PROJECT REALISATION IN SMALL TOWNS: A CASE STUDY OF KERUGOYA AND KUTUS TOWNS, KIRINYAGA DISTRICT

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Housing Administration in the Department of Land Development, University of Nairobi.

NAIROBI, 1991
DECLARATION

I, MURAGE PAULINE WAMBUI, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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signed

DECLARATION OF SUPERVISOR

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

---

Dr. J. Malombe, BA (Soc.), MA (Planning), PhD
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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My gratitude extends also to the executive officers of Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council and especially to the Town Clerk Mr. Kanampiu, who availed his time and generously gave all information he could during this research. I am also grateful to the Councillors of this authority for responding to my questions, and the towns' residents for taking time off to fill my questionnaires.

Lastly, many thanks go to Miss Kihumba for her patience in typing this thesis from an original hand-written draft.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the MURAGE family, whose love and support has seen me through a lot. May God bless them richly.
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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to impress upon local authorities the need for a well-equipped local government machinery - politically, administratively, technically and financially - in order to bring about the appropriate infrastructural facilities and services.

As a town continues to grow in population, enormous pressure is put on available services and facilities, raising countless problems of local government. Accelerated growth also makes existing administrative structures inadequate as they become unequal to their functions. At the same time, the citizens' main interest is satisfaction: they only want a local government system that delivers goods. Faced with this demand, any local authority must decide realistically how and where to begin in carrying out its responsibility.

The aim of this study is to identify the role of the local authority in the project realisation process and to identify the major problems facing the authority in the execution of this role. It is apparent from many complaints by town dwellers that local authorities have been unable to fulfil their duty of delivering facilities and services. Many promised projects for the benefit of the citizens are yet to be realised. In the meantime, the town dwellers continue to pay their dues and be without
them. Provision of facilities and services in the urban area is one of the strategies of creating economic and social opportunities which contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of the people.

Much may be said about projects that should have been realised but which have in fact not been realised. Lack of trained manpower, adequate finance, and political experience, as well as outmoded jurisdictions, too few powers and insufficient internal organizations too often prevent local authorities from fulfilling the greater part of their potential in urban development. And to the would-be beneficiaries, the local authority is compared to a 'black-box' about which little is known but out of which something that is supposed to materialize does not. Local authorities lack transparency and accountability.

To adequately meet infrastructural and service needs, the local authority must establish feasible (realistic) targets, deadlines and coordinate mechanisms. The immediate job is to overtake the backlog in essential infrastructure and services and later, through stress, sacrifice and involvement of beneficiaries, keep abreast of these requirements to the extent that it is possible to do so.

The study has two parts, the first comprising the introductory chapters generally covering the introductory formalities which comprise the study
objectives, research methodology and review of related literature. In this part processes of project identification, project planning and implementation and their imminent shortcomings are reviewed.

The second part consists of Chapter Three which examines the Kenyan Local Government system, its organization and processes.

In Chapter Four the data collected from the field survey of the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council and sixteen local authority projects is analyzed. Finally the Fifth Chapter deals with the summary, conclusions and recommendations. Recommendations given aim to improve the effectiveness of local authorities in discharging their responsibility of project realisation, in the light of the problems identified.
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Small urban centres in Kenya have a great role to play in the development of the country, being the focal points or hubs of many activities - commercial, industrial, administrative, recreational and social. They must therefore be in a position to serve not only the present needs of their population and their hinterland, but also the increasing needs due to increasing population, advancement in technology and changing lifestyles. Encouragement of their growth helps to curb rural urban imbalance. The urban centres also act as receptacles for rural migrants in search of employment and other opportunities which are found there. To fulfil all these roles, these towns must have adequate infrastructural facilities and services. These include facilities such as schools, health facilities, libraries, storage facilities, housing, cemeteries, roads, storm water drainage, bus and 'matatu' parks, public toilets, markets and slaughterhouses. Services needed include water supply and storage, sewerage and sewage treatment, electricity and street lighting. The provision of these facilities and services has a direct bearing on the proper functioning and development of these small towns and the well being of their inhabitants.

Provision of facilities and services in the urban area is one of the strategies of creating economic and
social opportunities which contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of the people both in the urban and rural areas. However, it is not just any facility and service per se that generates conditions which enhance the quality of life of the people. It is rather, those facilities and services which are consciously, objectively and spatially organized to bring about the desirable conditions which contribute to the enhancement of the quality of life of the people in varying situations. It is for this reason that before projects are implemented, they must be planned for, given that project implementation on its own will not necessarily achieve planning objectives. Planning is a vital component of any project if the end-product has to be acceptable and serve its purpose. The government of Kenya therefore emphasizes that any development activity taking place in the urban centres must be properly planned, guided and regulated in accordance with planning requirements, where planning here refers to the determination of the tasks to be done, their necessary sequence and their resource requirements to achieve project objectives1.

Properly planned projects aimed at improving infrastructure and services have the potential to improve the economy in urban areas through new business formation. In the case of small urban centres, development of infrastructural facilities and
services is designed to support the government of Kenya’s decentralization and self sufficiency goals.

The role to provide infrastructural facilities and services in Kenya has been given to local authorities who are supposed to create a machinery for developing local opinion thus establishing a framework for economic, social and political development in the area\(^2\). Local authorities must then plan for the development of projects beneficial to their areas of jurisdiction. They must ensure that they do not just concentrate on considerable thought without actual performance, a trend that inevitably leads to lack of provision of necessary facilities and services in any area.

**Problem Statement:**

This study was prompted by the evident lack of facilities and services and the observation that countless complaints are heard from town-dwellers concerning lack of necessary facilities and services. This complaint is often coupled with an adage that the same people have not been failing in their responsibility to pay service charges and other fees owed to the township authorities. Complaints concerning lack of sewerage systems, lack of public toilets and hygienic water sources, lack of street lighting and electricity supply, pot-holes on the roads and others similar to these are not uncommon. While many of these complaints come from residents in
the big Kenyan towns, small urban centres in this country are not exempted from these problems either. The need to establish problems experienced in the realisation of infrastructural and service projects prompted this study. Two small towns under one municipal council were chosen.

It was observed that attempts to plan for the development of Kerugoya and Kutus towns had been made as evidenced in the existing physical development plans, periodic district development plans and Local Authority Development Programmes. While the physical development plans have shown in broad terms the different land uses different parts of the towns are committed to, the district development plans and local authority development programmes have been more specific in listing priority projects to be carried out within specified time periods. What clearly comes out of these observations is that:

1. Land has been made available by the relevant authorities for the development projects listed, and also there are mechanisms available to make such land available at such a time as it may be required.

2. The relevant authorities have gone through the rigours and procedures of prioritizing the areas' projects using the means available to them. They therefore know where to begin and which projects to implement first.
And yet, it is also a fact that what is on paper in form of a plan and what is on the ground are not necessarily consistent. Many of the projects that have been planned for have failed to materialize. At the same time, others not planned for have been carried out. Little has been done to maintain the intentions of the original plans. Here and there, the proposals on paper have been overlaid by later developments that were not initially planned for. For example, while the towns continue to be without such basic services as public toilets and sewerage systems, and which are priority projects in any town as they are matters that hinge on health, there has been development of office blocks, purchase of Council vehicles and tractors, all of which have not been in the immediate plan. The two towns have continued to be without some facilities and services that have been on the priority list for the last ten years. Recently developed projects like the slaughterhouse, bus park and market stalls in Kutus are shrouded with complaints and rumours that hint at unscrupulous behaviour in the Council in prioritizing and implementing projects in the two towns.

In Kenya, urban local authorities have a significant role to play in the process of prioritization and implementation of development proposals. They are not only obliged to determine development requirements and needs and priorities of
the urban centres under their jurisdiction, but also to ensure that projects are implemented once proposals are approved. While the former role may have been adequately performed, the latter has remained unfulfilled and a problem area in Kerugoya and Kutus towns. While financial constraints (of which no authority is exempt) may be cited as the major handicap in realisation of development projects in the two towns, it is the intention in this study to identify other problems in the realisation process in the two towns.

The problems that face the local authority in Kerugoya and Kutus in realisation of projects that are its responsibility point to the general weakness and ineffectiveness of the realisation machinery in this country. The following observation reflects similar feelings:

The greatest obstacle to the satisfactory development of our service centres is not in the production of good development plans but in the inadequacies of implementation. The satisfactory development of towns depends about 10% on a good plan and 90% on the quality of day to day administration procedures and decision making required for implementation.

Since local authorities are integral parts of this realisation machinery, then if development in urban centres is going to be effective and bring about social and economic changes, project realisation must be examined with a view to suggesting means of solving problems identified in order to strengthen the
machinery for effective urban development. It is in this light that this study is designed to examine problems of project realisation in Kerugoya and Kutus towns.

**Study Objectives:**

The study aims at three main objectives:

1. To identify the role of the local authorities in the project realisation process in small towns
2. To identify the major problems facing Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council in the execution of this role
3. To come up with recommendations, suggesting possible alternatives for effective project realisation in the Kerugoya/Kutus Local Authority.

**Research Method:**

Two sources of data were utilized. These were primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from field surveys and visits conducted in the study area, during which time different sets of samples of respondents were drawn from the two towns. One of the sets of respondents consisted of the Councillors from the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council. Since they were only nine, they were all interviewed. Questionnaires were used to interview them individually, the aim being to find out their responsibilities both individually and collectively in the process of
generating development proposals, approving or rejecting the same and their role in the implementation of the chosen projects.

The executive officers of the Council who constituted the Town Clerk, (who also doubled up as Treasurer), Town Surveyor, Revenue officer, Chief Accountant and Committee Clerk were also interviewed individually, using a different questionnaire from the Councillors. The questionnaire had questions concerning the vital information needed from the executive officers. Rather than administer it to each officer to give the answers, it was used as a guide in the interview. Questions were posed to each officer systematically from the questionnaire. This approach was considered more fruitful because where any information or answer given needed clarification or explanation, it was immediately forthcoming. A questionnaire administered to them would have limited them in their response. The answers were recorded as the officers gave them. The interview with the executive officers of the council was intended to find out their responsibilities both individually and collectively in the project realisation process. They also threw light on the main problems encountered.

Case studies were conducted on selected development projects in the two towns. The projects reviewed in this research were those of a 'public goods' nature. These are projects which have, by
their nature, to be at least partially provided by the state and financed on a collective basis, either out of taxes or other sources of funding. Private development projects were therefore not examined. To qualify for consideration, a project must have gone through the proposal stage and got approval for implementation. Case studies were adopted here to provide an empirical context within which the problems facing the authority in carrying out its realisation tasks were examined and analyzed. The essence was to assess in each case the procedures followed in the approval of development proposals and their implementation, the role played by the local authority in this, how equipped the actors were in fulfilling the requirements at each stage, weaknesses identified and their explanations.

Concerning the projects, the District Works Officer was interviewed in an open discussion. Being the technical adviser and the person who co-ordinates the design and supervision of all projects in the district, he gave information mainly on technical and managerial matters of the various projects.

Various documents were studied to provide secondary data. These included reports, records, files, budget estimates, the periodic district development plans, Local Authority Development Programmes (LADPs) and the Council Minutes. The five-year district development plans and LADPs proved
useful in getting information pertaining to the approved projects, those carried out by the end of each plan period, and those carried forward to the next plan period. The plans were however insufficient in supplying information concerning reasons for non-implementation of many approved projects and non-completion of attempted projects. Much of this information was later obtained from the Town Clerk’s office and the beneficiaries. It may be worthwhile to note at this point that the perusal of most documents in the Municipal offices and district works office revealed that they were ill-maintained. Preparation and updating seemed to have been done on an intermittent basis and as such, there were many gaps. There would be lack of continuity in the documents that indicated periods when records were not updated. It was therefore difficult to follow up matters to their logical conclusions as in a number of cases trouble had not been taken to include some vital information in the documents and records. For example records on certain projects would indicate long periods of time where progress was not followed up and hence any information pertaining to such periods would be missing.

A random sample drawn from beneficiaries of the various projects were interviewed using open-ended questionnaires. The aim was to find out what their views were concerning project realisation in the
Municipal Council, and how satisfactory they have found the realisation to be. Questions were asked concerning what they thought went wrong in the process of realisation of projects and what they thought could be done to put it right. However speculative their views might have been, it is argued that their views were of importance in analyzing the effectiveness of project realisation in the Municipality, based on the beneficiaries' satisfaction. While 120 respondents were drawn from Kerugoya town, 80 were interviewed from Kutus, the latter town having a smaller population. Questionnaires were administered randomly to any respondent in the markets, shops, residential areas and offices in both towns, the only qualifying criteria being that the respondent be a town resident and not visiting. The argument here was that any resident was a beneficiary of any of the projects studied as they were public projects whereby all members of the society can benefit from them and no person can be excluded from their consumption and therefore implementation of the project or lack of it affected them equally.

The final part of the research involved the analysis of the data and information gathered. Descriptive statistical tools were used, which constituted of proportions, fractiles and percentages. Information assessment tables were used to make the data clearer and easier to interpret. The main
interest in analyzing the data lay in determining the causes of project realisation problems in all stages of the process – project identification, planning and implementation. Sequences of action expected to have been undertaken on the towns were examined and the actors identified. Shortcomings in the process were identified and related to particular roles not effectively performed. There was an examination of the ability or otherwise insufficiency of the relevant actors to perform. The analysis of the data and other information gathered provided the study with useful information on which basic conclusions were drawn and recommendations made.

Selection of Case Studies:
To get a sample of projects for detailed review, all projects appearing in the Kirinyaga District Development Plans over the 1979-83, 1984-88 and 1989-93 plan periods to be implemented in either Kerugoya or Kutus towns and proposed/initiated by the Council, were listed. Fourteen (14) projects were listed for the 1979-1983 period, and nineteen (19) projects and twenty-three (23) for the subsequent plan periods respectively. Four (4) projects had been forwarded to subsequent plan periods from the 1979-1983 period namely sewerage and sewage treatment project, market stalls, bus park and slaughterhouse projects. These were all considered for study on the basis of the apparent inability of the Council to implement them
within the scheduled periods.

Of the remaining projects, the conventional land-use classification was adopted to categorize them viz residential, industrial, educational, recreational, commercial, public utilities, transportation and deferred areas. Since no projects were scheduled to be developed in the deferred areas, this class of land use was dropped. It was also noticed that the educational projects to be implemented in the two towns were initiated by the Ministry of Education and not by the township authority. This class of land use was struck out on that basis. For each of the remaining categories, two projects were chosen using systematic sampling, where the first and third projects from each group were chosen for study. The recreational class had only two listed projects which were both taken for study. The resulting projects were as follows:

Projects forwarded to subsequent plan periods
1. Sewerage and sewage treatment
2. Bus park
3. Market stalls
4. Slaughterhouse

Residential projects
5. Tenant purchase scheme
6. Site and service scheme

Industrial Projects
7. Agro-industry
8. Jua-Kali Nyayo sheds

Commercial projects

9. Commercial and industrial promotion area

10. Town Hall and offices

Recreational projects

11. Improvement of playgrounds

12. Community Hall and facilities

Public utility projects

13. Public toilets

14. Street lighting

Transportation projects

15. Urban access roads

16. Storm water drains.

Definition of Terms used

Wherever used in this study, the following terms carry the meanings ascribed hereunder.

'Local Authority' means either a Municipal, or a County Council, or a Town Council, or an Urban Council established for an area in accordance with Local Government Regulations of 1963\(^5\). The term 'local authorities' refers to specified categories of these Councils, or all of these in general, depending on the context of use.

'Development' means carrying out buildings or other operations in, on, over or under the land\(^6\).

'Implementation' means the process of bringing permitted planning proposals to fruition\(^7\).

'Small Towns' means urban places with resident
population ranging from 800-5000 (as per the 1969 population census) and providing services in at least four of the following functional areas: administration and protection, social services, communications and transportation, commerce, industry and power.

Project realisation means links in the causal chain that helps obtain the desired results. In the context of this study, it refers to the stages of project identification and prioritization, project planning and project implementation.

Scope of study

This study focuses mainly on the role of the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council in the implementation of public development projects and therefore deals with the area within the Municipal boundary. It looks at the organizational set-up and the procedures through which projects are identified, prioritized and implemented, and examines the council's administrative, political, financial and technical ability to perform its tasks. Using case studies of some development projects under the auspices of the Municipal Council, the study examines the problems that are confronting the Council in discharging its roles, and how these problems have affected the Council's effectiveness in carrying out its project realisation tasks. Finally, it draws some conclusions from the findings of the analysis and suggests possible ways and means of improving the effectiveness of township authorities in
their project realisation roles.

The study spans the period between 1979 and 1991, a period of 12 years, and projects studied are obtained from lists of priority projects identified in the two towns over this period. The period coincides with the last three development plan periods covering 1979-1983, 1984-1988 and 1989-1993.

While the study concentrates on the role of local authorities in project realisation, it does not disregard the fact that implementation of projects in any town features a myriad of agencies. However, the pivotal role of the local authorities in the project realisation process justifies its study. Mention is made of other agencies only where and when it is deemed necessary and of consequence.

Justification of study

A review of project realisation problems in urban authorities is of great importance. While Kenyan urban centres continue to grow (as indeed they should), majority of the local authorities have shown incompetence in execution of projects constituting necessary facilities and services. It is government responsibility to provide those facilities and services which cannot be reasonably produced by individuals. The central government fulfils this role through the instrument of local authorities. Urban areas that continue to be without these facilities and services (even where these have been identified as
priority areas) then indicate failure on the part of the local authorities in meeting their responsibilities.

Limitations of the Study:

Limitations of a study that concentrates on an analysis of one local authority rather than an extensive survey was borne in mind in this study. The study admits a possible risk of committing an academic fallacy of generalizing from findings of one authority whose realization problems may be in a number of ways atypical of other local authorities. It is however the conviction in this study that findings and conclusions made are replicable in any other town and therefore form a basis of learning for other authorities. Where problems are unique to the Kerugoya/Kutus municipal authority, other authorities can avoid them by being aware of their existence and causes.

In the analysis of data and findings, the study tends to concentrate on only a few projects as opposed to the sixteen (16) that were studied. This is because transfers in local authorities are frequent, and with transfers also comes the loss or misplacement of many files containing vital information regarding some of the projects implemented within this period. Ample information regarding any project was therefore only available for more recently implemented projects. Information obtained on projects implemented earlier is however given where and when required and where not available, this has been indicated.
Study area:

Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council is situated in Kirinyaga district which was curved out of Embu and Nyeri districts soon after independence in 1963. Although arising from two separate districts it has a uniform ethnic character and basic topography which makes it relatively easier to deal with as a planning region. Almost 98% of all land in the district has been classified as agriculturally high potential. Map 1.1 shows the Municipal Council in its national context.

Kerugoya

The town’s historical development dates back to the colonial days - around 1910, when Kerugoya came into being. It is said that an influential ex-senior Chief Njuguna allowed white missionaries to build the present district hospital at Kerugoya. In those days, it started as a minor health centre but has grown over the years. Developing from this point, the town later became an administrative centre, a role it plays unto this day, being the district headquarters for Kirinyaga District.

Kutus

Kutus, named after Chief Kutu wa Kibetu started as a catholic mission situated on Ndumbi hill in the division of Kabare which was then in Embu District. The boma was first occupied early in 1910 by Reverend and Mrs. Crawford. They occupied an area of five
KEKUYOA/KUTUS MUNICIPAL COUNCIL: NATIONAL CONTEXT

Map 1

Source: Kirinyaga District Development Plan
1984 - 1988
acres and 200 Rupees compensation was paid to the owners of the land. Kutu was often charged with persecution of mission adherents and Rev. Crawford complained that Chief Kutu and other young men spread stories that injured his influence. Early in 1911, Rev. Crawford went home and the mission at Kutus remained unoccupied till November 1911 when Rev. B. Laight arrived to take charge. In February 1912, a further small area of about two acres was added to the site and Shs. 37 paid to the owners.

In 1912 there was the establishment of Chief Kutu’s village as a trading centre and in 1913, a number of shop plots were taken up by Indians. Roads leading to this centre were opened. In December 1913, a weekly market was started in Kutus, the principle articles of trade being foodstuffs, beeswax, earthenware pots, gourds, matting bags, skins, red clay and fibres. By 1916, the market was a flourishing institution attended by crowds of natives. The growth as a trading centre continued and Kutus is today one of the most important market centres in Kirinyaga district.

Population

The population of the two centres according to the 1979 census was as follows:-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Density per km</th>
<th>Sex ratio</th>
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<td>1874</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>3552</td>
<td>2065</td>
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<td>Kutus</td>
<td>1183</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>2224</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>113.6</td>
</tr>
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Geographical Aspects:

Kerugoya and Kutus are centred in a zone of rich volcanic soils and serve an area of small-holder farming growing maize, beans, bananas and horticultural crops as the principal subsistence crops with tea and coffee as the principal cash crops.

Kerugoya is the district headquarters of Kirinyaga district while Kutus, which is 10 kilometres south of Kerugoya is one of the busiest trading centres in the district. Kerugoya stands astride the main road joining the Central Provincial Headquarters at Nyeri with Embu, the Eastern Provincial Headquarters, while Kutus is on the main road joining Embu with Nairobi. The two towns are focal points of a network of secondary and minor roads serving the whole district.

The Municipal Council of Kerugoya/Kutus

The Municipal Council of Kerugoya/Kutus is a young one - it does not date as far back as some of its counterpart municipalities in other parts of the country. It is also a peculiar Council in that unlike
other municipalities, it encompasses two urban centres - Kerugoya and Kutus, which are situated 10 kilometres apart. There are two explanations to this situation: one, that when Kerugoya (which is in Ndia division and constituency) was upgraded to Urban Council status, there were complaints from the other two divisions of the district (Mwea and Gichugu) that they had been overlooked. Politics being what it is in the district, the Mwea and Gichugu people were appeased by upgrading Kutus to Urban Council status. There was only one problem - that Kutus was too small a trading centre to qualify to be upgraded to urban council status on its own. The two towns were therefore married to enable them acquire a higher status. Until recently, the two towns have developed quite independently of each other.

History of the Council

Before the birth of the twin Urban Council, matters pertaining to the planning and project implementation in the two towns were under the Kirinyaga County Council umbrella. County Councils were established to serve districts on local government issues. The Councils were in a position to identify closely local needs and resources, and to harness the resources to cater for the needs of the people they served. The Councils were able to involve local people and through public participation establish priorities that higher planning authorities
would tend to overlook. Out of county councils, growing trading centres were chosen for upgrading, giving them autonomy to handle their affairs in the best way they knew how.

Prior to independence, Kirinyaga district did not exist. It came into being in 1963. Before then, all planning matters were handled by the Murang’a District Commissioner. Commercial plots in trading centres were allocated by the County Council of Embu. In 1963, the County Council of Kirinyaga was gazetted. The same year saw the birth of different departments within the Council, each with a departmental head. The urban centres in the district were treated as departments of the County Council.

In January 1989, the Kerugoya/Kutus Urban Council was created. Upon creation, records were inherited from the County Council which continued to act as the mother Council. The District Commissioner chaired all meetings of the Urban Council. Kerugoya/Kutus Council remained an urban council until the end of 1986. In January 1987, it was upgraded and gazetted as a township authority, which it remained until August 1990 when the Minister for Local Government elevated it to a Municipal Council. The council is composed of seven electoral wards with seven elected Councillors and three nominated Councillors, one of whom is the District Commissioner.
The Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council has an enclosed area within the present urban boundary of approximately 46 square kilometres.

Government Activities and the Existing Physical Infrastructure

The existing physical infrastructure of the Municipal Council includes the following:-

1. Kirinyaga District Headquarters
2. A police station including a Police Division in charge of the District
3. First, second and third magistrate courts
4. A government district hospital with ambulance service
5. District Trade Development Office
6. District Probation Offices
7. G.K. Prison
9. Kirinyaga Technical Institute
10. A school for the deaf sponsored by the Council
11. Nine primary schools within the area of the Municipal Council
12. A four-stream government boys' secondary school with classes up to form four
13. A four-stream government girls' secondary school with classes up to form four
14. Three private primary boarding schools
15. A modern Post Office with telephone exchange
lines

16. A government-assisted village polytechnic

17. Full time bank services
   i) Kenya Commercial Bank - Kerugoya Branch
   ii) Barclays Bank - Kerugoya Branch
   iii) Co-operative Bank - Manned by Kirinyaga District Co-operative Union Ltd.
   iv) Central Finance Kenya Ltd.

18. More than 500 developed business plots within the urban area

19. A tourist hotel - Safari Lodge.

The Municipal Council can therefore be said to be equipped with basic infrastructure which keeps the Council's activities going. Missing infrastructural facilities and services are discussed elsewhere in the study.

Roads

Kerugoya and Kutus are well served by a network of all weather tarmac roads connecting the two towns with Nairobi, Nyeri, Embu, Mwea, Muranga, etc. The nearest railway station from Kerugoya and Kutus is located at Sagana trading centre which is roughly twenty Kilometres from the area of the Municipal Council. Map No. 2 indicates this.

Finances of the Council

When Kerugoya and Kutus were elevated to the status of Urban Council, they started off with a grant from Kirinyaga County Council for Kshs.200,000. This
grant helped the Urban Council to buy office equipment, furniture and stationery. It also assisted in paying salaries and wages for those members of staff who were seconded by the Council to work in the newly created Urban Council before it started its operations.

Revenue accrues from enforcement of by-laws, plot rents, slaughterhouse and bus park fees, market gate fees, coffee cess and fees and charges for all types of businesses operating within the jurisdiction of the Municipal Council. The service charge is the latest mode of revenue earner.

The Local Government Loans Authority (LGLA)

The Local Government Loans Authority is a corporate body established in 1953 under the Local Government Loans Act (Cap 270 of the Laws of Kenya) for purposes of establishing funds for borrowing by Local authorities to finance any capital expenditure other than housing. It is a contributory scheme in which local authorities make periodic contributions.

The LGLA’s main source of funding has traditionally been formed of loans from the Central Government. The Treasury unilaterally fixes ‘a ceiling’ to the amount of funds allocated to the LGLA. The amount has been averaging about K£ 3 million a year but is slowly increasing. The LGLA is empowered by the law to raise more money by sale of stock, local bonds or in any such manner as may be approved by the
Minister for Finance.

The LGLA fund is maintained by the Ministry of Local Government and managed by Local Government officials. Local Authorities qualify to borrow from the fund only if they have been contributing to it. The loan is payable with interest.

Currently, the fund is ineffective in the sense that it is unable to maintain a constant flow of money as many Councils have defaulted in their repayment.

Assets of the Council:

When the then Urban Council started in 1980, it had no assets of its own but the following assets were transferred to the Urban Council by the mother Council, the Kirinyaga County Council.

1. Tractor with tipping trailer for refuse collection
2. Two small slaughterhouses, one at Kerugoya and the other at Kutus.
3. Kerugoya street lights partly installed by the Council at the cost of Kshs. 40,000
4. Two waterborne lavatories (now non-functional), one at Kerugoya and the other at Kutus, built at a cost of Kshs.100,000 each.
5. An enclosed area within the present urban boundary of approximately 46 square kilometres. Besides these assets, Kerugoya/Kutus authority also obtained development loans for the following from the Ministry of Local Government.
1. A loan sanction for Kshs. 500,000 to complete the study of Kerugoya/Kutus sewerage project

2. A loan sanction of Kshs. 1,000,000 for the construction of Kutus new barter market and stalls

3. A loan sanction of Kshs. 4.8 million by USAID for the construction of a modern bus park at Kutus. Services supposed to be given to the inhabitants of the Municipal Council

1. Street Lighting

2. Refuse Collection

3. Salaries for nursery school teachers and teaching materials for nursery schools under jurisdiction of the Municipal Council

4. With assistance from County Council graders, grading of coffee access roads within its jurisdiction

5. Murraming and maintenance of urban access roads

6. Construction and maintenance of waste water drains

7. Construction and maintenance of public waterborne lavatories and latrines in the two towns

8. Maintenance of slaughterhouses and general cleanliness of the two towns under the supervision of the public health offices.

9. Sewage exhauster service on payment of a small fee

10. Sweeper service to all the streets and markets
within the Council.

11. Promotion of sporting activities.

Evidently, the Municipal Council has not been able to fulfil all these and other roles as the study will gradually reveal.

General Development:

Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council is commercially developed in that individual plot owners have built commercial shops and living quarters to cater for the influx of people into the town, and to provide accommodation to employees of various places. Industrial growth has taken long to pick up and both towns have only light industrial enterprises, mainly in the form of saw mills and a shoe factory in Kerugoya. Their employment capacity is low as they are not big enterprises. The service industries consist mainly of motor vehicle and bicycle repairing.

The commercial sector is the second highest employer, only second to the government sector. Although most commercial activities take place in the central parts of both towns, others are to be found located haphazardly in the outskirts of the town, intermixed with other activities like industry and residential land use. There are two supermarkets in Kerugoya and none in Kutus. Other specialized stores include those that deal with shoes, drugs, auto-spare parts, furniture, bars, hotels and restaurants. The business services available include those of
advocates, insurers, bankers, private doctors, beauticians and hair specialists. Apart from the main open markets in the two towns, other mini-markets, mainly hawker type are situated in strategic points all over the towns.

The informal sector or the so-called 'Jua-Kali' artisans is being encouraged enthusiastically. It consists of small scale and almost footless industrial, commercial and service activities such as cycle and watch repairs, charcoal and wood fuel selling, metal work and woodwork, shoeshine and all types of vending. Carpentry is dominant and produces different types of furniture. Most of these informal activities are haphazardly located in strategic points in all areas.

The Process of Physical Planning in the Authority:

The process of planning in the Municipal Council of Kerugoya/Kutus is not an isolated one. The Council has been depending and continues to depend on the District Physical Planning Office for its planning needs. Until 1986 when the first District Physical Planner was posted to Kirinyaga, all planning matters relating to the district were done from the provincial headquarters in Nyeri.

Ideally, the local authority and the Physical Planning department are supposed to compliment each other in effort, the authority seeking advice on
matters that are crucial to the proper physical development of the towns. The Municipal Council is supposed to have its own planning department but being a young Council, it has not reached this stage. Most of its planning documents are therefore to be found in the District Physical Planning Office.

Problems are often experienced in this planning set up, especially where the Council is unwilling to accept advise from the planners and insist on their own ideas being carried out, usually to the detriment and in total disregard of planning regulations.

This Chapter has considered the background information of the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council and problems experienced in the proper functioning of this Council. It has also highlighted the necessity for a functioning local government system to alleviate the problems that have been pointed out. It has also been observed in the chapter that project execution is not just the process of deliberation over what services and facilities should be delivered, but rather the full sequence of activities through which a project is brought to fruition, including physical construction, the provision of related services, the institution of relevant policy measures and ultimately, the utilization of the goods and services generated through the projects by the projects' intended beneficiaries. The next chapter reviews the theoretical background around which this study was
based and delves into the available literature on delivery of facilities and services by local authorities, and the experience countrywide and elsewhere in Africa.
FOOTNOTES


2. Colonial Office Summer Conference on African Administration, August 20-September 1, 1951, Queens College, Cambridge, p.31.


Provision of facilities and services:

Virtually all local governments in both developed and developing countries are responsible for providing a range of basic services such as markets and abattoirs, street lighting, garbage collection, fire protection, public open spaces, libraries and cemeteries. In most countries, they are also partly or fully responsible for providing basic physical infrastructure in the form of roads, portable water supply, sewerage systems and drainage works, while telephone and electricity services are typically the responsibility of high level (state or national) governmental agencies or parastatal corporations. With the rapid growth of urban centres and the increasing demand for the infrastructure and services which local authorities are expected to provide, a gap opens between perceived service needs and financial resources\(^1\). The resources available cannot adequately meet the needs of the citizenry in terms of providing infrastructural facilities and services.

Local authorities in undertaking such projects are faced with many problems which run through the whole project realisation process from project identification in any local area, to project implementation. Financial constraint as already noted
is a chronic problem and no local authority and government is exempt from it.

Project Identification:

The priority a community attaches to the various options for infrastructure upgrading will vary with local conditions and it is prudent to establish priorities before proceeding with any programmes. Community goals and objectives should be known before any plans for implementation are made. Extensive study of existing community characteristics, problems and opportunities should precede planning for implementation. In this way, the most pressing needs are identified.

Identification of needs begins with some sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo: if there were no problems, there would be no need for action. The diagnosis of the problem depends on an image of the desired state, which acts as the point of reference. The populace may feel they need certain facilities either because they have been disadvantaged by lack of these facilities as in the case of good roads where trade may be hampered, or in the case of a need for public toilets and health facilities where matters of public health are at stake.

The Kenya Small Towns Shelter and Community Development Project for example, developed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Government of Kenya in 1979 and 1980.
and covering 25 secondary and small towns was in response to the following need and desire:

1. to improve the management of local authorities.
2. to improve the finances of local authorities by not only improving book keeping and accounting, but by adding to their resources by introducing projects that earn revenue for the local authority.
3. to develop the small towns so that they are better able to serve their hinterlands by constructing markets, slaughterhouses and busparks, by upgrading roads and drainage, and by providing potable water, sanitary sewerage, and other urban services.
4. to promote the economy in the small towns by enhancing business opportunities through improved infrastructure and services.

There were areas that had been unsatisfactory and towards which individual projects were identified to meet the need.

The results of some individual projects have been amazing. The revenue from Karatina market rose from Kshs. 890,000 in 1985/86 to Kshs. 1.3 million in 1986/87 and Kshs. 2.4 million in 1987/88; the new market was handed over to the Council in January 1987. Kakamega’s bus park was projecting an annual surplus of Kshs. 236,000 in 1987: revenues are now 60 per cent higher than for the old bus park.
Identification and prioritization of development projects for local authorities should as far as possible take into account the very diversified wishes and various aspirations of the population. Adequate public participation is (or at least ought to be) a precondition for approval of development projects by the local authority. This means that the approving authority must be satisfied that the persons or bodies likely to want to make a representation are made aware of their right to do so and that representations from the public are received and carefully considered. This not only ensures satisfaction on the part of the would-be beneficiaries with projects that are meant for them; it is almost always true that the population has it clearly in their minds what they have and what they really need, and in the same token what can be relegated to development in later years.

The projects finally identified as priority ones must be realistic after a careful economic and technical evaluation. The authorities should have regard to staff and should realistically decide how and where to begin. The meaning of this is simply that projects identified to be carried out must be capable of being carried out given/within the economic and technical constraints of the authority. A list of projects that is perpetually passed on from one period to another without ever being executed is usually indicative of an identification process that
is not realistic about what can and cannot be done by the relevant authority. It is however lamentable that most envisaged projects in almost all local authority areas in Kenya from the City Council of Nairobi to Municipalities and town and urban Councils have not been realized despite their being identified as critical to the proper functioning of these urban areas.

Feasibility studies:

For each of the proposed development projects it is of paramount importance to carry out comprehensive feasibility studies. A feasibility study is simply a way of checking as far as one can, whether a project is likely to succeed before money is spent. The words 'feasibility study' are shorthand for a process that is, in most ways, common sense. When doing a feasibility study, one should try to arrive at the best combination of ingredients to make it successful. There are many different sorts of projects, but they all have some things in common. These are:- they have a purpose, a size, a site, construction (capital) costs, running costs, benefits (income, social benefits etc). Each of these components should be analyzed to help achieve a successful result.

1. Before committing oneself to a project, try to define what you want it to do.
2. Consult the users to see what they want
3. Think about the standards and costs. If standards are high, so will costs be.

4. Consider the resources available to construct and run the project.

Feasibility analysis asks questions about each option that has been developed or designed: can it be done given the known constraints and available or projected resources? If after all these considerations the authority is convinced that the project is capable of being carried out, planning is done for each individual project.

Some individual projects' failures are themselves instructive. Some projects are either poorly designed or located. This is sometimes a consequence or lack of proper feasibility studies or utilization of inappropriate designs.

The market at Kitui is quite inappropriately designed for the type of marketing activity it is supposed to serve; it is heavily overbuilt and far too enclosed for local preference. This is due in part to the fact that it is a market upgraded from the one on the site of the traditional "African" market, about one and a half kilometers from the centre of the town. This location and facility are proving to be unacceptable; the market is being boycotted by vendors. There are aspects that would have been pointed out by would-be users if feasibility studies
had been carried out before construction.

Project Planning

For every individual project, vital decisions have to be made concerning what is to be done. Martino expresses his views concerning planning by defining it as

the determination of the tasks to be done, their necessary sequence and their resource requirements to achieve project objectives.

It may be worthwhile to explore the main streams of thought on planning, from which have emerged alternative but not necessarily mutually exclusive definitions of planning. Planning, may according to Catenese be seen as:

a basic activity which pervades human behaviour at every level of society. In this view, planning is a process of human thought and action which brings forth a plan.

Wildasky sees planning as:

the ability to control the future consequences or present actions. The more consequences one controls, the more one has succeeded in planning.

Planning not only depicts a desired state of affairs: it also specifies the means of achieving it.

All these concepts can be translated into a definition that planning is the deliberate social or organizational activity of developing an optimal strategy for achieving a desired set of goals. Such planning aims to apply the methods of rational choice
in determining the best set of future actions addressed to novel problems in complex contexts: it is attended by the power to commit resources and act as necessary to implement a chosen strategy\textsuperscript{16}. This means that in planning, development objectives and possibilities have to be valuably pursued, and the need to translate development proposals into specific operational objectives and actions to take full advantage of the available possibilities within the existing constraints cannot be overemphasized. For such projects to be carried out there must be ability to identify and analyze problems and opportunities, to invent courses of action, to evaluate them before and after they happen, and to prepare, make or take decisions\textsuperscript{17}.

Good plans facilitate the clear understanding of the projects objectives, serve as a means of communication among all involved in the project, ensure timely completion of projects and serve as a basis upon which corrections can be effected, permit rational allocation of resources and the organization as a whole. Without them the converse can be expected.

Planning is necessary for the implementation of projects because of the following reasons:

1. Facilities to be constructed are defined and an effort is made to achieve them within the limits of the available budgeted resources.
2. A project manager, through the use of a project plan, can easily convey to other professionals the emphasis that should be put to time, cost and quality.

3. It is necessary to ensure timely completion of projects. Untimely completions result in serious economic consequences.

4. Efficient planning permits optimal use of limited resources and lack of it leads to projects that generate cost over-runs, long interest payment periods and high overhead costs.

5. Projects are usually undertaken by groups of individuals, each contributing his share. Overall efficiency of the group or team depends to a large extent on the performance of each individual. Planning enables this by providing a unity of purpose to the members of the group. Local authorities make decisions that affect their own actions. For example for each project to be carried out, decisions are required on when it should be done and who is to do it. Information on sources of money and skills is also needed. The product of the decision-making process can be defined as a course of action consciously chosen from available alternatives for the purpose of achieving a desired result. The desired result in the case of any local authority project will constitute a project that is
for example located in the best site, serves all the people that need be served adequately, can be afforded by the authority and is socially acceptable by the citizenry.

A good decision depends on the maker being consciously aware of the factors that set the stage for the decision. Past actions and decisions provide the structure for current decisions. The environment of the decision maker determines many factors that must be accepted as being out of control of the maker. A decision is rational if it selects means that lead to desired ends and the entire decision-making process is directed towards securing action.

A decision involving implementation by several departments (as is the case in many local authority projects) requires some means by which the departments become involved in the decision-making. Committees are means by which each department can obtain the benefit of comments from other departments. Decision making is therefore a requirement of planning which involves 'choosing from among alternative future courses of action'. Plans thus provide a rational approach to pre-selected objectives. Planning not only involves pre-determining a course of action to be taken, relative to a known event, but includes mentally searching for possibilities of future problems that might appear. Techniques of handling uncertainty are therefore extremely valuable.
There is much to be saved or lost by virtue of the particular alternative chosen in project investment decisions. Indeed, project investment decisions are the single most important factor in determining success or failure of any project. The Administrative Reforms Commission of India in their report on public sector undertakings in that country in June 1967, revealed the following inadequacies in project planning:

1. "................. one of the main reasons for this (delay and cost overrun) has been the lack of proper attention being paid to the initial planning of projects.

2. Planning has proceeded in a piecemeal fashion i.e. all the technical and economic aspects of the projects have not been considered together at one time. This has necessitated revisions of the project proposals.

3. Often during initial planning, decisions have been taken on the basis of assumptions which have not been verified or supported by a thorough analysis of the situation, facts and past experience.

4. At times, two or three projects are inter-related or interdependent. In such cases, there is lack of co-ordination and sufficient effort is not made to dovetail the different stages of inter-dependent projects, with the result that a particular project, though completed, cannot start its operation till
When planning requirements are fulfilled, all the above problems can be avoided. The likely impact of decisions will be known in advance, mistakes will be avoided, future needs will be anticipated and met as they arise and resources will be set aside prior to the time they are needed\textsuperscript{23}. All agencies and parties involved in the development are supposed to work within a common frame and have their activities judged by common standards provided by planning.

In many cases, planners have a number of alternatives they know can be implemented, but do not know which one they should implement. With options to compare, the decision makers have some freedom to estimate the relative impact of each and then to choose the alternative they like most. The choice then depends on the evaluation criteria adopted. A commonly used criteria is cost - benefit analysis. This method is used when both the costs and the benefits or outputs can be quantified in monetary terms. When outputs cannot easily be expressed in dollar values as in services, cost-effectiveness analysis is used\textsuperscript{24}. Many planning issues involve conflicting goals and multiple interests. The parties in conflict will quickly raise the issue of equity if the planning group forgets it.

After successful planning with all the above factors taken into consideration, the authority is
then ready to execute the plan. Project implementation is the last stage of the process of project realisation.

**Project implementation:**

Implementation has been described in various ways:

1. Turning the general statements of policy into day to day action.
2. The putting into practise of planning policies and proposals.
3. Achieving a given set of objectives.
4. Bringing permitted planning proposals to fruition.
5. Getting a plan done on the ground ...... only if a plan is implemented does it progress from being a bound volume of paper on the shelf to a useful economic/social instrument.

Inherent in all these definitions of implementation is the theme of enactment.

A few generalizations are possible about implementation experiences. A strong political commitment appears to be a necessary but not always sufficient, condition for the adoption and successful realisation of proposals. Clearly defined goals which are translatable into objectives that can be monitored, are important. Most plans have failed to make explicit statements concerning the relationship between objectives and the action and powers upon
which implementation is predicted. Authorities’ view of implementation has been compared to a ‘black box’ about which little is known but within which something is supposed to happen that turns objectives into reality. Often, resources with which to implement project aims have not been mobilized.

Constraints on implementation are easy to identify when they are considered but too often this area is ignored in the planning stage. The obvious constraints are economic or physical: the size of a budget or an allocation, access to supply sources or markets, ceiling on travel time, minimum site areas or dimensions to accommodate given needs at acceptable standards. Less tangible constraints may be political or organizational\(^{26}\) and these too have to be taken into account before realistic implementation procedures are decided upon.

Furthermore, problems of implementation may be seen better in a political context rather than being characterized as ‘technical’ problems of implementation. At times, implementation of projects may flounder, not because of inadequate implementation techniques, but because there is no societal inclination to redistribute power, wealth and opportunity in this way. Action (implementation) is also subject to secondary constraints due to the socio-political environment in which it operates. Thus, the relationships between central and local
government, different decision making agencies, and public and private sectors are crucial to the understanding of the nature of implementation. The Chief Architect of the then Ministry of Works, Housing and Physical Planning attributed these (problems) to several external factors, most of which were not within the powers of the ministry to control. These were:

1. Lack of adequate professional and sub-professional staff to undertake the documentation and supervision of projects. The main cause of this was that the local universities and polytechnics were not producing enough professionals, and the few produced were competitively shared with the private sector. The problem has been compounded further by the poor state of remuneration offered by the public service to its employees. This means that officers recruited do not put in their best because their morale is low and have their minds set on entering the private sector. Most of them actually do leave in the middle of their services, thus abandoning projects they have started and generating confusion in the implementation process.

2. For a long time, the inadequacy of professional staff has been alleviated by the provision of consultancy fees by the treasury for commissioning of projects to private consultants in the last three years (from 1984). However, the amount made available
under this provision has constantly reduced and presently can hardly cover the fee notes for consultancy services on ongoing projects.

3. Projects are also delayed due to non-availability of imported materials. Some building materials are not locally available and orders have to be made from overseas countries. These orders have to be scrutinized by the Central Bank before import licences are issued. This takes time and affects project performance.

The problems listed above are not unique. They can be observed in many public projects (local authority projects included) all over the country and point to a malfunctioning implementation process in the country. A key to a successful realisation of any project is the establishment of mutual commitment to action by the central and local government and private bodies. Commitment must be accompanied by an ongoing method of review and control to guide and co-ordinate activities. The concerned authorities should start by analyzing the particular needs of its area, following a sequence for example analyzing the generalized situation, design and testing. They should have regard to staff and facilities available and should realistically decide how and where to begin.

In order to know whether objectives are being met, the function of control becomes important. Control is the measurement and correction of
performance in order to make sure that the enterprise objectives and the plans devised to attain them are accomplished. There can be no control without prior planning, and plans lose their influence without follow-up control. Together, plans and controls regulate outputs.

The control cycle is an endless sequence of establishing standards, observing performance, comparing performance with standards, and taking corrective action to increase the likelihood of achieving performance which 'measures up' or to revise plans and standards in the light of actual performance.

Three critical general dimensions which are used in assessing the progress of projects regardless of their nature and specific content are cost, time and quality. Cost control is the effort directed to ensuring that at completion, a pre-determined cost is not exceeded while time control aims at completing a project within a set period. Quality control aims at realizing the performance standards envisaged during design.

The three activities of the control process form a cycle called the control cycle. The figure below illustrate the working of the cycle.
Finally, it is not enough that a project has been completed. It is also necessary to find out if the project's original objectives have been realized. Revenue generating projects must be capable of earning money from users of facilities. Fees collected can serve to not only pay capital costs and debt service on the loan borrowed for development, but also to increase the general revenues of the local authority. Markets, bus parks and slaughterhouses that have been appropriately designed and located have become popular with their users and are generating revenue for the local authorities, generally making a net surplus, in Karatina, Kitui and Kapsabet for the three facilities respectively. It must be noted however that revenue generating projects are only as effective as the local authorities' ability to collect that revenue.
The non-revenue generating category of projects are in a sense more basic: They are intended to bring direct benefits to a large proportion of the population and business. Projects such as roads upgrading and improvements in water supply and sanitation, and possibly electrical power supply are pre-requisites for effective markets, bus parks and slaughterhouses. Roads for example are important for the agricultural activities that dominate the towns' hinterlands. According to a World Bank study done in 1987, one of the main courses of poor agricultural performance in Africa has been inadequate roads. In Kenya agricultural performance and development of towns are highly interlinked. The success of a project is therefore measured not just by timely completion within the set budget but also by its ability to meet its envisaged objectives.

Evaluation

After control, evaluation is the next and actually last stage of project realisation. It is a stage that aids in determining how successful the entire process has been. Evaluation is the process of determining as systematically and as objectively as possible the extent to which project objectives have been or are being achieved, and of analyzing the reason for any discrepancy between planned and actual performance. Evaluation should be a constructive discussion among interested parties, a collaborative
effort rather than a judicial review. Evaluation increases the authority's knowledge of what did or did not work in implementation of various projects. With improved knowledge, or evidence, not opinion, the authority can make better decisions which should lead to more successful projects. To obtain this improved knowledge, the authority needs to know what happened and why (or why what was supposed to happen did not). In this way, past mistakes are avoided and consequent projects make better use of limited resources and the management makes appropriate and timely decisions resulting in improvements to projects.

In summary, what is contained in the foregoing literature is simple - that the making of a comprehensive plan is not an end in itself. Until implemented by governmental or citizen action, the plan has little value. As a plan it represents at a given time the best judgement of the planning agency as to the proper course of action to be followed. Project implementation includes all official steps taken to carry the plans into operation. In implementing the projects, the function of control becomes of paramount importance in ensuring quality work within a given time and cost limit. Evaluation makes management avoid past mistakes and improve efficiency.

It may be concluded in this chapter that while provision of essential infrastructure and pubic
services remains a challenge in this era of great pressure on local authority resources, the said facilities and services are necessary for economic growth and advancement. For each potential project broad features must be identified which will usually include a crude analysis of the resources it will require and benefits to the citizenry and costs likely to be associated with it. Project execution is of paramount importance because without it, all the careful and meticulous planning translated into many skills and the man hours injected into every project end up as wasted effort.

The next Chapter examines the role of local authorities in realisation of projects in their areas of jurisdiction.


University of Nairobi, June 1986, p.167.


22. Ibid. pp 154-155.
34. Ibid. p191.
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Within the area of local authority investment, there is a special category of what are known as 'public goods'. These are goods which have to be by their nature, at least partially provided by the state, and consumed in a collective basis, either out of taxes or other sources of revenue. These are goods such as defense, public health facilities, education, roads, bridges and airports. The common feature of projects in these areas is that they are not sold on the 'market', and that benefits are attributable to someone and to others, and they are supplied, not on the basis of prospective individual profitability, but on the basis of what is needed in
Local authorities are service agents and the authority to perform the services they perform flows from a statute - The Local Government Act - that the government in respect of certain services would rather act indirectly through a certain agent of whom it has only peripheral control. The reason for this is that while it is of use for Kenya to be organized at a national level, it is very useful to give autonomy to local areas to manage their affairs in the best way they know how.

Within the area of local authority investment, there is a special category of what are known as 'public goods'. These are goods which have to be by their nature, at least partially provided by the state, and financed in a collective basis, either out of taxes or other sources of funding. These are 'goods' such as defence, public health facilities, education, roads, bridges and airports. The common feature of projects in these areas is that they are not sold on the 'market', and that benefits are difficult to measure and to value\(^1\), and they are appraised, not on the basis of prospective individual profitability, but on the basis of what is needed to
provide adequate service$^2$.

'Public goods and services' have certain characteristics which make them unsuitable for delivery through market forces:

1. They require extensive investment and can therefore, practically, only be provided by a monopoly.

2. Basic social policies require the distribution of certain services to all members of the society, and no person can be excluded from their consumption. Governments through local authorities therefore provide the investment for infrastructure development as well as the infrastructure required for administration, education, health etc, while investments in industry and commerce are normally the responsibility of private sector enterprises$^3$.

The creation of local authorities in Kenya

Before a local government can exist, there must be an established central government system which will invariably be concerned with matters which have a national outlook. A local government system then runs parallel to this and its main task is to perform at localized levels. It is important however that this dual approach of administration and agendas be clearly defined.

Local authorities are a forum for the participation in national politics of a particular group of people. Many governments realised that the
process of democracy necessitated localization of issues in the sense that it was not prudent to have only an established unitary government operating at national headquarters. Each locality will have its own problems and priorities and will want to express itself in a manner that represents the totality of their lives. Ignoring the unique local character means that some of this (character) will be lost. It was also realised that while it was of use to be organized at a national level, it was also very useful to give autonomy to local areas to manage their affairs the best way they know how; it was in this spirit that local authorities were instrumented. Local authorities are in close contact with the people in their areas and are therefore better placed to decide on various aspects deemed critical in these same areas.

The local government system in Kenya dates back to 1928 when the Local Government (District Council Ordinance) was passed (exclusively set up for European settlements), although the first two townships in Kenya - Nairobi and Mombasa were set up in 1908, and Native Councils in specific areas where settlements had taken place were set up in 1924. In 1928 there was also the passing of the Municipal Ordinance which elevated Nairobi and Mombasa townships to municipalities. By this time, other settlements in the country had grown into sizeable urban centres.
The evolution of the Local Government in Kenya went through the following stages.

1930 - A township Ordinance was passed which provided for two types of townships - Grade A and B townships. Grade A townships were self accounting and could levy their own taxes. They constituted of a District Commissioner who was assisted by an appointed committee to advice him in running the township. Grade B townships were wholly run by a District Commissioner.

1946 - Creation of Location Councils as a second tier of local authorities in some of the local native areas.

1950 - The African District Councils Ordinance was passed which ordinance affected parts of the country where Local Native Councils had been set up. The ordinance renamed them African District Councils.

1952 - The County Councils ordinance was passed. It was a parallel development in the settled areas and this ordinance established seven county councils in the settled areas. Below this was established a lower tier of local authorities whereby there were urban district councils in urban areas and in other areas a pattern of rural district councils. This arrangement subsisted until 1963 and by this year there was a clear division of a situation whereby

1. There were as the most developed, the municipalities with the greatest powers to
provide services in their areas. There were County Councils almost at the same level and seven in number in the so called white highlands.

2. Below these were a number of rural and urban councils as a lower tier.

3. African District Councils - 33 in number covering the rest of the colony comprising areas outside municipalities, county councils and rural councils.

There were six Grade A Councils run by Commissioners responsible for sanitary services in their own areas. In addition, there were a number of Grade B townships under District Commissioners.

The changes in 1963:

District Commissioners were asked to hold local enquiries to establish local opinions as to what local governments should be like after which the Local Government Regulations Legal Notice No. 96 was passed. These remained intact until 1964 as the basic rules governing the local government system. Those regulations established municipalities as they then were and a pattern of county councils throughout the country. Below these was the second tier of urban and area councils. Elections were held for all local authorities under a common role and their superintendence or control passed on to regional assemblies. The Graduated Personal Tax (GPT) was
introduced as a means of revenue earning for the local authorities so established. Local authorities were also vested with taking care of primary education and public health.

The year 1964 witnessed the collapse of regional governments and control of local authorities reverted to the central government system with a full Local Government Ministry superintending the municipal councils and county Councils. This was because local authorities were largely unable to meet their responsibilities of service provision due to chronic financial crisis. Two main reasons stood out as the cause of failure of the local government system:

1. Inexperience of councillors appointed - wrong people were making decisions which in the first instance they were incapable of making.

2. The financial factor where problems of patronage and corruption were experienced and these prevented public servants from taking decisions even where they were capable of making them. On the other hand, a back-up team of public servants were needed, which servants were in shortage at the time.

Drastic surgery was needed and did occur in 1968, giving birth to the Local Government Act Cap. 365 of the Laws of Kenya, which Act governs the workings of the Local Government system in Kenya. The Local Government System in Kenya has this structure:-
In 1970, it was realised that Municipalities and urban councils infringed on each other's activities. A commission of inquiry, The Hardcare Commission decided to have a medium structure - the Town Council to alleviate this situation. This Local Government structure subsists to this day.

The Government of Kenya, in respect of certain services and facilities would rather act indirectly through a certain agent of whom they have only indirect control so that the agent is autonomous and can undertake certain activities independently of the government itself. This arises due to two reasons:—

1. That the nature of the central government is such as not to allow the provision of some category of services and facilities efficiently and on a
commercial basis and therefore, in respect of those services and facilities, the government would rather act through its own appointed agents. Services such as water provision, transportation, sewerage systems, schools, health services have been seeded to local authorities because of their specialized nature.

2. The second reason touches on the nature of the central government. Since time immemorial, the central government system has been associated with two main ills - red tape and bureaucracy. Because of these weaknesses, it was necessary to look for new avenues through which it could perform certain of its functions, hence the instrumentation of local authorities to act on behalf of the government.

In the area of social and economic development, local authorities are looked at as the most rational institutions which can facilitate development in their areas because the leadership and other personnel come from that area, and will inevitably be aware of the needs of that particular area, the priorities, and by the same token, the matters not urgent in that same area. Because the whole institution is homegrown and autonomous, it is more likely to be more efficient in allocating social and economic resources than if the central government was charged with such responsibilities.

Local authorities, being creations of a statute - the Local Government Act - are expected to transact
and operate within the framework of the law of the statute which establishes them. Any activity or operation done outside the Local Government Act lacks legal sanctity. The main aim of the government here is not only to bring the operations of Councils within the statutory limits of the law, but also to insist on the spirit which reflects the objectives for which the local authorities were established is the first place.

The Organizational Structure of Local Authorities:

Any urban authority is divided into two distinct but functionally interconnected sections - the Council comprising of elected representatives who constitute the deliberative and government body of the authority, and the appointed paid staff who form the executive arm of the council. The Council is presided over by an elected chairman (or mayor in municipal councils), is the supreme authoritative body formed in accordance with the terms and conditions of the Local Government Regulations of 1963. It makes policy decisions, by-laws and other embrasive regulations to determine, direct and control the activities of the council within its routine functioning and in its area of jurisdiction.

The council is organized into five functional committees which are vested with authority to discharge specified duties and services. Figure 3.2 illustrates this set up.
Sub-committees may be set up depending on need for detailed working on specific issues brought before them. These committees are headed by elected chairmen who chair their meetings. Their main function is to make decisions on issues and matters pertaining to the area of duties and services they are assigned on behalf of the Council. The regularity of meetings of each committee depends on the nature, urgency and the frequency at which matters requiring their attention are raised. The various committees are not mutually exclusive in that Councillors serve in more than one committee. This promotes an element of integration in decision-making at the committee stage.
Figure 3.3: THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF THE COUNCIL

Source: Kathukya, T.7

Figure 3.3 above indicates the division of work within the Council. As can clearly be deduced, the Town Clerk, being the Chief Executive Officer of the Council heads the hierarchy of the organizational structure.

The small size of the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal authority means that the departments are merely small units but which are nevertheless important for functional division of work within the council. These departments are headed by different officers coordinated by the Town Clerk who is the Chief Administrative and Executive Officer of the Council. The position of the clerk is further enhanced by the fact that he is the advisor to the Council in its decisions.
The Central Government and Local Authorities

Local authorities are agents of the central government and arising from this fact, the very institution that establishes the local authorities has an overall control and supervision over them to make sure these institutions do not derogate from the role for which they were established. The exercise of supervisory control by the central government is at the policy level rather than at the day to day operations of the local authorities. As long as the control of the central government over the local authorities is at policy formulation level, then the local authorities are autonomous.

Since the establishment of the Ministry of Local Government in 1963, the Ministry has several supervising functions in respect of local authorities and the local government system in general. This was observed in the Hardcare Commission of Inquiry\(^8\) where it was stated that:

> To meet the responsibility allocated by Parliament to the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry must, and must be expected to be the real control and co-ordinating body for all matters pertaining to Local Government and its requirements.

It is the business of the Ministry to see to it that general government policy pertaining to the operation of local authorities is formulated and channelled to the local authorities for enforcement. When policy has been formulated at government level
through the Ministry of Local Government, it becomes part and parcel of the legal instruments which the individual local authorities must comply with in performing their functions.

In respect of borrowing powers and financial management, local authorities must operate under the auspices of the central government. They cannot make their own financial commitments without passing through the Ministry of Local Government (MOLG), which is charged with special powers of supervision over the financial management of local authorities. These powers are basically at two levels:

1. That in respect of all their borrowing commitments, the local authorities must submit their borrowing commitments to the MOLG which in turn seeks the approval of the Treasury whose portfolio is to manage the national financial resources.

2. All other financial commitments, financial estimates, schemes, returns and annual reports must be submitted to the MOLG for approval in order that such schemes, statements etc. are in conformity with the government policy in relation to their operations. The statute guiding these is the Local Government Act Sections 212 to 226⁹.  

Section 212(1) states that:

Not less than fourteen days before the commencement of every financial year, the finance committee of every local authority shall present to the local authority detailed estimates of its income and expenditure during the forthcoming financial year.
Section 212(6) states that:

Where in any financial year it appears to a
local authority that
a) expenditure for a special purpose is
desirable and

b) no or insufficient provision has been
made for it in the annual estimates for
that year; such local authority may
prepare or cause to be prepared, and may
approve, supplementary estimates.

These provisions notwithstanding, various
estimates are rejected where dire financial
constraints are almost always experienced.

Identification and Prioritization of
Development Projects For Local Authorities

Before any project can be executed by a local
authority, there must be a prior stage when projects
are identified and consequently prioritized. The
executive and political members of the Council sit
together to deliberate on the needs of the area in a
series of council meetings. The councillors as
representatives of the public in their respective
local authorities present the people's needs to the
Council. Out of all proposed projects, the same group
(Councillors and executive officers of the Council)
make decisions on which projects are to be carried out
first: such a decision is based on four factors:

1. Is the project crucial to the efficient
functioning of the area concerned? Can it be said to
be urgently required relative to other projects?

2. What are the project's financial implications?
Is it affordable at that point in time? If not, is it possible to solicit funds external to the Council with which to implement the project? This factor considers the real costs of projects and priority is given to projects from which the Council and the citizenry will derive the best return, given the costs. It also helps the Council to select projects that do not create a burden on Local Authority Finances.

3. Social and political acceptance - where for one reason or another there is dissatisfaction with a chosen project, people may deliberately frustrate efforts to implement such a project or if implemented may be rejected by the same people for which it has been developed.

4. Is there an account to draw from, for example to pay professional fees at the design stage? Is there the necessary technical and managerial staff to direct and supervise the project? If not, is there money to pay external staff? Is the staff needed available in Kenya or must it be borrowed externally?

Since December 1982, the Ministry of Local Government has decided that all local authorities should prepare their own five year plans, which are called Local Authority Development Programmes or simply LADPs. They are part of the District Development Plans and have the following advantages:

1. They are comprehensive.

2. They bring together officers and councillors in
working out priorities.

3. They provide the basic information required concerning the local authority.

4. They are excellent working documents to use as a basis for the submission of annual capital estimates, and requests for donor and other external funds.

Local Authority Development Programmes (LADPs) contain additional information which will make it quite clear whether the project should encounter any problems at any stage. The procedure for making Local Authority Development Programme includes the following stages.

STAGE 1: Collection of Information

1.1 Population - size
   - growth
   - projection over plan period.

1.2 Economic and Administrative Functions of the Town
   - Economic base
   - Functional base: administrative
   - Sources and forms of employment
   - Natural resource base

1.3 Land Availability
   - Underdeveloped land, ownership and size
   - Physical factors
   - Location of main services.
1.4 **The Local Authority:**

Information on the financing and staffing of the local authority is needed.

- Staffing - present and expected in terms of number and qualifications
- Finances - Revenue base
  - Past records
  - Loans repaid in the past and repayment periods.

**STAGE 2 Development Needs**

These constitute needs that have been identified in the area of the local authority's jurisdiction.

2.1 **Infrastructure**

- Water
- Sewerage
- Roads and drainage
- Street lighting.

**Considerations**

- which areas of the town are already served but in which services require improvement?
- Which areas are not served at all?
- Which areas might be developed over the plan period?

2.2 **Economic Development**

This stage constitutes those projects that are envisaged to contribute to the economic well being of the authority.
78

- Markets
- Workshops
- Bus and 'matatu' parks
- Slaughterhouses
- Others.

2.3 Housing

When the following aspects of housing are considered, it can then be determined how urgent a housing project is in the area.

- Existing needs - water supply
  - hygienic toilet facilities
  - others.
- specific needs - have they been met?
- future needs.

2.4 Community facilities

In considering these, it must be decided which is most immediate and at the same time, which facility can be implemented at a later date.

- schools
- health
- social services
- fire stations
- libraries
- others

Considerations

- which areas are served but inadequately?
- which areas are not served at all?
2.6 Felt needs
- elected leaders report the felt needs of different wards to be reconciled with needs already identified by the executive officers.
- summary report of major needs in the town.

STAGE 3: Identifying and Documenting Projects
Following the needs assessment stage, the officers should identify potential projects to respond to those needs.

3.1 Project information
- capital costs
- Annual costs - loan repayments
  - staffing
  - operations and maintenance.
- Revenue - source and annual returns
  - expected impact on revenue base.

Other considerations
- Is the land owned by the Council?
- Does the project fit in the physical plan?
- Will the project depend on the development of other projects?
- Can the present staffing man the project?

Having considered all these factors, the Council now can tell which projects are critical, which ones
are not very urgent and how equipped the Council is both financially and technically in handling their planning and implementation.

3.2 Prioritization

Prioritization considers all the above factors. The Town Clerk prepares a complete list of projects that have been identified and in a council meeting verbally takes the councillors and other executive officers through the projects one by one, bringing out key issues for example land availability, the rate of return on each project and staffing necessary. After councillors have understood the proposed projects, the Town Clerk proposes the priorities based on the opinion of the officers. The Council then democratically debates and adjusts the priorities as it sees fit. When the projects have been prioritized, the next step is to propose a timetable for the implementation of the projects and to implement the projects that are scheduled to be implemented immediately.

Once a timetable has been proposed, plans get underway to implement the projects. The proposals are taken to the District Works Office for detailed planning and preparation of the necessary documents. During this time, there is consultation between the District Works Office, the client (the Local Authority) and funding agencies namely the Treasury or donors, as the case may be. Tenders are then invited
for the project. When a contractor is selected, the project commences on site. The planning for each project is aimed at accomplishing four activities in order for it to be complete.

1) **Setting of goals and objectives**
   The results which the project aims to achieve are defined and expressed in specific terms, such as the number of stalls to be installed in a market complex, total floor areas, time when the market should start operations, etc.

2) **Generation of alternative approaches to achieve the goal**
   Several approaches are proposed. These are in reaction to aspects of the project such as the type of construction, starting time, sources of funds, specifications, mode of getting work done - whether through contract or by local authority labour, and others.

3) **Choosing a suitable alternative**
   The alternatives proposed are evaluated for their suitability depending on user convenience, flexibility, acceptability by users, availability of resources, operation costs, governmental, local authority or environmental constraints; a suitable alternative is chosen.

4) **Drawing a detailed plan of action**
   Production information is compiled into drawings, bills of quantities and other forms of work
description, time limits are set, personnel and resources are allocated to different activities and sections of the project, and a methodology for control is worked out.

To ensure that effort is not wasted in preparing projects that are later abandoned, consistent involvement of the funding agent and any other resource contributing body, and the client, is necessary especially during planning. From the funding agent (where the funding agent falls outside the local authority), assurance will be required that every commitment made will be provided with the requisite resources.

The success of implementation of any project will depend on how well the above project realisation steps have been followed. Problems encountered in realisation of projects have been discussed in the next Chapter.

The District Development Committee (DDC) and Local Authorities

The District Development Committee (DDC) is set up for the purpose of drawing proposals to meet the infrastructural needs and priorities in any district. All departmental heads in the district are members of the DDC. The members deliberate on all proposals concerning the district together, thereby avoiding the danger of duplication by different departments with common interests. Local authorities are considered as
departments in the district and like any other departments are represented in the DDC. This way, projects proposed by the local authorities need not be repeated by any other department.

Control of Local Authorities by other Government Ministries:

The functions of local authorities span a fairly wide area, some of which may not necessarily be within the direct control of the Ministry of Local Government. Many of the Local authority activities fall within the portfolios of other Ministries of Government and therefore require the consent and approval of those Ministries if and when they undertake to perform these functions. For example, local authorities undertake education, roads, public health and water projects. When they exercise these functions, they must seek the consent/approval of the Ministry of Government charged with that responsibility, and have to liaise with such Ministries if various objectives are to be met.

Summary

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that local authority responsibilities are vast. The need for a well organized local authority system can therefore not be over-emphasized. Where for various reasons the responsibilities of the relevant local authority have been more than it can handle and where the local authority has derogated from carrying out
its functions the way it is supposed to, serious dysfunctions have arisen.

The main problems facing local authorities in their responsibility of identifying and implementing development projects are discussed in the next chapter using Kerugoya/Kutus Municipality as a case study.
FOOTNOTES


This study was based on the need to establish the main problems experienced in the realization of projects that were the responsibility of Nairobi Municipal Council. Research was carried out on this Council with a view to gathering information which points to the responsibilities of the Council in the provision of important services and facilities, the Council's organization, staffing, and sections and how these enable or otherwise hinder the implementation of projects in the Council.

This chapter analyses the data of the research, it starts with an overview of project identification in the Municipal council. Planning and implementation of the sixteen projects studied, and gives an account of the problems of project realization identified, and their solutions.

Project Identification

As was noted in the chapter on the role of local authorities in the identification and prioritization of projects, it is the responsibility of the elected, executive and executive council of the council to

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CHAPTER 4

PROBLEMS OF PROJECT REALISATION IN KERUGOYA/KUTUS MUNICIPAL COUNCIL: RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This study was based on the need to establish the main problems experienced in the realisation of projects that were the responsibility of Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council. Research was carried out in this Council with a view to getting information which points to the responsibilities of the Council in the provision of important services and facilities, the Council’s organization, staffing and workings and how these enabled or otherwise deterred the implementation of projects in the Council.

This Chapter analyses the data of the research. It starts with an overview of project identification in the Municipal Council, planning and implementation of the sixteen projects studied, and gives an account of the problems of project realisation identified, and their causes.

Project identification

As was noted in the chapter on the role of local authorities in the identification and prioritization of projects, it is the responsibility of the elected, nominated and executive members of the council to deliberate and decide on the projects that are
critical to the proper functioning and growth of their respective areas. In the prioritization of projects in Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal authority, emphasis was put on overutilized existing facilities, uncompleted on-going projects, employment and revenue generation, cost effectiveness in project implementation, preventive and promotive health care and underserved areas requiring new or additional facilities and services. Table 4.1 shows the projects chosen in the study and their criteria of prioritization. In all the cases the project at the time of prioritization was seen to be needed urgently enough to have been implemented within the study period. The reasons for lack of implementation and non-completion of some of these priority projects emerged as the study continued.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Criteria of Prioritization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market Stalls</td>
<td>Overutilized existing facility, employment and revenue generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting</td>
<td>Uncompleted ongoing project, safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewage System</td>
<td>Preventive and promotive health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant purchase houses</td>
<td>Housing shortage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Hall and Offices</td>
<td>Area requiring new facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm Water drains</td>
<td>Improvement of existing facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site and Service Schemes</td>
<td>Housing Shortage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Toilets</td>
<td>Preventive and promotive health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-industry project</td>
<td>Employment and Revenue generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Hall and Facilities</td>
<td>Area requiring new facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of playgrounds</td>
<td>Underserved area requiring new and additional facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Terminals (Park)</td>
<td>Overutilized existing facilities, revenue generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughterhouse</td>
<td>Overutilized existing facility, preventive and promotive health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial and Commercial promotion Area</td>
<td>Underserved area requiring new facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo sheds</td>
<td>Employment and income generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Access Roads</td>
<td>Poor condition of existing facility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, January 1991
This notwithstanding, the 1979/83 Kirinyaga District Development Plan noted that:

Kenya is presently under a severe budget squeeze which means that probably several of the proposals of the plan will not be implemented as would be desired and expected.

Coupled with the above basis of prioritization were two other important considerations.

1. What are the financial implications of the project? The project must be affordable by the local authority or else a funding agent be available and willing to fund the project.

2. The technical manpower needed to man the project in question be available or capable of being available when needed, and the local authority capable of meeting the ensuing financial demands.

The need to identify realistic projects for implementation is of paramount importance. It decides ultimately, which projects are capable of being implemented and which fall short of this. In this study, it was observed that many of the councillors lacked the enabling skills to make them capable of making sound decisions in the project identification and prioritization stage. As observed earlier, it is not enough to have a list of needs. It is also necessary to evaluate each project, taking into consideration such factors as land availability, rate of return of each project, staffing, capital and annual cost of project, etc. It was discovered that
the decision making procedures of the council were weak due to a peculiar composition of councillors. About 78% of the councillors had the barest minimum in terms of educational qualifications. Given that educational levels are usually related to levels of knowledge, insight and understanding, which can be brought to bear on any decision making process\(^2\), it would then follow that the low educational level of the councillors limited their ability to contribute meaningfully to the project identification and prioritization exercise. While councillors did not need project appraisal skills, it was necessary for them to have been in a position to understand the information and data upon which argument for or against any project was based. This process was hampered where the councillors had problems understanding some of the information, data and some basic calculations that sometimes proved necessary. To most of them, the most important thing was that the project be implemented in their ward as a clear indication of how hard they were working for the citizens. Table 4.2 shows the educational levels of councillors in the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council.
Table 4.2  Educational Levels of Councillors in the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elected/Nominated Councillor</th>
<th>Maximum educational level attained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Standard 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Standard 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Form 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Standard 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Standard 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Standard 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Form 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Standard 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Standard 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, January 1991

Unfortunately, these councillors tended to dominate the identification and prioritization exercise in the council to the extent that the executive officers of the council like the Town Clerk who were supposed to participate as ex-officio members of the Council meetings played a passive role. This is a lamentable trend given that the Councillors lacked the expertise to make sound appraisals and hence executive officers were expected to be their source of strength in the project identification and prioritization exercise.

Disunity among councillors was cited as a deterrent in the council's ability to identify and prioritize development projects. Even though details were not revealed of, for example, the number of
projects that stalled because of disunity, this was cited as a problem. It made it difficult to attain agreement and co-operation in making certain decisions. The council was split into two distinct rival (mostly political) groups consisting of Ndia and Gichugu Councillors, who tried to outbid each other in virtually all matters brought before the council. This affected rationality and objectivity in identification and prioritization of projects. What a member of one group said, the members of the other group would almost always oppose. Asked for their general views about the Councillors, the beneficiaries had the following response concerning the amount of cooperation they got from them in presenting their needs to the council.

Table 4.3: Beneficiaries Response Concerning the Amount of Co-operation from Councillors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response from beneficiaries</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No co-operation</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little/poor</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depending on political affiliation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal interests within the Council were also alluded to in the discussion with the executive officers of the Council. The mayor of the Council, being at the helm of the affairs of the Council wielded a lot of influence on what projects were approved for immediate implementation and those that were relegated to later years. The executive officers of the Council said that unscrupulous behaviour, personal interests and politics shrouded most of the decisions concerning identification and prioritization of projects, a trend that was started way back in the 1970s. For projects carried out in Kutus namely a slaughterhouse, bus park, street lighting and market stalls, it was revealed by the officers interviewed that Councillors from Kutus, while looking after their political interests, (where political well-being usually meant how much development occurred in one's ward) prevailed upon the clerk to the Council to prioritize them. They had the backing from a high office in the council and their overwhelming influence caused those projects to be implemented even where rationality dictated otherwise. Market stalls and a bus park, were critically needed in Kerugoya town considering the volume of trade and volume of transportation business respectively, which in both cases were much more than what was experienced in Kutus as indicated by feasibility studies carried out in both towns pertaining to the two facilities.
There was also no street lighting in Kerugoya at that time and crime was on the increase, making it an urgent project.

The bus park in Kutus raised a lot of questions, being the fifth project to be carried out in Kutus, with only two projects having been carried out in Kerugoya within the same time.

Table 4.4: Projects Carried Out in Kerugoya and Kutus Over the Last 5 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Projects implemented over last 5 years (1985-1990)</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market Stalls</td>
<td>Kutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting (incomplete)</td>
<td>Kutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of playgrounds</td>
<td>Kerugoya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm water drainage (incomplete)</td>
<td>Kerugoya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo Sheds</td>
<td>Kutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughterhouse</td>
<td>Kutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Park</td>
<td>Kutus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey January, 1991

People in Kerugoya were feeling overlooked as far as development projects were concerned, as was revealed during interviews with project beneficiaries. Out of the 120 beneficiaries interviewed in Kerugoya, 82 felt too much attention was being given to Kutus at the expense of Kerugoya’s development. From the office of the Town Clerk, it was learnt that this feeling was so ingrained in the Kerugoya residents to the extent of spreading bad rumours about the meat
products from the Kutus slaughterhouse. The two-to-five ratio of Kerugoya/Kutus projects over a five-year period left a lot of Kerugoya residents wondering if they had been forgotten.

The last point concerning the identification stage revolved around public participation. Adequate public participation is (or at least ought to be) a precondition for development proposals to be approved. This means that the approving authority must be satisfied that public opinion has been sought (through the Councillors) and that representations from the public are received and carefully considered. Public participation is a strategy for gaining legitimacy and support from would-be beneficiaries and also helps to quell opposition. This simply means that where citizen opinion is sought, they identify with the projects that are thereby implemented and will not be opposed to their implementation and use.

In Kerugoya and Kutus, 96.8% of residents were ignorant of the sources of priority projects in the towns as none could remember ever having been consulted about their needs. They therefore tended to be hostile towards the Council, seeing it as a forbidding force rather than a body that could cater for their needs. They wondered who decided for them what their needs were and why they could not decide for themselves.

The following table shows the response of the
residents to questions concerning their participation in identification of needs.

Table 4.5: Awareness of Projects to be Implemented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>No. aware</th>
<th>No. not aware</th>
<th>% not aware</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market stalls</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewage system</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant Purchase houses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Hall and offices</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm Water drains</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites and service scheme</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public toilets</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-industry project</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Hall and facilities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of playgrounds</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Terminus (park)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughterhouse</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial and Commercial promotion area</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo Sheds</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Access Roads</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average of those who were unaware of source of projects was 96.8%.

Source: Field Survey, January 1991
Because of the 'inability' of the Council to relate development projects objectively to local needs and requirements, projects were prioritized that were not critical while those that were urgently needed remained unfulfilled. For example, while it needed regular maintenance, the small slaughterhouse in Kerugoya could have continued to serve the towns' purposes, whereas a sewerage system and public toilets could not wait any longer, having been pushed forward from plan period to plan period.

It was also observed that many of the prioritized projects were those capable of generating revenue, directly or indirectly. Out of the sixteen (16) projects studied, ten (10) were capable of some form of return. This was because the profit motive dominated the market system and often over-ruled the criteria of need. Out of the ten income generating projects, six were implemented while only three non-income generating projects were implemented within the same period. This clearly showed a bias towards income-generating projects. The following table shows this.
### Table 4.6 Nature of Projects Implemented Over Study Period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Revenue generating</th>
<th>Non-Revenue generating</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market stalls</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>partially implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewage system</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant purchase houses</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Hall and offices</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites &amp; Service scheme</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public toilets</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community hall &amp; facilities</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of playgrounds</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Park</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughterhouse</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial and Commercial</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotional area</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo Sheds</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>partially implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Access Roads</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm Water drains</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>partially implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-industry project</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>not implemented</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* is an affirmative sign

Source: Field Survey, January 1991
A point that came out in the survey was that the Council ignored carrying out feasibility studies for the proposed projects. For all projects studied except the bus park project, tenant purchase houses project and sites and service scheme, no way was used to check whether the projects were likely to succeed before money was spent. Whether a project was approved for implementation or not mainly depended on the level of backing it got from certain sectors as was revealed by the executive officers of the Council. Often, certain councillors seemed to wield a lot of influence and cases of over-ruling by powers from above were not entirely unheard of. The officers feared to be dragged into Council politics and therefore did not contradict some of the councillors. The officers said that their 'hands were tied' and could therefore not always act in the interest of the Council or the beneficiaries.

The foregoing analysis reveals some of the setbacks experienced at the project identification and prioritization stage, leading to approval of some projects that could otherwise have been relegated to later years. This was due to failure on the part of the council to analyze these projects objectively either due to various biases or actual lack of knowledge.
Project Planning and Management

The outcome of the process of project identification, screening and approval is largely determined by the manner in which beneficiaries present their needs, the development priorities of the area in question and politics.

After a project is approved for implementation, activities which follow fall centrally in the stream of management. The manner in which it is managed determines its success.

In planning, development objectives and possibilities have to be valuably pursued, and the need to 'identify and analyze problems and opportunities, to invent courses of action, to evaluate them before and after they happen and to prepare, make or take decisions' cannot be overemphasized. Good plans facilitate the clear understanding of the projects' objectives, serve as a means of communication among all involved in the projects, ensure timely completion of projects, serve as a basis upon which corrections can be effected, permit rational allocation of resources within the projects and the organization as a whole.

Although attempts to plan the projects were evident from the District Works records, various problems were observed which indicated that the planning process in Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council could be better. The following analysis will show
Site Problems

Three out of the sixteen (16) projects studied had site problems. The rest of the projects that were implemented had none. It was difficult to determine whether any would arise when it was time to implement the projects that had as yet not been implemented.

Table 4.7: Site Problems and Consequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Site problem</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus Park</td>
<td>1. Uneven terrain</td>
<td>1. need for cut and fill material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Vehicular traffic on site</td>
<td>2. Delay in commencement of project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Jua Kali sheds on site</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewerage</td>
<td>No site for sewerage treatment works</td>
<td>Matter unresolved, project not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial &amp; commercial</td>
<td>site reserved used for other purposes,</td>
<td>Project not implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promotion areas</td>
<td>no new site</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, January, 1991

These site problems were apparently only discovered after funds had been allocated for these projects. The funds could only be utilized after these problems had been resolved. The financial situation of the Kerugoya/Kutus Council does not allow it to have idle funds and yet this has happened. One can only hope that this money will still be there when time comes for the projects to be implemented.
The site problems point to a problem of planning - that planning is disjointed and seems to consider each aspect of a project independently rather than look at all the aspects and the relationships that emerge. In a single project, aspects such as capital requirements, technical requirements and time may be considered and the site, a basic requirement of any project be forgotten. Such problems could have been solved if planning had looked at all factors of the projects. The result of planning mistakes led to time as well as cost over-runs.

The non-availability of a site for the industrial and commercial promotion area also pointed to a case of personal interest because the use to which the site allocated for this project was put was private. The site is now owned by a member of the Council, and shops and residential units are currently being developed on it. Personal gain therefore overruled the plan for this site.

Financial Constraints:

The single most cited reason by the councillors, executive officers and beneficiaries for delays, lack of implementation of certain projects and completion of projects that did not meet the originally intended quality was financial constraints. Substantial blows were dealt on promising projects by lack of funds. A major complaint from the Council was that after project designs and estimates were prepared, it was
not uncommon to find slashed budgets requests by the Treasury where financial officers showed little understanding of even simple requirements for adequate administration of physical facilities and services and slashed budget requests year after year. The Town Clerk and revenue officer could not remember one single project whose budget request was retained and the money made available by the Treasury. This meant a change of the designs and estimates to produce projects within the prevailing constraints. The argument was that there was never going to be a time in the foreseeable future when financial constraints would ease to the extent of approval of all budget requests that reached the Treasury. The philosophy was then to take what was available when it was available. Where more funds were promised in the future and were not forthcoming, abandonment of incomplete projects was the result as in the case of the Kerugoya/Kutus bridge and the Kerugoya/Baricho road.

Use of funds for purposes not indicated in the estimates almost always brought about the ultimate problem of shortage of funds. Price increases of building materials and cost of labour also brought about this result. The fact that the local authority’s role was not only that one of project realisation compounded the financial constraint problem. Finances scheduled to be used in certain
projects were diverted in cases of emergency concerning maintenance work of certain facilities which also fell within the scope of the Council’s work. Examples were given where money used to buy a refuse collection lorry and to expand water supply in one part of Kerugoya town was borrowed from reserves kept aside for the urban access roads project and the Kutus street lighting project respectively. The issue of mismanagement of funds at Ministry level was also raised. This meant that only a portion of the funds got to the local authority that required them. It was also not unusual for funds to be delivered to implement projects in other towns, even where such projects were unplanned for and where such funds were initially supposed to go to different councils. Through this kind of arrangement, many promised funds never got to the targeted projects. Declining to give names or give examples, it was alluded that such problems were experienced where pressure came from high levels and complaint about this situation was therefore impossible to voice.

In cases of projects funded by donor agents, the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council was forced to constrain itself within the limits of the budget. The end result was a project not necessarily meeting the need for it or serving its purposes adequately but one that only considered development costs. This was understandable from the viewpoint that donors always
required immediate execution of the project and usually threatened to withdraw from these projects when this demand was not met. At the same time, it was not possible for the Council to solicit further funds from the sources available to it to add onto what was already available from the donor and develop the kind of project that met needs. The problem of lack of funds always arose. The USAID funded project indicated this - in the market stalls project in Kutus, the Quantity Surveyor's estimate was Kshs.8,560,100 to enable the successful completion of the project. This was approximately Kshs.3,760,700 above the budgeted funds of Kshs. 4,800,000 from the funding agent. Due to the budgetary constraints, the originally envisaged project had to be scaled down in order to contain the project within the budgeted funds. The scaling down for example included the omission of toilet facilities for the public, presumably to be just plugged in if funds became available.

An important role the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council (or any other authority) is supposed to play involves mobilization of financial and other resources for funding the essential facilities and services in the town. In this regard, it is expected to seek external grants, aids and loans from lending institutions as well as raise some through revenue collection. The amount of loan given is tailored to
the financial ability of the authority to repay as reflected in the annual expenditure surpluses.

The amount of revenue the Kerugoya/Kutus Council collected was seriously reduced by financial mismanagement. The Council lost revenue through a number of ways. First, the methods of collection of user charges, rates and fees were ineffective as a result of poor supervision. Fees and charges remained uncollected for as long as six months. In the period between July 1990 and January 1991, rents had not been collected for use of the Council's residential properties and residents of these houses attested to the infrequency with which rent was collected. Three revenue collectors had been prosecuted for illicit methods of accounting for monies collected in the last ten years. There was no telling how much money the Council lost annually in these ways. There were various incidents of fraudulent practises in the financial control, the last one being in 1987 when an official of the Council defrauded the Council of monies amounting to over Kshs. 1.5 million and was prosecuted. All these problems compounded the council's financial problems and reduced its bidding power to apply for bigger loans that would get some of the pending projects implemented.

Implementation

The gap between the preparation of a good plan and its implementation can be disastrous - it must
therefore never be assumed that a good plan necessarily gives birth to a well implemented project. The Kerugoya/Kutus authority is responsible for supervising, monitoring and reviewing development projects on the ground to ensure that they are undertaken as required, and provide any necessary modifications and adjustments in the shortcomings that may arise. The machinery provided for monitoring the development process in almost all the projects that were implemented was poor. It appears that the council assumed that once plans were prepared and approved, then implementation would automatically be carried out according to the plans - an assumption that proved fatal. The control process in many cases failed, control here aiming at achieving predetermined objectives.

In all the projects, the objectives were quality of product (in this case the project) within the predetermined time frame and cost. Here, control was supposed to involve establishment of standards, measurement of performance, comparing objectives with achievements and correcting any deviations observed.

A study of project details revealed that many projects had time limits that kept shifting from time to time and it was therefore difficult to decide whether projects had been delayed or not even where such a claim was made. In the improvement of playgrounds project, a time limit was going to be set
only after an observation of the rainfall trend was made. Work commenced nevertheless and the lack of time limit gave the executors of the project leeway to waste time and not work as hard as they would have done with a limit in mind.

Table 4.8: Completion of Executed Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Completed within time limit</th>
<th>Completed after time limit</th>
<th>Not complete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market stalls</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm water Drains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of playgrounds</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus park</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughterhouse</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo sheds</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant purchase houses</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* is an affirmative sign

Source: Field Survey, January 1991

The following pie-chart illustrates the above information. A latter table explains why some of the projects were not completed within time and why others were never completed by the time of the study even though they should have been complete by then.
Financial limits ever though set were also not stuck to in many cases. This was mainly caused by purchase of items not listed in the estimates, rise in cost of building materials and financial mismanagement. In the low rate project, the final product cost Kshs. 44,930 above the budgeted funds even though many areas of the projects had to be scaled down.

The reason was caused by two factors. An increase in cost of purchase of items not included in the estimate and pre-construction activity stocks.

In six (6) of the executed projects, no tools were used to monitor progress of work as shown in Table 4.5. The explanation the Council was that such tools were not necessary, although it was pointed out that a works programme chart had been prepared for the Lowrises project. A closer scrutiny of this project's details indicated an unusual thing after the last week into the contract period. In the project, the undertakings another project elsewhere and only resumed work after a threat by the Council to terminate the contract.

Source: Field Survey, 1991
Financial limits even though set were also not stuck to in many cases. This was mainly caused by purchase of items not listed in the estimates, rises in cost of building materials and financial mismanagement. In the bus park project, the final product cost Kshs. 944,520 above the budgeted funds even though many areas of the projects had to be scaled down. This increase was caused by two factors - increase in cost of materials and purchase of items not included in the estimates, which included bitumen and pre-cast concrete heavy-duty blocks.

In six (6) of the implemented projects, no tools were used to monitor progress of work as shown in Table 4.8. The explanation from the Council was that such tools were not necessary, although it was pointed out that a works programme chart had been prepared for the slaughterhouse project. A close scrutiny of this project's details indicated no such thing after the 13th week into the contract period. In the project, work was abandoned for three months by the contractors who undertook another project elsewhere and only resumed work after a threat by the Council to terminate the contract.
Table 4.9: Monitoring Progress of Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Work Monitored</th>
<th>information not available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regularly</td>
<td>irregularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Stalls</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm water drains</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites and service schemes</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of playgrounds</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Terminus</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo sheds</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughter house</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant purchase houses</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* is an affirmative sign

This information is represented below.

MONITORING PROGRESS OF WORK

MONITORED IRREGULARLY
55.6%

NO INFORMATION
11.1%

MONITORED REGULARLY
33.3%

FIELD SURVEY, JAN. 1991
There was lack of consistency in the supervision of work and the reports prepared concerning progress of work were irregular. In the market stalls project, there was collusion between the contractor and the paying officers of the Council that allowed for paying of money for work not done. While this led to financial problems, it also pointed to the failure on the part of the Council to supervise the work consistently. It was therefore difficult for the Council to verify whether work alleged to have been done had actually been done. It was also discovered too late that in the tenant purchase houses projects, the sizes of bedrooms were smaller that they should have been, a mistake that should have been discovered with proper monitoring of work. The survey indicated that the Council lacked the funds necessary to maintain building inspectors on site on a permanent basis.

Credit may be given where the Council managed to maintain monthly site meetings going. In the slaughterhouse project, site meetings identified problems concerning security of the works, the need to pin up drawing in the office and the need to submit meat rail workshop drawings, issues that arose at every site meeting and which the contractor would otherwise have chosen to ignore. In other implemented projects, only two showed any site meetings - the improvement of playgrounds and tenant purchase houses,
which even then became far-spaced as work came to a close.

Apart from the need to complete projects within the set time and cost limit, quality of the work done was also a main objective of all projects that were implemented by the Council. Council records showed several cases of dissatisfaction with the quality of the finished projects. This meant three things:

1. that work was not checked until it was complete
2. that it was made possible for the contractors to proceed even where mistakes identified dictated otherwise.
3. that the people who did the checking lacked the competence to do so.

In Kutus, the market stalls project that cost Kshs. 2,200,000 was not yet in use by the time this study was conducted although it was completed in 1987, the reason being that the Council needed to undertake a number of works which were omitted during construction. There is also need to undertake repairs for cracks appearing on the floor and walls, roof leakages, to refit shelves in the stalls and many other outstanding defects. It is the conviction in this study that these mistakes could have been avoided if the work was checked and mistakes pointed out early enough. Poor supervision of work therefore meant that deviations from the envisaged quality were not identified in time and therefore were not corrected
appropriately. Where there was collusion between the contractor and the supervisors, mistakes were ignored and work continued, as in the case of tenant purchase houses where bedrooms were smaller than was specified in the design.

In cases of financial constraints, quality was compromised to contain the projects within the budgetary limits. This was observed in the bus-park and urban access roads projects where after revision of the designs and estimates, all access roads were changed to murram standards with only the parking and roads therein being constructed to bitumen standard. At the same time, only the bus park would be paved with pre-cast heavy duty concrete blocks while the matatu and mini-bus parks would have pre-mix surfacing even though the former would have been preferred for both.

Project Co-ordination:

As was pointed out earlier, the realisation of projects in local authorities features a myriad of agencies. It is the responsibility of the authorities to manage and co-ordinate the activities of the agencies involved to ensure that they are inter-related and complementary. The role of the authority in this respect facilitates continuity and flow of the actions to sustain the development. In co-ordinating agencies and their activities, the authority is supposed to contact the relevant agencies required to
perform certain tasks at given stages, inform them of the services they are required to render, how and when. The role of the authority goes beyond that of merely maintaining this flow, to that of ensuring that each of the actions are linked and related to each other in such a way that all of them contribute to the objectives of the plan. With respect to the co-ordination of the agencies in project realisation, the Clerk pointed out two problems:

1. The role of the various agencies covered specific aspects and hence agencies were involved at specific stages. This left the Council with the role of filling in a lot of detailed functions and linking their actions. The authority seemed not to have it clearly spelt out when the agency came into the picture and many delays were experienced this way. This was especially so where the funding agent was from outside the local authority, be it a government grant, the Local Government Loans Authority or a donor agency. Funds came long after all other preparations for the projects had been made.

2. The Council had no direct control or influence over these other agencies. While it relied on the cooperation and co-ordination with other bodies, it was not clear who the implementing agencies were, the division of responsibilities and powers between them.

Where conflict occurred between different departments in the authority, the reason was mainly
sectional interests, even though no examples were disclosed to substantiate these problems.

**Project Evaluation:**

It was admitted in the Council that many of the problems encountered in project realisation ten years ago are still prevalent today. This was because project evaluation was almost non-existent in the Council. The process of project evaluation means that what did or did not work in the implementation of past projects is reviewed with a view to improving the future decisions and actions which would lead to more successful projects. Evaluation checks whether projects objectives have been achieved and analyses the reasons for any discrepancy between planned and actual performance. This lacked in Kerugoya/Kutus Council and there was no record of a single project that had been evaluated after completion. The reason given for this was that on finishing one project, it was already time to begin on another, giving the Council virtually no time to evaluate past projects in order to improve future performance. There was also no manpower to spare to do project evaluation. Everyone had more than enough to do. Problems of project realisation have remained more or less chronic over the years and keep recurring.

**Projects not implemented:**

A lot can be said about projects that should have been implemented but which were in fact not
implemented. Lack of trained manpower, adequate finance, and political interferences, as well as outmoded jurisdictions, too few powers and insufficient internal organizations too often prevent local authorities from fulfilling the greater part of their potential role in urban development. The problem of manpower was pointed out by the Ndegwa Commission and the Local Government Commission, who added the limitation of financial inadequacies to employ qualified manpower and undertake development of the required facilities, services and amenities. The beneficiaries of development projects in Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal authority also noted these and other reasons as the causes of lack of project realisation. They gave the following reasons for lack of implementation of projects in the study area.
Table 4.10: Reasons for Lack of Implementation of Development Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>No. of respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political interference</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misappropriation of funds</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial constraints</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Organization of Council</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of technical knowhow and competent staff</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of public participation</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of accountability</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor revenue collection</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of initiative/motivation by Council</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, January 1991

As is evident, beneficiaries saw political interference as the main reason for lack of realization of projects.

It should be noted in this Table that the total percentage does not add up to 100%: neither does the total number of respondents add up to the 200 that were interviewed. This is because the figures overlap where respondents gave more than one reason for lack of implementation.

The reasons are ranked in their order of seriousness as seen through the eyes of the beneficiaries. These reasons unearthed all the 'evils' apparent in the implementation process.
The beneficiaries for example felt that there was need to strengthen the local authority’s technical capacity because they felt the staff’s lack of know-how caused them to omit important steps in the realization process causing projects to flounder. Other reasons given have been noted in various stages of the realization process from project identification up to project implementation.

To most beneficiaries, the Council lacked transparency so that its operations remained a mystery from which few results were evident. They found the Council a ‘closed door’ organization that hardly ever let out its plans and whose goings on were dubious but which nevertheless failed to deliver goods and services as it was supposed to.
Table 4.11: Reasons for Lack of Realisation of Individual Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Not completed</th>
<th>Not initiated</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street lighting</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Funds to complete project used for other projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewage system</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Lack of funds, political interference and lack of agreement about where to locate sewage treatment works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Hall and offices</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Project not urgent, lack of support from part of the Council, lack of funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storm water drains</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of planning where project was initiated before Council knew where completion funds would come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site and service scheme</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beneficiaries to develop houses as their finances allow, some of the plots sold off to businessmen who in turn are developing residential units slowly by slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public toilets</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Lack of appreciation of health aspect of project, Lack of funds, lack of support by certain Councillors, belief that people are currently making do with the latrines available at the courts and administration offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-Industry project</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Project benefits not appreciated by the Councillors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial and commercial promotion area</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plot for this purpose assigned other use - erection of business premises and residential units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jua Kali Nyayo Sheds</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of funds, lack of support from part of the Council, project not urgent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Access Roads</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Funds for project used for other purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Hall and Facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Lack of funds, project not critical to the functioning of authority</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* is an affirmative sign

Source: Field Survey, January 1991
Lack of funds was registered as the most dominant reason for lack of initiation or completion of projects. Eight out of eleven projects indicated this.

It was also observed that given the financial constraints of our times, the workload undertaken by the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal authority is colossal. Fourteen (14) projects were listed to be implemented in the 1979-1983 plan period, and nineteen (19) and twenty-three (23) for the subsequent plan periods of 1984-1988 and 1989-1993 respectively. Apart from provision of services and facilities that are the authority's responsibility, other roles are included for purposes of overall co-ordination, management and control. Expenditure here is mainly in the form of wages and salaries for both staff and consultants, town planning and development control, land acquisition and assembly which is necessary in providing the physical space on which all activities will be undertaken, repayment of loans and maintenance. All these require capital and manpower. While this may be so, there was no indication that attempts have been made to provide the Council with the manpower and capital reserves to effectively carry out roles. It was not unusual to find the Clerk doubling up as the Treasurer of the Council. It was clear that the Council, in its approach to its responsibility failed to appreciate its enormous
workload and decide realistically how and where to begin. It is no wonder then that some priority projects have been passed on from year to year — and are yet to be realised. Out of the sixteen (16) projects studied, only five (5) have been completed, four (4) are partially implemented and the remaining seven (7) are yet to be implemented.

This chapter has established that problems are indeed encountered in the realisation of projects. Problems of lack of funds, poor identification procedures, planning, implementation and co-ordination shortfalls and politics have all contributed to the lack of realisation of anticipated projects in the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council.

The last Chapter of this study concludes the whole report and gives recommendations that are arrived at after consideration of the findings.
FOOTNOTES


SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study set out to examine and identify the role of the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal authority in the identification and implementation of development projects, as well as the problems this authority faces in performing these roles. The summary section of this Chapter contains the theme of the report, notes on the complex nature of the project realisation process and the implications of this on the local authority, and the main findings of the study. The conclusions section draws broad implications from the findings of the study. In the recommendations section, ways and means of improving the effectiveness of local authorities in discharging their responsibility of project realisation are suggested, in the light of the problems identified in the previous Chapter.

Summary

An analysis of the project realisation process in the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council showed that the Council had important roles to play in this process. These roles are ascertainment of development requirements, priorities, intentions and possibilities within the towns, planning for each individual project to ensure a workable realistic project and the final role of the execution of the project in accordance with the plan. Indication of locational preferences
for the various proposed development projects, and provision of a wide range of information about some critical factors essential in the prioritization of projects including population characteristics and availability of land was also the responsibility of the Council.

Secondly, the Council was responsible for ensuring conformity with plans once the plans were approved. This role was meant to ensure quality of the project within the targeted time and available resources, and that development conditions and specifications were followed and fulfilled in the course of the execution of the projects. The authority was supposed to ensure that the contractor understood the relevant requirements.

It was also the responsibility of the Council to supervise, monitor and review development projects on the ground to ensure that they were undertaken as required, and to provide any necessary modifications and adjustments in the shortcomings that could arise. At this point also was the role of managing and coordinating the activities of the agencies involved in the realisation of projects, to ensure that they were inter-related and complementary. The role of the authority in this respect facilitated continuity and flow of the sequence of actions that sustained and saw to the conclusion of each project undertaken.

Lastly, the Municipal authority was supposed to
mobilize financial resources and to look for any other possibilities of funding development projects proposed in the towns, to ensure their execution.

It was found in this research however, that problems were encountered in the Council's effort to fulfil the above roles and functions. Some projects were consequently only implemented halfway while others were not implemented at all. Some of those that were fully implemented suffered time and cost over-runs and were invariably of poor quality at completion. Inadequacy of manpower, delays in payment to contractors and exhaustion of project funds in the course of implementation were some of the problems identified. Others included unscrupulous identification and prioritization procedures, personal interests, gross financial constraints and mismanagement as well as poor planning and management of projects. Project realisation was therefore not effective in the two towns under the Council, which left the residents without much needed facilities and services.

Conclusions

The conclusions of this study are that

1. The internal composition and organization of the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council is not conducive for efficient identification and prioritization of development projects. It allows for conflicts to arise over the relative priorities. The Councillors'
lack of commitment to their responsibilities and functions in the Council was caused by divided interests and politics, lack of a clear knowledge of their roles, low educational levels and excessive control over functions of the Council, all of which contributed to decisions that undermined rationality and objectiveness, and consequent approval of projects that could have been relegated to later years and omission of those that were of a more critical nature.

2. The great number of projects the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council tries to implement with limited staff and financial resources is colossal: it overloads the Council and hampers its ability to implement them. The Council approves and plans to undertake several projects each year despite knowledge of the fact that it does not have sufficient financial and manpower resources to see these projects through. The fact that the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council caters for the needs of two towns (unlike most Municipal Councils that only caters for one towns needs) does not make this load any lighter because many of the needs in Kerugoya are similar to the needs in Kutus, and all these are the responsibility of the Council. There is need to find a way in which all proposed projects are executed. If the Council for example only approved projects based on its resources, it would plan only for these and implement them, awaiting further resources to implement other
projects. There would be more satisfaction among the citizenry that the council is implementing all proposed projects.

3. The public is not involved in ascertainment/identification of their needs and therefore always have alternative projects that they feel should have been implemented if their opinion had been sought. This has bred resentment towards the Council.

4. Planning of projects and their control are generally inadequate in the Council. This has meant that the best course of action is not always taken and projects are not followed up to ensure quality within time and cost limits.

5. The effects of a stifling bureaucratic system have been noted. The Treasury and Ministry of Local Government and their burdensome financial control and accounting procedures are a handicap in decision making. Decisions can only be made after the treasury’s approval and its decisions are not always in the interest of the Council.

6. Interference from outside, and especially from politicians has been noted as a further source of frustration. It has been argued in the Council that there is no point in making elaborate plans when it is likely that a politician will emerge from somewhere and put pressure that the priorities be changed. Politicians have also been noted to support only
projects in their areas which to a large extent help to enhance their public image. Where projects are noted to have been initiated (or even supported) by rivals, it is reason enough for the politicians concerned to create an environment that is not conducive for the implementation of these projects.

From these conclusions, it can clearly be seen that considering the amount of effort required to promote development in relation to the economic and social needs of the town, currently and in the future as the town grows, an ill-equipped authority - politically, administratively, technically and financially would appear to be faced with formidable difficulties in trying to bring about the appropriate infrastructural facilities and services in the town.

Recommendations:

Ways and means of overcoming project realisation problems discussed in this study have been implied within the discussion. However, the following is a summary of the main recommendations of the study.

1. To adequately meet infrastructural and service needs, the needs have to be estimated and timed, a current record of development activity has to be set up and feasible (realistic) targets, deadlines and co-ordinative mechanisms established. The immediate job is to overtake the backlog in essential infrastructure and services and then later to keep abreast of these requirements to the extent that it is possible to do
so. With a general environment of fiscal restriction, difficulties of project implementation will always emerge. The scale of the problem of limited resources requires a principle of stress and sacrifice. The public should be involved in the realisation process because there may be projects they feel are critical enough to be realised through contributory schemes and self-help measures. Considering past ‘harambee’ trends in Kenya, this should be practicable. Harambee here in refers to the coming together of groups with common problems and objectives and looking for methods of achieving these objectives. These have proved workable in areas such as provision of potable water, building of walls and employment of watchmen for security purposes and education. There is no reason why this mode of problem solving cannot be applied to local authority projects.

2. While the Council cannot rely entirely on donor agents to fund its development projects, it must be accepted that due to serious financial constraints, they must be always asked to assist where possible. Government and non-governmental organization funds should be sought persistently to meet some of the needs of the Council.

3. The Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council should have clear programmes, stating the activities involved in each project, the deadlines to be met and the consequences of failing to meet these deadlines. In
this way, it will be clear who has failed in his responsibilities instead of each party accusing the others of one ill or other.

4. The Council should reduce the existing programme to manageable proportions and only begin what can be termed as realistic within the given time, manpower and resource limitations. It should only begin what can be expected to be finished. New projects should only be started after old ones have been completed. No project should be included in budgets unless implementation steps have been realistically scheduled, implementation targets set, and the availability of future recurrent resources requirements assured.

5. Shortage of qualified manpower in the Council is a problem whose solution is longterm. It lies in training more professionals in the available institutions and reimbursing them well enough to encourage them to stay and serve the Council and to solicit commitment from them. Professionals needed in Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council will include an accountant, planner, professionals with technical management skills and engineers.

6. Project realisation should be viewed as a concerted effort and not a one-man job. All people involved should be accountable at all levels to ensure that none of them deviates from the set course of action.
7. Financial discipline should be restored in the Council as well as in the design team by ensuring that prompt action is taken against any officer whose irresponsibility results in shortage or mismanagement of funds and overexpenditure in projects respectively. Project time tables should be drawn at the beginning of the design of every project and adhered to.

8. In a Council like the Kerugoya/Kutus Municipal Council where two towns are involved (it's worthwhile to note that they fall in two different constituencies and are therefore subject to opposing pressure groups), care must be taken to obtain a kind of balance when identifying and prioritizing projects for implementation. It must be borne in mind that dissatisfaction on the part of the beneficiaries in as far as their feelings and needs have not been considered cannot reflect well on the Council. Implementation of projects must therefore not be lopsided but as far as possible should be carried out simultaneously.

9. Post mortem (evaluation) should be carried out after the completion of every project, noting the presence of impediments which could be eliminated in subsequent projects.

10. Cumbersome bureaucratic procedures should be reduced by a policy of delegation of authority.

The recommendations advanced here would go a long way in improving the general efficiency of the local
authorities in their task of project realisation. The recommendations do not require any major institutional reorganizations or legislative changes. They are envisaged to be carried out within the existing administrative set up and as such, it should not be difficult to implement them. Their adoption will cause local authorities to emerge as competent instruments of fostering physical, economic and social development in small towns.

The study reveals that local authorities need to be financially and technically well equipped, and decision-making processes removed from the political arena if they are to function properly.

Areas for Further Research:

This study cannot purport to exhaustively cover all the detailed aspects of project realisation. It has only tackled the role of local authorities in this process. A research should be done to establish the role and problems of other agencies in project realisation in Municipal Councils. Such a research should aim at identifying problems faced by these agencies in their execution of this role with a view to suggesting possible solutions, thereby strengthening the process of project realisation in any town, having in mind that project realisation is a concerted effort by many agencies of which local authorities are only a part.

Another research could be based on the fact that
financial constraints grossly hamper project realisation. The research would seek to discover the main causes of shortage of funds and other means of funding local authorities.

A research into the significance of political interference would give a clear picture of how far this factor affects projects in local authority areas with a view to eradicating it from the realisation process.
FOOTNOTES

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APPENDIX

EXECUTIVE OFFICER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions were used to guide the interview with the executive officers of the Council.

1. What are your individual and collective duties in the process of project identification, planning and implementation in the towns?

2. What is the amount of contact between you and the other agencies involved in project realisation?

3. For what purpose is this contact?

4. What is the procedure involved from project initiation to its completion?

5. What problems are encountered in each stage?

6. Once projects are approved for implementation, who specifically enforces their execution?

7. What problems have they encountered in doing this?

8. What remedies would you recommend?

9. What difficulties have you encountered in getting what you consider to be priority projects accepted and carried out?

10. Who is the approving body?

11. What has been its major complaint?
12. What major problems have you faced working in your capacity?

13. What is your selection criteria in deciding on priority projects in this town?

14. What internal or external interferences and influences have affected your ability to carry out development projects?

15. In what ways did these affect your performance?

16. What in your opinion is the best way to counter these influences?

17. What criteria do you use to select the actors who carry out the various projects?

18. Have the actors effectively performed their tasks?

19. What fundamental changes do you consider a must in order to improve the realisation of projects in these towns?
COUNCILLOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Background Information

1. Are you an elected/nominated Councillor?

2. If elected, which Ward do you represent?

3. How long have you been a Councillor in this Council?

4. What is your educational background?

5. In what were you engaged before you became a Councillor?

6. What else are you engaged in besides your duties as a Councillor?

7. What would you consider to be the benefits, rewards and satisfactions you have derived from being a Councillor?

Duties and Responsibilities

8. What are your main duties and responsibilities as a Councillor?

9. What difficulties have you faced in carrying out these duties?

10. Who do you owe more allegiance to, the Council or the people you represent?

11. Since you became Councillor, what contributions have you made to the development of your ward and the Council?

12. What development projects have come up through your initiative in this town?
13. What difficulties have you encountered in getting these development projects accepted and carried out? 

14. How did you solve them? 

15. How much support and co-operation do you get from your fellow Councillors and executive officers of the Council in getting your development proposals through? 

16. What in your opinion are the major problems the Council faces in realising development projects? 

17. What causes these problems? 

18. How can they be solved? 

19. Do you see project planning as a necessity in your Council? Why? 

20. How do you ensure that development projects are properly carried out once they have been identified for implementation? 

Participation in Functional Committees 

21. What special duties or committee do you participate in? 

22. How long have you served in these capacities? 

23. What problems have you faced working in those capacities? 

24. How could these problems be solved?
25. What fundamental changes do you think are a must in order to improve the realisation of development projects in this town?
BENEFICIARIES' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. The following projects are supposed to have been carried out in these towns between 1979 and 1990. Were you consulted about your needs before this list was compiled? Give answer as Yes or No

1. Market stalls
2. Street lighting
3. Sewage system
4. Tenant Purchase houses
5. Town Hall and offices
6. Storm Water drains
7. Sites and service scheme
8. Public toilets
9. Agro-industry project
10. Community Hall and facilities
11. Improvement of playgrounds
12. Bus Terminus (park)
13. Slaughterhouse
14. Industrial and Commercial promotion area
15. Jua Kali Nyayo Sheds
16. Urban Access Roads

2. Have you ever been consulted before any projects were initiated? If Yes, which ones?

3. Are the above listed projects priority ones in your opinion? If no, which ones do you think of as priorities?
4. What are the consequences of lack of implementation of some of these projects?

5. What in your opinion goes wrong with the project realisation process in this town? Why are a good number of projects not realised?

6. How can this situation be corrected?

7. Are you normally informed about the aims and objectives of development projects in the town?

8. Are the aims and objectives valid according to you? If no, why?

9. How much co-operation do you get from your Councillors in presenting your needs to the Council?

10. What problems do you think the Council faces in the realisation of development projects?

11. What causes these problems?

12. How in your opinion could they be solved?

13. What changes do you think are a must in order to improve project realisation in this town?