hard as it may appear, will eventually steer the programme towards the realization of the community's felt needs, with sufficient involvement of the beneficiaries in decision-making.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTORY

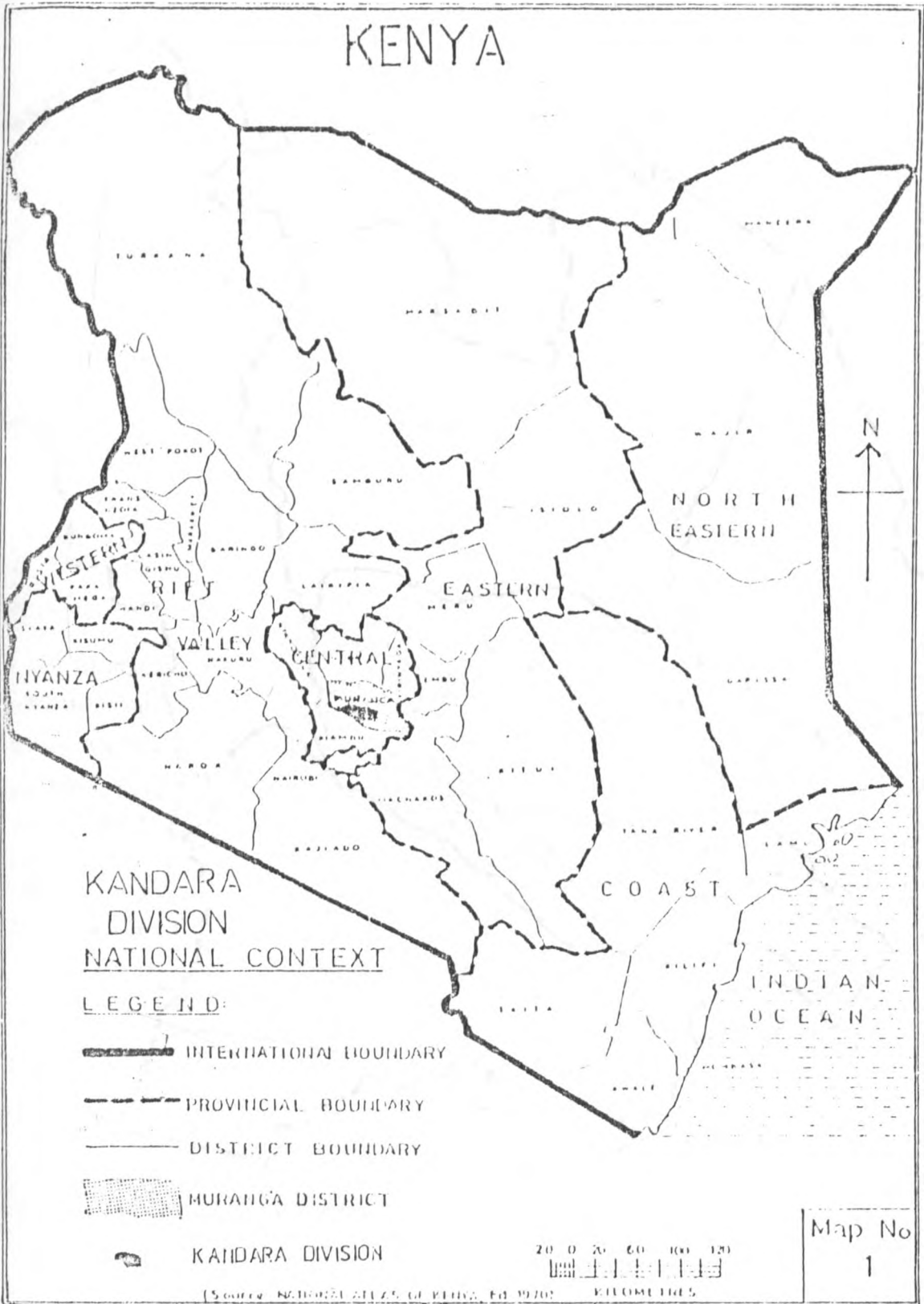
INTRODUCTION

The Kandara Community Development Centres (KCDC) Programme was initiated in Kandara Division of Murang'a District in 1975. Murang'a District which is one of the oldest settlement areas of the Kikuyu tribe is located on the eastern slopes of the Aberdares ranges within the Central Province of Kenya (Goricke and Spiegel 1976). Maps 1 and 2 show the location of the district, the division and the study area.

The KCDC Programme was started as a multipurpose rural development programme by two non-governmental organizations, namely the Kandara Development Trust and the Kubel Foundation of West Germany. The latter carried out a preliminary field research between January and April 1976 with the objective of obtaining "--- a reliable basis of Community Development Centres in Kandara" (Goricke and Siegel 1976:9). The tasks of the study were threefold namely:-

- i) selection of three centres in Kandara Division for the establishment of the Community Development Centres. The criteria to be used was to include population density, existing services, communication and transport system;

KENYA



CENTRAL PROVINCE



KANDARA DIVISION - REGIONAL CONTEXT

- ii) recommend type and scope of activities and future programmes in these centres; and
- iii) the design of functional structure of the centres emphasizing interdependence of activities.

The considerations of the form KCDC was expected to take in its establishment and subsequent operations were based on the results of this prefeasibility study.

Drawing heavily from the Community Development approach in the British Colonial Administration and the United Nations, this research study concluded that Community Development should emphasize two aspects:

- i) the initiation and subsequent support of development programmes by agencies outside the local community; and
- ii) the initiative and active participation of the local community.

The report of the study considered it imperative to initiate a programme that would address a community's felt needs in order to avoid a situation where lack of community control and participation

"--- inevitably leads to a type of development that falls flat once the task masters are withdrawn." (Kuitenbrouwer 1973:3).

The activities proposed by the study were to be multipurpose in nature.

The centres selected to be developed in the first phase were Kirwara in Gatanga Location, Nduyu Chege in Kariara Location, and Kareti in Gaichanjiru Location. The Centres selected for the second phase of the Programme were Githumu in Ruchu Location and Kabati in Muruka Location which were to be the responsibility of the local community after the completion of the first phase.

The 1977-1983 period saw the opening of development centres in three out of the five Locations which constitute the Kandara division namely: Kariara, Gatanga and Gaichanjiru. During that period about Kshs. 15 million was spent to set up commercial, training and social activities. In 1983, the programme was registered under the Company's Act as an independent local non-profit-making charitable organization and soon after handed over to the local community.

A number of Departments within the Programme including Farmers' supply shops, carpentry Workshops, saw mill, building unit, metal workshop, transport unit, posho

mills, community programmes, youth polytechnics, and kindergatten were established. (see Plate 1.1)

The general objective of the programme was to raise the standards of living of the people in that locality through the provision of improved services. No individual person was supposed to receive special benefits from the Programme including the registered members of the company. Rather, the benefits of the programme were supposed to accrue to the entire community (KCDC Manual 1984). According to the management of the programme the intention in registering members was to make as many people identify with the activities of the Programme as "their own activities," thus, giving the Programme the necessary support by the local community.

I deally, every member of the community who, in one way or other, was a beneficiary of the Programme, was supposed not only to have access to the services offered by the Programme but also to participate in the running of the Programme. Everybody wishing to register as a member could, and still can do so, free of charge, provided that they are residents of the area in which the centres are located.

The registered members are supposed to elect Location Committees. Besides the elected members four



Plate 1.1. The signboard at the entrance of Kirwara Centre. Some of the activities shown aren't operational.

ex-officio members are co-opted into each one of these locational committees. These are the Locational Community Development Assistant, the Local Chief, the Assistant Chief of the sub-location where the centre is located, and the area Maendeleo Ya Wanawake representative. Each one of these Locational Committees in turn elects three delegates from among themselves who together form the Board of Directors. Ex-officio members are co-opted into the Board of Directors in order to facilitate co-ordination between KCDC activities and other on-going development endeavours in Kandara Division. The ex-officio members who are co-opted into the Board of Directors are: the Divisional Community Development Assistant, Assistant Primary Schools Inspector and the Divisional Officer, who is the Chairman of the Board of Directors which is the ultimate decision-making body in the KCDC organizational structure.

The Board of Directors appoints a General Manager who runs the Centres with the assistance of several departmental heads as well as an Internal Auditor. Every year an External Auditor is appointed to check all financial transactions that have taken place in the course of that year.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

People's participation in development activities is a very important aspect which should not be overlooked by those in positions of authority. This participation should not, however, be restricted merely to the consumption of goods and services supplied but should also include direct participation in the initiation and management of development activities. Any participatory programme involving members of a community should be designed in such a way that these two aspects, namely involvement in the initiation of projects, as well as participation in projects management can be incorporated in the design of programmes. Otherwise, one cannot fully talk of community participation in development planning if emphasis is not given to these important components of public participation.

This observation brings to the forefront an important dimension on discussion on participation. On the one hand, participation can entail the involvement of people in the planning process with the view to increasing trust and confidence in the agency initiating a programme so that people can accept as their own, plans and decisions made by such an agency for them in solving their problems (Crenson 1974:357-358). In this case projects are conceived and designed by others but local

communities are only mobilized to implement such projects. Although such projects may have been initially meant to benefit entire communities such projects often end up benefiting the more influential and powerful members of the society - thus defecting the whole purpose of initiating community projects (Ghai 1984:4).

On the other hand people's participation can be initiated with the intention of granting individuals or groups of people a voice in planning, decision-making and service delivery (Benz 1975; Rossi 1969). This latter perspective focuses on the role of individuals in decision-making, or, more precisely, in exploring how people participate in decision-making. Decision-making in development and planning involves individual or group involvement in the identification, design and implementation of programmes and projects.

Literature on Community Development Programmes/Projects indicate that community activities can be organized on four principles: Felt Need, Agreed-upon Goals, Involvement, and the Co-operative Principle (Wileden 1970), thus requiring full participation of members of the community who are the beneficiaries or the targets group of the programme/Project. The most important aspect, however, is the community participation in decision-making regarding the programme or the project in question. The

main task of this study, therefore, is to assess how far this latter notion of community participation in decision-making has been incorporated in the KCDC Programme right from the initial identification of the problem(s) to be addressed by the Programme (Dissanayake 1987; Ghai 1988) through the running and implementation of the same.

Some of the activities initiated within the Programme are no longer functioning while others are on the verge of collapsing. For instance, five of the six Farmers Supply Shops have been closed. This implies that farmers are unable to have easy access to farm inputs which are necessary if farm productivity and incomes are to be increased. This is not to mention the employees who have been laid off as a result of such closure. The Ndunyu Chege Farmers Supply Shop which appeared like it would not collapse has had its shop attendant and two clerks laid off. This remaining shop operates at a very low scale, selling the stocks that were left when the rest of the shops were closed down. These stocks are not replenished. The Community Programme that deals with sports, recreational and such allied social activities is also no longer functioning. Other Departments that are, either functioning at a low level, or have come to a complete halt, are, the Garage, Metal-

Workshop, Transport Unit, and a Saw Mill, all at Kirwara, as well as a Posho Mill and a Saw Mill at Kagunduini. Consequently, many workers have been laid off while those left have not been paid their full salaries for several months. This is taken as symptomatic of deeper problems facing the entire Programme.

An interesting feature of the KCDC Programme is the fact that most of the above problems have come up in the wake of the last parliamentary elections which saw the then local member of parliament losing to a new member of parliament. It is important to note that the programme under study was initiated during the time when this former MP . was the parliamentary representative of the area. Furthermore, it is also around the same time that the boundaries of Kandara constituency were reviewed as a result of which the constituency was divided into two. This resulted in the splitting of KCDC Programme into two. Some of the programme activities remained within the old Kandara Constituency while others fell within the new constituency of Gatanga. This is the context in which it was considered important to investigate the root cause of the problems which currently face the KCDC.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

In the light of the foregoing discussion the objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the root cause of problems facing KCDC Programme and the possible solutions.
2. To assess the extent of Community Participation in decision-making in KCDC from the time when the Programme was started in 1976 to 1988.
3. To determine the extent to which problems facing KCDC Programme may be related to inadequate community participation.

SIGNIFICANCE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The Government of Kenya has emphasized the importance of the participation of the Local Communities in their own development. It is the Government's conviction that it is not enough for local communities to merely benefit from whatever programmes the Government initiates without the involvement of the people (Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986; Development Plan 1979-83; District Focus for Rural Development, 1984). Although the policy documents touch on the general participation of the people in development planning the policy documents do not address the heart of this study namely: the decision-making aspect. The district focus strategy addresses itself to this issue by emphasizing the need for

representation of the people in the relevant Development Committee (District Focus for Rural Development 1984). On the question of involvement of the people in local level development activities the government has stressed the importance of encouraging people to participate in their own development efforts (Sessional Paper No. 1, 1986; Ngethe 1979).

The study attempts to look at the extent to which the Kandara Community has participated, and are currently participating, in decision-making at the identification, design, planning and implementation stages of this Programme. The main focus is on decision-making participatory aspect, thus requiring an appraisal of the Programme.

Although the study has largely concentrated on the geographical areas covered by the projects of this programme, opinions from outside this geographical area were also sought since the Programme is affected by, and also affects the surrounding environment.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

Data for this study was obtained through three methods namely: participant observation, review of published and unpublished reports, and through a household questionnaire.

Participant Observation

This method was employed in order to gain knowledge of the activities taking place in the programme under study. This involved actual visiting of projects which included both the watching of the activities going on as well as engaging in conversations with the workers to find out their reactions to, and interpretations of, the events taking place within the Programme. This enabled the researcher to get an insight into the running of the projects as well as the extent of the problems facing the Programme. Photographs were taken showing some of the properties belonging to the Programme, both the utilized and the unutilized.

Documentary Sources

Government documents as well as published and unpublished academic works were referred to in the course of study. This was particularly so in the initial stages of coming up with a conceptual framework to work on. Other secondary sources of information consisted largely of unpublished materials from the KCDC offices as well as from the Community Development Department Offices.

Household Questionnaire

Household interviews with a sample of heads of households in the study area was another method employed in the research. Questions asked were largely aimed at eliciting information and opinions on the level of involvement of the Local Community in the KCDC. Systematic random sampling method was employed in this exercise. Initially, the aim was to administer sixty questionnaires in twenty sublocations in Gatanga, Gaichanjiru and Kariara Locations. From each of these sublocations the administration of household questionnaires was done with the help of three research assistants who came from the study area. This reduced suspicion because the research assistants were known in the study area and therefore didn't require to be introduced to the respondents.

Prior to the commencement of the survey, the researcher had discussed the questionnaires in order to clarify what was expected. This was further necessitated by the fact that most of the respondents would have to answer the questions in vernacular. So, a careful but thorough understanding of the contents of the questionnaire was absolutely necessary. The research assistants were fluent and conversant with the local vernacular and, therefore, didn't have a language

barrier problem. The researcher and his research assistants maintained close contacts during the period of research. This enabled the researcher to monitor the progress of the research as well as help whenever a research assistant would have a problem.

Besides the household interviews, indepth interviews with some few carefully selected key informants were also conducted. Those interviewed included some members of the Management Committees in KCDC; some members of the Local Community that were knowledgeable about the history of the Programme; some employees in the Programme as well as some workers in projects that were once under the Management of KCDC; and some Government Officers. These interviews were carried out by the researcher himself without any assistance.

Limitations of the study

Lack of adequate information was a hinderance in the study. Some information from documents and from KCDC Management regarding the history of the Programme was lacking. Other information pertinent to an understanding of the activities that were taking place at what time was conflicting and, at other times, not available. Oral information and documented information were at times conflicting too. In such cases the researcher had to do some approximations in order to fill in these gaps. In other instances, some respondents and key informants were unwilling to give

information. This was because they were fearing being involved in the affairs of the ailing Programme which was, at that time, under probe by an independent party to establish the cause of the problems facing the Programme. Others were unwilling to release any information unless they were given money in exchange. These problems were overcome by assuring the respondents that the study was purely academic and that their answers would be treated in strict confidence.

In instances where selected respondent from the household survey proved unco-operative or was not available the interviewer went to the next household. Kariara location is a case in point where, initially, high non-response rate of about 60% necessitated a complete repeat of the exercise. This incidence of respondents being unco-operative was caused by a wrong approach applied by the research assistant whereby, in some cases, he gave the questionnaires to the respondents to fill in, contrary to what was expected. In this way the respondents were both unwilling or unable to complete the questionnaires on their own. The subsequent low response necessitated a replacement of this research assistant with another one and the selection of a different sample.

In spite of the initial arrangements of systematic selection of three households for interviews from each sub-location, in some sub-locations more than three questionnaires were administered whereas in others less than three questionnaires were administered. This

discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the sub-locational administrative boundaries were not clearly defined on the ground, whereas in other instances they had been changed altogether. For instance, a later addition of a sixth administrative location in Kandara to make Ithiru Location meant a reduction in the area covered by other locations and hence their boundary changes both at the locational and sub-locational levels.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study was largely descriptive and inferential. To a large extent this involved qualitative analysis technique but supplemented by some quantitative descriptive scaling methods involving percentages. Tables, Maps, and Plates were used in presentation.

ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

Chapter One gives the general introduction of the thesis. Sub-topics in this chapter are introduction of the Programme; problems statement; objectives of study; significance and scope of study; and methods of data collection and analysis.

Chapter Two is focused on literature review, covering the theoretical aspects that are considered in the study area. Chapter Three gives a detailed background of the

Programme, covering the major agents that have participated in the Programme alongside the local community.

Chapter Four discusses the performance of the Programme. It considers the various activities and sectors in the Programme and the chronological developments of major events therein. Chapter Five analyses the views of the respondents in the field regarding local community participation in the Programme. Chapter Six is an integrated overview of the entire thesis. It also includes the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Rural development has been seen differently by different scholars and each definition of rural development has been largely influenced by the parent discipline, of the scholar himself. Chambers (1983) notes that to people outside a rural setting rural development would mean 'desirable change in rural areas' and is identified with such economic growth parameters as modernization, increased agricultural production, socialist forms of organization, health, transport and water.

The World Bank has defined rural development as being ... a strategy designed to improve the economic social life of a specific group of people - the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless. (World Bank 1975)

This definition helps us appreciate and understand the type of change we expect in the rural areas. However, it suffers from two major drawbacks. Firstly, it shows that development can only be realized when it is "given" or "enabled" by those who "have it" or "own it". To those in power this is what development is. Secondly, the definition suffers from lack of specificity. It is too general without a clear indication of how development takes place and who are the direct

beneficiaries. Perhaps a more refined and improved version of this definition, is given by Chambers (1975) who says that:

"Rural development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of development, the group includes small-scale farmers, tenants, and the landless. (Chambers 1983:147)

This definition still suffers from the problem of a general assumption in most literature dealing with rural development that the lifestyles of the rural dwellers can be only improved if and only if development programmes are initiated from above by the government or other development agencies. According to this view the best a rural person can do is to enjoy the fruits of a development programme and since he is already "undeveloped" he cannot participate in efforts directed at improving the standard of living.

Despite that drawback the definition by Chambers helps to focus on the rural majority and those in the greatest need to improve their standards of living. Therefore, from Chamber's point of view, the primary objective of rural development is secure and decent livelihoods which can be attained through increased productivity. This view of rural development addresses itself to such issues as poverty, unemployment and inequality,

sentiments equally shared by the UN, ECA which puts it that rural development is

... the outcome of series of quantitative and qualitative changes occurring among a given rural population and whose converging effects indicate, in time, a rise in the standard of living and favourable changes in the way of life of the people concerned. It does not mean isolated programmes of 'Community Development', 'agricultural extension', 'health' and nutrition (UN ECA 1971:1).

Development, according to this view, is not just mere programmes or projects - tangible monumental structures. It includes that intangible but real improvement in the welfare of a people.

So far one thing that is coming out very clearly is that it is not enough to initiate a programme in a rural area and hope that development will be realized. A more important question that needs to be addressed is the issue of how development programmes are initiated. Chambers (1975) distinguishes between two types of approaches which are prevalent in the developing countries. One, he calls 'spread-and-take-up programmes' where services are pushed out from the centre and are taken up by the people in the periphery. Here, initial beneficiaries are those better placed geographically, economically and socially. In other words, those nearest to the source of the development. The other type is what he calls the 'Last-First Programmes' and the

aim here is to give priority to the poor. In both cases the elite are likely to hinder the attainment of the objectives. Therefore, programmatism is criticized for being standardized, top-down, authoritarian and unable to adapt to local conditions. An example is given of a case in Zambia where a national drive to grow maize made agricultural staff persuade farmers to plant maize in all areas, including unsuitable places (Chambers 1983: 149-150). Such rigidity in the planning and development without adequate participation of the community can be said to be a major contributory factor to lack of meaningful rural development despite the efforts made to improve the welfare of people living in the rural areas.

In the light of the foregoing, there is therefore, an urgent need for a local community to actively participate in the designing, planning and implementation of development programmes - particularly with regard to decision-making. Mbithi (1974) observes that experience in Eastern and Central Kenya has shown that the traditional community development approach inherited from the colonial administration has had problems leading to limited success. For instance, there has been disharmony.

... in the identification of local requirements and planning needs and in the identification, mobilization and allocation of local resources. (Mbithi 1974:171)

Furthermore, and even more serious Mbithi adds that

... rural change programmes tended to be imposed upon rural communities irrespective of their expressed needs or abilities. (Mbithi 1974:171)

The disharmony is thus seen in the form of isolating planning from implementation. So that on the one hand is planning - a centralized activity in the hands of the government, and implementation on the other in the form of imposed programmes. Thus people are forced to undertake programmes suggested by the government perhaps on a take-or-leave basis with no alternatives offered. From this observation, Mbithi concludes that there is a correlation between local initiative and the success of projects. He demonstrates this by giving a catalogue of projects explaining the nature of specific rural projects, the centre of decision-making and planning, the nature of participation and the success of projects. (Mbithi 1974:171-174)

A programme or project started by a local community and where this community participates in its running has high chances of success. Mbithi underscores the importance of this fact, particularly with regard to decision-making process so that participation can take its full significance (Mbithi 1974:171). This is because, according to him, and in the context of planning,

important decisions mainly concern policy formulation, resource allocation, project selection and implementation and the distribution of benefits. Furthermore, and most important, the notion of self-reliance in community participation should be borne in mind and stressed too so that people's desire to participate is seen to be both voluntary and also originating from the people themselves. This would ensure that 'paternalistic' and 'authoritarianism' forms of mass mobilization are avoided. Nevertheless, instances can be cited where an outsider/interventionist would be needed just to set the ball rolling - to play the role of what Mbithi (1974) calls an 'enlightened catalyst working along with the people to define the community's felt needs as well as to formulate appropriate strategies and programmes to meet these needs. Naiya (1977) discusses this point by citing the extractionist school of advocacy for public participation whose conviction is that there isn't much that a local community can do to effect development without the intervention and initiative of the government. To him, Kenya's public participation policies have gradually evolved to resemble this extractionist system. This discussion is preceded by yet another citation of two other schools of advocacy for public planning that are opposed to the extractionist approaches. One is the Felt-Need School whose position is that planners should involve people by allowing them to determine for themselves what

they need most. Technical aid should be provided when needed in order to encourage initiative and self-help. The other school is the Grassroot Democracy which insists on political and institutional decentralization in a bid to give people more power to decide on what should be included in the plan so as to realize development. That there is an extent to which an outsider should be allowed in a community development programme means that a balance has to be struck so that not too much external intervention is allowed if such external inputs would mar the objectives of the programmes in as far as the aspect of community participation is concerned, and yet such external inputs (intervention) should not be too little thus failing to motivate the community into action to improve their lot. This calls for clearly defined strategies regarding how much intervention is healthy. Mbithi stresses this point by giving an example of conflicting expert prescriptions and uncertainties in a community where agricultural experts recommended the use of fish in their irrigation systems to control mosquitoes. However, in the following month, health officials sprayed DDT on the water in a bid to eradicate mosquitoes (Mbithi 1974:162). Such disharmony as well as a tendency to disregard the views and opinions of the local community, and consequently imposing conflicting and inconsistent prescriptions, can only succeed in making the community affected not to have any trust at all in agricultural extension officers.

The importance of community participation in decision-making as far the design, planning and implementation of development programmes is concerned is clear and needs not be over-emphasised. It is imperative, therefore, for a strategy to be found on how this can be done and thus be effective so that at the end of the day a community will be satisfied that they didn't just participate in enjoying the goods and services produced by the programme(s). In any case it has already been pointed out above that development programmes in which communities have had alot of participation in its planning (process) are known to be more successful than those which have just been imposed on the community in question.

The term community participation, like rural development, has been defined differently by different scholars. Furthermore, various terms have been developed in development circles and all have tended to explain what community participation is all about. Infact, some of these terms have been used interchangeably on the understanding that they all mean the same thing. In the process the term 'community participation' has either been misunderstood and thus defined wrongly or it has been given a general and vague definition such that it has lacked the authencity and meaning as well as the focus it is meant to have. Some of these terms used

alongside, or to explain, community participation include citizen participation, democratic approach, bottom-up approach, local participation, and community development.

The democratic approach as discussed by Wileden (1970) assumes that final authority and right to make decisions rests with citizenry and that all sides of every issue are freely discussed. Furthermore, it assumes that different beliefs on proper course of action is debated and vote taken. Thus, although the interests of the majority will be the ones to be followed everybody will have had a chance to express their feelings. This approach is too general and doesn't tell us where specifically it can be applied. If it is applied in a rural setting then it brings in a picture of a community who are facing an issue of resolution - on whether it is right or wrong to take a certain action regarding their own development. The final decision arrived at will be a majority view which may not necessarily be the correct one. Therefore it is too mechanical and lacks that element of spontaneity which is a characteristic of a healthy community.

Armstrong sees the 'bottom-up' or 'from-below' development strategy as growing in importance in developing countries because of its being one of the possible means of

achieving more rapid rural transformation (Armstrong 1987). And quoting from Stohr (1981) Armstrong notes that development from below implies alternative criteria for factor allocation, different criteria for commodity exchange for maximum equity, specific forms of social and economic organizations, and a change in the basic definition of development to include diversified concepts defined by broader societal goals. Therefore, for effective bottom-up development to be achieved the government must provide "innovative policy guidelines" and "institutional arrangements" as well as "protectionist legislation" in favour of the rural dwellers. To Armstrong this is a way of involving the people at the grassroots. However his view is still general and it does not show how these people at the grassroot are involved in the development. Nevertheless he cites community development as one of the earliest techniques of applying bottom-up development initiative. Quoting from Lee Carry Armstrong notes that community development

... helps to keep decision-making at the local level and government responsive to the local citizens. Community interest is apt to centre on issues close at hand ... (Carry ed. 1970).

That Armstrong is of the opinion that community development is a bottom-up development strategy (and so, by implication, incorporates an element of community participation) he gives some quotations from different

sources that define this concept. The 1948 Cambridge Conference on African Administration defined community development as

... a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with active participation, and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. It embraces all forms of betterment. (Community Development 1957) .

According to the United Nations (UN 1956) community development is a teamwork process:

The process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of the government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (UN 1956:Annex III Document E2931).

The latter two definitions show that community development is largely a community effort to improve their lives which may also incorporate some government direct or indirect assistance. Armstrong further shares in aforementioned view that community development initiatives should not be imposed upon a community. Although this should include articulated programmes by the government it is important to emphasize the 'participation of the communities concerned both in the planning and implementation levels' (UN 1956:75). The latter view is what,

in my opinion, is the essence of community participation. Without the community playing an active role in their own development right through the whole planning process, such a programme is bound to have limited success.

Lisk (1985) looks at participation from a rather general point of view without any specificity. In what he calls popular participation in development he says that this is

... the active involvement of people in the making and implementation of decisions at all levels and forms of political and socio-economic activities. (Lisk 1985:15)

and that

... the involvement of the broad mass of the population in the choice, execution and evaluation of programmes and projects designed to bring about a significant upward movement in levels of living (Lisk 1985:5)

Like citizen participation popular participation looks at the general participation of a people without being specific on what exactly the people are participating in. Furthermore this only succeeds in mere involvement of the people on say, a development programme without due consideration on whether this includes actual community participation in decision-making right from the design stage through the implementation phase of the development programme in question.

Mbithi (1974) looks at local participation as one of the criteria for development from below. To him this development strategy implies involvement of resident non officials and low level indigeneous government staff in the planning/formulation and implementation stages. Kenya's self-help projects are cited as examples of local participation. It appears that local participation can be hindered when the bureaucratic arm of the government is allowed to play a significant role in a development programme/project. Thus as long as such a project is allowed to have as minimum government intervention as possible and instead involve the local people then there are high hopes of success and acceptability of the programme in question.

Like the other terms discussed above citizen participation also suffers from lack of specificity. Gass (1979) is aware of this fact when he notes that the term is

an overgeneralization that often is defined simply as providing citizens with opportunities to take part in governmental decision or planning processes. (Glass 1979:180)

However, despite this definition, Glass adds that neither the term nor the definition offers 'the slightest suggestion of how participatory efforts might be structured or what might be expected of them in terms of results.' (Glass 1979:180). Glass view is as general as

the view of democrats who are of the opinion that a democratic government ought to offer people an opportunity to express their opinions freely. This is devoid of specificity and focus and it is the sort of definition given by Barkan.

... For Kenya, participatory government is democratic government in the Western sense of the term. As such, it is an abstract goal, which, while highly desirable, may need to be deferred or limited until the country possesses sufficient resources to sustain its operation. (Barkan 1984:29)

To this end, Glass (1979) distinguishes between two types or purposes of citizen participation. One is the administrative perspective, (which Barkan also seems to have in mind), whose purpose is mere involvement of the people in what the government has already set up, the aim being

... to involve citizens in planning and other governmental processes and, as a result, increase their trust and confidence in government, making it more likely that they accept decisions and plans... (Glass 1979:181)

In other words, the government just involves the community in programmes already initiated with little or no input in decision-making from the people in a bid to make the people accept the programme in question. It is for administrative convenience, the contrast of which is the citizens perspective whose aim, as cited by Glass (1979:181), is

... to provide citizens with a voice in planning and decision making in order to improve plans, decisions, and service delivery (Benz 1975, Rossi 1969).

Although the latter view is an improvement of the former, it still suffers from the problem of the idea that the people are only brought in and involved in the programme just to improve the services offered. The people are not integrated into the programme right from the beginning. The assumption, therefore, is that should the programme 'run well' throughout the whole planning process - from the administrators'/government's point of view - then the community need not be brought in as long as the services eventually reach them. This is a very narrow view which rules out any possibility of letting the beneficiaries of a programme be involved and thus actively participate in the decision-making regarding a programme aimed at improving their standards of living right from the design stage through the implementation stage - this being a total community participation in the planning process.

Ghai (1988) argues that grassroots participatory in development has three interpretations:

- a) mobilization of people to undertake and implement social and economic development projects which have been conceived and designed from above,

- b) decentralization in either organizational or governmental machinery. For instance the transfer of resources and decision-making powers to lower levels. (Kenya's District Focus strategy is expected to achieve this), and
- c) empowering the deprived and the excluded.

The above interpretations of participation look quite impressive and very promising from outside. However, on whether any one of these is practical so as to achieve the desired results is another matter altogether. Ghai argues this out quite explicitly. On mobilization of people to implement programmes the contribution of labour and materials, free or paid for, is the only participation. Such projects may even end up benefiting the affluent and not the rural poor who were the initial target group. On the aspect of decentralization Ghai's argument is that despite the possible local level choice design and implementation of projects, as is the case with Kenya's District/Divisional/Locational etc Development Committees, involvement in projects identification may not always be a true representation of the wishes of the masses.

Ghai's contention is that there is no single blueprint on the best approach for grassroot participatory

promotion. The important thing is that the approach taken succeeds in awakening people's dormant energies and unleashing of their creative powers (Ghai 1988:5). As to whether this end is achieved, irrespective of the means, is something that needs further investigation.

The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) (1988) defines the concept of community participation in a more elaborate manner, although in the context of squatter settlement projects. The concept is defined thus:

... the voluntary and democratic involvement of beneficiaries in contributing to the execution of the project, in sharing the benefits derived therefrom and in making decisions with respect to setting goals formulating the project and preparing and implementing the plans (UNCHS 1988:3)

It is quite explicit in this report that for the success of a given project the beneficiaries must be given the opportunity of participating fully in decision-making regarding the project in question. Project staff should not go ahead to execute a project assuming that the beneficiaries are going to accept it. Rather there should be full incorporation of the community in all the stages of the planning process. This is applicable even when a community has appointed some representatives. In this latter case the representatives must have a close link with the community so that, in effect, there

will be a close contact between the project staff and the beneficiaries. Furthermore, even when local leaders or community representatives hold meetings with the community to discuss the proposed project, the project staff should attend such meetings in order to hear what the community say. This would avoid a situation whereby the local leaders do not represent the people's interests but theirs.

From the foregoing, community participation in decision-making to effect rural development involves and encompasses community empowerment to design, initiate, plan and implement development programmes. The local/or government administration has to recognize the fact that the local community has the capacity to decide on what the need is and how to achieve it. This is the essence of community participation in decision-making. Furthermore, this approach should not be mere involvement of the people in what has already been decided upon (and sometimes already initiated) by the government or a development agency. Only when the community has been given the powers to decide on and to plan their projects that the benefits of development will be realized much faster than when they are planned for and are thus merely involved as a political tactic to win the confidence of the people. Infact, it is not enough to involve a community in the latter planning stages of a development programme because in the first place, the programme they

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are being involved in may have been poorly or wrongly identified thus failing to meet the felt needs of the community (Dissanayake 1987).

CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND OF THE PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

This discussion of the contributions made by various parties in KCDC is preceded by a discussion of the context in which the drama of the initiation of the Programme took place. A brief history of Kandara Division and Murang'a District at large has, therefore, been given. This helps one to fully understand and, therefore, appreciate the activities of some of the agents that featured significantly in KCDC and which are discussed later on in the chapter.

Various parties featured significantly in the design, planning and implementation of KCDC. Of particular emphasis is the role played by the parties involved upto the time the Programme was handed over to the Kandara Community following the registration of KCDC as a Limited Company. This analysis is expected to form a base upon which to see how, and the extent to which the local community participated in the Programme. The agents examined include the local community, the Kubel Foundation of West German which was Funding Agency, the Kandara Development Trust, officials of the Central Government Sectoral Ministries, the Provincial Administration, and the politicians.

KANDARA DIVISION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Kandara Division as well as the entire Murang'a District has experienced political conflicts and power struggles

both in the pre-independence and post-independence days. In the course of these struggles by local leaders the distribution of political power and economic resources has been greatly influenced. The effects of these struggles and conflicts have had their tentacles of influence extended into the Community Development Sector within Kandara.

In the early post-independence days the leaders in the Division were divided into two camps. One comprised those who had been leaders right from the colonial period and were, therefore, branded collaborators and loyalists because they were assumed to have perpetuated colonialism. The other camp was of those leaders who were opposed to colonialism and, therefore, opposed to the first camp. The leaders in the latter group had suffered greatly during the colonial rule, some of them had been detained, others jailed, while others had lost their lands either during their absence during detention or through confiscation under the 1953 Forfeiture of Lands Act. Therefore, after independence, each one of these camps was trying to gain as much political support as possible from the local community. The stage of this political drama, in a bid to win political recognition, was mainly the Community Development Projects, the Co-operative movements and Coffee Production. This was the era of the re-emergence of neo-nationalist politics. (Lamb 1974).

More often than not, those who have suffered the consequences of these struggles have been the local community at the grassroots. The effects due to the influences arising from these struggles are not only being felt today but have also surfaced in the study area.

The influx of aid from the Western world into the Central province through local leaders to help in development programmes is prevalent. This has been particularly so in the agricultural improvement programmes in the form of subsidization of farm inputs (Lamb 1972).

THE LOCAL COMMUNITY/BENEFICIARIES CONTRIBUTION TO KCDC

The initial idea of starting KCDC Programme does not appear to have come from the community itself. Although residents of Kandara Division had implicitly expressed the need for services that were later provided for by KCDC (Goricke and Spiegel 1976), the local community had not gone ahead to launch large scale projects and programmes geared towards meeting their development needs. Any efforts that were being made hitherto and at the time of launching the KCDC Programme were merely

disjointed and unintegrated projects being largely individual or small self-help groups based. This is evidence by the large number of small self-help groups whose programmes covered very small geographical units. The majority of those projects were initiated on harambee basis. Perhaps, the only large scale project which could compare with KCDC, and which was the latter's precedence, is the Kandara Water Scheme Project. This project, like KCDC, was not directly initiated by the community but by an external agent (Njuguna 1983). Therefore, one can conclude that, KCDC Programme was yet another largescale Rural Development Programme in Kandara that aimed at improving the people's welfare over a large geographical area, even though the project was not initiated directly by the local community. It is thus, an example of "Community Projects which do not necessarily involve the beneficiaries in the initial stage of problem identification but where local communities are encouraged to participate in subsequent stages of programme implementation. That being the case, therefore, the issue is: to what extent has the community, the beneficiaries of the Programme, fully participated in the Programme as regards decision-making on a programme

which was intended to effectively meet their needs?

The idea of starting KCDC was mooted as early as 1974. At that time the Programme was largely discussed among the constituency leaders and the prospective funding agency, the Kubel Foundation. Subsequently, in 1976, a prefeasibility study of the proposed programme was conducted (Goricke and Spiegel 1976). Although this research involved getting information from the local community this type of involvement cannot be regarded as a form of participation on the part of the members of the local community. This is because the involvement was not any different from that which takes place everywhere when research is conducted.

In the initial stages when the programme was launched there wasn't a lot of direct participation by the Community. Most of the community's participation revolved around attendance of public meetings, mostly convened by Central Government Administrators, particularly on behalf of the local area parliamentary representative. At these meetings the local people were only being informed of the idea of starting the Programme in Kandara, in order to secure their support of the Programme. Besides, the local people were not informed about who the

initiators of the programme were or the funding agency. It was expected that the mere mention of a rural development programme geared to the improvement of the standards of living of the people was enough to win people's approval, irrespective of whether or not they knew who the financiers were. As an illustration, at Kagunduini, the people interviewed considered that the programme was initiated by the then incumbent member of parliament representing the area as a way of gaining popularity and support among the electorate. It was only later that it dawned on them that that politician's role was just to be a facilitator, linking the Kubel Foundation - the financiers - with the people who were the beneficiaries of the programme. Even after this aura of confusion was cleared, there remained two camps. One comprised the people who were fully behind, and supporting, both the project and the local Member of Parliament (M.P). The other one consisted of those who were opposed to both the project and the M.P. This dichotomy had remained upto the time of field survey.

In the initial agreement between the funding agency - the Kubel Foundation - and the representatives of the programme's beneficiaries - the Kandara Development Trust - it was arranged that the local community would provide labourforce for the construction of programme - related

buildings and land on which to establish the centres. Although Kandara residents provided some labour, indications are that it wasn't free of charge, considering that the Kubel Foundation had to pay the workers who were engaged in the construction of the community centres. Land was provided by the Murang'a County Council. However, for Gaichanjiru location, the present site where the Kagunduini Centre stands is not the place where the centre was initially planned to be located. Plans were to locate the centre at Kareti a trading centre not very far from Kagunduini, the place where the community centre was finally located. This change of site location was, in the eyes of the respondents, politically motivated, an element that has contributed to the low participation and some degree of non-acceptance of the project by the people. The change of the site meant that more land had to be acquired because the government land at Kagunduini was not big enough. At this stage then, participation of the local people was sought in order to avail the needed land. As a result, four people offered to surrender one acre piece of land each free of charge. These people were, however, compensated for with some government land in the Rift Valley Province through the Ministry of Lands and Settlement.

In 1985 the local administration in Gaichanjiru location organized a harambee funds drive, the major purpose being

to help the Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic which at that time was facing financial difficulties. Each Assistant Chief in the location was supposed to collect at least Kshs. 20 from every household within their areas of jurisdiction. However, only one Assistant Chief managed to collect and submit Kshs. 11,000, although from the recorded number of households at least Ksh.30,000 could have been expected from his sub-location. The other Assistant Chiefs would have been expected to remit Ksh. 110,000 and the receipt books used in collecting the money. From indepth interviews it did appear that the money was actually collected but never accounted for. The amount cannot be determined because even the receipt books were not submitted in the first place. Apparently, no followup mechanism was instituted to recover the money. From this account one can see that the local community participated in contributing financial resources although they didn't quite realize their objectives.

Another area of participation was in the membership recruitment. Just before the programme was handed over to the local community, the management and the provincial administration conducted membership recruitment drives which succeeded in registering about 3,500 people. This was necessary, at least, to facilitate the formation of a company, the form in which the programme was to

finally run. However, as to whether the registration was due to the perceived benefits that would accrue to the members, that is a different story altogether. The registration was free of charge. This exercise didn't continue for long and the reason given was that if the registration continued, some people would have misinterpreted this to mean that the members would get some form of financial payments or dividends. The subsequent relative laxity on the part of the administration to tell people about KCDC and to mobilize them to participate fully in the programme can also be attributed to this discontinuation of the registration exercise. One wonders why the membership recruitment campaigns were vigorously conducted only at the time of the preparations for the handing over of the programme. The conclusion that one can make is that the aim was just to get some names that would facilitate the smooth registration of the programme as a company without due regard to the benefits which could accrue to the registered members. The Kubel Foundation was equally enthusiastic to have local people register with the Company. Through its project Co-ordinator, the Kubel Foundation urged the local community to register with KCDC so that by the end of 1982 the registration of the programme as a company could be effected.

The Kubel Foundation had earlier on pulled out of some of the projects it had initiated and funded. Subsequently these projects were handed over to independent management committees. After renovating, extending, and converting the Youth Centre at Ndunyu Chege into a Youth Polytechnic, the KCDC run this polytechnic for one year. In 1980 this polytechnic was taken over by the Ministry of Culture and Social Services and started to be managed by a different management committee.

At Kirwara, a Kindergatten built and run by the KCDC with a capacity of about one hundred and twenty children was finally handed over to the community in that locality. The project is run by a committee, independent of the KCDC Management. One wonders why this project had to be separated from the rest of the projects in the Centre, yet all of them were serving the same local community. The Youth Polytechnic at Kagunduini started in 1980 by KCDC was separated from the rest of the activities within the Kagunduini Centre in 1984. In terms of administration it was under the local community and not under KCDC. The local community continued to run the polytechnic upto 1986 when the Ministry of Culture and Social Services took it over in terms of support and other financial responsibilities. However, unlike the former two, the management was not changed. The project continued

to be, and is still being run by the management of the institution which is also responsible for the running of the other institutions at Kagunduini in Gaichanjiru location.

The Ministry of Culture and Social Services appear to have been very keen on taking over the running of the Youth Polytechnics. Perhaps this was a way of relieving the local community of the burden involved in running and maintaining such institutions. The local community could not have felt that they were being "robbed" of their community projects because they weren't the ones who had initiated them in the first place.

To sum up the involvement of the local community in the programme both through attendance of public meetings and through registration, members do not appear to have been directed at securing lasting community identification with the KCDC. The influence of the then area Member of Parliament did cause a rift among the community, thus limiting their full participation and identification with the programme.

From the foregoing there are two possible explanations for the limited community participation. Firstly, this could be due to lack of a community-based communication structure within the study area or the identification

and use by the management of institutional frameworks with which the local community did not identify. Secondly, there could have been the possibility that the leadership did not want community involvement beyond the provision of support vital to facilitate registration of the projects as public limited enterprises in which non-members are not expected, even in law, to participate actively and directly in decision-making.

THE ROLE OF THE FUNDING AGENCY

In the early '70's, the then local member of parliament together with other influential persons in Kandara division happened to have personal contacts with a German non-governmental charitable non-profit-making organization - the Kubel Foundation. The latter was subsequently requested to help in rural development of Kandara through financing a rural development programme. The main aim was to assist farmers to acquire inputs and tools for their farms in order to boost the productivity of their farming enterprises. The request was granted and in 1975 the Kubel Foundation reached an agreement with the Kandara Community through Kandara Development Trust, a local charitable ; non-profitmaking organization. The two organizations agreed on a joint venture to promote and support development process in Kandara Division

through the establishment of community centres. In order to determine the appropriate locations of the community development centres, i-e, the spatial distribution of the projects within the entire programme area, the Kubel Foundation arranged for a feasibility study to be carried out. The study was carried out by a German organization - the Research Centre for International Agrarian Development under the directorship of two Heidelberg University Professors and in liaison with the Kubel Foundation. The study whose main objective was to obtain reliable information to form a basis for the launching of the programme was carried out between January and April 1976 (Goricke and Spiegel 1976; KCDC Manual 1984).

Prior to the launching of this study, in 1974, the Kubel Foundation Managing Director had met with Kandara constituency leaders in order to discuss and agree on the line of action toward launching the programme. Subsequently a project draft with costings was prepared and then an application for the funding was made. Towards the end of 1975 the application was approved. It was the same year when the Kubel Foundation's Project Manager arrived and in the following year in March 1976, the Project Engineer also arrived in the area. Thus, the work of putting up buildings for the various Centres started.

It is important to note that the idea behind the launching of the Programme was not only to provide a basis for rural development and thus improvement of the welfare of the Kandara people. The effort was also aimed at enabling the Kandara people both enjoy the fruits of development accruing from the Programme as well as participate in the running of the same. That is why it was called a Community Development Programme.

Right from the beginning, the Kubel Foundation and the Kandara Development Trust had agreed that the former would only finance and run the programme for only a limited period of time. After that the programme would be handed over to the community who would take responsibility of running/managing the Programme. The implementation schedule was such that by the time the projects were well established, the funding agency would pull out and the programme would be handed over to the Kandara Community.

The Programme was implemented in stages whereby between 1977 and 1983 about Kshs. 15 million was spent to set up the three Centres in three locations dealing with training, commercial and social activities. The putting up of facilities started at Ndunyu Chege where an already existing Youth Centre was extended and

subsequently converted into a Youth Polytechnic. Other sectors were also put up. The second place to be developed was Kirwara and lastly Kagunduini. In the latter two places more land had to be acquired from the community to add to what was already there as government land. As noted earlier, Kagunduini was not the initial site chosen for the putting up of a centre for Gaichanjiru location. According to the feasibility report the recommended site of location was Kareti, a shopping centre 2.5 km. away from Kagunduini the centre finally selected. Respondents were of the opinion that it was political manouvres not shortage of land which were responsible for the change of the project site.

In all the above cases the Kubel Foundation undertook full responsibility of meeting the costs of putting up the buildings, equipping them, hiring the necessary labour and all other allied expenses incurred, all of which helped launch the programme. The high level skilled personnel involved in the actual construction and the putting up of these structures was from West Germany. Only in limited occassions was the local labour involved - and this was in the way of hiring some semi-skilled and unskilled labour towards the putting up of the buildings. The projects had its own vehicles, particularly trucks, that were used in the transportation of building materials to the construction

sites. In brief, therefore, it would suffice to conclude that Kubel Foundation was one organisation that played a very significant role in funding as well as in putting up of buildings in the various Community Development Centres.

The initial aim of the Kubel Foundation was to start Community Development Centres in every location within Kandara. However, due to an apparent shortage of funds, Kubel Foundation could not extend the Programme to all the locations in Kandara Division. In October 1982, prior to the handing over of the Programme, the Kubel Foundation pointed out clearly that it would not be responsible for the expansion of the programme to other locations. Rather, it was the responsibility of the local community to initiate the projects they felt were necessary to them probably with the involvement of locational committee. It was only after projects were started in this way that Kubel Foundation would be willing to come in and assist in the funding. Nevertheless, the study has found out that to a large extent, the very projects that were launched by the Kubel Foundation are the only projects that have remained operational since. The community has not initiated a project on its own under the auspices of KCDC. Perhaps, sheer luck has made even the existing projects to run that far and particularly because of the support of

the commercial sector notably, the farmers supply shops which has been operating as purely commercial enterprise.

At the time of handing over the programme to the local people the Kubel Foundation noted that the KCDC had reached a stage whereby it was self-sufficient and was, therefore, in a position to be independent of the sponsors in all matters including financial management. The departments were expected to have been generating enough funds to finance their own expenditures as well as contribute towards the financing of the non-profit-making social services. The Kubel Foundation was therefore withdrawing all forms of aid, including financial personnel and advisory services because, in their view, the programme was ready for take-off without the need for additional support.

In summary, it can be pointed out that the Kubel Foundation played a very significant role in the establishment and the subsequent running of the KCDC upto 1983. Nevertheless, by the time of withdrawing the assistance from the programme, Kubel Foundation's assessment was that KCDC was at a point where it could run on its own efficiently in order to enhance the welfare of the beneficiaries. This assessment was not correct and the subsequent pulling out of support to the programme too suddenly, may have contributed to the

difficulties which the programme is currently facing. The withdrawal ought to have been gradual, giving the local community time to smoothly take over the management responsibilities.

THE ROLE OF KANDARA DEVELOPMENT TRUST

The Kandara Development Trust was a local non-governmental, non-profit-making and charitable organization that worked together with the Kubel Foundation in the launching of the KCDC. This organisation comprised some key personalities in Kandara whose aim was to help initiate development activities and be custodians of property and assets in such development on behalf of the Kandara Community. The then local member of parliament, who featured significantly in the inception of the KCDC programme, was the Chairman of this Trust. This is the very organisation that had earlier on helped to initiate the giant Kandara Water Scheme.

The Kandara Development Trust (KDT) and the Kubel Foundation (KF) both run the Programme upto 1983 when the two organisations handed it over to the Local Community to manage it. During this period of time, from the conception of the idea of starting KCDC upto 1983, KDT was dealing with the Kubel Foundation on behalf of the Kandara people. The KF was initiating

KCDC in collaboration with the KDT on the understanding that this (KDT) was an already established organisation working for the welfare and on behalf of the Kandara residents. The involvement in the initiation of KCDC was but one of its tasks in development. Among these tasks was the solicitizing of funds from donor agencies to finance development projects in the division .

Before the registration of the KCDC as a Public Limited Company the KDT was represented in the then Management Committee of KCDC -the Coordinating Committee by its Chairman. (This is the ex- MP of the area). When the handing over of the programme was effected, both the KDT and KF pulled out of the management to pave way for the new management committees - the Board of Directors. The pulling out of the KDT and KF was in accordance with the earlier agreement that KCDC would eventually be left to the local community.

In summary, therefore, KDT was meant to be the voice of the beneficiaries of the programme. Right from the beginning the KCDC was aimed at benefitting the local community as a whole and so anything that the funding agency was doing was for the benefit of the community. But since they had to find a way of effectively reaching the people they used KDT as the link.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

In the initial period, mainly before the handing over of the programme to the Kandara Community, the governments' Community Development Department used to play very little, if no role at all in the KCDC activities. This is not because the department was not operational in Kandara at that time. Rather, the KCDC was somehow self-sufficient in terms of personnel and resources in its social and community services programme. For instance, there were enough social workers, adult literacy teachers and instructors in Youth Polytechnics and other artisinal and craft training departments. The KCDC used to coordinate social and recreational activities not only in Kariara, Gatanga and Gaichanjiru locations but in the entire Kandara division. The programmes included adult literacy classes; seminars; films; television shows; sports and games. Thus, the work of the Government's Community Development Department in Kandara was being undertaken, to a large extent, by the KCDC. It is only later after 1983, with the handing over of the programme and the subsequent pulling out of the German sponsors, that we see a drop in the level and intensity of social and community activities organized by KCDC within Kandara Division. At the same time, we start to see an increasing involvement of the department of Community Development not only within Kandara but also in areas covered by the KCDC itself. For instance, the

Locational Community Development Assistants (CDAs) in Gatanga, Kariara and Gaichanjirù are now ex-officio members of the respective Locational Centre Committees. This is not to mention the fact that the Divisional (Kandara) CDA is also an ex-officio member of the Board of Directors, the Chief decision-making body of the Programme. Furthermore, the KCDC has given office space free of charge to two CDAs, one in Kirwara and the other one in Kagunduini. Social and Community activities within the study area are normally carried out in close liaison with the two parties - the KCDC and the Community Development Department. This is on the understanding that the two are not competing in service delivery but supplementing one another. This is unlike how the situation was before 1983.

The failure to involve the Community Development Department in the initial stages is likely to have contributed to the problems therein. Failure to involve the CDAs, whose role includes activating the people to participate in community programmes could have contributed to limited community participation. Had the Department been involved from the beginning, the combined effort to involve as many people as possible in the KCDC would have attracted a lot of attention from the local community. In turn, the local community would have been very enthusiastic about the programme and therefore their participation therein.

THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF KENYA

Financial resources used in the launching of the KCDC Programme was not bilateral between Kenya Government and West Germany. It was a private arrangement between two non-governmental, non-profit-making charitable organisations - the Kubel Foundation of West Germany and Kandara Development Trust. The participation of the two Governments of Kenya and the Federal Republic of Germany was, in most cases, limited to the acknowledgement and endorsement of the carrying out of such transactions. The cooperation and operations of the two organisations in Kandara was in accordance with a number of agreements. First was an agreement between Kandara Development Trust and Kubel Foundation of 1975 and another one between the Government of the Republic of Kenya and the Kubel Foundation of March 1976. These agreements were based on the 1964 Technical Cooperation Agreement between the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Kenya. Furthermore, there were other subsequent agreements between Kandara Development Trust and Kubel Foundation aimed at streamlining and strengthening the line of co-operation of the two organisations. One was made in July 1980 and the other in October of the same year. The former agreement was on the powers and duties of KCDC Centre Committees and the Coordinating Committees on divisional level.

The above elaborate account of agreements signed to facilitate the initiation and operation of KCDC Programme is important in several respects. Firstly, it helps us understand that the Kubel Foundation was entering into Kandara with the permission of the Government of Kenya. Secondly, the Government of Kenya was very keen to know what was going on in Kandara, an administrative unit whose residents' welfare is a responsibility of the Government. Even the agreements signed between the Kandara Development Trust and the Kubel Foundation were not being done without the knowledge of the Kenya Government. In brief, therefore, the initiation of KCDC by the Kubel Foundation was not done behind the backs of the Government.

The Government of Kenya further participated in compensating the four individuals at Kagunduini whose land was taken by KCDC in order to facilitate the building of the centre. The then Ministry of Lands and Settlement gave each of the four people an alternative piece of land in the Rift Valley as compensation. Generally, in all the three Centres the Government of Kenya, through the Murang'a County Council, availed land for the establishment of the Community Development Centre facilities.

The Government also helped in the initial stages of the initiation of KCDC Programme by way of allowing machinery and vehicles to be imported duty free. Consequently, the imported items became far much cheaper than their local equivalents. Thus, the expenditures were somehow cut down significantly.

Besides the role played by the Community Development Department as discussed above, the Government of Kenya's other roles in the KCDC seems to be fourfold: approval and acknowledgement of the launching of the programme with the Kubel Foundation's assistance; compensation for land surrendered to KCDC by individuals; availing land to establish the Centres and projects therein; and allowing the importation of items duty-free.

The involvement and the support of the Government in the programme at the higher level seems to have contributed significantly to the success of this programme in its initial stages. One is left with no doubt that the programme had the blessings of the Government. The problems that later faced the programme seems, therefore, to have stemmed from the internal arrangements at the lower level and, in particular, as regards the involvement of the community in the programme and not from the failure of the Government to render its support to the programme.

THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

As has already been pointed out above the idea of starting KCDC Programme was mooted by a few individuals, particularly the then local Member of Parliament. The local citizens were only involved later when the projects were already in the pipeline of design and implementation. However, even with the participation of the Kandara Development Trust, the supposedly representatives of Kandara people, the Kubel Foundation was not able to launch the programme without the involvement of the local administration. The local Chiefs and their assistants were being used by the initiators to call public meetings whereby the idea of starting KCDC would be explained. In these meetings people were only told of what was to be, or being done without being given a chance to give their opinions regarding the programme that was being launched (see chapter 5).

In most cases, the KCDC Management Officials and sometimes the Kubel Foundation Personnel would address such public meetings. They would explain the purpose of the programme and seek the citizen's moral support of the same. The KCDC matters would be discussed together with other issues relating to development activities in the respective locations or sublocations. Besides

calling public meetings, the local administration was being used to mobilize people to register themselves as members of the programme. This fact featured prominently just before the programme was handed over to the people in 1983.

The local administration had to use a convincing and persuasive language in order to win the people to this idea of registering into the programme, especially as no direct benefits were to accrue to individual members. For instance, at one time in Gaichanjiru location, only the local leaders of different categories were registering. This recruitment was considered successful because this registration took place in a leaders meeting. The participants could not have objected to this move since they were the leaders of the people and were expected to set good examples to the rest of the community. This was indeed tactful given that it is in this very place where there was a division of opinion. Some people, including the local administration, were opposed to the programme while others were supporting it.

The foregoing discussion indicates what the role of the local provincial administration was. It acted as a link between the initiators of the programme as well as the management on the one hand and the local community on the other. This was accomplished through mobilizing

the local community to register and identify with the programme. There were hopes that, in time, the beneficiaries would get to understand what KCDC was all about and thus identify with, and support the project.

THE ROLE OF POLITICIANS

Generally, politicians can contribute both negatively as well as positively to the process of economic development. In an effort to boost his popularity and thus win the electorate's confidence a politician will try all ways and means of mobilizing resources for development of the area he/she represents. In today's Kenya, this is evidenced by harambee fund-raising meetings and other development projects patronized by politicians. This is not bad as long as their involvement is not to the detriment of the very projects they have helped to put up and patronize. Wrangles among politicians such as may hinder cooperation among leaders are however likely to be anti-developmental. This is particularly so when such conflicts lead to the division among the electorate, thus adversely affecting the spirit of community identification with and participation in development ventures.

The Kandara Community Development Centres Programme had raised a lot of political dust, particularly at the

initial period. The then area Member of Parliament is the one who was in the forefront in the launching of the Programme. He, together with other influential personalities, managed to solicit funds from West Germany with which the programme was launched. As has been pointed out above, the launching of the programme was looked at as a way of gaining political support from the electorate. Infact, the Kandara people initially took the KCDC projects to be the sole initiative of this politician. It is doubtful if they knew that the funds were coming from another source and that the politician was only a facilitator and a linkman between the local community and the funding agency. Even today, some of the people interviewed were not convinced that the projects were not launched by this person with the aim of strengthening his political base. In Gaichanjiru location, for instance, in the initial stages of the launching of the programme, some individuals had gone as far as sending letters to the Kubel Foundation in West Germany informing them that the Kandara people didn't require the projects that were being launched. This move appears to have been the result of political rivalries between the incumbent Member of Parliament and his supporters on the one hand, and those who were opposed to both KCDC and this politician. As a result of these letters, the Kubel Foundation was

unhappy about these developments and sent their representative to find out the truth of the matter. The Kubel Foundation was ready to withdraw from the programme if the people so wished. However, after much persuasion by local leaders, the Kubel Foundation agreed to continue funding the projects.

The direct participation of the then local member of parliament in the KCDC ceased with the handing over of the programme to the Local Community. At the time of stepping down he was a member of the then decision-making body, the Coordinating Committee, the equivalent of what later, in 1983 was changed to become the Board of Directors. His quitting the of leadership was based on the premise that the programme would not operate effectively to serve the interests of and being run by, the community if politicians were allowed to be part of the management. The funding agency, for one, was very particular on this issue, being strongly against the idea of making political capital out of the programme. This stand was even put down in writing in the form of a circular, the breach of which, the Kubel Foundation warned, would hamper the realization of the goals and objectives of the programme.

The findings of this study were that, since 1983, this politician has had no significant influence in the running of KCDC. However, he is said to have given

Kshs. 1,000 in 1985 towards a harambee in aid of the Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic, a project which has now ceased to be a part of the KCDC. Another feature that is coming out clearly is the fact that people in the study area, including committee members, are still divided along the lines of political alliances. This has brought about divergence in opinions and perception regarding the running of the Programme. Each group is blaming the other for the present poor performance of KCDC. The results from the field study have further showed that some members of the community, including some present and past leaders in the Programme, are supporters of the politician in question. These, therefore, are the kind of multiplier effects of political influences in the Programme.

Apart from the above politician the rest, particularly the civic and party leaders, have had very little influence, if any, in the Programme.

To summarize this section, it can be noted that the ex - MP of the area where the programme under study is located had a lot of influence in the running of KCDC in its early stages upto 1983. However, with its registration and incorporation he pulled out and has had no direct influence in the programme since, but the

ripples of the earlier rivalries emanating from political differences have continued to surface from time to time especially during elections.

SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the contribution of the major agents involved in the KCDC, particularly in the earlier stages of its development. Agents such as the Kubel Foundation, appear to have played such a significant role in the launching and establishment of the Programme to such an extent that the local community's role was overshadowed. The local community appears to have been on the periphery in the terms of participation in a programme that is supposed to benefit its members. The Kandara Development Trust which was supposed to be the voice of the people also appears to have only succeeded in ensuring that the Kubel Foundation funded the Programme. With the registration of the programme as a company, the Kandara Development Trust, together with the Kubel Foundation, withdrew with the conviction that KCDC could be able to stand on its own and operate autonomously for the benefit of the local community.

The Government of Kenya's involvement is quite impressive, particularly in facilitating accessibility to land on which to set up the projects and allowing importation of equipments duty free. Nevertheless, the non-involvement

of the Community Development Department at some time when the Kubel Foundation was still assisting the Programme cannot go unnoticed.

Having given the background of the Programme on how various parties were involved in the initial stages of the development of KCDC we now proceed to the next chapter which discusses the performance of the programme. This discussion, notwithstanding the contribution of the agents already discussed, will emphasize how the specific projects and sectors within the entire programme were operating. This will help to harmonize the issues emerging from the discussion of the parties involved in the programme on the one hand and the activities themselves on the other.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION:

In Chapter Three it was noted that the KCDC was launched as a rural development programme with a number of projects all aimed at meeting the needs of a rural community. Ultimately, the programme was aimed at improving the standards of living of the people through the consumption of the outputs of this development as well as facilitating participation of the local community in decision-making. Indeed, the funding agency, namely the Kubel Foundation had pointed out clearly from the beginning that, eventually, they would pull out and hand over the programme to the Kandara people, thus paving the way for the community to manage the programme on their own. In 1983, the programme was handed over to the local community. This study examines whether community participation was upheld or not after the handing over of the project to local management committee. This analysis however, doesn't confine itself exclusively to the period after the handing over of the programme. Rather it starts from the initial stages of problem identification and project design in order to trace the process of community involvement in the project. This is because the fact that the programme was officially handed over to the community in 1983 doesn't necessarily imply that the same community had no say at all before then. As a Community Development

Programme, KCDC was expected to have incorporated the community participation aspect right from the time of inception.

In this short chapter the performance of KCDC will be traced right from its beginning in 1974 upto 1988. This analysis will be broken down into two sections. The first section will give a summary of the events in the programme arranged in a chronological sequence. This will take the form of a summary chart. The other section will give a short summary of the activities in the programme. This latter section will be subdivided into four broad areas - the commercial sector, small scale industrial concerns, vocational training, and social activities.

This chapter will form a bridge between chapters three and five. At a glance, one will be able to understand who did what and when. The discussion of the activities here will be very brief. This is on the premise that the details are discussed in both the preceeding and the following chapters.

SUMMARY CHART ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS
IN KCDC

<u>Year</u>	<u>Activity</u>
April 1974	Kubel Foundation meets with Kandara leaders to discuss the possibilities of starting Community Development Centres.
1975	Kubel Foundation and Kandara Development Trust finally agree to establish Community Centres. Towards the end of this year the application to the Kubel Foundation for funding KCDC was approved.
August 1975	An agreement is signed between Kandara Development Trust and the Kubel Foundation.
1975	Kubel Foundation sends a Project Manager to inspect the putting up and establishment of the centres.

- January-April 1976 A prefeasibility study prior to the launching of the programme is carried out in Kandara.
- 1976 An agreement between the Government of Kenya and the Federal Republic of Germany is signed.
- Kubel Foundation sends a Project Engineer on the site of the construction works.
- April 1976 KCDC is formally launched.
- 1977-1983 About Kshs. 15 m is spent by the Kubel Foundation to establish the Programme in three different centres.
- 1978 The Social Services Sector within the broad community programme is introduced.
- A Kindergatten at Kirwara, earlier put up as part of KCDC is finally taken over by an autonomous Parents Committee.
- 1979 Ndunyu Chege Youth Polytechnic starts to operate after being expanded from a mere Youth Centre.

1980

The Youth Polytechnic at Ndunyu Chege starts to be assisted by the Ministry of Culture and Social Services by way of paying salaries to the instructors. Its management is now taken over by an autonomous committee.

July 1980

An agreement between the Kubel Foundation and the Kandara Development Trust is signed. It includes the powers and duties of the KCDC Centre Committees and the KCDC Coordinating committees at the divisional level.

1980

Upto this time a Board of Governors has been directing the management of KCDC. A new structure of management comes up, following the October agreement. In this new structure a Coordinating Committee, and Community Centres Management committees are adopted.

April 1982

Coordinating committee resolves that KCDC shouldn't have political alliances.

August 1982

The proposed KCDC constitution is discussed at the coordinating committee level. The Kubel Foundation explains that the clause allowing local participation is fulfilled by registering members with no subscription fees. In this way, the Foundation explains, the registered members become owners of the programme. The Kubel Foundation urges that efforts be made to ensure that there are enough registered members by December.

December 1982

To the Kubel Foundation, extension of the Programme's activities to other locations should be people's initiative and the foundation can only step in to fund.

1982

A complaint is recorded in the KCDC Annual Report that the social services sector had not had as much impact, particularly in areas far away from the site of the centres, as had been expected.

Stiff competition from other transporters as well as failure to repair lorries makes the Transport Department grind to a halt.

Preparations for the incorporation and the handing over of the programme to the local community are started.

January 1983. The garage at Kirwara is opened.

June 1983 The Kandara Development Trust and the Kubel Foundation finally pull out and the programme is registered as a company.

July 1983 Business and operations under KCDC Ltd. commences.

The Ministry of Culture and Social Services grants KCDC Kshs. 27,000 to Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic.

September 1983 The coordinator of social activities is involved in an accident and subsequently the operations of the department are greatly reduced. As a result some social activities approved by the management aren't implemented immediately.

June 1984

Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic is reported to be in financial problems stemming from poor management as well as unstable financial base.

Kubel Foundation reminds the management of its withdrawal of financial aid, hence implying that the management should be more vigilant in financial management matters.

Kubel Foundation, further,

- Commends KCDC employees for their teamwork.

- promises to continue funding the external audits upto 1986, including interim audits on monthly basis.

- reminds the management about an earlier resolution of having no political alliances in the KCDC.

- reports that a firm of advocates had agreed to help KCDC on all legal matters.

April 1984

Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic graduates organize themselves and form the first metal work-group. A German organization, Driette Welt Laden Schwabisch Gmuend, gives a grant of Ksh. 20,000 which is expected to operate as a revolving fund to enable the members of the workgroup to establish their businesses.

February/March 1984

Two Posho Mills, one at Kagunduini and the other at Kirwara are installed and start to grind grade one and grade two maize flour. Their installation coincides with maize harvest season and so the demand is high.

1985

Funds drive in aid of the Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic is held.

1986

Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic is finally taken over by the Ministry of Culute and Social Services.

1988

Some members of the Board of Directors collude with some employees to sabotage KCDC activities.

ACTIVITIES IN THE PROGRAMME

The Social Services Sector

This Department was not introduced in 1976 along side others such as the commercial department. It was introduced two years later, possibly because it wasn't a direct income generating activity. This sector operates under a broad title of Community Programme Department. Initially it was operating a wide range of activities serving different categories of people. These included adult literacy classes; film and television shows for educational and entertainment purposes; seminars on family planning, family life and youth development; workshops on better and improved methods of farming; indoor games, choirs, drama and sports; parties; dances; discos; and women group meetings. The three community halls, one in each of the locations, were particularly useful for leaders conferences, official government meetings, sports, entertainment and lectures for vocational trainees.

Besides making its facilities available for use to the general public, sometimes at a fee, the social services sector occasionally organized competitions in games and sports. Furthermore, the KCDC could assist public projects within Kandara with building materials or in cash. Schools and women group projects are examples of such beneficiaries.

In addition to providing entertainment and recreational services to the local community the social services sector was also intended to be an advertisement arm of the commercial sector of the Programme. In the social and recreational forums the social services sector was expected to advertise the activities of the rest of the programme in order to promote the KCDC. The Commercial Sector was in turn expected to assist the Social Services Department financially from its profits.

The sector has however, not been performing very well since its inception. Some of the activities proposed at the time of its inception in 1978 could not be implemented immediately. In September 1983 for instance, the Coordinator of the Department was involved in an accident and this, to some extent, paralysed the activities of the department. Earlier on, in 1982, the KCDC Annual Report lamented that the department had not succeeded in making an impact on the wider Kandara people. In otherwords, the complaint was that the department was not effective in disseminating information about KCDC's activities to the Kandara Community. At the time of the study most of the activities therein were no longer being carried out mostly due to lack of funds to finance the programmes. The Community Halls were being let out to individuals and groups for use, mostly for entertainment and recreational purposes. In Kirwara and Kagunduini

the respective locational Community Development Assistants have been given their offices in these halls. (see plate 4.1 and 4.2)

In summary one can say that the social services sector has failed to publicize the activities of KCDC and therefore has denied the local community the opportunity of not only knowing more about the activities therein but also participating in the programme.

Vocational Training Programme

The aim of this major undertaking was to enable school leavers to attain skills which would enable them either become employed in formal institutions or secure self-employment. Two Youth Polytechnics were opened at Ndunyu Chege and at Kagunduini. Courses offered included carpentry masonry, plumbing, metalwork, tailoring and home economics. The two institutions are no longer under the management of KCDC.

The Youth/Polytechnic of Kagunduini was wholly built by the Kubel Foundation as a part of the assistance to the KCDC Programme. It started to operate in 1980 being run and managed entirely by KCDC. In 1986, for reasons not clear, the Ministry of Culture and Social Services - the Ministry then in charge of vocational training in Kenya, took over the running of the institution. Infact, as early as 1982, ways were being sought on how the



Plate 4.1: Community Hall at Kirwara. The door at the far right is the CDA, Office.



Plate 4.2: Community Hall at Kagunduini. The Window at the far left shows the CDA's office.

Ministry could take over the running of the polytechnic.

In its initial stages the polytechnic had faced a number of problems, most of them of management nature, including financial mismanagement. Moreover, money paid in form of fees by trainees to run the courses offered then was in most cases inadequate.

In April 1984 a German organization Driette Welt Laden Schwabisch Gmuend donated some Ksh. 20,000 through the Kubel Foundation to help graduates from the Polytechnic establish their own businesses. The Revolving Fund so established never survived for long because of non-repayment among some members of the workgroups that were benefitting from the Fund. Another Organization, German Volunteer Service, was also helpful in assisting the polytechnic by providing instructors and organizing in-service courses on teaching methods and curriculum development for the instructors. The embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Action Aid Kenya also donated tools to improve the practical teaching.

Although the Kubel Foundation claimed in 1983 that KCDC was self-financing, the subsequent pull out greatly affected the operations of the Polytechnic. For instance, despite the high demand for mechanical and secretarial courses, the institution could not expand

its programme to cater for the growing needs. In terms of management the same management committee that was running the institution when it was under the umbrella of KCDC Programme assumed the management responsibility even after the separation of the two in 1986. This meant that the Kagunduini Centre Committee and the Polytechnic's management Committee were and still are, one and the same body. This overlap of responsibilities could easily lead to conflict of interests. At one time attempts to remove some members of the committee from the management of the polytechnic were unfruitful. The situation has remained so upto the time of carrying out the research.

Unlike the Polytechnic at Kagunduini the Polytechnic polytechnic at Ndunyu Chege did not start from scratch. The KCDC renovated and extended the buildings of a Youth Centre run by Murang'a County Council. In this way a Polytechnic was established and started to operate in 1979. The KCDC further, provided tools, equipment, and other teaching materials and instructors to the Polytechnic until 1980 when the Ministry of Culture and Social Services took over the responsibility of running and financing the project under an autonomous management committee.

There isn't much that we can learn on the community Participation aspect in Ndunyu Chege Youth Polytechnic

because the institution was under the auspices of KCDC for one year only. One year is too short a period for any meaningful assessment to be made. Moreover, we can't assess it after it was no longer in the hands of KCDC, a case that equally applies to the Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic, because that would mean going beyond the scope of this study. However we can note that, in both cases, when the two institutions were under the KCDC management, the selection of the trainees was done on merit. Preference was given to the youth from the surrounding areas. Vacancies were advertised on posters and in public gatherings. However, the management reserved the right to accept or reject an application. This was an attempt to exercise justice in allocation of training opportunities. But beyond this, there isn't alot that can be said as regards community participation.

Commercial Activities and Small Scale Industrial Concerns

a) Farmers Supply Shops

This department was among the very first ones to be initiated in the KCDC Programme. This was in line with the major objective of helping farmers improve their farm productivity through provision of inputs at reasonable prices and at locations close to their homes. By the time the Programme was being registered as a

public limited company there were four shops :- at Kagunduini in Gaichanjiru location, at Kirwara in Gatanga Location and at Gatura and Ndunyu Chege, both in Kariara Location.

The shops have been selling items such as seeds, fertilizers, animal feeds, veterinary products, insecticides, pesticides, bicycle spare-parts and hardware items. These items were hitherto either not available easily or were relatively expensive and thus not affordable by some people.

This department has been a major funding source of the social activities department which is basically non-profit-making. In return, the items for sale in the Farms Supply Shops were advertised by the department of social activities, particularly in the film department and seminars. Before the temporary closure of these shops, each one of them used to be served by at least two attendants. Besides selling the items to farmers, shop attendants used to give advice to farmers on how to apply the farm inputs into their farms in order to realize maximum productivity.

Management problems are the major cause of the closure of the shops. This problem, especially as pertains to the financial management aspect, has plagued and affected the

rest of the departments in the Programme. There have been cases of misappropriation of funds by those entrusted with the custody and expenditure of Programme funds. Some of the debts which the Programme owed creditors have resulted from unauthorized purchase of stocks for the shops on credit. There has also been failure to audit books of account for the shops. The study has found out that these have been caused by collusion among the Internal Auditor, the Manager of the department and a section of the Board of Directors. This can be continued to be symptomatic of a bigger problem of financial mismanagement.

The conclusion one can draw is that there has been very little, if any, element of community participation in this department. This is because the shops have been operating as pure commercial enterprises. The managerial problems have been caused by the poor performance of the department. (see Plate 4.3)

b) Transport Unit

This department was based in Kirwara market. It was started way back in the early stages of the initiation of the Programme. At the time, lorries were being used to transport sand, stones and other building materials to the construction sites where the community centres were being put up. After the completion of the construction work the vehicles were deployed in other departments

where customers who bought many or bulky items such as hardwares and other building materials paid a fee to get their items transported to their homes. There are occasions when the lorries could be hired to transport building materials not necessarily bought from KCDC.

With time, the two lorries started to break down and could therefore not be used to transport the materials any more. Furthermore, this situation was aggravated in 1982 by stiff competition. (see Plate 4.4)

The local community appears to have played very little role in the running of this subsector. Like the other commercial activities its management was vested in the manager. Therefore, its poor performance can be attributed to management problems and not participation aspect,

c) Building Unit

This subsector was started in Ndunyu Chege with the aim of demonstrating to the local community the cost effectiveness of using cement blocks and ventilations for building. However, the continued use of the conventional quarry stones and the increase in per unit cost due to the rising prices of raw materials made the unit unable to sell its idea to the local community and also uneconomical to operate. Eventually it had to close down.



Plate 4.3: This is the Farmers Supply Shop at Kagunduini. It is no longer operational as the empty shelves that used to have items for display can show. The Posho Mill that used to be at the back of this building is also not operating.



Plate 4.4: This truck from the Transport Unit has been grounded.

One lesson that can be learnt is that the unit wasn't addressing a community felt need. The Unit failed to sell its idea to the community and hence its eventual close down.

d) Mechanical Workshop

This sub-sector based in Kirwara has two departments - the Garage and the Metal workshop. The garage was opened in January 1983 as a part of a larger mechanical workshop department and was meant to operate as a commercial enterprise. The German Volunteer Service seconded a qualified car mechanic into this garage as a way of improving the services. Another German worked as an instructor in the two-year Motor Mechanic Training Course. The sub-sector operated for only four years and was closed down. Mismanagement and competition from other similar small scale establishments are likely to have been the cause of the closure.

Although this sub-sector would have been expected to be self-financing it finally closed down. In its operation we don't see community participation aspect. The conclusion one can make is that, besides the possible managerial problems, this component was not a reflection of the community's felt need. Otherwise one would see the community playing a great role therein.

The Metal Workshop, which is the other department in the mechanical workshop sub-sector, was still operational at the time of doing research, although at a minimal scale. In its early stages the department was doing well because of lack of competition in the area. The activities included the making of windows, grills, doors, gates, chairs, tables, beds and water tanks as well as welding and other general repairworks. The department also used to have apprenticeship on-the-job training courses in fitting and welding.

At the moment, the Metal Workshop department operates at a very low level. In a day the department can serve as few as two customers. The apprenticeship course has been discontinued. Competition from individuals who operate similar activities could probably be the cause of the poor operations of the department. (see Plates 4.5 and 4.6)

e) Carpentry Workshop

This was also one of the first projects to be launched in the KCDC. Located in Ndunyu Chege the department produces furniture and wood construction work. During its early years of operation this department was operating a wide range of activities such as furniture and wood construction work, fixing of shelves and ceilings, painting, sign-board writing, and offering



Plate 4.5. This is what used to be a garage. It is no longer operational.



Plate 4.6: Mechanical Workshop at Kirwara. It operates at a very low level.

practical training to the trainees in a nearby Youth Polytechnic. This is the very Polytechnic which was earlier under the KCDC, but later taken over by completely different management. The competition from other carpenters, poor management and low working morale and said to have almost paralysed the activities of this sector. At the moment, the scale of operation of this sector is very low, and the market is not as wide as it used to be sometime back.

It is surprising that even such a commercial undertaking has failed to operate at a big and economical scale. Managerial problems are likely to be the explanation behind this. For example, one wonders why there was competition between this Department and the nearby Youth Polytechnic, yet the two can be referred to as sister departments. With proper management the two would not have been allowed to produce similar products. This goes further to explain that these activities were not introduced because of what the community had expressed as their felt needs. Rather they were imposed upon the local community and were being unsuccessfully forced down their throats.

f) Posho Mills

Even after pulling out the KCDC the Kubel Foundation helped to install two Posho Mills in Kirwara and

Kagunduini in February 1984. This move was aimed at strengthening the financial base of the programme. According to the KCDC Management the introduction of the mills was made at the right time when the maize harvest season was on. Except for the Kagunduini mill which is no longer functioning, the Kirwara one is still operational. The proceeds from this Posho Mill are the ones mostly relied upon to finance the day-to-day operations of the Kirwara centre which is the headquarters of the KCDC. Proper management of this department could be attributed to its relatively better performance. Kirwara is where the office of the General Manager of KCDC is situated. Furthermore the Posho Mill operator doesn't handle finances. Customers pay directly to the Cashier in the General Manager's Office. This could explain why proper management has enabled the Posho Mill to survive. (see plates 4.7 and 4.8)

g) Saw Mill

This was installed in May 1984 at Ndunyu Chege. In the initial stages of the programme the local sales of timber was facilitated by the location of timber selling yards at Ndunyu Chege, Kirwara and Kagunduini Centres. This was in addition to sales through orders to other areas.



Plate 4.7: A customer preparing her maize in a sieve ready for grinding.



Plate 4.8: Maize being ground.

At the time of carrying out the study the Saw Mill was operating at a very low level which made the sales of timber to be mainly confined to Ndunyu Chege. The other selling yards were not operational.

LESSONS TO LEARN

From the account given in this chapter one sees a number of actors coming into the scene with the inception of KCDC. However, despite the fact that there were many activities that took place in the programme the local community was not at the forefront participating in these activities. This was inspite of the fact these activities were supposed to benefit them. Things appear to have been done on behalf of, and for, the local community. The leaders at the management level are the ones that appear to be more involved in the activities of the Programme.

The apparent not-so-good performance of the KCDC, particularly in the early stages, appears to have stemmed from poor management rather than lack of community participation, which is absent any way. There seems not to have been a strong link in the management of the entire programme so that when one department performed poorly the alternative was to close it down

or to let it suffer a "natural death". The top management was incapable of solving managerial problems in order to make the departments support one another.

With this background in mind, the next chapter will look at the performance of the Programme with emphasis on the opinions of the local community as represented by the survey done in the field. The role of the community and its participation in the programme is looked into more closely.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is largely the analysis of the information given by the respondents in the study area. The chapter considers further, the participatory aspect in a more deeper way, this time taking into account the opinions of the beneficiaries of the KCDC Programme. This discussion involves the consideration of whether or not the beneficiaries of the programme have participated in the activities therein.

The analysis in this chapter, like the discussions contained in the preceeding two chapters, is derived from the theoretical discussion in chapter two on aspects of community participation, with emphasis on decision-making. The salient features extracted from the theory chapter that this chapter considers, include the following:

- (i) The role played by the community in the Programme; whether it has been at the centre of or at the periphery.
- (ii) The contribution of the "enablers" or "facilitators" to the initiation and the subsequent running of the KCDC Programme.

- (iii) The attitude of the community towards the programme - whether its a reflection of their felt needs or it was imposed on them. This will determine whether or not the programme has been a success or a failure.

- (iv) The extent to which the beneficiaries of KCDC activities know about the programme and hence the extent to which they have been involved in its inception and subsequent running.

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN THE PROGRAMME

Ideally, if a project or programme is launched with an aim of helping a community it is quite obvious that these beneficiaries will know about the existence of such an activity and its operations. This applies in all community projects, whether they are launched by the community itself or by other agencies. Otherwise, one would question the validity of claims that the programme or project in question was a community venture, both in the initiation and implementation stages.

In an effort to find out the community participation in the KCDC Programme this research project has first, tried to answer the basic question on when and how the respondents representing the local community came to know

about the operation and existence of KCDC projects. This question is considered pertinent to the understanding of community participation because, as has been pointed out above, a community will identify with and participate in a programme or project only after the community has not only known about it but also learnt about its aims and objectives. If the community feels that the activities of the projects are not fully addressing its felt needs then the participation will either be partial or non-existent altogether. In the period during which KCDC has been in operation, there has been varying degrees of participation at different times, this being measured against the yardstick of the time and the manner of learning about the programme.

From the field survey results 49% of the respondents reported that they learnt about KCDC activities between 1976 and 1980. In terms of the locational breakdown Kariara had the highest proportion with 67%, against Catanga and Gaichanjiru's whose scores were 40% and 41% respectively. This period was chosen because this is the time the KCDC was in its early stages of implementation and most projects were being launched then. This is also the time when we would expect most people to have learnt about the programme mostly through public meetings convened by the politicians, and the local administration in liaison with the funding agency, the Kubel Foundation.

The 1979 parliamentary and civic elections as well as the public gatherings for campaigns must not be lost sight of. The KCDC Projects are likely to have featured significantly as a tool of wooing votes from the electorate. In brief, this is the period in which the KCDC's activities and their operation were expected to have been the talk of the day in the entire area.

The period 1981 to 1984 is the time during which the KCDC Programme was being handed over to the community in accordance with the initial agreement between the Kandara Development Trust and the Kubel Foundation of West Germany. Furthermore, in this period, particularly just before the handing over of the Programme, one would have expected the then KCDC management in collaboration with the local administration to have held a lot of public meetings and also made other supplementary methods of informing people about KCDC's activities and the intended move to hand it over to the community. One would have further expected intensive membership recruitment drives aimed at placing the formal ownership and thus the running of the programme into the hands of the local community. However, the proportion of the respondents who learnt about KCDC during this period was only 10% distributed as follows: Gatanga (5%),

Kariara (6%) and Gaichanjiru (18%). After the handing over of the programme to the community the sample survey results do not show an indication of many people having learnt about KCDC. On the whole only 7% of the respondents learnt about KCDC from 1985 onwards. In fact in an area like Kariara location none of the respondents learnt about the project from 1985. In Gaichanjiru and Gatanga locations the proportions were 12% and 10% respectively. Two conclusions can be drawn from this phenomenon. One, that either the new KCDC management didn't intensify the efforts of disseminating information about KCDC, or that most of the people, by this time, had already learnt about the programme in the past. This observation is made in view of the small proportion of the respondents who said they had learnt about the programme from 1985. This is particularly so in the case of Kariara where the proportion is zero.

The knowledge of particular projects falling under the KCDC Programme is another indicator of participation of the beneficiaries. From the field study results the respondents gave lists of projects they knew existed in their locality without caring whether all of them were under KCDC or not. Even those who mentioned the right projects being administered by KCDC, some of them didn't know where these projects were located, while others mentioned wrong places of location. This was taken to

be an indication that such a person was not a keen participant in the KCDC Programme because, in the first place, he/she was not sure what projects were located where.

From the information obtained from secondary sources and the KCDC management, the community was given an opportunity to give their opinions regarding the launching of the programme. However, this notwithstanding, it was found necessary to find out from the beneficiaries themselves whether in actual fact the initiators of the programme actually sought the opinions of the beneficiaries or not. From the sample survey carried out in the study area 40% of the respondents said that the initiator sought the opinions of the people when launching KCDC Programme; 44% were of the opinion that people's views weren't sought; and 16% couldn't tell whether the beneficiaries of the programme were consulted or not. This data alone cannot guide in making a justifiable conclusion regarding the participation or lack of participation of the community in the programme under study. Perhaps a disaggregation of the results into specific locations would help. Table 1 below shows this breakdown. In a location like Gatanga, for instance, 60% of the respondents interviewed from that location indicated that they were not given an opportunity to give opinions at the

Table 1. PARTICIPATION OF THE BENEFICIARIES IN GIVING
OPINIONS AT THE LAUNCHING OF THE PROGRAMME

	GAICHANJIRU		GATANGA		KARIARA		AVERAGES	
	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondent	%	Number or Respondents	%
Those not given An opportunity to give opinions on programme	5	29	12	60	8	44	8.0	44.0
Those given The opportunity	6	35	8	40	8	44	7.0	40
Those Indifferent	6	36	-	-	2	11	3.0	16
TOTALS	17	100	20	100	18	99*	18.0	100

Source: Field Survey

* Rounding error.

inception of the programme, The remaining 40% indicated that the opportunity was availed to them to give their opinions on the programme. This contrasts with the results from Gaichanjiru location where 29% respondents were of the view that the local community's opinions were not sought. Only 35% of the respondents in this location indicated that the local community was consulted at the initiation of the programme. The remaining 36% couldn't tell whether or not the local community was given the opportunity to give their opinion. In Kariara, both proportions of those whose views were that the local community's opinions were sought and those whose views were that the community's opinions were not sought, are 44%. This leaves 16% of the respondents who couldn't give an answer to the question of whether or not the community's opinions were sought.

Therefore, from this analysis, there seemed to be mixed feelings among the respondents regarding the seeking of people's opinions, or lack of it, in the inception of the programme. This is not to mention the proportion of the respondents that couldn't form an opinion regarding this matter. However, in terms of local considerations, while Gatanga's respondents were more informed about this programme, the majority of the respondents in the local community indicated that their opinions were not sought.

As much as one may advocate for participation of a people in development programmes, it is important to go further and define the type of participation expected. In this regard, therefore, the study of KCDC attempted to find out what kind of contribution the commonly made towards KCDC, besides decision-making and giving of opinions regarding the running of the projects. To begin with, three broad categories of respondents were considered, depending on the type of answers they gave. One category was of those who indicated that they have never participated in any of the KCDC activities; the second category was of those whose response was that they had participated in one way or another; and the last category comprised the respondents who couldn't give an answer. The proportions of these categories was 45%, 53% and 2% respectively.

Although the proportions of those who participated was higher than that one of those who have not, albeit by a small margin, the disaggregation of these proportions to the specifics in the three locations would help to show the varying position in as far as participation is concerned in different places within the study area. The proportion of those who have participated in Gaichanjiru location is 35% whereas those who haven't is 65% and none was indifferent. This high non-participatory rate is contrasted with Kariara's case

where 94% of the respondents indicated that they had participated and only 6% did not. The results from Gatanga location would compare with Gaichanjiru where relatively high non-participation was reported. Here 30% of the respondents had participated, 65% didn't and 5% were indifferent. The apparent high participation of the community in the programme in Kariara location could be attributed to the fact that the former M.P. of the area (Kandara) who spearheaded the initiation of KCDC comes from this location. It is possible that, in an effort to identify with their M.P., the Kariara people were more responsive to the calls by the administration and the leaders in the programme to participate more therein.

Perhaps it is important to go a step further to determine the manner of participation among those who claim to have been involved in the programme. This would help to make clearer the picture portrayed above which shows that the proportions of those who have participated in the programme and those who haven't were almost the same (compare 53% and 45% respectively, the locational differences regarding this matter notwithstanding).

In analysing the manner of participation or contribution in KCDC, three broad categories were drawn, these being a result of merging some answers given by respondents

that were similar. These categories were buying of goods or paying for services rendered; contributing finances (cash); and giving of ideas and, or opinions. Perhaps one might wonder why buying of goods or paying for services in KCDC are considered a form of participation. An answer to this can be got when we consider the type of goods and services KCDC has been selling. Of particular importance are the farmers supply shops which have been selling goods that have not been easily available locally other than from Thika town, which is about 32 kilometres from the farthest supply shop located at Gatura. The stocks have mainly been farm inputs and hardware items. Services paid for have included hiring of community halls, repairworks, and transportation of goods bought. (see Chapter Four). Furthermore, the prices of these goods and services have been relatively low (see the objectives of KCDC). Taking these things into consideration, therefore, a person paying for, or buying some item from KCDC would be considered acting deliberately, an action which, in itself, is a form of participation. In so doing, the customer, who in this case is a member of the community and therefore a participant, is both enjoying the "fruits" of the programme and also making the programme run by paying for what is being produced. The economists' concept of "consumer sovereignty" also helps to help to explain that it is the consumer who decides what the seller will sell. In this way a customer is considered a participant.

The analysis of the above categories of participation buying of goods and services, giving finances, and giving ideas - has proved that very few respondents participated exclusively in any one of these three ways. For instance, in Gatanga and Kariara locations, no one participated exclusively in giving finances and, in Gaichanjiru, none participated exclusively in giving ideas. In view of this, therefore, this aspect of the manner of participation was analyzed by finding out who participated in at least one of these three methods. Thus, in Gatanga, like in Kariara, no respondent indicated that they had given finances towards the programme and that only one(1) respondent had participated in paying for goods and services. Five (5) respondents, however, had indicated that they contributed ideas and opinions. Lack of participation in giving financial assistance in Gatanga and Kariara, as per field survey results, is a reflection of what the situation was like during the initiation and implementation stages of the programme. The findings from the indepth interviews as well as consultations with the KCDC Management, are that it is only in Gaichanjiru where in 1985 efforts were made to raise finances in aid of the village polytechnic in Kagunduini. This could be the incidence which the respondents were referring to as having participated in contributing finances towards KCDC in the implementation stage. Otherwise, besides this incident, the rest of the projects

were funded and run on the financial resources of the funding agency - the Kubel Foundation.

THE ROLE OF POLITICS/THE POLITICAL INJECTION

The involvement of politicians in development activities is not bad per se. Politics can be devices which a community can use to realize development. The spirit of harambee self-help in Kenya is a case in point. It is only when the political influence plays a negative role, thus hindering development, and particularly the very spirit of community development that it becomes detrimental. From this study, politics has been found to have played a significant role in the initiation of the KCDC Programme. When asked who in their opinion initiated the programme 64% of the respondents mentioned at least the then local member of parliament. In Kariara location every respondent mentioned at least this politician. This shows the popularity of this politician overshadowing other individuals and groups such the local administrators and the Germans who are also considered to have participated in the programme.

A further analysis to determine the popularity of this politician involved finding out those respondents who mentioned him as having been the only initiator of the programme, and therefore the most influential

figure in the early stages of the launching of the programme. The proportion of the respondents in this category was 51%. This helps to strengthen the observation made above that the politician in question is held with high esteem, and therefore recognized as having been a major facilitator of the initiation of KCDC.

Now that it has been established that the former local Member of Parliament was very influential in spearheading the launching of the programme, it is important to find out what motives and interests he had in the programme. Generally it is assumed that a politician will initiate and sometimes patronize a programme or a project with the aim of gaining political influence and popularity (Ng'ethe 1979, Hyden 1983). In this way, a project or programme will be used as a stepping stone to higher political heights since the influence and the success of a politician is gauged, from the electorates' point of view, by the number of projects the same has initiated and also how well they are operating. In spite of this general expectation, a very high proportion (77%) of the respondents were of the opinion that KCDC Programme was initiated by this politician on purely humanitarian grounds, with the aim of developing his constituency and thus help improve the standard of living of the people. In terms of locational breakdown all the 18 respondents in Kariara were of this opinion which is 100%, followed by

Gaichanjiru with 75%, and then Gatanga 56%. To most respondents, therefore, the initiator had no political strings attached to the programme.

However, there were some respondents who at least subscribed to a contrary view, that there were political inclinations in the launching of the programme. This comprised 24% of the total respondents who mentioned the politician in question. This proportion is evidently far much lower than the 77% of the respondents having a different view, and therefore, the opinion that there were no political strings attached to the project initiation, from the point of view of the respondents, seems to hold water.

The above analysis from the sample survey results reveals that contrary to what would be expected participation of the then local parliamentary representative in the KCDC programme was not aimed at building a political base in order to achieve political ends. Rather he was moved by the desire to see to it that the electorate - the local people - have their standards of living improved. In this way he wanted to prove this fact that politics can be an "enabling device" in the process of development. (see chapter two). The politician in question would not deny his involvement in the programme and also the fact that

he was doing it because he had the welfare of the electorate at heart. However, in practice, it is hard to separate the two motives of political involvement in development projects. A politician would want to initiate or help initiate development projects in order to not only benefit the local community, but to win the peoples confidence. In this way the two objectives will be met and subsequently he will succeed in building a political base around the project he has initiated, though he wouldn't want to appear like that was his initial intention.

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE LOCAL PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

From the indepth interviews as well as other secondary sources of reference one thing that came out very clearly was the fact that the local provincial administration in the study area had been very much involved, both indirectly and directly in the KCDC Programme. This is particularly so in the earlier stages where the funding agency had to use the local administration in order to let people know about the intended projects. Furthermore, in the subsequent implementation and even the handing over of the programme to the community, the local administration played a great role in mobilizing the people to attend public gatherings aimed at propagating the aims and objectives of the KCDC. Because of this significant role some respondents in the study area, though few, were still

convinced that the local administration, mainly Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs, were the ones that actually initiated the programme. On average these were 15% of the total 55 respondents. In terms of the breakdown in specific locations, Gaichanjiru scored the highest marks with 5 out of 17 respondents (29%), followed by Kariara with 2 out of 18 respondents (11%) and lastly Gatanga where only one respondent out of the 20 (5%) was of the opinion that the local administration was the initiator of the programme.

The role of the local administration was even more pronounced when one considers the whole issue of calling public meetings (barazas) within the study area with the aim of passing over information regarding KCDC. This is based on the fact that no public meeting can be held in any place for whatever purpose or reason, without the authority and knowledge of the local administration (The Chief's Act). In this respect, therefore, the survey revealed that on average, 73% of the respondents were of the opinion that KCDC was launched through a public gathering or a baraza, irrespective of who the convenor was. This is a very high indication of both the direct and the indirect role played by the local administration in the initial stages of launching the programme. When this is broken down into specific locations we find that

Kariara had 94% and Gatanga 85% of the respondents in the respective locations having this view. Only in Gaichanjiru where the proportion was relatively low, i.e. 41%.

The foregoing analysis has pointed out one very important phenomenon: that the local administration has played a crucial role, both directly and indirectly, in the KCDC programme. This is particularly so in the programme's initial stages of operation whereby the local administration assisted in licensing and/or organizing public meetings for the sake of furthering the work of the KCDC and the projects therein.

As has already been pointed out the role of the local administration in the programme is closely related with the role of public gatherings (barazas). A further look at the times when such meetings were held in the study area in connection with KCDC affairs would help us to appreciate both the direct and indirect role played by the administration to facilitate community participation in the programme. From the field survey, 46% of the respondents in the study area reported that they learnt about KCDC for the first time through, among other ways, public meetings. In terms of specific locations the proportions were: Gaichanjiru 65%, Kariara 44%, and Gatanga 30%. Even when we look at the respondents who

learnt about the programme for the first time purely through such gatherings the proportions don't change significantly. In the entire study area, the average proportion now becomes 35% and in terms of locational breakdown Gaichanjiru has 54%, Kariara 33% and Gatanga 20%. Although these proportions are not as high as one would have expected, one can still make a case for the important role played by such gatherings in informing the local community about KCDC and thus giving them the opportunity of participating in the programme. The other methods through which the respondents learnt about KCDC for the first time, and which, by implication, takes the remaining proportions, are friends, advertisements through posters, and observation of the projects as they operated.

A further analysis on the issue of public meetings showed that 33% of the respondents have attended at least one public meeting convened by KCDC. This implicitly explains the role of the local administration who must have licensed such meetings. In Kariara location the percentage was even higher given that 12 out of 18 respondents (67%) were in this category. Gaichanjiru had 18% and Gatanga 15% (see Table 2 below). Furthermore of those respondents who said that the initiator of KCDC sought the people's opinions when launching it, 90% of them said that he did this through a public meeting. This high percentage was a sign that the public gatherings were

TABLE 2. ATTENDANCE OF BARAZA

	GAICHANJIRU		GATANGA		KARIARA		AVERAGE	
	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%
Those who have attended Baraza convened by KCDC	3	18	3	15	12	67	6	33
Those who have not attended a KCDC Baraza.	14	82	17	85	6	33	12	67
TOTALS	17	100	20	100	18	100	18	100

Source: Field Survey.

forums through which initiator(s) of the programme got to let the people know about the programme, sought their opinions and thus launched it. Infact, in Gaichanjiru, all the respondents that were of the view that the community's' opinions were sought by the initiator said that this was done through baraza. Gatanga and Kariara's percentages were also quite high being 83 and 87 respectively. See Table 3 below.

TABLE 3. SEEKING OPINIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGH BARAZAS

	GAICHANJIRU	GATANGA		KARIARA		AVERAGE	
	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%	%
Opinion sought through Baraza	6	100	10	83	7	87	90
No responds/indifference	-	-	2	17	1	13	10
TOTALS	6	100	12	100	8	100	100

Source: Field Survey.

THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER PARTIES

At the time when KCDC was being launched the funding agency had planned that, eventually, the programme would be handed over to the local community to run it independently. This was technically fulfilled in 1983 when the programme was registered as a public limited enterprise. Despite the insistence of the KCDC management that the programme has since had no co-operation with any other organization, group or individuals outside Kandara, the field survey results have proved

this notion to be wrong. 65% of the respondents were of the opinion that actually KCDC was not independent. This was another way of saying that the KCDC, though a community venture, did not give the beneficiaries an opportunity to fully participate in it. In Gatanga and Gaichanjiru the view was even more prevalent and pronounced with the proportions being 80% and 87% respectively. Taking this issue of dependence further, the respondents went a step ahead by holding to the view that KCDC still co-operates with the Germans, presumably the Kubel Foundation. On average, out of the respondents whose opinion was that KCDC was not independent, 77% of them believed that the co-operation with Germans was the cause of this lack of independence. So, generally, Germans were said to have been playing a significant role in the operations and functions of KCDC as a whole. If one takes that the term 'German' is synonymous with the Kubel Foundation of West Germany, the major funding agency of KCDC, then it shows that the local community is not yet convinced that the programme is no longer controlled by foreigners. This raises two important questions, the answers to which would put into light the role of the community and their participation in decision-making in a programme that is theirs. Firstly is the validity of the claims by the KCDC management that the programme was autonomous. Secondly, if it is true that KCDC is autonomous as the management would have us believe, is

to question the efforts that this same management has put in the effort to put the facts right and tell the local community that actually the programme is independent of outsiders. Given the fact KCDC was handed over to the local community in 1983, then the high incidence of the respondents referring to the operation of Kubel Foundation in KCDC after 1983 can be attributed to the failure on the part of the management and the local administration to inform the local community about the present state of affairs in the programme.

Whereas it can be very true that actually KCDC has no co-operation with the Kubel Foundation in as far as financial or material assistance is concerned, the ignorance of the local community on this fact can be an indication of the level of community involvement. A community that is participating fully in a programme will not miss to know whether the initial funding agency has pulled out or not. Thus, even in decision-making on such matters as how to finance the programme, its involvement is questionable.

For instance, in Kaqunduini Youth Polytechnic within Gaichanjiru location, a project that is no longer under the management of KCDC, the mere presence of some German Volunteer Service personnel who are occasionally

attached to this project may have been interpreted by the local people to mean that the Germans were still working closely with the KCDC Programme. This is likely to have been the case because, in the first place, the people were not aware that the polytechnic was no longer a part of KCDC Programme, despite the fact that it was run by KCDC's Gaichanjiru Centre Committee. This was a further indication of low community participation in the entire Programme. Otherwise such cases of being misinformed would not have been prevalent.

Concerning the issue of initial sources of funds for the KCDC Programme, the majority of the people, seem to have been quite aware that it was the government of West Germany - irrespective of the specific donor agency or agencies involved. An average of 68% of the respondents in the sample survey study mentioned at least Germany to have been the source of funds. In terms of individual locations, Kariara had the highest proportion of 83% followed by Gatanga (70%) and last Gaichanjiru with 53% (Table 4). However, it is interesting to note, that the answers the respondents gave with regard to this issue were very varied. Nevertheless, all of these answers were suggesting and pointing to the fact that the source of these initial funds was Germany. It is only in Kariara location where 47% of the total respondents actually mentioned the Kubel Foundation - the major initial KCDC's funding agency. This proportion

of the Kariara respondents was thoroughly informed on where the funds came from unlike the respondents from the other two locations. The Kariara people are, therefore, more enlightened on this issue.

TABLE 4. INITIAL SOURCES OF FINANCE

	GAICHANJIRU		GATANGA		KARIARA		AVERAGE
	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%	No. of Respondents	%	%
Germany/ Germans	9	53	14	70	15	83	69
Others	6	35	2	10	3	17	21
Indifference	2	12	4	20	-	-	11
Total	17	100	20	100	18	100	101*

Source: Field Survey.

* Rounding Error.

BENEFITS TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The sample survey results revealed that, according to the respondents, the KCDC was initiated for the benefit

of the local community. Although answers to the question on who benefited most from the programme were quite varied, they all focused on to one thing: that the beneficiary was the local resident. Categories of the local population mentioned to have been the ones benefiting most from the Programme included the youth, farmers, women groups and adult literacy students. However, some answers given indicated the ignorance on the part of the respondents about the fact that some activities and projects were either not functioning or were no longer under the KCDC management. For instance, although the Kagunduini and Ndunyu Chege Youth Polytechnics were started by KCDC they were later detached from KCDC. They were, therefore, not a part of KCDC at the time of doing the research. Other activities such as Women Groups and Adult Literacy Programmes had ceased from being operational. These two incidences go a long way to showing that the people who were supposed to know how KCDC was running and what its activities were in order to benefit accordingly were least informed. This is a further indicator of insufficient community participation in the KCDC. Otherwise such erroneous judgements and conclusions could not have been made by the very beneficiaries of the programme.

Nevertheless, the answers given by the respondents indicated that there were two categories of people who

appeared to have been benefiting most from the KCDC activities. These were the youth and the farmers. 66% of the respondents were of this opinion. The reason why this view was held by the majority was because of the nature of activities the KCDC has always been associated with - mainly the recreational facilities and the farmers supply shops for the youth and farmers respectively. Included in the activities catering for the youth could have been the vocational training which, although now it is no longer under KCDC, the respondents could have mistakenly included it as one part of the projects run by the Programme. This ignorance of the activities that are no longer under KCDC is what has already been referred to as a possible indicator of lack of sufficient participation as well as failure to let the local community know what activities are under the control and management of KCDC. There were some members of the community whose opinion was that the leaders were the ones that benefited most from the programme. This category was represented by the 4% of the respondents in the survey. The remaining 30% of the respondents represented that group of the members of the local community whose opinion was that KCDC benefits other people, apart from the youth, farmers and its leaders. Another category referred to as 'others' include the general local community members without being specified, the women groups, the adult education students, schools,

carpenters, workers, and vehicle owners. It is important to note that all these people are members of the local community, and this confirms the earlier point made that the local community knows that the KCDC activities have been bringing benefits to its members. Table 5 below summarizes this notion of who benefits from KCDC.

TABLE 5. EXCLUSIVE BENEFICIARIES OF KCDC

EXCLUSIVE BENEFICIARIES OF KCDC	GAICHANJIRU			GATANGA			KARIARA			AVERAGE
	NO.	TOTAL NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%	NO.	TOTAL NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%	NO.	TOTAL NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%	%
Youth	6	16	37	7	20	35	1	18	6	26
Farmers	1	16	6	2	20	10	9	18	50	22
Youth & Farmers	2	16	12	3	20	15	5	18	28	18
Leaders	-	16	-	1	20	5	1	18	6	4
Others	7	16	44	7	20	35	2	18	11	30
TOTALS	16		99*			100			101*	100

Source: Field Survey.

* Error of rounding.

It is obvious that a community programme is expected to be of benefit to its beneficiaries. Otherwise, it would be doubtful whether that is a community programme in the first place, let alone the assessment of whether or not there is community participation therein. Whether one is subscribing to a bottom-up or a top-down approach to development, ultimately the yardstick of the success of the activity under consideration is the degree to which the needs of the people have been met. In view of this, therefore, this study attempted to find out the opinions of the local community regarding the needs addressed by the KCDC programme. In the assessment of the benefits and the performance of the programme the results showed that not much success has been achieved by the activities being carried out. On average 56% of the respondents were of the opinion that KCDC as a programme is a failure; 36% saw it as a success; and 8% saw it as both a failure and a success. In fact in terms of locational breakdown, Gatanga's proportion of the respondents whose opinion was that KCDC was a failure was 90%, followed by Kariara (61%). It is only Gaichanjiru whose 18% depicts a contrast, hence the average figure 56% doesn't look as much scaring as those disaggregates for Kariara and Gatanga.

On the contention that KCDC is a success the converse of the above situation is portrayed. Gaithanjiru

takes the lead with 59% followed by Kariara (39%) and then Gatanga (10%). It is only in Gaichanjiru where some respondents hold to the view that KCDC is both a success as well as a failure. The percentage here is 24%.

Table 6 below shows this

TABLE 6. OVERALL PERFORMANCE OF KCDC

	GAICHANJIRU		GATANGA		KARIARA		AVER- AGE
	No. of Respon- dents	%	No. of Respon- dents	%	No. of Respon- dents	%	%
Failure	3	18	18	90	11	61	56
Success	10	59	2	10	7	39	36
Both	4	24	-	-	-	-	8
TOTALS	17	101*	20	100	18	100	100

Source: Field Survey.

*Rounding error.

On trying to investigate further why so many respondents felt that KCDC was a failure one thing that came out very clearly was the fact that such opinions were expressed

because the local community was no longer benefiting from the activities of the programme as they ought to. Given that most of the projects were either operating at a small scale and low level, or were completely non-functional then the local community had no choice but to conclude that the programme was actually a failure since their needs were not being met. On average out of the respondents whose opinion was that KCDC was a failure, 78% of them mentioned the closure of some of the activities and projects as having been the reason. Other problems cited as having been the cause of the failure of KCDC were financial and management problems. Table 7 below summarizes this.

TABLE 7 : REASONS FOR THE FAILURE

REASONS FOR FAILURE	GAICHANJIRU		GATANGA		KARIARA		AVERAGE %
	No. of respondents	%	No. of respondents	%	No. of respondents	%	
Closure of some Projects	5	71	16	89	8	73	78
Financial Problems	1	14	-	-	1	9	8
Management Problems	1	14	2	11	1	9	11
Indifferent	-	-	-	-	1	9	3
TOTALS	7	99*	18	100	11	100	100

Source: Field Survey.

* Rounding error.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The field survey results have brought into light a number of issues which can be summarized as follows.

1. Generally the local community was quite involved in the programme but their direct participation is both minimal and marginal. Local community participation in the programme varied from one location to another. Limited community participation is depicted in several ways:
 - i) very few local people were consulted, and their opinions sought, during the inception of the programme;
 - ii) the local community does not identify fully with the programme; some of the members are not sure of the activities, undertaken by KCDC. This is a reflection of low participation;
 - iii) the management of the programme and the local provincial administration has failed to activate the local community members and make them know that KCDC is currently their own programme;

- iv) that the local community felt that KCDC is not autonomous is an indication that the management of the programme has failed to put the facts right to the beneficiaries in order to facilitate participation and in this way let the local community members know of the true state of affairs;
- v) some members of the local community have only a vague idea of what KCDC is all about;
- vi) the local community have a general idea of what KCDC is and the activities it runs. However, intricate issues relating to day-to-day running of the same are not grasped by the majority. For instance, most people would be quick to mention Germany as having been the source of the initial funds that went into launching the programme. However very few would know the particular organisation(s) that gave the funds.

2. Politics have had a significant place in the launching and initial implementation of the programme. This is shown by the presence of the former area M.P. as a key initiator of KCDC. Contrary to what would have been expected he helped launch the programme on humanitarian and development -

conscious grounds with little political learnings. When he moved out of the management his influence in the programme has been very minimal, if any.

3. The local provincial administration has played a significant role in KCDC - particularly organizing for barazas whereby the KCDC management met the people. The local administration is a useful tool for mobilization in order to effect the goals and objectives of the programme for the benefit of the Kandara people.
4. The KCDC Programme's activities, though reaching virtually every category of people, are however, reaching largely the farmers and the youth.
5. Despite the fact that KCDC is (supposed to be) a community programme bringing benefits to everybody, field survey results have found out that the very beneficiaries have termed the programme a failure. They largely attribute this to the closing down of the programme activities.

CHAPTER SIX: INTEGRATED OVERVIEW, RECOMMENDATIONS
AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION:

This last chapter comprises three major sections, mainly an integrated overview, recommendations and conclusion . In the integrated overview section an attempt will be made to merge together the findings from the entire study. Thus, the results of the analysis in chapter five together with the findings from the secondary sources as well as in indepth interviews as discussed in chapter three and four will be integrated in order to make logical conclusions. This will be in view of the objectives which the study set out to accomplish and which are summed up as a consideration of whether or not community participation was and is being sought in the Kandara Community Development Centres Programme.

AN INTEGRATED OVERVIEW

Low Community Participation

The results of the study have revealed that there is very low community participation, particularly in decision-making in Kandara Community Development Centres Programme. This applies in all the planning stages of the programme, from the problem identification and project design stages through the implementation point. In some instances,

however, the level of participation varies from one location to the other. The incidence of low community participation has meant that there is high participation of other parties who do not constitute an important component of what would be termed as the local community - the majority of the residents in the study area who are the beneficiaries of the Programme. This phenomenon has manifest itself in a number of ways as the following analysis will show:

1. The whole idea of starting KCDC Programme was not from the local community. The local community was introduced to a Programme whose groundwork had already been done. At that point in time the aim was not to seek the community's opinions on what projects and activities they wanted to be included in the programme. Rather, it was mere involvement in something that was beyond their control and which had already taken off. Infact, even when the pre-feasibility study for this programme was being carried out in order to justify a decision that had already been made by the Kubel Foundation and the Kandara Development Trust, the involvement of the Community was limited to mere response to questions asked in the course of carrying out the survey. This could not have been enough to make a resident

of the study area identify fully with the Programme and thus feel that he/she was part and parcel of the inception of the same.

2. Had the people been left on their own, with the help of the local administration, to initiate KCDC with only limited external influence as a change facilitator, or had they been given a fair chance to air their views during the launching of the programme they are likely to have been more enthusiastic to start more projects in other areas. The apparent alienation of the community and the 'doing-things-for-them' approach which the Kubel Foundation seems to have adopted shows that the community was being drawn into a programme whose details had already been worked out by someone else rather than active community participation through all the planning stages of the Programme.

3. Although the Kubel Foundation was supposed to work, and is reported to have worked together with the Kandara Development Trust in the early stages of launching the Programme, the results from the field show that this was not quite realized. Since this organisation was the funding agency, it assumed powers over even the Management Committees that were there - namely the Centre Committees at local level,

and Co-ordinating Committee and later Board of Directors for the entire K.C.D.C. Decisions on the Management and running of the Programme appears to have been coming from this Organisation and only passed to the members of the Management Committees for approval. This is particularly so during the time when preparations for the final handing over of the Programme to the local community were underway. The management was just being informed about the manner of the handing over and which had been worked out by the Kubel Foundation Officials in liaison with some firm of lawyers. The manner in which the KCDC was to subsequently operate raises a lot of questions, since the local community seemed to have been left out, without being given full responsibility to exercise its participatory rights in a Programme that was supposedly theirs. These loopholes include:

- i) The resolution to register the Programme as a company limited by guarantee and not by shares,
- ii) The drawing up of the constitution governing the running and the operations of the Programme,
- iii) The stipulation of the manner in which community participation would be effected. This covered such areas as manner of membership registration, composition of the members of the Centre Committees

and the Board of Directors, and benefits of the KCDC activities to the members as well as to the entire local community, including non-members.

4. Earlier participation of the community in the Programme, at the time of its establishment, was limited to mere attendance of public meetings (barazas) convened by, or/and with the knowledge of the local provincial administration. In such forums the members of the local community were informed about what was happening in the Programme and progress that was being made. Implicit in this approach was the idea of seeking the acceptance of the Programme from the community - the beneficiaries. In this way the Programme was gradually legitimized.

5. The registration of members of the Programme appears to have been aimed at just getting enough names to be presented as the members of the company. The proposed number of members in the Articles of Association was 3,000. This contention is based on the fact that these members aren't entitled to any dividends apart from the supposed feeling they would have that the company is theirs. Any profits made are supposed to accrue to every member of Kandara in the form of improved services and therefore, a registered member is not any different

from an ordinary member of the community. The initial registration of members was, therefore, used as a stepping stone towards making the KCDC a company. That the Programme doesn't offer any special benefits to its registered members may explain why there is low community participation.

7. The local community doesn't have a very close attachment to the KCDC. Besides the buying of goods or paying for services rendered from the KCDC activities the local people have very little to do with the Programme, particularly with regard to decision-making and giving ideas and opinions on the running of the activities therein. This is a very sad state of affairs because these are the people one would expect to be fully involved in a programme which they are not only benefiting directly from, but are members of KCDC by virtue of being members of the community residing in the locality in which the Programme is situated.

8. Despite the fact that public meetings (barazas) were popular forums through which the KCDC initiator(s) as well as its Management Committees used to reach the general community, after the registration of the Programme as a limited company, not much effort was made to inform people about KCDC activities.

No wonder the membership recruitment also ceased at this time.

9. The above situation (number 8) has led to some members of the community either having a very vague and sometimes distorted picture of what KCDC is all about or, and even more serious, being left in the darkness regarding the same. It is no wonder that some beneficiaries of the programme are not yet convinced that KCDC is not controlled by other organisations, groups or individuals, including the Kubel Foundation.

10. Although the benefits of KCDC have directly and indirectly been enjoyed by every category of people in the study area, the youth and the farmers appear to have been more favoured than the rest. However, despite the fact that there are benefits that are accruing to the local community, the study has also found out that in so far as the addressing the felt needs of the people is concerned, and therefore making an impact on the lives of the beneficiaries, to most of the respondents representing the local community, the Programme is a failure. This is paradoxical.

11. The Kubel Foundation's full participation in funding and establishing KCDC denied the local community the chance of also participating in the same. This lack of proper foundation of letting the community participate in the early stages of the inception of the Programme is an apparent cause of lack of community participation and other problems that, later plagued the Programme because of the weak base.

12. When the Kubel Foundation was pulling out of KCDC, the Foundation did not commit itself to starting similar centres in other locations in Kandara division. However there was a promise that should the Local Community take the initiative of starting their own projects then Kubel Foundation would consider giving some assistance. The results from the study area have, however, proved that no such move was made. Therefore, the activities and the Centre Committees that were there at the beginning are the very ones that were operational at the time of the study.

Management Problems

KCDC is plagued with a number of management problems, some of which are as old as the Programme itself. These problems seem to be of two dimensions: there are those

associated with the internal administrative set up and those related with the management and organisational structure.

The Programme appears to be too big and therefore unmanageable given the present administrative setup. On the one hand there is lack of tight internal coordination among the departments such that once a department or sector has encountered problems in running its affairs the other departments seldom come to its aid. This is how some activities have died. On the other hand, although the Centre Committees and the overall Management Board are charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the activities of the Programme are running well to the benefit of the local community, they appear to be somehow handicapped in execution of their duties. The immense size of the projects in KCDC, both in spatial coverage as well as the range and intensity of activities makes close followup quite problematic. Furthermore, there seems not be an allowance of calling for opinions from the general members of the communities on how to deal with problems in these projects when they arise. The Management Committees are left to sort out such issues. In my view, if the projects were subdivided into smaller units each having its own administration perhaps this would ease these problems.

Despite the weakness in the KCDC's constitution and the provision therein of community participation, the management of the KCDC could still encourage community participation. The local provincial administration as well as the ruling party could be used to mobilize and motivate the local community to participate in the Programme. For instance, through public gatherings (baraza) the local community could be asked to air their views concerning how KCDC should be run in order to realize more benefits to the local community.

There are instances when members of the Management Committees have been divided in opinions and matters of principle. In the middle of 1988 a committee comprising some few members of the Board of Directors was appointed. The terms of reference of this group was to look for ways and means of disposing (selling) some of the equipment and machinery belonging to the Programme. This was aimed at helping to clear some of the outstanding debts and facilitate repairing of some of the essential machinery that would be left unsold. The committee run for sometime and managed to sell off some of the equipment which were not every essential. However, before agreeing on how to rehabilitate the rest of the machinery and equipment that had been grounded for some time, the committee became somehow non-operation. Apathy and lack of commitment on some members of this committee were

responsible for this. On a number of occasions a meeting would be called and only few members would turn up. Lack of quorum would force the meetings to be cancelled.

Furthermore, even among the members of the Board, there is evidence of lack of commitment and dishonesty. The study discovered that some members of the Board have in the past colluded with some employees to sabotage the activities and functions of the programme. There was reported cases of disclosure of official matters to the public as well as attempts to avoid auditing of books of accounts. This is not to mention times when the Farmers Supply Shop department has had to get some stocks from suppliers on credit without the authority of the relevant authorities. This explains why there has been uncleared debts. Some employees were also reported to have been putting the KCDC vehicles to unauthorized personal uses. In August 1988 the General Manager of the Programme wrote to the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Divisional Officer of Kandara, informing him of these events and also appealing for his assistance. He recommended the sacking of these officers. In the meantime, the General Manager reported that a machinery was being instituted to recover the money misappropriated.

The management of KCDC has not taken upon themselves to explain to the public what exactly has been happening in the Programme, particularly with regard to the problems facing the various departments. Had the local community been kept abreast with the affairs of the Programme it would appreciate the efforts the management has been putting towards bringing the KCDC back to its former glory.

Financial Mismanagement

KCDC activities have had a number of financial problems and constraints, particularly after it was handed over to the local community and subsequently registered as a company limited by guarantee. Most of these problems have already been highlighted above under the management problems. Furthermore, at the time of pulling out of the Programme the Kubel Foundation failed to set aside some funds, or to ensure that, for some time, there would be some continuous supply of funds for the purposes of maintenance and servicing of machinery, equipment and vehicles. The notion that KCDC was, at that time, self-sufficient and self-reliant in terms of its financial standing was erroneous.

From the indepth interviews it was discovered that the poor performance of the commercial sector of the programme was also attributed to low coffee prices as

well as general deteriorating economic conditions. This situation has subsequently meant that the purchasing power of the KCDC beneficiaries has been so poor that the purchasing of goods and services has dropped significantly.

The Kagunduini Youth Polytechnic had faced financial problems in its initial stages. This was mainly caused by the fact that the money that was received as fees from the students wasn't enough to finance the running of the institution. Fees was the major source of finance.

Limited Involvement of the Government of Kenya

In the initial stages of the inception of the programme the Government of Kenya played a major role in the programme in such areas as facilitating importation of machinery and equipment tax-free, authorized the entry of Kubel Foundation into the area, provided some of the land for erecting the centres, involving the local provincial administration in KCDC's projects, and eventually registering the Programme as a company. However, lack of involvement of the Government's Community Development personnel in the initial states was a setback to future operations of the Programme, particularly as regards community mobilization to participation. The erroneous assumption that KCDC could conduct its social activities independently could have contributed to the weak

foundation upon which community participation was to be expected. When the financial position of the Programme started to weaken and the social activities could no longer operate effectively, the involvement of the very Community Development Department that was hitherto neglected came too late.

Besides the fact that the local provincial administration knows about the existence of KCDC Programme the District Development Committee knows very little about the Programme. An interview with the Murang'a District Development Officer revealed that the fact that the Programme is registered as a company makes it to be treated as a private enterprise, yet it is a Community Development Programme.

Political Influence

In the initial stages, politics have played a very significant role in the launching and implementation of the programme. The influence here, however is only limited to the activities and involvement of the former (and their) local member of parliament. At least the other politicians, mainly the KANU officials and the civic leaders do not appear anywhere in the limelight in the course of the running of the programme. Thus it can be concluded that they have not played any

significant role in KCDC. The study results show that this person was actually one of the key initiators of the Programme. As concerns his motives in helping to launch the Programme there are mixed feelings about it. Majority of respondents, though, had the opinion that there were no political strings attached. Njuguna's (1984 view is the contrary, maintaining that the Programme was a brainchild of politicians aiming at getting votes from the electorate (Njuguna 1984 :36-7). Whatever the motive was the politicians managed to help to initiate the Programme for the benefit of the electorate and also got votes.

Despite the absence of direct political influence in the Programme at the time of carrying out this research, KCDC appeared to have been manifesting the effects of earlier political influences. The division of the local community along political alliance lines and the earlier change of site for the Gaichanjiru Location Community Centre from Kareti to Kagunduini are cases in point.

RECOMMENDATIONS

KCDC, as a rural development programme, can be a means of transforming people's lives. Run on the principles of Community Development the Programme can be an avenue through which the local community can not only enjoy fruits of development but actually engage

themselves in its activities giving them a chance of participating in the planning and implementation of the Programme. This observation is clear given the government's emphasis on the participatory aspect of development whereby the local communities are expected to team up with both the government and the private sector to effect development and subsequent improvement in people's welfare. The 1989-1993 National Development Plan has this participatory notion as its theme.

In the light of the above considerations, KCDC must not only be revived and rehabilitated to make it fully operational, but must also undergo a major structural overhaul in its running so that it may reflect a true picture of a community development programme with a strong emphasis on community participation in decision-making. . The following recommendations are therefore an attempt to meet this objective, reflecting the research findings. Any attempt to address the problems facing the Programme should ensure that, first, mistakes committed in the past are not repeated, and secondly that the Programme would have a strong emphasis on community participation, particularly with regard to decision-making. It is on the basis of this that the following recommendations are made:

1. Since the local administration has been, and is actually supposed to be, a very important agent of mobilization the same should be actively involved in mobilizing the community in order to revive the programme and thus facilitate maximum community participation. This can be done through the calling of barazas right from the grassroots, such as at the village level where the members of the community know one another on face-to-face basis. This and other subsequent meetings, will make the people contribute their ideas freely without any fear of one another. Such barazas should not just be mere informatory forums. Rather they should provide an opportunity for the community to air their views, with the management and the local provincial administration being mere facilitators in this case. In normal circumstances, the tendency has been to call meetings at either locational or sub-locational levels but not below that. A village is perhaps considered too small a unit for a meeting and if such meetings are convened it would mean convening very many of them at village level all over the administrative area. This would be considered a cumbersome exercise. However, if such meetings were to be convened, it would be a very effective way of reaching the local community at the grassroots level.

2. The Programme should be brought under the full knowledge of the Development Committees at all levels - district, divisional, locational and sub-locational.

3. Government officials, particularly those from the Community Development Department in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services should have a significant contribution in the affairs of the Programme. For instance, the Community Development Officers, Social Workers, and Auditors can give free service in their respective areas of profession.

4. The Programme should continue to be run with as little political interference as possible. Political patronage shouldn't be allowed.

5. The Programme shouldn't continue to operate as a company. This is because it doesn't seem to serve the interests of the local community at large, let alone the registered members. A preferred alternative would be to register it with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services so that it may operate under the supervision of the Community Development Department or the Ministry of Cooperative Development.

6. In order to overcome the management bottlenecks, particularly if the registration with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services is effected, the Programme should be split into smaller units. For instance, this could be effected at locational level such that the three centres in the three locations - Gatanga, Gaichanjiru and Kariara, would be autonomous each managing its affairs independent of the others. Once the projects are run autonomously the community would then be able to meet even at the lowest level in order to discuss matters affecting the respective projects in their locality or even to consider expansion of the same. The result is a high level of community participation thus facilitating the instilling of a sense of responsibility and accountability on the part of the beneficiaries who in this case are the community - the owners.
7. A massive harambee funds drive should be organized in order to pay off the outstanding debts as well as raise money to rehabilitate the grounded machinery and equipments and revive the activities that are grounded.

8. In future any organization, individuals or groups wishing to support KCDC financially or otherwise must do it in liaison with the local community and the relevant Development Committee. This would avoid a know-it-all attitude that was apparent in the case of Kubel Foundation.

9. When things go wrong the management should be honest and quick to tell the local community the truth of the matter. For instance, public meetings can be called at as low level as the village where there would be free discussions and giving of opinions. In such forums suggestions on how to solve the problems at hand would go a long way to enhancing the spirit of togetherness and emotional identification with the projects. In this way community participation will be enhanced.

10. Once the Programme is split new leaders should be elected at the grassroots level by the local community. The leadership in Kagunduini needs to be changed immediately because, at the moment, it is hard to differentiate between the management of the polytechnic and management of the community centre.

CONCLUSION

Although the initiator(s) of KCDC had good intentions in starting the Programme, they failed to steer it into the direction that would have facilitated a lot of community participation. Thus, despite the fact that the programme belongs to the community the aspect of community participation in decision-making is lacking. Though conceived in the initiation of KCDC the whole idea of allowing community to participate in their own programme has become a non-starter.

KCDC is an example of programmes that fail to reflect a community's felt needs. Only after meaningful community participation is incorporated fully into this Programme will KCDC become a genuine Community Development venture upholding the four important principles which are a hallmark of any community development endeavour namely: felt need, cooperation, involvement, and agreed-upon goals. It is only when the local community is left to run and operate the programme on purely community development basis that the importance of community participation will be fully appreciated.

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APPENDIX I: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Introduction

For quite some time, the Kandara Community Development Centres has been in operation in this area. You probably have heard about the project. I am carrying out a study to find out the kinds of benefits people in this area have received from the project. The information you give will be treated in confidence and will be used in writing an academic report as part of my education at the University of Nairobi. I shall be grateful if you could spare some time to help me obtain some information on KCDC.

- a) Name of Respondent -----
- b) Sex -----
- c) Age -----
- d) Level of education -----
- e) Location -----
- f) Sub-location -----
- g) Village -----
- h) Occupation -----
- i) Place of work -----
- j) Period of residence -----

2. When did you first hear about KCDC and its projects?

How did you hear this? -----

a) through a friend -----

b) advertisement/posters -----

c) a baraza by Chief/Sub-chief/DO -----

d) other (specify) -----

3. What projects are run by KCDC in and outside your location.

Project

Place of Location

a) -----

b) -----

c) -----

d) -----

4. How does the KCDC Programme differ from other Community projects in this area as far as decision-making is concerned? -----

5. Are you a registered Member of KCDC? Yes/No

a) If Yes ,

i) When did you register? -----

ii) How did you hear about this registration?

(through a friend baraza, advertisement/

posters, others (specify) -----

(iii) Did you register immediately? Yes/No. Why?

If Yes, were your expectations met? Yes/No.

Why? -----

b) If No,

- i) Why?
 - a) not interested
 - b) doesn't know whether registration is done.
 - c) doesn't know how to register
 - d) doesn't have time to go to register.

ii) If you were given an opportunity to register yourself today what would you expect to gain from the programme? -----

6. Have you ever attended a public meeting covered by KCDC? No/Yes.

- If No, why?
- a) not interested
 - b) never received invitation
 - c) not available
 - d) Other (specify)

If Yes,, a) how many times so far/in a year?-----

b) How did you personally participated?

- i) buying shares
- ii) in giving views/opinions
- iii) contributing money
- iv) other ways.

c) How did others participate

- i) in buying shares
- ii) in giving views/opinions
- iii) contributing money
- iv) other ways.

7. Who in your opinion initiated KCDC projects in your location? (If a person, give his name, occupation, sex, education)

i) (if more than one) who in your opinion was most influential in making the decision to initiate it? -----

ii) What in your opinion led him to initiate the project? -----

iii) How was it initiated? (in baraza, advertisement, posters, others (specify) -----

8. Did the initiator seek the opinions of the public/
community when initiating the projects? No/Yes.

i) If yes (a) What kind of ideas did he seek for?

(b) how did he seek these? (through a
baraza, asking people to write to him,
others (specify) -----

ii) If no, had you been given a chance to give your
opinions on the community's needs in your
location (area) which such a programme would
be expected to meet, what would be the order in
terms of priority?

i) -----

2) -----

3) -----

4) -----

5) -----

Why would you give this order of priority? -----

In your opinion:

(a) which one of the above needs was

addressed by KCDC Programme? -----

(b) Would you say that the need(s) has (have) been met? Yes/No.

Why? -----

9. In what way(s) have you participated in any one or all of the KCDC Projects?

<u>Type of Contribution</u>	<u>How and how much/how often</u>
i) decision-making	-----
ii) finances	-----
iii) ideas	-----
iv) manual labour (unpaid)	-----
v) paid labour	-----
vi) others (specify)	-----

10. Who are the leaders of the KCDC Programme (both at locational and divisional level)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Locational Committee</u>	<u>Board of Directors</u>
i) /	-----	-----
ii) -	-----	-----
iii)	-----	-----
iv)	-----	-----
v)	-----	-----

11. When and how did they get into the present leadership positions? -----

12 Are there people/organizations/groups (etc.) who aren't a part of Kandara Community who, in your opinion, are involved in the affairs of KCDC? Yes/No

If Yes,

i) who are they? -----

ii) how do you think they are involved?

a) in giving ideas on how to run KCDC

b) in contributing finances

c) offering labour

d) offering material assistance

e) others (specify)

13. Who/What group(s)/Organization(s) do you think benefit most from the projects in your location? -----

b) Why do you think they/he/she benefit most from the project? -----

c) How do you think they/he/she benefit most from the project? -----

14. a) What were the initial source(s) of finance for the KCDC Projects in your location? -----

b) Which of these are still relied upon to finance the project(s) -----

15. Does the KCDC have any co-operation with outside groups/organizations/people? Yes/No

a) If yes, specify and the type of co-operation

b) If No, why not? -----

16. Has the KCDC Projects in your location been a failure or a success? Failure/success.

a) If a failure

i) Why? -----

ii) What would you attribute this to? -----

b) If a success

i) How? -----

ii) What tangible benefits have

a) the community got from it? -----

b) you personally got from it? -----

17. Suppose you were put in the leadership of this programme
how would you make sure that the Kandara Community
participate fully in decision-making regarding KCDC
programme? -----

18. (a) What problems do you think are facing KCDC
programme? -----

(b) What would you attribute this to?

(c) In your opinion, what would be the solutions to these problems? -----

19. Of the following people who in your opinion has contributed the most in fathering KCDC Programme in this location? (Current M.P., Local Councillor, Chief, Sub-chief, D.O. Local KANU official, other (specify) Why do you think so? -----

