"THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND THE ROLE OF
THE COMMUNITY IN DISTRICT PLANNING: A CASE STUDY
OF KAKAMEGA DISTRICT"

BY

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

JUNE, 1989
NAIROBI, KENYA
DECLARATION

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

Signed (Candidate)

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

Signed (Supervisor)
DEDICATION

To my Dear Father and Mother.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study has benefited from the co-operation of many individuals and institutions during the course of its evolution. Not all of them can be mentioned here.

I wish to thank the then Ministry of Works and Physical Planning for offering me the Scholarship through which this study has been possible.

My special thanks go to Mr. Z. Maleche, Chairman of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning for his constant guidance, supervision, encouragement and patience throughout the study.

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Finally I am greatly indebted to Francisca and Isabel for typing the work.

Roselyn Muqita Mideva
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June, 1989.
Since the majority of Kenya's people live in rural areas, there has been a continued stress on the importance of developing the rural areas. Many strategies have been used towards this end. District Focus for Rural Development is one of them. To effect district planning, an institutional framework has been established at the district level.

This study has been prompted by the fact that what has become a major problem of concern is the effective operation of the District Development Committee (DDC) which is supposed to coordinate lower level development agencies and committees through which the identification and implementation of projects is to be effected and in particular the concern of the role of the community at different levels of operation.

The study specifically examines the organizational machinery for the DDC in relation to other sub-committees and agencies, and the role of the community in the development planning process.

The analysis showed that there are a number of sub-committees and agencies involved in the project identification, prioritization, approval and implementation process. A review of some case studies
showed that people participated in projects they were closely involved in and whose benefits could be directly visualized.

The study has revealed that there are a number of gaps which hamper the effectiveness of the DDC in carrying out its planning responsibilities. These have mainly been noted in the organizational structure, the information flow system and in community involvement.

The study further recommends that if effective rural development has to be achieved, then these gaps have to be filled and strengthened through availing of more technical officers, technical sub-committees, systematic channels of information collection and storage, and more involvement of the community in district development activities.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declaration</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>(iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>(iv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>(v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>(vii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>(xi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Charts</td>
<td>(xii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>(xiii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td>(xiv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>(xv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I: Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Study Objectives</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Study Assumptions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Scope and Organization of the Study</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Research Methodology</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.1 Study Area</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.2 Selection of Study Area</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.3 Selection of Projects</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.4 Data Collection</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.5 Data Analysis</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Study Limitations</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

## 2.2 Development and Rural Development defined

### 2.2.1 Development

### 2.2.2 Rural Development

### 2.2.3 Reasons for the Concern of Rural Development

## 2.3 Kenya's Approach to Rural Development

## 2.4 Decentralized Planning Approach

#### 2.4.1 Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965

#### 2.4.2 The Special Rural Development programme

#### 2.4.3 Review of National Development Plans

#### 2.4.4 Report and Recommendations of the Working Party

#### 2.4.5 District Focus for Rural Development

## 2.5 Conclusions

## References

---

# CHAPTER 3: EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND PLANNING FUNCTIONS

## 3.1 Organizational Structure

## 3.2 Composition and Functions of the Committees

### 3.2.1 District Development Committee (DDC)

### 3.2.2 Divisional Development Committee (DVDC)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3 Locational and Sub-locational</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Committees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 The Decision-making Process in the</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Plan Preparation and Implementation</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1 Plan Preparation</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2 Procedures of Project Identification</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Approval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3 Plan Implementation</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Summary</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 4: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Participation</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 General Community Characteristics</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Selected Projects</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Makhokho Secondary School Laboratory</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Iguhu Health Centre</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3 Mulundu Bakochi Fish Farm</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Summary</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5: POLICY IMPLICATIONS</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Organizational structure</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Information Flow System</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Community Involvement</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Policy Recommendations</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1 Organizational Structure</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2 Information Flow System</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.3 Community Involvement</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4 Priorities</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 1</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 2</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 3</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF MAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAP</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAP 1</td>
<td>Kakamega District National Context</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP 2</td>
<td>Kakamega District Location of Sampled Division of Study</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP 3</td>
<td>Ikolomani Division Sampled Location and Sub-Location of Study</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF CHARTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHART 3.1</td>
<td>The Organizational Structure of the Committees</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHART 3.3</td>
<td>The Structure of Decision-Making</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHART 3.3</td>
<td>Relationship Between the DDC and Local Authorities</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 4.1</td>
<td>Chief Occupations</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 4.2</td>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 4.3</td>
<td>Major Contributions</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Makhokho Secondary School</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Makhokho Secondary School Dining Hall under construction</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>The 'old' Iguhu Health Centre</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Part of the 'new' Iguhu Health Centre</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Mulundu Bakochi Fish Farm</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADDO  Assistant District Development Officer
AIE   Authority to Incur Expenditure
CDO   Community Development Officer
CDA   Community Development Assistant
DAC   District Agricultural Committee
DC    District Commissioner
DDC   District Development Committee
DEB   District Education Board
DEC   District Executive Committee
DIDC  District Information and Documentation Centre
DPU   District Planning Unit
DSDC  District Social Development Committee
DVDC  Divisional Development Committee
EEC   European Economic Community
IDS   Institute of Development Studies
KANU  Kenya African National Union
LDC   Locational Development Committee
NGO   Non-Government Organization
NORAD Norwegian Development Agency
NRDC  National Rural Development Committee
PDC   Provincial Development Committee
RDF   Rural Development Fund
SLDC  Sub-Locational Development Committee
SIDA  Swedish Development Agency
SRDP  Special Rural Development Programme
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Kenya, for more than a decade, has tried to develop a planning system which would form an effective means of realizing the country's development goals. Focus has been to develop a decentralized planning system. This was expected to be a more effective way of distributing development benefits to most people of the economy. Through participation this was expected that it would facilitate the needs of all people. With over 80% of the people living in rural areas which are characterized by under-development Kenya has been impelled to pay serious attention to rural development. This has led to the concept of rural development elaborately defined in the early development plans and which through the years has matured into being defined as 'District Focus for Rural Development'.

Rural development implies improving the quality of life of the rural populations, increasing economic opportunities in these areas, provision of basic services, strengthening institutional structures in rural communities and involvement of rural populations in the entire development effort.
Since independence there have been efforts to accelerate rural development. The first District Development Committees (DDCs) were set up in 1965 mainly for the purpose of drawing proposals to meet the infrastructural needs and priorities of the district. In 1966 the Special Rural Development Programme was designed as an approach for testing planning mechanisms and capacity at the district and divisional levels, and also to increase involvement of local people in all stages of the development process. The programme had four specific objectives: (1) to increase rural income and employment opportunities; (2) to develop methodologies for inducing self-generating rural development activities elsewhere in the country; (3) to improve the capacity of Kenyan civil servants operating at the rural level; and (4) to develop regional planning techniques appropriate to the Kenyan context. The SRDP did not fully achieve its objectives due to the disjointed and incremental way it viewed rural development. However, several of its innovations provided models for key components of the present district planning system.

In 1971, Report of the Commission of Inquiry recommended that:

"Rural development must also mean planned development. This means that the process of
planning, both plan-making and plan- implement-
ing must be extended down to the level of the
District, and even into the Division where the
administration comes to grips with local
realities".4

Out of this report the post of District Development
Officer was established to co-ordinate the planning
functions for the District Development Committee.

More recently the "Report and Recommendations
of the Working Party Appointed by His Excellency the
President (1982)" did emphasise the central importance
of establishing a more effective planning machinery
at the district level as implied in the following
statement:

"Our major recommendation is that the district
team, under the leadership of the District
Commissioner and with the guidance of the
District Development Committee, should be
established as the major force and vehicle for
the management and implementation of rural
development".5

This forms the springboard of the present study. It
is also on these recommendations that the District
Focus Strategy for Rural Development was launched in
1983, when the Head of State called for the districts
to become centres for the development of rural areas.
This led to a more detailed policy framework as
stated in the 1984-88 National Development Plan:

"The responsibility for planning and implement-
ing rural development is being shifted from the
headquarters of ministries to the districts....
The objective is to broaden the base of rural
development and encourage local initiatives... in order to improve problem identification, resource mobilization, and project implementation".

"Each district through its District Development Committee (DDC) will be responsible for rural development planning and coordination, project implementation, management of development resources and overseeing local procurement of goods and services".

The salient features are that greater responsibility and participation are to be shifted to the district level in order to broaden the base of rural development. To realize this, there is need for a strong machinery at the district level. The DDC has been given this responsibility of managing the total set of rural development with the help of the lower level development committees; The divisional, locational, sub-locational committees, and other development agencies in the district. The scope of representation of the DDC includes among others; The District Commissioner (Chairman), District Development Officer (Secretary), Heads of departments, Members of Parliament, KANU officials, Chairmen of local authorities and divisional development committees.

Since 1983 what has become a major problem of concern is the effective operation of the DDC, which is supposed to coordinate lower level development committees through which the identification and implementation of projects, is to be effected, and in particular the concern of the role of the individual
members of the community at different levels of operation, and how they are supposed to effectively contribute to this process through the established machinery. In many cases it has been felt that the lower levels have not been effectively felt; there is no clear procedural machinery to facilitate effective contribution to project identification. Another concern has been that of too many agencies involved in the development process whose role is not clearly defined.

It is in the light of these concerns that this study attempts to examine how the organizational structure of the District Development Committee is working in Kakamega District, the factors and problems affecting the procedures employed, and how they can be rectified. If these concerns are valid then they will seriously hamper the national goal of achieving effective rural development. Hence there is need to rectify the problems affecting the DDC in carrying out its responsibilities so as to achieve the set goal of rural development.

The ability to formulate and implement development programmes depend to a large extent on the organizational structure of the agencies and bodies entrusted with these tasks, and more so the public involvement in these programmes. Therefore the
rationale for the appraisal of the DDC is self-evident. It is imperative to understand the policy issues, institutional operational framework, planning procedures and practices involved in rural development. There is also need for a more effective means of involving the community in the development process.

An awareness of the organization ramifications should be incumbent upon each aspiring and potential participant in development activities. In a district that has resources like Kakamega, lack of strong institutions to monitor development activities can lead to misuse of valuable resources. It is the contention of this study that if the concerns of district planning are to be developed and promoted then it is necessary to be knowledgeable about and sensitive to the weaknesses, constraints, and potential capabilities of the DDC which is the major planning body in the district. Through this knowledge and sensitivity some of the weaknesses may be tempered and longer run improvements achieved.

1.2 Study Objectives

The objectives of this study can be stated as follows:

1. To examine the composition and functions of the District Development Committee (DDC),
Divisional Development Committee (DVDC), Locational Development Committee (LDC), Sub-Locational Development Committee (SLDC) and other agencies.

2. To establish the functional relationship of the DDC with other committees and other agencies in (1) above, their coordination and information flow system.

3. To review selected projects approved by the DDC with a view of establishing the role played by the community in the development process.

4. To identify major problems and potential capabilities of the DDC as an integrative body, and suggest possible ways of improving the institutional machinery for effective rural development.

1.3 **Study Assumptions**

The basic assumption in this study is that the DDC has a significant role to play in the overall planning, implementation and coordination of development activities in the district, supported by other committees and agencies, and that their capacities have been limited. Therefore, if any meaningful development is to be realized, efforts should be
geared towards strengthening the functional relationship of the existing institutions.

The second assumption is that greater community participation is likely to be expected at the project level, hence the necessity to strengthen the role of the community at this level.

1.4 Scope and Organization of the Study

This study is focused on the institutional framework for development planning in Kakamega District with particular reference to Ikolomani division, South Idakho location and Iguhu sub-location. This is adopted as a synoptic approach to emphasize the hierarchical levels of institutional relationships within the district in carrying out the planning actions at the different levels.

The study specifically examines the organizational machinery of the DDC in relation to other committees immediately below it namely: the divisional, locational and sub-locational development committees, and other agencies; and their composition, functions and information flow system. The study also examines the procedures through which the community is involved in the district development actions. Using the analysis and case studies of selected projects, the study examines the problems that con-
front the DDC in discharging its responsibilities and gives recommendations for achieving effective rural development.

To achieve the above, the study is organized into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the study problem, objectives and research methodology.

Chapter Two gives the literature review with a purpose of developing the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter Three presents an outline of the existing institutional organizational structure, planning functions and the role of the DDC.

Chapter Four deals with the role of the community in selected projects.

Chapter Five looks at policy implications and suggests recommendations for future improvement.

Chapter Six gives the summary and conclusions of the study.

1.5 Research Methodology

1.5.1 Study Area

The area chosen for this study is Kakamega district which is the basic administrative unit in
the context of District Focus Strategy for Rural Development.

Kakamega District is one of the three Districts of the Western Province of Kenya. To the east is Nandi District, to the north is Bungoma District while Busia and Siaya Districts are to the west and Kisumu District to the south. It approximately lies between longitudes 34° and 35.20°E and between latitudes 0° (equator) and 1° North.

Kakamega has an area of approximately 3520 square kilometres. It is divided into thirteen administrative divisions, 43 locations and 222 sub-locations. The institutional organization framework follows the administrative levels, namely the district, divisional, locational and sub-locational levels.

1.5.2 Selection of Study Area

The choice of Kakamega district was found most suitable because the Department of Urban and Regional Planning was at the same time carrying out a research project in the district, and while in 1st year of the planning course, the researcher was involved in a Class Urban Project within the district. This was very helpful in establishing communication links with various officers especially at the district level. Above all these, it happens to be the researcher's home district, hence most familiar.
In the beginning it was the researcher's intention to cover the whole district in as far as the objectives of the study are concerned. However, after a preliminary survey this was disregarded on the basis of it being unmanageable and over-generalized given the limited study period. To avoid this, Ikolomani division, South Idakho location and Iguhu sub-location were chosen.

1.5.3 Selection of Projects

The DDC deals with a wide range of projects covering all sectors within the district, therefore, it is difficult to review all of them. Since development as a concept emphasizes outcomes in increased food production, lower mortality rates and increased education, three projects geared towards this end were chosen in the study area, namely: Mulundu-Bakochi Fish Farm, Iguhu Health Centre and Makhokho Secondary School. The projects are at various stages of implementation.

1.5.4 Data Collection

In carrying out this study several methods have been employed in collecting both primary and secondary data.

For secondary data, a review of available and relevant literature was done. This involved mainly
KAKAMEGA DISTRICT

LOCATION OF SAMPLED DIVISION OF STUDY

MIDEVA, R. M
M.A PLANNING 1989
MAP 2
abstracting key concepts from books, articles, national development plans, district plans, reports, records, committee minutes and project files. Much of this information was obtained from libraries such as University of Nairobi and District Information and Documentation Centre and from various ministries and government departments. The information from secondary sources formed the basis of the literature review of the study. It also offered information regarding existing institutions, background of the district and sketchy information on progress of implementation of projects. However, for detailed analysis it was necessary to employ other methods of data collection.

Primary sources of data included: administration of household questionnaire, field surveys, interviews, informal discussions and personal observation.

Three types of questionnaires were used. One was designed for the DDC members. Ten members out of an average of fifty were interviewed. This included, among others, the District Development Officer (DDO), Assistant District Development Officer (ADDO), Departmental Heads, the District Physical Planning Officer and Community Development Officer (CDO). The intention of interviewing these members was to find out their respective roles as perceived by them, their functions, procedures through which
planning of development activities takes place and problems encountered. In particular the DDO was interviewed because of his unique position as the coordinator of development within the entire district, and as secretary to the DDC which exposes him to a lot of knowledge on development activities. The departmental heads interviewed were mainly from the sectors within which the projects were selected namely health, fisheries and education, while the CDO was interviewed mainly due to his knowledge of community projects and the general welfare of the community.

The second questionnaire was administered to local administrators, namely the District Officer, Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs within Ikolomani division. Information obtained was mainly on how the local people are mobilized to participate in development projects and the procedures of planning and problems at the local level.

The third questionnaire was administered to households. A total of 90 households were interviewed. This represented 7.4% of the number of households as of 1979 of the sub-location. The respondents were chosen at the village level. The area was divided into three zones. In each zone there were 30 respondents. Sampling was carried out by a
stratified random method in which every 3rd household was interviewed. Information sought from this questionnaire was on the general characteristics of the community, their knowledge and involvement in projects within the area, their participation in other organizations, how they get to participate and problems encountered.

Useful information was also gathered from informal discussions held with other government officers, village elders, project leaders, teachers and political representatives, KANU Party officials and councillors.

1.5.5 Data Analysis

The data collected was organized and compiled in various categories. Sets of data were compared and evaluated so as to determine their relevance to this study. The analysis is mainly descriptive with the use of percentages, some presented in tables and charts. Maps and photographs have been used where necessary.

1.6 Study Limitations

The study concentrated on an analysis of one area, Ikolomani division, rather than on a comparative view of the whole district. Therefore some factors and problems identified may be specific to
this division and not to other divisions within the district.

Due to time limitation it was not possible to carry out household questionnaires in all the sub-locations of the division.

Some officers and local leaders were biased in the discussions, and tended to hide important information by simply affirming that the system was running smoothly, or pointing out problems in other areas. There were cases where it was also difficult to trace officers.

Detailed information on development activities was lacking, and District Focus being relatively new, the expectations may be too high for it at the moment.

Finance and time were also limiting factors given the long distance between Nairobi and Kakamega, especially in cases where information gaps had to be filled.

Despite the above limitations the surveys carried out in the field enabled the researcher to come up with some information that has been supplemented with secondary data to make the study more reliable.
References


3. Ibid., p. 144.


2.1 Introduction

In recent years attempts have been made to elaborate different methodologies through which the planning process can be ordered and structured, the majority of which are still far from being properly elaborated, but at least their development is underway. Such an attempt has been regional planning.

The shift away from the narrow town and city planning schemes has greatly been influenced by earlier western regional practitioners such as F. Perroux (1955), Hirschman (1958), J. Friedmann (1966) and W. Christaller (1966). Many of the theories advanced were based on a top-down approach with a major focus on the growth centre and growth pole concepts.¹

Glasson, J. (1978) explains that planning structures in Britain are far more developed at the national and local levels. Particularly at the local levels they have had far better results since the introduction of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1971 "which provided for two tiers of plans, with the preparation of structure plans setting out the local authorities policy and general proposal"....² Regional
planning on the other hand, which deals with the immediate level between the national and the local framework is still, therefore, evolving in Britain, although there is now legislation for this level of planning.

At present the weak institutional framework for regional planning is a hallmark of its current practice. Although considerable developments have been made in planning at regional level, regional planning has not yet fully discovered itself either in terms of content or approach, nor in achieving an institutional arrangement suited to that discovery. Kuklinski, for example has argued:

"If we would try to find a common feature in the agencies responsible for regional planning in various countries, then behind the impressive display of differences in political and social backgrounds in management solutions and in technical perfections, we would find one basic common feature, the regional planning agency, as a rule, has only an advisory capacity in the process of investment decisions".  

The weakness implied in this statement is echoed in the writings of many other commentators.

The early regional planning theories were based on institutional arrangements and capacities that were available in developed countries and were later applied to developing countries in which different structures exist.
The body of theories and strategies directed away from the central theme of national economic planning as prevails in developing countries is relatively new, and has evolved under totally separate conditions. Africa with 20 of the 31 least developed countries, and with approximately 400 million people living in rural areas characterized by extremes of underdevelopment, is impelled to pay serious attention to rural development.  

2.2 Development and Rural development Defined

2.2.1 Development

There are as many conceptions varied as to what development is, as there are Governments upon the face of the earth. Some academics have even argued that it is a mere abstract construct and therefore subjective or relative. Others have argued that development is a function of one's ideological persuasion or learning, or that in academic circles, how one defines development depends on his disciplinary background so that we could talk of social development, economic development and even biological development. This demonstrates how difficult it is to come up with an all-comprising and exhaustive definition of what development is. According to Michael Todaro (1975), development is a self-sustaining process by which a society moves from a position it views to be less
satisfactory towards a situation is perceived to be more satisfactory. It involves a series of adjustments and readjustments as issues are resolved and whose resolution gives rise to a higher order of issues to which the society must respond. In this way development entails the capability of the said society to adjust and readjust to its advantage in a sustained manner. Concern for development, therefore, arises out of general dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs or being. This dissatisfaction may be due to exposure to state of affairs which seems to offer more comfort, happiness, advantages than those currently employed. In this case development is a relative state and/or process, that could arise from the need to respond to a critically disadvantaged position like an epidemic of disease, hunger or poverty, in which case it is a basic issues approach.

Over the years the meaning of 'development' in its broad perspective has varied as mistakes are made and lessons learned. During the 1950s and 1960s development was seen as being synonymous with economic growth, that is, "increases over time in a country's real output of goods and services or real output per capita" (Zuvekas, 1979). This was measured in terms of gross national product (GNP), or national income.
A country was said to be undergoing development if it was realising high rates of growth in its GNP or per capita income. As it became apparent, this approach was highly inadequate and wanting since it completely ignored the redistributive aspect of development. Countries which registered high rates of economic growth were said to have highly skewed distribution of income; while certain segments of the population enjoyed high levels of income, the majority were left in a state of poverty. There was in most cases a situation of dual economies with some sectors experiencing significant growth while the rest of the economy did not. Apart from the equity issue this approach did not give attention to the aspect of externalities, such that high rates of economic growth were achieved at the expense of environmental degradation and in disregard of the needs of the future generations. This realisation of the inadequacy of the approach has led to new thinking. Development has thus been defined to not only imply more output but also changes in the technical and institutional arrangements by which it is produced and distributed, (Kindleberger and Herick 1977). In this context development is seen to address four main issues:

(i) Elimination or reduction or poverty in society

(ii) Provision of opportunities for employment thus widening the income earning capacities.
(iii) Provision of basic needs.

(iv) Narrowing of income disparities.

This has further led to the emergence of the basic needs approach which "stresses the necessity to institutionalize poverty eradication through expanded service delivery and supply capacity geared to basic needs which are minimally defined...." (Collins, 1981). This involves the following aspects:

(i) The fulfillment of the minimum requirements of a family for private consumption e.g. food, clothing.

(ii) Universal access to basic needs provided by and for the community at large e.g. water, health and education.

(iii) The right to productive employment to yield sufficient remuneration to allow each household to meet its personal consumption.

(iv) The redistribution of goods and corresponding change in the structure and volume of production.

(v) Mass participation in decision-making and the implementation of projects.
2.2.2 Rural Development

From the preceding section one is tempted to think that rural development is simply development aside from urban development, thus differentiating it from general development by adding a spatial dimension, the rural area. However, in order to understand rural development, rural society and rural economy should be seen as a system of interdependent relationships and it ought to be recognised that complex and subtle social, economic and ecological changes do in fact take place within the confines of what apparently seems static and traditional rural economies. (Mountjoy, 1978). It is only through the appreciation of the dynamics of the rural environment that any meaningful development oriented intervention can be effective. There are three levels of interrelated and interacting spaces that give the rural space economy character and keep it going. First, is the "socio-cultural space", that is the complex of cognitions, values, belief, artifacts that are shared by the rural citizenry and gives them a sense of identity. It is what holds the community together or what is termed as social organisation (Mbithi, 1974). It is at this level that the speed with which any development programmes or innovations received and implemented is determined. If, for example, any given innovation is perceived by the community to be incom-
patible with the belief system then it is bound to be repulsed or certain rigidities within the value system may prevent certain segments of the populace from trying out the well intended programmes. The second level is the physical and economic spaces, that is in terms of resource endowment. This will define the production possibility frontier for the community, that is, the resource capacity to enable the community to accommodate development programmes and move towards the identified desirable situation of well being. This may include land and its attendant qualities (fertility, size, etc.); human resources in terms of skills, experience, numbers and leadership capabilities; information, entrepreneurship and other supportive physical and economic infrastructure. Finally, the political space, which to a large extent is defined by the larger society of which the rural is a part. This constitutes the ideology which will determine the nature or strategies of rural development and the power relations in terms of distribution of the benefits arising from whatever programmes that have been effected. This could either stifle or stimulate rural initiative. The manner in which these spaces interact and are manipulated through the administrative machinery will determine the extent to which rural development programmes will be successful.
Whatever the strategy to rural development, it should incorporate these considerations.

There are various ways in which rural development has been conceived. According to the World Bank:

"Rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people, the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants, and the landless".  

A number of issues of interest emerge from this definition. One, that the said development should not only address itself to economic aspects of the rural areas, but should go beyond and encompass the social aspects too. Two, that the strategies identify target groups to whom the said development is beamed, thus implying that there is need for development to be more focused to specific issues and areas. Finally, it hints on the equity aspect of development. However, the definition is inadequate on the need for the beneficiaries of the said development to participate in determining their own destiny. It merely talks of "extending" development to this group of people. Robert Chambers makes up for this omission and defines rural development as:

"A strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves
and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of their benefits of development. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants, and the landless.12

Another addition that Chambers (1983) makes in his refinement of the World Bank definition is the issue of power relations of the poor vis-a-vis the rest of the population. He talks of the poor being able to demand and control more of the benefits of development.

Uma Lele (1975)13 on the other hand defines rural development as "Improving standards of the mass of low income population residing in the rural areas and making the process self-sustaining". She further argues that to achieve this, attention needs to be at three levels:

(i) Mobilization and allocation of resources so as to reach a desirable balance over time between the welfare and productive services available to the subsistence rural sector.

(ii) Mass participation which requires that resources be allocated to low income regions and classes and that the productive and social services actually reach them.

(iii) Making the process self-sustaining requires development of the appropriate skills and implementing capacity and the presence of
institutions at the local, regional and national levels to ensure the effective use of existing resources and to foster the mobilization of resources.

All the above definitions of rural development are within the context of the Basic Needs Approach, as they emphasize the fact that rural development ought to be people oriented and not mere material well-being; that it should be such that the rural economy moves towards a position of self-reliance and self-sustainance. In sum, rural development should be seen as "a process aimed at improving the well being and self-realisation of people in the rural areas, and ultimately lead to widening the people's choices.

2.2.3 Reasons for the Concern of Rural Development

(i) From the political penetration school of thought, rural development is just one way of establishing an effective and authoritative central presence in a state's geographical and sectoral peripheries in order to acquire a capacity for the extraction and mobilisation of resources to implement its goals, which may be determined. It is seen merely as one of the strategies for nation-state formation through structural integration of its centre and its peripheries. Therefore in this case concern
for rural development is not in the interest of the rural citizenry, but that of those in power.

(ii) From another point of view the concern for rural development is a reaction to the undesirable pattern of development inherited from the colonialists in the developing countries. This was such that the newly independent developing countries found themselves in a situation of dual economies. Certain sectors of the economy were experiencing high levels of development, whereas other sectors were experiencing very little development or even stagnation. Rural development was seen to be an appropriate strategy to correct these disparities so that a majority, if not all, citizens would enjoy a certain desirable minimum portion of the benefits from development. It was seen as a way of achieving balanced growth and development.

(iii) It was realised that agriculture and industry were to a large extent interdependent sectors, such that no meaningful progress in industrialization could be achieved without the support of agriculture (or rural areas) in terms of supply of raw materials and market for finished and intermediate products from
industry. Therefore rural development is a way of mobilizing or consolidating the local market to boost industrial growth and general national development.

(iv) Rural-urban migration and its attendant problems in terms of inadequate housing, unemployment and crime, pressure on the limited social and physical infrastructure in the urban areas, was attributed to the limited opportunities available in the rural areas relative to those in the urban areas. By developing the rural areas, it is possible to check this process of rural-urban migration.

The above are some of the main reasons for the concern of rural development in Kenya.

2.3 Kenya's Approach to Rural Development

Although actual practice has been to a large extent at variance with declarations of intent, it has been government policy to pay significant attention to the rural areas. Over the years government policy has developed from broad guidelines to more specific and focused action programmes, as it shall become apparent in the following discussion.
2.4 Decentralized Planning Approach

2.4.1 Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965

The basic document guiding the first decade of planning in Kenya was Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. It established the principle of state direction of the development process while at the same time arguing for decentralized planning based on local input.

Sessional Paper No. 10 declared that the "fundamental characteristic of African Socialism is that society has a duty to plan, guide and control the uses of all productive resources". This statement reflected the decision of leading politicians and senior civil servants to move away from the inherited British system and toward a more centralized government. Referring to this principle, the Government steadily increased its role in planning and implementation of development activities. This development was firmly in control of centralized operational ministries guided by the Office of the President and administered by a large civil service. The principal guidance of their activities was a series of national development plans. At the operation of these ministries at the local level was a strong system of provincial administration.
Despite the centralization process that Sessional Paper No. 10 justified, it also acknowledged the need to promote the participation of all people in the task of nation building as well as in the enjoyment of the fruits of progress. Initially, such participation was envisioned to be centred in administrative units of the local government system:

"Planning will be extended to provinces, districts, and municipalities, so as to ensure that each administrative unit progress towards development is made".15

It was concluded that Kenya needed plans that were sufficiently specific to reflect the resources, endowments, development potential and constraints of each region or district and that plans, programmes and projects formulated at the centre without local input were not likely to meet these needs.

Decentralizing planning to the regional or district level was seen as a way of providing an acceptable compromise between the National Plan's generality and the restrictiveness of purely local planning. However there were constraints likely to hamper efforts to institutionalize it. These were among others, absence of an established government base for administering a decentralized planning system; shortage of skilled personnel; and reluctance of ministerial officers at the centre to give up their power to determine programme content and patterns of expenditure.
2.4.2 The Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP)

Kenya's most direct rural development thrust is embodied in the Special Rural Development Programme. This came as a result of a major conference on rural development at Kericho in 1966. Attended by a mix of Government, university and foundation participants, its recommendations emphasized the need for the Government to give greater priority to the rural sector in national planning, to shift the decision making focus from headquarters to the field, and to experiment with different approaches to rural development. Pilot initiatives in six local government divisions were identified, and plans developed for them. Funding for their activities was provided by the Government and six donors: Britain, FAO, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United States.

This programme indicates that some Government officials eventually recognized that a more direct strategy had to be adopted for improving the quality of life in rural areas and achieving greater equity in the benefits of economic development. It became increasingly clear that the 'trickle-down' which had been presumed, was not taking place. As with the regional administrative level, rural development programmes and projects were highly centralized in Nairobi with minimal participation at the local level.
The programme had four specific objectives:

(i) To increase rural income and employment opportunities.

(ii) To develop methodologies for inducing self-generating rural development activities elsewhere in the country.

(iii) To improve the capacity of Kenyan civil servants operating at the rural level.

(iv) To develop regional planning techniques appropriate to the Kenyan context.

Basic to the strategy for achieving these objectives was the principle that rural planning and management improvement at the local level could be institutionalized within the established administrative structure.

The programme came under the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MPEP) which in turn established a coordinating body, the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) in 1969. This Committee comprised of representatives of various government agencies involved in rural development, with interdepartmental cooperation facilitated by a 'linkman' from various ministries, and every project was managed by an 'area coordinator'. At the provincial level, Provincial Development Commi-
District Development Committees (DDC) in order to facilitate local decision making and participation in the programme.

The SRDP was given high acclaim for its conceptual framework and application in the survey districts. It was seen as the long awaited impetus for rural transformation. Indeed, there were very many who were committed to the effort. On the other hand, there were those who were not. The programme soon ran into many structural problems. In reviewing some of the drawbacks, Uma Lele indicates that the NRDC, while established to facilitate cooperation amongst ministries such cooperation was not easy to achieve. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Treasury delayed in authorizing funding for the emerging projects, the programme thus had to increasingly depend on donor funds. Plan preparation was also a problem because the district level officers lacked appropriate training and experience. Participation as was envisaged in the concept of the programme, was minimal and in some districts none at all. Many projects were narrowly focused and concentrated mainly on infrastructure.

Although SRDP was not considered a successful endeavour in its totality, it was able to bring to the fore some of the major issues concerning decentraliza-
tion and rural development. Several of its innovations provided models for key components of today's district planning system. Specifically, the programme committee stimulated the appearance of the DDC; the area coordinator, a model for the District Development Officer (DDO); the donor aid programmes led to the establishment of the Rural Development Fund (RDF). In sum, by moving headquarters staff to the field and attempting to get them to work with district staff to prepare local plans, SRDP contributed a government decision to engage in further district level planning.

2.4.3 Review of National Development Plans

The First National Development Plan: 1966/70 was drafted in Nairobi and not linked to any decentralized planning exercise. However, it did set the establishment of decentralized planning as an objective and stimulated the emergence of SRDP and its planning component. Appropriate general policies were stated, but little strategic or tactical effort was made to back them. For instance, districts were asked to contribute to project formulation, but no adequate guidelines were given on establishing priorities, setting financial ceilings or outlining project format. As a result, district contributions were uneven in quality and were often little more
than long lists of inadequately justified project ideas, and no distinct plans were prepared.

During the Second National Development Plan: 1970/74, there were no drastic changes made. District plans still were not prepared. Responsibility for facilitating local input rested with the DDC. The local input was to come from two committees: The DDCs made up of technical officers of the operating ministries, and the District Development Advisory Committees (DDACs), composed of elected officials. However, these committees were not effective in setting local priorities or making decisions about competing claims. The committee meetings were also infrequent, poorly attended and hence unproductive.

Reviewing the situation in early 1970s the Ndegwa Commission observed that:

"Rural development must also mean planned development. This means that the process of planning, both plan-making and plan-implementing, must be extended down to the level of the District, and even into the Division, where the administration comes to grips with local realities. At present this is not really the case. So far, the machinery for planning extends only to the provincial level". 17

The Commission also reported that the Provincial Administration lacked appropriate technical staff to allow it to perform specialized tasks for development. It called for trained planners at the district level, elaborated planning procedures and the generation of
adequate data. The findings and recommendations of the Commission did result in some changes shortly thereafter. For instance, the DDCs were strengthened and the membership expanded to include local Members of Parliament, heads of County Councils and selected KANU officials.

Major changes to facilitate district level planning were introduced in the Third National Development Plan: 1974/78. It presented detailed objectives and procedures for district level planning, which resulted in the preparation of 40 district plans. The Plan stipulated that henceforth:

"Responsibility for the preparation of District Development Plans will rest with reorganized District Development Committees... a District Development officer, trained in project preparation and development planning, will be posted to each district to coordinate district planning work and the implementation of approved projects.... The District Plans formulated by the District Development Committees will be forwarded to the Ministries' headquarters in Nairobi, to the Ministry of Finance and Planning and to respective Provincial Development Committees to comment.... Responsibility for the implementation of district plans will rest on respective operating ministries, who will also ensure that facilities thus created are properly maintained".18

In addition various other steps were taken to strengthen rural planning and development. The Rural Planning Division of the Ministry of Finance and Planning proceeded to prepare guidelines for district plans including three main components:
(i) basic statistical indicators and background information;

(ii) an appraisal of existing conditions and specific deficiencies;

(iii) a description of sectoral issues and programmes for the 1974-78 Plan period.

Furthermore, the Ministry recruited 20 DDOs in consultation with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Nairobi and prepared a 'Manual for Rural Planning'. Training of both technical and administrative personnel was stepped up with the assistance of various donor agencies to complement the Government's effort.

Peter Delp, who was an advisor in the Rural Planning Division commented that the 40 district plans prepared:

...were not plans in the sense of proposing a course of action in light of local resources endowments, identified needs, problems and constraints, and potential opportunities. Furthermore, they were not prepared at the district level but by provincial and headquarter's staff.... as for sectoral programmes, the district plans gave such sketchy descriptions that follow-up on actual implementation was nearly impossible.... The Rural Development Fund projects identified were not so much gap fillers in the ministry programmes, but shopping lists generated by the DDC. During the plan period, the implementation rate for these projects was slow".19

The above comment indicates that the institutional arrangements and the actual availability of financial and human resources was not addressed.
It is in the Fourth National Development Plan, 1979-83, that the government policy on rural development is more explicit. The policy approach spelt out in more or less the basic needs approach as a part from what was indicated in the 1970-74 Plan, the Government goes further to identify specific issues to be addressed which include among others; employment creation, increased participation and accessibility to basic needs like water, health and education. In this there is devolution of the power structure within the Government decision making process to allow for greater liaison between the Government development agents and the rural community. In support of the Plan, the Government recruited trained and placed additional officers in the field as DDOs.

It was decided instead to prepare the next round of district plans simultaneously with the National Plan, and to establish iterative procedures by which the district plans would be incorporated into the National Plan as far as possible. By mid-1978, however, it was clear that not all the plans could be prepared before the deadline, although the exercise continued. Problems plagued the drafting process. These included among others; unwillingness of most ministries to break down their forward budget allocations to the district level; a majority of the ministries provided partial disaggregation and a
number of DDOs had difficulty preparing socio-economic profiles, particularly in regard to identifying the rural poor who were to be the target group, and they also had trouble forging an integrated district plan.

2.4.4 Report and Recommendations of the Working Party

During the 1970s there was increasing strain on the Government to provide essential services to the people and a decline in the efficiency of operations in the public service. There was thus need for the Government to restore a balance on ways and means of increasing productivity and efficiency in Government operations. There was need to improve national institutions as managers of public resources. It is in this spirit that a Working Party was appointed by the President in 1982.

The Working Party's terms of reference were:

"To recommend urgent and practical measures for containing Government expenditures within the level of limited Government revenue receipts. In doing so to identify ways and means of improving efficiency in resource use within the Government, paying particular attention to:

(i) Articulation of development and recurrent expenditures overall and by Ministry.

(ii) Management systems for budgeting, expenditure control and reporting.

(iii) Mobilization and utilization of external aid and technical assistance.

(iv) Processes for monitoring implementation of policies, projects and programmes and for introducing remedial measures."
(v) Personnel management including numbers employed, composition, deployment of staff and matching of qualifications with job requirements.

(vi) Organization and management of transport and equipment including procurement, composition, replacement, repair and maintenance, and rational use of vehicles and equipment.

(vii) Consolidation or elimination of duplicated functions and facilities.\(^\text{20}\)

The Working Party had also realized that:

1. The strategy of providing a wide range of services to a rapidly growing population had become too expensive resulting in the distortion of the relationship between the Government and the people.

2. Efforts to create employment opportunities tended to neglect productivity considerations.

3. The planning and implementation and control of development projects had been inefficient.

4. Deficient supervision and coordination of local authorities was observed.

5. Reluctance to make hard choices was observed. And when such choices were made, there was resistance in Government ministries for their implementation.

As a result, all these factors have diluted Government management capacity and distorted national priorities. The Working Party therefore saw need to review the development strategy.
In the view of the Working Party, the role of the Government was:

1. To endeavour to do more in what it does best and do less of what others can do better.

2. To share financial responsibilities of its services with the beneficiaries of the services.

3. To help Kenyans to help themselves individually and collectively.

4. To help Kenyans to share in the benefits of development.

The Working Party also noted that whatever decisions were taken in Nairobi, the work of development takes place in partnership with people at local levels. Therefore services must be delivered on the farms, in the communities and in the urban centres, so as to involve people in planning of projects at all levels.

It is for this reason that the Government has extended many of its own activities to provinces, districts, divisions and even locations, and has continued to provide financial support to local authorities. This thrust of the Government extending its support to the people is both essential and appropriate and should therefore be strengthened through better direction, planning, coordination and implemen-
tation and the increased involvement of the people in all these tasks. This would not only facilitate rural and urban development and an improved regional balance but also a less costly and more efficient management organization particularly in the districts and urban centres.

However, the Working Party did note that there were limitations such as: excess growth in manpower; proliferation of provincial administration; overspecialization of staff; inadequate and uneven delegation from the centre and multiple administration of central Government at district level, which if not coordinated would frustrate the efforts of development.

The Party was convinced that the deficiencies noted could be substantially overcome through the following recommendations:

(i) Many of the professional and technical officers now performing largely administrative tasks at provincial headquarters should be re-assigned to the districts.

(ii) The District Commissioner was to become the Chief Executive Officer in the district responsible for planning, coordination and implementation of district projects and programmes and for the mobilization of district
resources in support of rural development. He should be the Chairman of DDC, independent of politics and a manager by training and by experience.

(iii) The District Commissioner should be assisted by an Executive Committee which should consist of departmental officers. The work of the Committee will be the planning and implementation of projects, and the mobilization and budgeting of district resources. This will require strengthening of planning and accounting capabilities in the districts.

(iv) The DDC should be the body responsible for considering, approving and modifying plans, budgets, progress reports and resource mobilization proposals prepared and submitted by the Executive Committee. Its membership should include heads of department, Members of Parliament, KANU officials, Chairmen of county councils, town councils and divisional development committees, and representatives of locations.

(v) Divisional Committees should be reactivated and formed into strong units for mobilizing of local resources. Their chairmen should attend the meetings of the DDC and Executive Committee whenever their projects are under discussion.
(vi) Forward Budget proposals should be initiated in each district and forwarded to every ministry with approval of the DC.

(vii) Authority to Incur Expenditure (A.I.E) which were at provincial level should be directed to the district level using district treasuries.

(viii) Selected activities such as the management of vehicles, their repair and maintenance should be made subject to supervision by the DC.

(ix) County Councils should be financially responsible for their own activities.

(x) Responsibility for Rural Access Roads to be transferred to the DDC with DC playing a significant role in coordinating county council activities with others.

(xi) All senior officers of county councils to be brought under the Public Service Commission.

(xii) Central Government was to provide guidelines for the kinds of revenues and level of rents to be collected by the county councils. There had been weak financial status of county councils and poor management of resources.

(xiii) Grants to the county councils from central Government should be reduced in aggregate.
The party also observed that effective development throughout the nation depends on developing the urban centres as the hubs of economic activities and providing linkages for the rural areas including provision of inputs and outlets for products.

The above were broadly suggested policy measures to be undertaken in district planning. It is in the light of these recommendations that the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development was launched in 1983.

2.4.5 District Focus For Rural Development

The initial directive on the introduction of District Focus came in 1982 when the Head of State called for the districts to become centres for the development of rural areas. For the first time the Government made a bold step towards decentralizing the planning activities. This was in accordance with the recommendations of the Working Party outlined in the previous section, which did emphasize the central importance of establishing a more effective planning machinery at the district level.

This led to a more detailed policy framework as stated in the 1984-88 National Development Plan:

"The responsibility for planning and implementing rural development is being shifted from the head-
quarters of ministries to the districts.... It is based on the principle of a complimentary relationship between the ministries, representing a sectoral approach to development, and the districts where the various sectors are joined in common support of rural development activities.

Each district, through its DDC, will be responsible for rural development planning and coordination, project implementation, management of development resources, and overseeing local procurement of goods and services....".22

Greater responsibility and participation have been shifted to the district level, and the DDC has been given the sole responsibility of managing the total set of rural development. The objective is to broaden the base of rural development and to encourage local initiatives, through various institutions and agencies.

In the District Focus for Rural Development, a more coordinated institutional framework was recommended centred on the DDC.

While the precise composition and size of DDCs varies among districts they are all composed of three groups:

(i) the district heads of all operating ministerial departments, which number to more than 30, and invited officials from these ministries by the DC or ministerial head.

(ii) elected officials consisting of members of Parliament from the district, and officials from KANU and local authority.
(iii) a variable group of unofficial members. These include representatives from NGOs, church groups and others.

Through the DDC, the district is responsible for rural development, planning and coordination, implementation and management, with the DC as chairman and District Development Officer (DDO) as secretary of the Committee.

The DDC is responsible for the planning and coordination of plans among the relevant bodies involved; parastatals, NGOs, Local Authorities, for district-specific projects, Government projects, and projects initiated through harambee basis. This process forms the basis of the preparation of district development plans. Each district is to have an integrated work programme for each year.

The District Focus for Rural Development spells out clearly measures to ensure effective financial management. As the district becomes an important centre for rural development, it also becomes an important unit for accountability. Sources of finance are both from Government and NGOs. The Treasury in the Ministry of National Planning and Development allocates money to sectors every financial year to the District Treasury, with district heads as AIE holders. Financial resources for the districts will continue
to be allocated through forward budgets and annual estimates. Each ministry will however dis-aggregate its budget, so that each DDC can anticipate the resources available for development programmes and projects. The challenge of the DDC is to manage the combined use of funds in a manner that maximizes the benefits to the district's residents.

Procedures for local procurement for obtaining supplies and services have been amended to facilitate local procurement. The authority of the District Tender Board has been increased in this process at the district level. It is expected that the district inputs are purchased locally, and purchasing is done by the district managers i.e. A.I.E holders.

In essence, the District Focus Strategy has emphasized (1) strengthening planning capacity at the district level; (2) improving horizontal integration among operating ministry field agents; and (3) expanding authority to district officers for managing financial and procurement aspects of local project implementation. More specifically, the DDCs' supervisory authority over other committees and agencies in the district has increased.

Since the emphasis of District Focus is on project implementation, a District Executive Committee (DEC) has been established, to improve the technical
operation of the DDC. In support of the DEC a District Planning Unit (DPU) has also been established. The DEC is composed of the DC, DDO, all technical department heads, clerks of local authorities, and representatives of development related parastatals. While the DPU is composed of the DDO, Assistant DDO, the District Statistical officer, District Physical Planners, Quantity Surveyors, Valuers and Architects.

The divisional, locational and sub-locational responsibilities have increased. In recognition of this role, and potential their membership was spelled out in District Focus (1985 and 1987).

The DDC is thus faced with the challenge of coordinating the activities of a multiplicity of committees and agencies.

To achieve effective rural development the DDC is supposed to work closely with the divisional, locational and sublocational development committees; the technical committees such as the DEC and DPU; special purpose committees like District Agricultural Committee, District Education Board, District Social Development Committee and the Joint Loans Board; and other agencies in the district.

A major objective of the District Focus Strategy is to increase communication between the local commu-
nity and Government offices, working in the districts. Divisional, locational and sub-locational development committees should encourage inputs from community members on development opportunities and problems in their local areas and the types of projects.

2.5 Conclusions

The literature review presents a general range of approaches employed in the development planning process. The regional theories form the basis for the pattern of development planning in Kenya, which has culminated into district planning. What has been a common achievement in efforts of development is the realization that rural development cannot be effectively achieved unless organizations are created to undertake the task of development activities. What has also been emphasized is the role of the community in the development process.

While it is now generally agreed that decentralization is perhaps the most effective means of reaching the rural population the issue of staff organizational requirements, and attendant additional resources have repeatedly been cited as a serious constraint. This has been brought out clearly by the review of efforts of district planning, and more especially by the Working Party Report, which led to the launching of the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development.
The explanation of the focus of the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development in respect to the promotion of a more effective local level planning and implementation of development and therefore the role expected to be played by the DDC and its associated institutions at the district level, and the role of the community provides a background to the present study.

By addressing itself to an examination of the planning process in Kakamega District, and analysing the actual roles the DDC plays in district development planning vis-a-vis other agencies, and the role played by the people, the study intends to identify some of the problems the DDC experiences in carrying out its planning responsibilities. This is indeed necessary because if solutions for improving the quality of development planning in the district in the country are to be found, a clear understanding of the problems that hamper their effectiveness and those that facilitate their effectiveness in carrying out their planning responsibilities is necessary.

While the awareness that organizations in the country are facing difficulties in carrying out their general functions and indeed their planning responsibilities, it has been noted that no systematic study has been undertaken to evaluate the state of planning and development performance of the DDCs with a view
of identifying the parameters of manifestations of their predicament.

The literature review gives a useful theoretical framework on which the study is based, in an attempt to highlight some of these issues, using Kakamega as a case study.


The evolution of planning machinery in Kenya has its roots in the administrative structure made in the colonial period. During this period, local level planning was mainly the prerogative of the individual government departments. There was no coordinating machinery to manage planning at the local level, which that time was the province. Since independence, changes have been inevitably made which emphasize on decentralization of development activities. These changes are aimed at reaching and serving more people in the rural areas.

The assumption underlying the need to decentralize government activities is the feeling that centralization of authority is a bottleneck in the way of sound decision-making in the development planning process. Decentralization by establishing local department committees has been a popular one in other countries such as Malawi, Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania. Establishment of area based programmes around which relatively autonomous organizations have been built, has been an administrative region or district as the focus of planning and implementation of development programmes.
A major aim of district planning in Kenya is that of achieving effective rural development. Since the 1960s focus of attention has been on ways and means for facilitating rural development at the local level. To this end and institutional framework providing a procedure for decision-making and a hierarchy of relationships, the DDC was recommended as the major planning body by the Working Party Report of 1982. This led to the launching of the "District Focus Strategy for Rural Development" in 1983. It noted that:

"Each district through its DDC is responsible for rural development planning and coordination, project implementation, management of financial and other resources..."°

This chapter gives an outline of the institutional framework in Kakamega District. Attention is paid to the organizational structure, composition and functions of the various agencies and the planning procedures through which they carry out their development activities.

3.1 **Organizational Structure**

The organizational structure consists of committees which correspond to the administrative set-up namely; the District Development Committee (DDC), Divisional Development Committee (DVDC), Locational Development Committee (LDC) and Sub-locational
Development Committee. The District Development Committee is the highest organizational unit and plays a co-ordinative role to harmonize the development activities of the committees, and those of other agencies such as ministries, parastatals, local authorities and private organizations. The District Development Committee carries out much of its responsibility through other functional sub-committees such as the District Planning Unit (DPU), District Executive Committee (DEC) which offer technical advice, and special-purpose committees such as the District Agricultural Committee (DAC), District Education Board (DEB), District Trade Joint Loans Board (DTJLB), District Social Development Committee (DSDC) and District Industrial Development Committee (DIDC). This organizational set-up is illustrated in chart 3-1.

3.2 Composition and Functions of the Committees

3.3.1 District Development Committee (DDC)

The Kakamega DDC is composed of Departmental Heads of all ministries represented in the district, Members of Parliament, District KANU Chairman, Chairman and Clerks of the Local Authorities, Divisional Officers, Representatives of Parastatals, NGOs and Self-Help Groups. The DDC is headed by the District
Chart 3-1: The Organizational Structure of the Committees

- District Development Committee
  - District Executive Committee
  - District Planning Unit
  - District Agricultural Committee
  - District Education Board
  - District Social Development Committee
  - District Trade Joint Loans Board
  - District Industrial Development Committee

- Divisional Development Committee
- Locational Development Committee
- Sub-Locational Development Committee
Commissioner, while the District Development Officer (DDO) is the secretary.

The representation of departmental heads forms the largest number in the DDC. By the end of 1988 this figure had reached 38 out of a total DDC membership of 65. This representation of the district heads in the DDC ensures the district's interests are promoted by requiring operating ministries to base their activities on district plans and priorities, to disaggregate their budgets to the district level and to guarantee the funding of district identified projects within their established budget ceilings. Priorities and schemes to be undertaken are determined in every case by the DDC in consultation with the district heads.

On the other hand, Members of Parliament, the District KANU Chairman, and Chairmen to local authorities form the political bodies at the district level and represent the interests of the majority of people.

The local authorities which include Kakamega Municipal and County Councils, Vihiga Town Council and urban councils, have a significant role to play in the process of planning. They are not only obliged to determine development requirements, needs and priorities of areas under their jurisdiction, but
also to ensure that plans are implemented once they are formulated and approved. Local authorities have a special relationship with the DDC. They are to vet their development projects through the DDC before forwarding them to the Ministry of Local Government for funding. This process enables the DDC to coordinate these projects with other development activities. Whereas the DDC has been given administrative power for coordinating the development activities of the local authorities, it is the local authorities who assume powers to guide, regulate and control implementation of development plans. The Local Government Regulations of 1963 provide that:

"Every municipal council and county council or town council may, subject to any other written law relating thereto, prohibit and control the development, and use of land and buildings in the interest of the proper and orderly development of its area".  

Therefore the DDC has to rely on these powers of the local authorities in order to carry out its responsibilities more effectively.

Local authorities on the other hand depend on the services of the physical planning department for the preparation of plans. From discussions held with officers from the local authorities, there were complaints that one physical planner is inadequate for the entire district. Since the local authorities
provide essential services such as roads, sewerage, housing, schools, etc; they should be seen as part of the DDC. There are areas of overlap between the DDC and county council. Both have the same geographic border, one representing government operating ministries presented at the district level and the other representing local citizens through elected and appointed representatives at all levels.

Representatives from parastatals and private organizations also contribute significantly to the DDC. The most notable parastatals in Kakamega District include Kenya Posts & Telecommunications, Kenya Power and Lighting, Kenya Commercial Bank, Agricultural Finance Corporation, National Cereals and Produce Board, Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union and Industrial Commercial Development Corporation, among others. These institutions play a crucial role in availing the much needed finance for development in the form of loans and credit facilities. However, from interviews with the people, the majority did not gain from these loans because of their high collaterals. Most of them identify more with Nairobi than the district.

The District officer who sits in the DDC meetings brings with him local details from the lower levels. The District Officer provides a link between the DDC
and other Sub-DDCs namely the DVDC, LDC and SLDC. By virtue of their representation the various actors protect certain interests of the people at district level.

The DDC plays a coordinative role to harmonize the diverse activities undertaken by ministries, parastatals, local authorities and private organizations, which are fairly represented. The approval of project proposals by the DDC therefore represents a strong mandate of local support. In carrying out both planning and implementation functions the DDC is supposed to meet not less than four times per year to review ongoing progress of projects, to consider new project proposals submitted by the various agencies, and to establish priorities for future projects in the Five Year District Development Plan.

However, the DDC is not restricted to meeting only four times. For instance, from Kakamega DDC minute records in the last three years, 1986, 1987 and 1988, the number of DDC meetings has been increasing steadily from 4, 5 to 6 meetings respectively.

Given its broad composition the DDC is divided into sub-committees to ease management of development efforts in different sectors. These are the District Executive Committee, District Planning Unit and special purpose ones such as the District Agricultural
Committee (DAC), District Education Committee (DEB), District Social Development Committee (DSDC), District Trade Joint Loans Board and District Industrial Development Committee, among others.

The District Executive Committee (DEC) was established due to the emphasis of District Focus Strategy on efficient implementation and enhanced fiscal discipline. The DEC is composed of the District Commissioner (chairman), District Development Officer (secretary), technical departmental heads, clerks of local authority and representatives of development related parastatals. In Kakamega the DEC meets once in a month to prepare plans for DDC approval. According to the District Focus the root of the DEC lies in reforms and at improving the technical operation of development projects and programmes. Accordingly this group of civil servants increases technical control over district development and if effectively run, it should lead to improved horizontal coordination among operating ministries.

In support of the DEC, the District Planning Unit (DPU) was established. The DPU is expected to comprise of the District Development Officer (DDO) Assistant DDO, District Statistical Officer, District Physical Planner, Quantity Surveyor, Valuers and Architects. At the time of the study, the DPU in Kakamega consisted only of the DDO and Assistant DDO.
Most of the DPU's responsibilities were being carried out by the DDO, Assistant DDO and few technical officers. The DPU is expected not only to assist in planning and monitoring but also in such technical activities as costing of projects, preparation of bills of quantities, planning provision for land acquisition for projects and technical appraisal of project proposals. Such functions are very important and if not carried out effectively, this can hamper effective rural development.

The District Agricultural Committee (DAC) is composed of the District Agricultural Officer, Livestock Production Officer, District Veterinary Officer, Forester and other representatives from sectors related to agriculture. This is a wide representation of technical officers within the Ministry of Agriculture. For a district with high agricultural potential such as Kakamega, this committee plays a significant role mainly as an advisory body dealing with policy matters aimed at boosting agricultural development within the district. Such policy matters and decisions include the location of agricultural processing industries, the criteria on allocation and consequently recovery of agricultural loans. The DDC therefore has to work in consultation with the DAC, especially with regard to project proposals.

The District Educational Board (DEB) is composed of the District Education Officer, Provincial Educa-
tion Officer, MP(s), clerk to county council, Kenya National Union of Teachers representatives, prominent people and church representatives. The DEB is supposed to undertake project initiation and make decisions regarding educational matters. However, it was reported that the functions of the Board have variously been taken by Board of Governors, Parents Associations and school committees. This is an indicator of poor definition of roles between the different bodies involved in education. Nonetheless, the DEB is an important sub-committee of the DDC.

The District Trade Joint Loans Board is composed of the District Trade Development Officer, concillors and established businessmen. This Board disburses loans from the Government to be given to businessmen. So far it has not undertaken construction of any project due to insufficient funds. By nature of its function, the board tends to meet only twice a year.

The District Industrial Development Commitee is composed of the District Industrial Development Officer, District Development Officer, District Trade Development Officer, District Supplies Officer, Branch Managers of Kenya Commercial Bank and Industrial Commercial Development Corporation and representatives from the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and
Industry. This committee is relatively new, it was formed in December 1987. However, it will help to relieve the DDC of matters relating to industrial development in the district, which due to its high agricultural potential, has potential for establishment of agro-based industries.

The District Social Development Committee (DCDC) is another important committee in the district, however its composition has not been very clear. At the time of study the committee was composed of only the District Social Development Officer, Community Development Assistant and Locational Development Assistants. From interviews held with the District Social Development Officer, the enthusiasm to attend meetings was missing because they rarely receive grants to carry out projects. So lack of sufficient funds is a serious problem here. This committee mainly deals with issues directly affecting the people, especially women groups, and other self-help projects. The committee is very helpful in identifying viable projects which need to be funded by the Rural Development Fund (RDF), so it can offer useful information to the DDC, but they can only be motivated if funds are available.

The District Commissioner is chairman to all these committees.
After a review of the various committees at the district level, in practice much of the responsibilities of the DDC are carried out in these committees, so the DDC assumes a coordinative role to ensure that they function as expected. The DDC is free to form other committees when need arises.

3.2.2 Divisional Development Committee (DVDC)

The DVDC is composed of the District Officer (Chairman), members of Parliament, KANU sub-branch chairman, locational chiefes, clerks of local authorities, councillors of local authorities, Divisional departmental heads, among other representatives.

The MP(s), councillors and KANU sub-branch chairmen represent the political bodies at this level. They are charged with the responsibility of guiding the interests of the local people, by assisting them in articulating their needs, and seeing to it that these needs are met. However, records from Ikolomani Division showed that while attendance by elected officials at DDC meetings is increasing there is still a tendency for councillors and MP(s) to miss DVDC meetings assuming that they can make their contributions better at the DDC.

The role of the locational chiefs here is very important. They provide information from the lower
levels to be incorporated at the divisional level.

The DDO is expected to be the secretary of all the DVDCs in the district, but in practice rarely does he attend these meetings. Interviewing the DDO on this issue, he reiterated that this task was too big for him, given his other responsibilities of coordinating development activities in the district. Such responsibility is delegated to the D.O who in most cases is too involved in his administrative responsibilities and is unable to carry it out effectively.

It was also observed that not all sectors are represented at this level, apart from the Departments of Agriculture, Livestock, Water, Education, Education Development. Since the ministries form the largest agency within the district, this is not a fair representation and therefore tends to reduce the technical capacity of the DVDC.

The DVDC has the responsibility of assembling initial project ideas from the locational and sub-locational committees, sorting them out according to local priorities of the division and forwarding them to the DDC for more formal and technical assessment and approval.
The DVDC is supposed to meet as often as possible, but not less than four times a year. However, in practice the DVDC tends to meet when it has been given a task by the DDC. The DVDC forms the major link between the lower sub-DDCs and the DDC.

3.2.3 Locational and Sub-locational Development Committees

The Locational Development Committee (LDC) is composed of the Chief (chairman), Assistant Chiefs, KANU locational chairman, councillors, departmental officers, locational representatives of parastatals, headmasters of secondary schools, among others.

The Sub-Locational Development Committee (SLDC) on the other hand is composed of Assistant Chief (chairman), KANU Sub-locational chairman, councillors, departmental officers, headmasters of primary schools and other co-opted local leaders.

Although the membership of these committees is clearly spelt out in the District Focus for Rural Development document, there was a marked absence of departmental representatives in Ikolomani. It was also noted that there were no clear records on meeting minutes, and development activities in the area. On the question of how many committee meetings are held, most of the chiefs and assistant chiefs could not give an exact number. They gave answers
such as "2 to 3" times in a year. Further investigations revealed that most issues that are supposed to be discussed in the committees are normally discussed in the chiefs' barazas, and therefore the need for regular committee meetings does not arise. However, what transpires in these barazas is not recorded and there is no way in which it can be channelled to the DDC in a formal way. What was clear from the chiefs is that barazas and public rallies are still important avenues for communicating to the people, especially on government policies and intentions, though poorly attended. At this level there is reliance on village elders to communicate to the people, but what capabilities do these people have to deliver the desired information to the people. Teachers who form the elite of the community are completely absent in the representatives.

What was also observed is that the number of political representatives at this level is fair, in that there are councillors, who are expected to be very conversant with their local surrounding, and the people too, KANU locational chairmen and youth-wingers. From discussions with these people, it was clear that most of them concentrated on informing the community on what the government intends to do, and not soliciting for the views of the people concerned. As a result people tend not to attend public rallies
often because they assume the government knows what is best for them.

The LDC and SLDC represent the grassroots level and are responsible for the discussion of community needs and the initial identification of projects and activities to address those needs. These community level committees are an essential element in promoting increased local level participation in the development process. However, from the above discussion, they have not been sufficiently active in Ikolomani. It was observed that certain divisions like Emuhaya have active committees. This is one division which had up to date information on development activities in the area.

Women organizations are represented at all the four levels, but their role has not been adequately played. This is evident from the very low numbers of women groups in the division. The few the researcher interviewed complained of lack of funds to start projects.

3.3 The Decision-Making Process in the DDC

The concern here is on the formal procedures which govern most kinds of decisions made relating to development activities in the district and how the community generates and receives information.
Chart 3.2: The Structure of Decision-Making

The arrows show the information flow. This sequence follows the formal machinery of decision-making as required by the District Focus for Rural development, so as to incorporate the ideas of the majority of the people. Information proceeds from the DDO who is the secretary of the DDC, and is referred to the lower committees through the D.O who is chairman of the DVDC. The D.O is expected to discuss the matters raised with the chairmen of the LDC and SLDC, who in turn are expected to discuss with the community, and their views forwarded back to the DDC through the same way.

In practice this does not happen, as seen in the previous section, most of this information is
verbal, and is rarely recorded in a formal way, therefore it is difficult to know what kind of infor-
mation gets to the people, and the means by which it
gets to them, and how their views are recorded.
There seems to be no clear defined means by which
information gets to the people and also back to the
DDC. Some matters may be too technical for LDC and
SLDCs to handle, hence need for constant guidance.
The vertical relationship seems to be pronounced.
The horizontal relationship stems from the other
agencies constituted at these levels, but it was
noted earlier that the representation of these other
agencies is weak, with only a few sectors at the
divisional level.

The decision-making process shows that there
is a tendency of communication breakdown in the
system; and if it continues then, effective rural
development will not be achieved as desired.

Ford and Heaton have observed that:

"The ability to implement decisions depends
upon communication skills. The best decision
is useless, unless it can be quickly and
easily communicated to those affected by it or
those responsible for implementing it. Commu-
nication is the glue that holds the organiza-
tion together. It enables the separate members
of the organization to act in unison".4

Communication is a social process of the broadest
relevance in the functioning of any group, organiza-
tion or society.
Communication that generates effective development action should therefore be based on a sound background of information. The District Focus Strategy, realized the need for such a source of information and recommended that each district should have a District Information and Documentation Centre (DIDC) where members of development committees and members of the public can refer to for more detailed information on the district. Efforts are currently being made to establish a DIDC in Kakamega District. It is expected that when the DIDC is fully established then information will be collected and stored at the district level.

3.4 Plan Preparation and Implementation Procedure

The objective of this section is to identify the role of the DDC vis-a-vis the other agencies involved in the planning process. It looks at the stages through which development programmes from different agencies are prepared and implemented.

3.4.1 Plan Preparation

District planning is carried out through a process which includes regular meetings of the development committees at each level of the district administrative structure and through the preparation of two basic planning documents, the 5 year District Development Plan and the Annual Annex to that Plan.
The latter document, consists of the work programme and forward budget for that year for each sector.

The district plan has two major component parts:

(1) disaggregated district development programmes from the national plan

(2) projects identified by the district.

The disaggregation of the national programmes into district programmes is done by the district heads of the operational ministries. The second component is that which is concerned with projects identified by the district. These projects are primarily intended to serve the district or part of the district, referred to as district-specific, and are to be identified, selected, planned and implemented at the district level. They are meant to fill the gaps in the development needs of district which are not satisfied by the first component.

The DDC also reviews and endorses projects in the district sponsored by parastatal organizations, local authorities, NGOs, including local self-help organizations.

There are several potential sources of project support. These include ministry funds for district-specific projects, multi-district ministry programmes,
local authority resources, local self-help private sector investment, RDF and EEC micro-projects programme.

The above provide a framework for plan preparation leading to integrated and coordinated district planning.

3.4.2 Procedures of Project Identification and Approval

In selecting development projects for all the component parts of the district-plan, the DDC works closely with its Sub-DDCs such as the DVDC, LDC and SLDC, the special purpose and technical committees and other development agencies, depending on the types of projects.

Identification of development projects and programmes is a continuous process. The District Development Officer (DDO) who is the secretary to the DDC and the overall in-charge of the preparation of the district plan sends letters to all divisional development committees, ministerial heads of the district as well as local level politicians, M.P(s) and councillors, requesting them to send in suggestions for development projects from their respective areas.

On receiving such communication the DO who is the chairman of the DVDC is required to send word
down to the locational and sub-locational levels respectively. The Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs, political leaders and other local leaders are required to discuss with the local community and assist them to articulate their needs, and to come up with suggestions which are forwarded back to the DVDC.

This shows the general procedure through which projects may be identified. Investigations in Ikolomani revealed that although the initial ideas may be discussed at the grassroot level, not all of the suggestions are forwarded to the district level. At the grassroot levels identification of project proposals is done without any technical assistance on the viability of these project proposals. This is due to lack of technical capacities at these levels. The outcome is usually a list of suggestions which when agreed upon is forwarded to the divisional level. The DVDC expands these suggestions into project proposals which are properly formulated and ranked according to the priorities of the division. This is done with some technical assistance from the divisional heads of different sectors. However, at this stage many of the suggestions from the lower level are dropped. The D.O gave the reason for this as mainly for purposes of priority ranking and that most suggestions were not viable. There was no clear
indication of whether the people are informed of such reasons. Some of those interviewed complained that their project proposals were never considered. This could affect the people's ability to participate, because they could assume that the government knows what is good for them.

It was observed, however, that lack of sufficient information about the extent and significance of the problems and needs of the community could be another major reason for many grassroot projects being dropped by the DVDC.

From the DVDC the selected project proposals are forwarded to the DDO who is the secretary of the DDC. The DDO then forwards the project proposals to the special-purpose committees such as the District Agricultural Board, District Education Board etc, for technical evaluation and recommendation to the DEC. The DEC coordinates all the project proposals and sets priorities of the district as a whole and needs for sectoral and area bases. At this stage the proposals undergo a further technical appraisal, this includes costing, planning of land acquisition in cases where land is not available for the projects, and preparation of plans. The DEC then prepares briefing notes on all the proposals and reports to be submitted to the DDC for approval. The DPU is supposed to technically evaluate the project proposals
in view of their feasibility. In Kakamega this was not fully operational, and the task was done mainly by the DDO and the assistant DDO.

At the DDC meetings, each project proposal is discussed and evaluated. There is a lot of debate among the members before the projects are finally approved or even dropped. This is a stage where the politicians and other community representatives have to be very vocal to ensure that projects in their areas are approved and reflect the wider community's interests.

After the DDC has approved the projects, the DDO puts everything together, to form the District Plan.

This forms the general procedure through which projects are identified and approved. However, not all the project proposals go through this procedure. There are those that are initiated at the divisional level or district level directly depending on the magnitude of the project. An example of such a project is the construction of the District Information and Documentation Centre (DIDC). This is a requirement of the Government that all districts should have DIDCs. This project therefore did not have to go through the whole procedure from the lower levels, because it was not being initiated by
the people. Another example is the Department of Transport, unless it is a rural access road, other projects dealing with major roads do not follow this procedure, they are normally initiated at the divisional level.

Local authority project proposals can originate from two sources: the local development committees (i.e. locational, sub-locational and divisional committees) and the local authorities themselves.

An example of a project proposal which originated from the division is the construction of offices at Ikolomani. According to members of the DVDC, the issue was raised in one of the meetings. So the councillors picket ip up with the Kakamega County Council. The County Council reviewed the proposal with the Ikolomani DVDC which was going to to be affected by the project. After it had been endorsed by teh DVDC the County Council then presented it to the DDC for review and approval. Following the DDC's endorsement the proposed programme and budget were submitted to the Ministry of Local Government for approval. The ministry reviewed and approved the proposed programme. However, the funds for the project at the time of the study had not been released.
What is important to note is that local authorities have to vet their development projects through the DDC before forwarding them to the Ministry of Local Government for funding. This process enables the DDC to coordinate these projects with other projects in the district. In this case it is up to the local authority to follow up the funds with the ministry, the DDC cannot do this on their behalf. On the other hand the County Council in most cases is unable to convince the ministry to release the funds in time. So their projects tend to be repeated each year, with very low implementation rates. The DDC in such situations acts as a passage through which the projects pass, but has no power over the funds to implement the projects.

Chart 3.3: Relationship Between the DDC and Local Authorities

KEY
1. Proposal
2. Endorsement
3. Funding Request
4. Approval
5. Project Implementation

Source: Adapted from District Focus Strategy, 1983.
This situation has become the cause and effect and of the inability of the authorities to provide essential services which in turn leads to their weak resource base.

3.4.3 Plan Implementation

When the DDC approves projects the next crucial stage is the implementation of such projects which form the plan. In this regard the DDO who is the coordinator of the district development process, notifies the various implementors, the ministry, local authority and other agencies to begin the exercise. Work programmes and forward budgets are drawn and these are included in the Annual District Annex. The objectives of the Annex are: (1) to facilitate the continual implementation of the plan taking into consideration the changing circumstances in the district (2) to convey district development priorities to the operating ministries for incorporation in the Forward Budget and Annual Estimates; and (3) to assist the DDC to monitor the implementation of projects. In the preparation of these Annexes, careful attention is given to adequate project description, realistic constings and project rankings. All this is co-ordinated by the DDO with the help of DEC. At this stage the DPU is supposed to play an important role, but as noted earlier in Kakamega, the DPU is not active yet.
The D.O notifies the lower levels, on implementation procedures. The Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs play a crucial role here, in mobilising the local people to participate in carrying out the proposed project proposals. It was observed that the nature of the project determines the extent to which the people will participate. Some projects like rural access roads, and afforestation programmes are labour intensive, so more people will participate. However, it was noted that women in Ikolomani division are traditionally prohibited from planting trees, so there is usually a low turnout of women in afforestation programmes. At this stage the D.O and the Chiefs and other local leaders are expected to continually motivate the people to participate. The chiefs do this in barazas and public meetings, and more often through village elders. On the whole, it was observed that Ikolomani division did not seem to have projects which the people could be actively involved in. This is because most of the projects approved could not be started due to delay in release of funds. Examples of such projects are, Ikhulin Bridge, Soil Conservation and Afforestation on Eregi hill and Electrification of Divisional Headquarters. Such delay may affect the people's ability to participate.
The implementation of projects also brings with it the question of coordination at all levels with the various agencies involved. For instance, a project like a health centre within a division has to be monitored by the divisional officers with the Ministry of Health, with the assistance of the DDO. Other projects should be monitored in a similar manner with the D.O and the local leaders playing a major role, since these projects are situated within their area. In practice, this does not happen, instead projects appear to be the responsibility of the implementing agency only. A case in point is where no information about ongoing projects was available in the division instead one was referred to the implementing agencies at the district level.

From records on projects, the only information available was letters of approval and requests for funds. This shows that there is need for close coordination, and up to date information on project implementation. This is where the idea of the DIDC becomes very significant.

3.5 Summary

The chapter has revealed there is a multiplicity of agencies involved in district planning. It was clear that at all levels the complexity of agencies
involved seem to be well coordinated under the DDC framework of operations as recommended under the District Focus Strategy.

Nevertheless there are gaps at the lower levels of the system due to underdeveloped representation of key institutions and agencies found only at the district level. Specifically, these gaps are as follows:

1. Poor representation in the lower committees. For instance, not all the sectors are represented in the divisional, locational and sub-locational development committees.

2. Not all the committees are fully functional, e.g. the District Planning Unit and DSDC.

3. Unavailability of clear records on minutes and development activities.

4. No clear communication skills and procedures between the committees leading to communication breakdown.

5. Incapability of the DDC to follow up committee activities.

6. Inadequate information basis for project implementation and prioritizing at lower levels starting from the divisional level down to the locational, sublocational and community levels.
References


CHAPTER 4
THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

This chapter analyses the role of the community in planning. Selected projects were examined to provide an empirical context within which the role of the community may be visualized and also to highlight problems that face project implementation. This forms a deeper insight into the actual development action on the ground.

4.1 Participation

People's participation in planning at the local level is one of those many phrases that have found their way into the planning vocabulary and are increasingly dominating it. Hence no plan is considered good or effective if the people are not involved in its planning and implementation process.

The arguments which have been put in favour of people's participation at the local level are numerous. It has been argued for instance, that when individuals participate in the making of decisions concerning development in which they expect to share, their commitment is then expected to mobilize additional investments from citizens to facilitate implementation. Another argument has it that popular participation increases administrative efficiency by providing
two essential ingredients to success: a continual flow of information and clientele cooperation with programme objectives. Considerable evidence has also been amassed that local participation in development planning is crucial to acceptance and sustained support for rural development. A review of the decentralized strategy used in the People's Republic of China notes the crucial role of mass participation in strengthening commitment to national rural development goals. Implicit in these arguments is the assumption that participation increases the quality of plan making and plan implementation in the development process. The argument then is that the people in any given locality should be allowed to participate in determining the shape of the development of their own area.

It is one thing to talk of people's involvement in development planning and quite another to get them involved. Before any participation can take place the people must be made aware of the development situation confronting them. The making of the people aware of such a situation is a function which is usually shared among the various institutions in society. Once this awareness has been brought about it is then hoped that the people affected by a particular development programme will interest themselves in it and will want to influence the behaviour
of the administrators and hence the output of official behaviour.

Participation in planning at the local level can manifest itself in two ways. It can be direct or indirect. Direct participation here means the enabling of the rural masses to air their views relevant to development at publicly arranged meetings. On the other hand, indirect participation is participation through some form of representation, this includes, Members of Parliament, councillors, KANU representatives, committee leaders, chiefs, village elders, farmers, teachers, etc.

Involvement of people in matters of development is not a new phenomena in Kenya. What has changed is the emphasis.

Despite the centralization process that Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 justified it also acknowledged the need to promote the participation of all people in the task of nation building as well as in the enjoyment of the fruits of progress. This notion has been extended in the subsequent National Development Plans. However, it is the 1979-83 national development plan that the government policy on rural development was more explicitly stated with emphasis on increased participation by the rural populace in decision-making in terms of identification of project
priorities, planning and implementation of rural development programmes. Currently, emphasis is on greater participation in the planning and implementation of development issues in the rural areas by the local community through the strategy of District Focus for Rural Development. In this strategy there is devolution of power within the government decision-making structure at the divisional, locational and sub-locational levels so as to allow for greater liaison between the government development agents and the rural community.

Participation as defined to date in Kenyan practice has mainly been seen through representation at all levels, i.e. district, divisional, locational and sub-locational. The DDC is dependent on inputs from the committees constituted at these levels. Although it was established in Chapter 3 that these committees provide an opportunity for representatives to promote popularly identified priorities, their composition was not fairly representative, and there was no clearly defined means through which the people were mobilized to participate in development programmes. This if allowed to continue will greatly hamper the achievement of effective rural development.

Whether broad participation is seen as a means to achieving national development goals, or seen as
a goal in itself, the opportunity to participate depends on the strength of the institutions operating at the local level and their modes of operation.

The next section concentrates on the role of the community in selected projects and highlights problems of project implementation. First it looks at a brief analysis on the general characteristics of the community.

4.2, General Community Characteristics

Information obtained from the administration of household questionnaires showed that while heads of households are predominantly male, 70% of the respondents were females (wives).

This resulted from the fact that most males were out in search of jobs, on wage employment and business, while the females remain at home doing most of the farm work. The main occupation is subsistence farming.

Table 4-1: Chief Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage employment</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
The average age of those who were interviewed was 36.6 years showing that most of them were in the middle age bracket of society.

The level of education attained is shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Level of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/High School</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

The table shows that the majority (44.4%) of the people have primary education while 24.5% have no education. This implies that there is need for more education for the people in order to create more awareness.

The people were quite articulate about what they considered to be community problems, the most frequent ones mentioned were shortage of land on which to produce sufficient food crops, inadequate jobs, poor communication from local leaders and government officers, poor health services and facilities, inability to start income generating
activities due to lack of finance and very few projects and some abandoned in the area. In the latter they cited a particular project (on farm grain storage project) which had been abandoned.

The majority (77.8%) of those interviewed felt that there was need for government assistance to enable them get loan and credit facilities to start income generating activities, for services especially in the health centres to be improved and for more projects to be started in which they can participate. A few (3.3%) seemed to have dispaired and reiterated that problems will always persist however much effort one puts into any development activity, while others made no comment.

Membership in organizations such as co-operative societies, project committees and women groups was quite low. Although most of the respondents (70%) were women, only 23% were members of women groups. The few women groups mentioned were not active. They were involved in petty activities such as singing, merry-go-round contributions which were too small to start any meaningful activity. It was further revealed that most of the money collected was used to assist in funeral arrangements of bereaved families, a function which is very important not only in Ikolomani but also in the whole of western
Kenya. There are attempts in activities such as pottery, poultry keeping and crop production, but these are on a very small scale.

On how they get to know about development activities, the majority got information through friends, meetings and village elders. Their major contributions to development activities are as follows.

Table 4.3: Major Contributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contributions</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

Some specified provision of food for the labourers especially in small projects.

In as much as the people contribute to development activities it is clear from the table above (4.3) that contributions are confined mainly to labour and materials and not ideas.
4.3 Selected Projects

4.3.1 Makhokho Secondary School, Laboratory Workshop Project

Education projects are very important programmes in rural development. This is because they are major sources of knowledge for many people. It is because of this reason that the nation has laid greater emphasis on provision of educational facilities. Since the need for providing these facilities is very high, the community has had to assist in their provisions. This has been very successful through harambee effort. Makhokho Secondary School is an example of such an effort.

Makhokho Secondary School is in Iguhu Sub-location situated off Kakamega-Kisumu main road. The word 'Makohkho' is the plural of 'likhokho' a Luhya name for a black and white type of crow bird. The field in which the school stands was once inhabited by these birds.

The school started in 1976, with the initiative of the community and assistance of the East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends. There was need identified to provide an educational facility for the growing population. At this time many primary schools had been started in the area, but the number of secondary
schools was limited. The community formed a caretaker committee which organized harambees to raise funds for the construction of physical facilities. This was successful, and by 1980, there were 2 classrooms, and 15 students in Form I. From 1981, the school started receiving help from a number of agencies; such as Peace Corps Volunteers, SIDA and NORAD. By 1983 the students increased to 60, and there were 3 additional classrooms, and temporary boarding facilities. In 1984, there was need for the expansion of the existing to include a laboratory/workshop. The objective was to meet the requirements of the government and the local community to cater for the youth in the area for direct or self-employment.

Planning and Implementation for Laboratory/Workshop

Suggestion for the need to expand the school to include a facility for practical skills was raised by the parents in the area. This was necessitated by the increasing population of the youth in the sub-location and also outside the sub-location. This was first discussed in the parents association, project committee, local primary schools, churches and with education officers and local leaders. However, it was through the area member of Parliament that this proposal was referred to the DDC. The proposal was discussed in the District Education Board before it
was finally approved in 1985 by the DDC. The project received a grant of KShs 260,600 from the Rural Development Fund (RDF). The funds were released almost immediately, and construction started in 1986.

During the construction period the D.O, chiefs and assistant chiefs through barazas and meetings mobilized the people to participate and the majority of them responded. The project provided for both skilled and unskilled labour in and around the community.

The work was constantly supervised by officers from the Ministry of Education, the project committee and the parents association. According to the DDO this project was easy to coordinate because it is situated near the main road.

By early 1988 the project was complete and functional, with a duplex complex comprising laboratory/workshop, equipped with cookers, typewriters, laboratory apparatus, furniture, gas fittings, water pipes and sinks.

By the end of 1988 the students' enrolment had increased to 310. The physical facilities expanded to include 12 classrooms, administration block, 2 staff houses, laboratory, 2 dormitories and an old church was renovated to serve as a temporary dining
hall. The school is based on the 8-4-4 system. It has 14 teachers, and is registered by the Ministry of Education as a mixed co-educational school and is managed by a Board of Governors. The school, with its expansion now serves students from all over the district.

Overall the community contributed funds amounting to over KShs 100,000 and labour for the construction of one permanent tuition block of 4 classrooms and offices. The remaining equipment and expansion were as a result of the assistance from the Ministry of Education, RDF grant from the DDC, volunteer services, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD).

There are future plans for additional classrooms, administration blocks, staff houses, dormitories, library and agricultural workshop. Since the school is only on 5.5 acres of land, it will face a problem of expansion in future unless more land is acquired.

From discussions with the DDO, much of the success of the project is attributed to the project committee, parents association and the cooperation of the community, and the availability of funds. The recurrent costs are met by the school committee and parents association.
Plate 4.1: Makhokho Secondary School showing the administration block, a few classrooms and the laboratory at the far left.

Plate 4.2: Makhokho Secondary School, Dining Hall under construction.
Conclusions

Evidence of participation in this project can be traced right from its initiation, when the community formed a committee to organize harambees to raise funds for the construction of physical facilities. Since then the project has attempted to involve members of the local community in formulating development strategies, especially the parents. The D.O, chiefs and assistant chiefs were actively involved in mobilizing the people to participate. The area M.P played a major role in taking up the project proposal with the DDC, so the project had ample political backing.

The community continued to offer their labour from the start of the construction to the end, and this greatly contributed to the project being completed as scheduled. This is because they did visualize how the project would benefit the youth in the area.

Although the financiers were diverse, the project revealed no major problems with coordination or misuse of funds. The organization of the various committees involved won support from sponsors. The quick availability of the RDF grant from the DDC was an added advantage.
4.3.2 Iguhu Health Centre

The health centre though situated in Iguhu sublocation, serves a population of over 20,000 people, with an attendance of 1400 people per week. The health centre offers curative, preventive, maternal and child health care services and all these take place in one old small building showing signs of poor maintenance. (see Plate 4.3). Due to outcries from the local people the health centre was proposed for improvement and expansion by the DDC in 1984.

Planning and Implementation

The initial idea for the improvement of the health centre was raised by the local people as far back as 1980. The chiefs of the area discussed this with the D.O who drew the DDC's attention. However, it was not until 1984 that the proposal was approved. The sole responsibility of implementing the project was given to the Ministry of Health.

The design of the project proposal includes staff housing and additional blocks for out-patients and in-patient departments, which on completion will serve as a complete new health centre and the old one demolished. There were delays in the release of funds, so the work did not start immediately.
Construction work started in 1986, under a contractor. The community came in at this stage, mainly to offer labour, through the mobilization efforts of the chiefs and assistant chiefs. However, by mid 1988 only 58% of the physical structures were complete. The project is at a standstill due to lack of funds.

This is one project that has faced many problems in its implementation. Problems started when the initial designs of the buildings had to be changed. This was necessitated by the realization that the site could not accommodate all the proposed building designs. This was as a result of poor survey of the site conditions by the DDC at the beginning of the planning process. A new plan had to be designed by the DEC to suit the site conditions. This delayed the implementation of the project, and even weakened the morale of the people to participate. This shows that there was lack of coordinated planning of all the aspects of the project. According to the chief, site meetings of this project were rare, so errors which could have been corrected earlier, like matching the proposed designs and site conditions, continued into the implementation stage.

However, this problem was corrected and construction continued, but according to the officers in the
Plate 4.3: The 'old' Iguhu Health Centre. Currently in use.

Plate 4.4 Part of the 'new' Iguhu Health Centre. Still incomplete.
Ministry of Health, all the work could not be completed due to lack of funds.

According to the District Annex of 1988/89, the DEC and the DDC have requested the Ministry of Health to fund the long-standing Iguhu Health Centre. The Annex further adds that poor implementation and delay of funding has made the project one of the most expensive projects for the district. The project needs KE 275,350 in order to be completed.

Conclusions

This project has brought about problems which mainly point out to poor planning. The part played by the community in the project is limited. The community seems not to have been actively involved from the beginning. Much of the planning seems to have been the Ministry's responsibility. The DDC here simply transferred this responsibility to the Ministry of Health, and did not monitor the progress of the project from the beginning.

The change in the building designs aggravated the whole process. This implies that detailed site and design analysis was not done, leading to time and cost overruns. Site meetings which could have corrected these mistakes were also rare.

It is evident from the discussions that the project seems to have been viewed mainly as a
ministry project, with very few people involved. This was confirmed during the research, when for much of the information, the researcher was referred to the ministry, and its delay was also blamed on the ministry.

The project's incompletion is affecting the community, because the people are being denied access to better health services, which was the major objective of undertaking the project. This also shows how poor initial planning may lead to ineffectiveness in project implementation.

4.3.3 Mulundu Bakochi Fish Farm

Planning and Implementation

Mulundu Bakochi Fish Farm is a small project that was started on self-help basis in 1982. The project is communally owned. The people rallied around a felt need of providing for another source of food. They formed a project committee, organized themselves and contributed money towards starting the project. However, at this stage they only managed to construct a small pond, so the fish that was harvested was mainly for home consumption.

A proposal to improve the fish farm came as a result of advise from the Fisheries Department in 1986. This proposal was discussed in the project
committee, and with the people, and it seemed a welcome idea. The chief of the location who was a member of the project committee took up this matter in the DVDC, and here it was set among the priorities of the division and forwarded to the DDC for approval in 1987. The total RDF grant from the DDC was KShs 121,900. Construction work started immediately. The local people provided most of the labour during construction. There were supervisors who monitored the work closely. These supervisors were familiar to the people, and therefore were in a good position to tell who was not doing his/her work properly. This awareness made the people work with more effort. The fisheries officer also monitored the work from time to time. As a result the project was completed by May 1988.

The project consists of three ponds and is fenced all round. (see Plate 4.5) The project continues to be run on self help basis in close liaison with the Fisheries Department. Most of the people interviewed accepted that they benefited from the project as it offers an alternative source of protein which is not readily available, and also from the income generated from the sales.

The fish harvested has a ready market at Kakamega town. However, these people experience
Plate 4.5 Mulundu Bakochi Fish Farm
problems of transportation since they do not have their own means of transportation. They rely on hiring 'matatus' which charge high prices. Therefore most of the money generated so far is used as maintenance costs. The project had not yet picked up fully by the time of study. What was evident is that this is a viable project that can be improved further, though the problem of security of the farm should be looked into first. This has not yet been catered for, may be a few members in the community should be given this task, or one person should be employed to handle this problem.

Conclusion

This project, like the first one (Makhokho Secondary School) shows evidence of close participation of the people. The initiation of the project is a good pointer of collective action. The Fisheries Department also played a major role in offering advise and seeing the project to completion.

This project also shows the close coordination of the process by the implementors and the supervisory role of the community. This project shows no major problems of planning. Its success has been greatly attributed to the collective involvement of the people from the beginning. Most of the people were willing to participate because they visualized
the direct benefits that would accrue from it, and by working on the project many of them gained financially.

However, there is need for the people to look into the problem of security and transportation, so as to realize maximum profit. From discussions with the DDO, most fish ponds in the district have a tendency to become stretches of water with no significant fish, because they are not benefiting the community fully in terms of incomes generated since most of the money earned is spent in maintaining the project. As a result, the people get discouraged. There is therefore need for the DDC to ensure that such projects are fully beneficial through constant education of ways and means of improving the produce, and assisting the people to organize themselves and join co-operatives which can offer credit facilities and assist in organizing transportation of the produce to the market. In this way the project may benefit the people as a more income generating activity, which could lead to the start of other projects too.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has attempted to show how the community has been involved in project activities in Ikolomani division. There is evidence for indirect
participation of the people in the projects started on self-help through committee leaders and subsequently they contributed significantly in the implementation of the project through collective action. When the people initiate a project there is a tendency for them to be actively involved, this is particularly evident in the Makhokho Secondary School project and the Mulundu-Bakochi Fish Farm.

On the other hand, a project like Iguhu Health Centre does not show significant involvement of the people. The project seems to have been taken as a ministry's responsibility from the beginning. The DDC, after approval of the project left all the implementation responsibilities to the Ministry of Health. There seems to have been no clear method of monitoring the project's progress. It further reveals that there was no coordination of all the stages in planning, resulting in problems. This shows how poor planning can lead to poor implementation, causing unnecessary delays.

In as much as it was established that people participate in development, the lack of active projects shows that there is need to assist the people to engage in more income generating activities. The desire to participate more in community projects is raised or promoted if the people are also organized
into active groups which directly benefit them. From the sample survey the majority (44.4%) of the people had attained primary education while 24.5% had no education at all. This implies that there is a need for education campaign for the people in order to create more awareness. There is also need for organizational skills in various activities which can enhance development in the area.

It is assumed that people participate mainly through representatives in the various committees constituted at different levels. However as observed earlier in Chapter 3, the representation in the lower committees is low and ways and means of mobilizing the people to participate is not clearly defined. So the question of what information really gets to the people arises, and how it is communicated to them. It was evident that contribution of the people in the form of ideas is still low.

Nevertheless, decisions as to whether or not to become involved in a particular project depend on how readily such an activity will accomplish one's goals which are normally diverse. Participation to a great extend depends on the benefits accruing from a particular project. Anthony Downs (1980) notes that the people are likely to over-estimate the immediate costs of a project and underestimate the
benefits, many of which will accrue in the long run. This implies that there is need for the leaders and technical experts to be skillful in communicating information about programmes on a constant basis to the people. In this way people will be aware of the significance of projects, and how they can benefit from them, and therefore will be motivated to participate in development activities.

However, detailed information on the projects and on how people were organized was not available. Such information should be made available in future, for comparative purposes so as to ease evaluation of the project performance and its impact on development in the area. Nonetheless useful lessons can be drawn from these projects which will assist in formulating strategies to improve the situation.
References


2. Ibid, p.375.


POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The study has clearly established that although the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development is still in its infancy stage, therefore not open to effective evaluation, it is already making significant achievements in its development impact. The institutional framework established for its operation, in particular holds a lot of promise as an effective coordinative and integrative tool for effective rural development at the district level. However, this has got a long way to go to be fully developed in its comprehensive form. There is still scope for further strengthening of the institutional framework to ensure comprehensive coverage at all the respective levels, and particularly the extension of the system to reach the community and to promote effective community involvement and contributions in development. The type and nature of information generated for development by the community and other institutions at the different levels of development require even more attention particularly the process through which this information flows within the institutional framework for decision-making with respect to both the project identification, prioritization and implementation process.

It is clear that the sectoral units are well recognized although not yet fully developed at the Divisional, Location and Sub-locational levels in the
present set-up to be very significant in the development planning process, but it may be argued that the area unit should be recognized in future as an equally important unit for information collection and storage for planning purposes. Efforts to develop a reasonable balance of information collection and storage with reference to both the sectoral and the area units within the district is likely to be a more sound and reliable basis for integrative decision-making for effective rural development.

A number of gaps and problems were revealed pertaining to the structure and institutional framework which may hamper the effective operation of the DDC and other committees in an attempt to achieve effective rural development. These can be categorized into three broad groups, namely: organizational structure, information flow system and community involvement.

5.1 **Organizational Structure**

It was revealed from the study that the hierarchical structure of the institutional framework in Kakamega District exists from the district level to the sub-locational level, namely, the District Development Committee (DDC), Divisional Development Committee (DVDC), Location Development Committee (LDC) and Sub-locational Development Committee (SLDC).
The DDC's composition is well constituted, with a wide scope of representation drawn from the sectoral ministries, local authorities, private organizations, parastatals, political representatives and other coopted members who serve the community's interests at this level. This wide representation provides for horizontal interaction between the DDC and other agencies involved in the district's development planning process. This also ensures that the DDC can coordinate all the development activities in the district. Given its broad responsibility for rural development planning and coordination at the district level, the DDC is divided into a number of functional committees, namely the District Executive Committee (DEC), District Education Board (DEB), District Agricultural Committee (DAC), District Planning Unit (DPU) and District Social Development Committee, among others.

However, it was noted at this level that the DPU which is a very important committee, and which is supposed to be composed of the necessary technical expertise in plan preparation, is not yet fully functional. Further investigations revealed that most of its responsibilities are being carried out by the DDO and the Assistant DDO. Another committee which is not active but whose services could be of great help in mobilizing the people is the District Social Development
Committee (DSDC). At the time of the study the Committee was only composed of the District Community Officer, Community Development Assistant and Locational Development Assistant. The enthusiasm to attend meetings was missing because they rarely receive grants to carry out development activities.

The DVDC on the other hand, is composed of a few departmental representatives mainly from Agriculture, Livestock, Water, Education and Community Development. In addition it comprises the councillors, political leaders, chiefs and other invited representatives. The District Officer here forms the major link between the DDC and the lower Committees. It was noted that at this level, there was a marked absence of other functional committees, and a low representation from other agencies like parastatals and private organisations. The meeting records revealed that there was a tendency for councillors and MP(s) to miss meetings at this level assuming they can make their contributions better at the DDC level. As a result development programmes tend to lack political backing from an early stage, which should form a building up of a good case right from the area of concern. The DDO who is expected to be secretary to all such Committees, in practice rarely has the time to attend the meetings due to his other development tasks. Such responsibility, it was noted, was normally delegated to the DO who
in most cases is too involved in administrative tasks. As a result most activities proceed without sufficient guidance, leading to ineffectiveness of the planning process at this level.

The lower committees, the LDC and SLDC seem to be dominated by the Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs and co-opted local leaders only. There was a marked absence of departmental officers and other representatives from development-oriented agencies. Although the membership of these committees is clearly spelt out in the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development, it tended to be very unrealiable. For instance teachers and headmasters who form the elite of the community were missing. These two levels represent the community level and are responsible for discussing community needs and the initial identification of development programmes, and are an essential element in promoting participation in the development activities or programmes. The special-purpose and technical sub-committees structure are also lacking at these levels.

From the hierarchical structure, the study revealed that there was a marked absence of a clear community committee below the sublocational level. What was assumed is that people's needs would be dealt with by the SLDC and LDC Committees. The institutional framework does not seem to recognize the various forms of voluntary and special interest groups, community
action groups and societies such as cooperatives in which the individual plays a formative role. Women organizations are represented at all levels, but they are very inactive. The DDO gave the major reason for this as being due to poor leadership, lack of organizational skills and low levels of education.

From the above findings it is evident that inspite of the instutional structure existing below the district level, that is the DVDC, LDC and SLDC, this lower machinery is still weak. This is mainly as a result of poor representation in these committees. The DDC is well represented in terms of members from the sectoral ministries, local authorities, private organizations, political representatives and other representatives. The DDC is also well represented in terms of other functional committees which take care of technical aspects of development programmes in the various sectors, apart from the DPU which is not fully functional. The DPU being a very important committee should operate fully in order to relieve the DDO of some responsibilities so as to achieve effect rural development. The DSDC should also be re-activated, since it plays a major role in mobilizing the people.

However, as one moves down the ladder, the representation tends to narrow down from the district
level to the sub-locational level. The DVDC for instance does not, as yet, have all the sectors decentralized to the division. The DDC and SLDC have a marked absence of departmental representatives apart from locational development assistants. There is also a marked absence of other functional committees at all these levels. This implies that the lower levels of the institutional framework lack technical expertise, meaning that whatever plan proposals and programmes suggested at these levels are not technically guided, and are therefore likely not to be viable. The absence of a clear defined community committee below the sublocational level also points to the fact that the manner in which the community is organized to carry out its development functions is not clear either.

It can also be noted that while the DDC's functional responsibilities have greatly increased, the necessary inputs to carry out these responsibilities have not increased at the same pace. For instance, the DDC is unable to monitor all the activities of the development committees, therefore it is suggested that an officer should be posted to the divisional level, to take care of the development planning activities at the lower levels. This will facilitate and ensure effective development at all levels.

If efforts in rural development have to be achieved, then it is mandatory that the whole organizational machinery should be fully operational as desired by
the District Focus Strategy for Rural Development, in terms of representation in the committees. In particular, it is suggested that all sectoral agencies should be represented at all levels to ensure technical knowledge and guidance of planning at these levels. There should be other functional committees to deal with the technicalities of the development programmes at these levels. This will ensure that project proposals from the lower levels are technically evaluated, and therefore viable for implementation. However, if the people have to be involved in the planning process, then there is need for the present policy on district planning to take cognisance of all other forms of groups at the community level and to form a community committee through which the people first discuss their needs before they are taken up by the LDC and SLDC.

The composition of a development planning committee very much influences the role it plays with regard to planning functions. If it has, as its members key actors, its chances of success are enhanced. It is therefore, not proper to assume that since the structure extends right to the sublocational level, then decentralization is taking place. What is important is whether these committees are carrying out their responsibilities effectively. If this has to be ensured then the existing gaps need to be filled and the whole organizational machinery strengthened.
5.2 Information Flow System

The study has shown that the information sequence on development activities, that is project identification, prioritization, approval and implementation follows the formal established machinery of decision-making. This is from the district level through the division, location and sublocational levels and feedback is expected from the sublocational level through the location, division and finally to the district level.

It was revealed from the study that the DO forms the major link between the DDC and the lower committees. All information on development activities from the DDC is assumed to reach the community through the representatives at the divisional, locational and sublocational levels. It was noted that at the locational and sub-locational levels the Chiefs' baraza's were popular means of communicating to the people on matters of development in the area, and also for getting the people's views and suggestions. However, matters discussed in these meetings may be important but they are not recorded in any formal way. It was also noted that the baraza's are still instructive in their operation and do not generate sufficient feedback from the people. The only frequent attendants of these meetings are the Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs.
and village elders known as 'Ligurus' in the local language. In these barazas the agenda is not controlled therefore, it is not clearly defined what items will be discussed and how much time each item is expected to take.

On the other hand, it was revealed that the LDC and SLDC did not have any systematic recording of their meetings, such meetings tended to be very rare given the fact that most items that are supposed to be discussed in these meetings are normally discussed in the barazas and other public meetings. As noted earlier, since these committees lack technical expertise most of their discussions are general and lack any reliable information base. This suggests why project proposals from the lower levels cannot go beyond the DVDC, most of them are dropped at this stage.

It was difficult to evaluate or determine the quality of information from the community as no formal channel exists at this level to cater for the community needs before they are forwarded to the SLDC. Therefore, such information is limited, and when it gets to the SLDC, LDC and the DVDC, the probability of it being forwarded to the DDC normally depends on the strength of the Assistant Chief, Chief, Councillor or Member of Parliament of the area who may have an interest in it. The question that
arises here is that if most suggestions from the lower levels are dropped or depend merely on the strength of the leaders support then in the final analysis, whose projects are they? They cannot be considered to seriously represent the local community's interest or felt needs.

It was revealed from the study that technical evaluation of development programmes starts at the divisional level, where a few technical officers are present. From this level the programmes are forwarded to the district level, and here the various committees and subcommittees such as the DEC, DAC, DEB, among others assist in the technical evaluation of the project. This is a level where there is active interaction among the diverse committees and agencies at the district level. This can be attributed to their diverse representation at the district level. This is the level, where it was noted that the programme proposals from the lower levels undergo a thorough technical appraisal by the special-purpose sub-committees such as the DAC and DEB which recommend projects to the DEC which further technically analyses them and prepares briefing notes and reports on each proposal for approval by the DDC. Lack of proper information from the beginning can deny the lower levels a chance for their projects to be approved. The District Information and Documentation Centre (DIDC), which is not yet fully established
in Kakamega is expected to play a significant role in the collection and storage of information.

From the above discussion it is clear that there are no formal channels through which information generated from the community is effectively relayed to the district level. There is also no clear systematic recording of information on development activities and even storage for future use. The vertical interaction between the DDC and these lower committees is not clear, since it is not direct. The DVDC plays the crucial role as the major link between the DDC and the LDC and SLDC.

It is suggested therefore, that if the necessary information has to be collected and stored then the various gaps identified in the organizational structure must be filled and strengthened first. This will ensure that information gathered at all levels is reliable and has the desired technical backing. Since the baraza's are popular avenues of operation, they would require to be formalized in such a manner that they are properly focused in purpose. The agenda should be controlled. The DDC must ensure that the LDC and SLDC submit minutes of their meetings and record all matters discussed in other meetings too. It was observed that in some divisions; for example, Emuhaya, the minutes for SLDC and LDC were systematically
recorded. Ikolomani division did not have such records, it would therefore be suggested that all other divisional committees should emulate Emuhaya. It is also recommended that teachers be incorporated in these lower level committees for they are a good source of knowledge, and therefore, in a good position to enlighten the community. They can also assist the people in articulating their needs and transforming them into viable project proposals.

The community must be represented by a strong committee that will be able to record their needs and suggestions. This will require to be done on a constant basis and include views from the youth and other interested groups, clubs and societies.

If there is no reliable information base on which to work, then the development process cannot be facilitated. The DIDC is expected to collect and store information at the district level, and this will store information at the district level, and this will become readily available for people at various levels to make reference to. Since it is not yet functional, then there is a gap to be filled to ensure that information is readily available for development purposes. It is suggested further that if the DIDC has to store information to satisfy area and sectoral interests, it becomes apparent that this type of structure should
be similarly adopted for information at all levels. This will lead to the expected effectiveness of district planning.

5.3 Community Involvement

It has been revealed from the study that the ability of the people to participate in development activities depends on the representation of the committees constituted at various administrative levels. This particularly includes the LDC and SLDC and the project committees, and more so to the local leaders. It has been noted, that the role of the community can be visualised in regard to specific projects. This was particularly evident from the Makhokho Secondary School and Mulundu-Bakochi Fish Farm projects. People will participate more in projects which they are involved in from the initial stage, and where they can see benefits.

From the general characteristics of the community it was observed that the majority of the respondents were women, and the literacy levels were low, with majority of them having attained primary education. Many of the respondents were not involved in other organizations. Although the number of women was high, none of them was engaged in any active women's organization. Instead they were involved in petty activities which were not income-generating. It has further
been revealed that the major contributions towards development activities of the people was labour and materials, and not ideas. There was a marked absence of many projects in the division, in which the people could be actively involved. Since it was established that the channels of involving people in the development activities were not clear, then how are the people expected to get organized for collective action? The barazas" which were found to be most popular avenues of mobilization were still instructive in their operation and did not give the people a chance to air their views. As a result most people took it that the Government knows what is best for them, and therefore only wait to provide labour towards the project. The District Social Development Committee which deals directly with the community and which could help boost the morale of the people is not active. The political representatives who are better endowed to assess the needs of the people have not been very effective in the division. This is because they concentrated too much on informing the people on what the Government's intentions are, than soliciting for the people's ideas.

From the above discussion, it is evident that efforts in involving the people more in development activities is still very low.

Development is people oriented. The people must therefore be seen to participate fully. This
has been greatly hampered by the lack of formal channels through which the people can be mobilized for effective collective action. On the other hand, lack of many active projects in which people can participate also lowers the morale of the people to participate.

If overall development has to be achieved, it has to begin with first improving the literacy levels of the people. This will create more awareness in the people. The people should also be assisted to get organized into income generating activities, they should get involved in projects that directly benefit them, and make the process of their development self-sustaining.

A prerequisite for mobilizing the rural people and channelling their energies to development is the creation of an instrument for mobilizing the people, hence there is need for strong institutions through which to carry out this task. It is suggested here that since the harambee and cooperative movements have been established as significant institutions in the development process in this country, they can be used as channels for conveying community decisions and rallying them into collective action. These two form an institutional framework at the lower levels which is able to generate development initiatives.
If the people are convinced to form and join co-operative societies with the help of local leaders including politicians, chiefs and their assistants through barazas and other public meetings, then they will be at an advantage because cooperatives are able to address a variety of projects on area bases. Emphasis on development of cooperatives would lead to proper utilization of agricultural resources in the district, which is keeping in line with the purpose of district planning. It is therefore recommended that cooperatives should be incorporated in the DDC machinery as a means of mobilizing the people for collective action. Harambee and project groups should also be involved more actively.

5.4 Policy Recommendations

One of the objectives of this study was to suggest ways and means of improving the effectiveness of the DDC in its attempt to achieve effective rural development. What has been revealed in this study is that the concern of the lower level machinery in decision-making as being weak is valid in Kakamega District. Therefore, it is the contention of this study that efforts should be made in strengthening the functional relationships of the various committees involved in district planning at all levels and in improving the role of the community in the development process. In the
light of the identified gaps and problems an attempt is made here to state the alternative policy measures needed to effect improvement in the institutional framework in Kakamega District.

5.4.1 Organizational Structure

The present organizational structure has shown how there are gaps in the set-up. The representation is not complete in the DVDC, LDC and the SLDC. These committees lack technical representation and other sectoral functional committees. On the other hand, at the district level the DPU and the DSDC which are important committees are not functional. It was therefore recommended that these gaps should be filled and strengthened.

To effect this recommendation, it would require the Government to decentralize all the sectoral departments agencies, the divisional, locational and sublocational levels, and to ensure that officers are posted to each of these levels. This would widen the scope of representation at all levels and ensure technical evaluation of development programmes at the initial stage. As a result various technical sub-committees could be formed to assist in the day to day technical evaluation of all development programmes and activities. To effect the coordination of these
activities, a planning officer should be posted at the divisional level.

It is also recommended that the DDC should ensure that the DPU and DSDC are fully operational and actively involved in the development activities of the district. Since the members of the DPU, that is, the District Physical Planner, Quantity Surveyor, Valuers, Architects, Chairmen of the Finance and Town Planning Committees of the local authorities and District Statistical Officer can be drawn from the district, they are able to form the DPU. The DSDC should be strengthened to include departmental representatives and project leaders, especially of community activities. The DDC should ensure that funds are available for the community projects proposed.

5.4.2 Information Flow System

It was revealed from the study that there were no formal channels through which information generated at the sub-locational level is collected and stored. There was no formal and clear systematic recording of information and no clear means of communicating to the people. The Chief's baraza was the most popular means of communication. It was recommended that the baraza should be formalized as a means of communication.
To effect this, it is recommended that a 'core-group' should be formed at the locational and sub-locational levels. This core group should consist of departmental representatives and local leaders. This group will be charged with the responsibility of drawing up the agenda for the barazas with specific items to be discussed, and to ensure that equal chance is given to the community to make their suggestions. This group will also be charged with the responsibility of recording down everything that is discussed in the meetings then later evaluates it. Such information should be compared with other meetings. This will ensure a wider range of information which may be very useful for development purposes. It is also recommended that teachers and headmasters should be incorporated in the committees and also in the 'core-groups'. In addition the institutional framework should take cognisance of the various interested groups, youth groups, societies and clubs. The hierarchical system should go lower down to the lowest level, which is the family unit. The community should form a strong committee to discuss their needs, before they are presented to the SLDC.

If at all these levels the information is recorded, then it is expected that the DIDC will collect all these information and store it on sectoral and
area bases. It is recommended that in the long term each level should be able to have a small library of such information. This will go a long way in improving the information base of the district, which is a necessary tool in planning.

5.4.3 Community Involvement

A number of recommendations have been made in regard to improving community involvement in district development activities.

It has been revealed that although there is evidence of people's involvement in development activities this is still low. It was recommended that in order for people to participate more, they should be assisted to improve their literacy levels, and organizational skills. This can be effected through public training campaigns, and adult education programmes.

It has also been recommended that people should be mobilized to join co-operative and harambee movement for collective action. These two movements have been used in the development process for a very long time. So instead of creating new institutions, such institutions can be used to promote rural development. These two institutions should therefore be incorporated in the institutional framework and used to rally the people. This will go a long way in improving the
the people's involvement especially if the benefits are realized, hence effective rural development will be achieved.

To effect this recommendation, the political leaders, Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs, Councillors and other local leaders including Party Leaders have to constantly guide the people through meetings on the significance of such a move.

To improve the involvement of women in more income generating activities, strong women leaders should be chosen. Women who have an education background, or those who are teachers are more informed and can enlighten the people.

It is also recommended that the community should constantly be educated in various skills. Representatives from the parastatals like the Industrial Commercial and Development Corporation (ICDC) should be invited to hold seminars on the success of small businesses. Other sectoral departments can also hold demonstrations, and field days for the community. All these will improve the awareness of the people and their ability to participate. The DDC should therefore ensure that projects are equally distributed in the divisions and also coordination of development activities at all levels.
All the above recommendations if considered will fill the gaps in the institutional framework and improve the community involvement, hence effective rural development is likely to be achieved.

5.4.4 Priorities

In view of the recommendations made a few of them can be considered as priorities

(i) In view of the limited resources, efforts should be made towards ensuring that the gaps at the DVDC are filled, but in the longterm this should extend to the sublocational level.

(ii) The DPU and DSDC should be made fully functional.

(iii) There is urgent need for information to be collected and stored for planning purposes. Efforts should therefore be geared towards completing the DIDC. In the long-term consideration should be given towards storage of information at the various levels.

(iv) There is need for the enhancement of people's awareness through education programmes, and involvement in the
development process.

(v) Need for coordination of all development activities of other agencies in the district.

(vi) Decentralization of sectoral agencies to the divisional level.

(vii) Posting of Planning Officers at the divisional to coordinate the development activities of the lower levels.

It is expressed that these recommendations do not require any major legislative or institutional changes but rather they would be carried out within the existing administrative set-up.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since the majority of Kenyans live in the rural areas, there has been a continued stress on the importance of developing the rural areas. Many strategies have been used towards this end, District Focus for Rural Development is one of them.

The study set out to examine the institutional framework of district development planning. In particular the study examined the organizational machinery of the District Development Committee (DDC) in relation to other committees immediately below it namely: the divisional, locational and sublocational development committees and other development-oriented agencies, their composition, functions and information-flow system. The study also examined the procedures through which the community is involved in the district development programmes and actions.

Examination of the procedures through which projects are identified, prioritized and approved showed that there are a number of agencies involved in the district development planning process.
The study further revealed that the DDC was expected to play the coordinative role in managing the total set of rural development.

A review of some case studies showed that people participated in projects that they were closely involved in from the initiation stage, and projects whose benefits could be directly visualized.

While noting the significance of the various institutions in the district development planning process, a number of gaps were identified which hamper the DDC in its efforts to achieve effective rural development.

The study showed that inspite of the institutional structure existing below the district level, namely: the DVDC, LDC and SLDC, this lower machinery is still weak. This is mainly as a result of poor representation and lack in technical skills. It was also noted that some committees such as the DPU and the DSDC are not active.

It was clear from the study that there were no formal channels through which information generated from the community is effectively relayed and no clear systematic recording of information on development activities and storage for future use, leading to communication breakdown.
Efforts in involving the people to participate more in development activities were found to be still poor. From the general characteristic of the community, it was noted that the literacy level and the ability of the people to organize themselves into income-generating activities were low. Although a majority of the respondents were women, none of them was engaged in any active women's organization. In general, there was a marked absence of projects in which people could actively be involved in the division.

These gaps and problems have limited the capacity of the institutions to effectively carry out their planning responsibilities in the district.

Owing to these gaps and problems the study has identified the following recommendations as necessary policy measures to improve the effectiveness of the DDC and other committees in an attempt to achieve effective rural development.

To fill up the gaps in the organizational structure, it was recommended that the Government should decentralize all the sectoral departments and agencies to the divisional, locational and sublocational levels, and ensure that officers are posted to each of these levels. The study has argued
that, this would widen the scope of representation at all levels. It is also recommended that the DPU and DSDC should be made fully operational and actively involved in the development activities of the district.

The study has recommended the formalising of barazas in order to improve the communication system. To this effect a 'core-group' should be formed to take note of all the issues discussed in meetings. Such a group could draw up an agenda for the meetings. It is also recommended here that every level of administration is required to work towards establishing a small library where all information on development issues pertaining to the sectors and areas respectively could be stored. This will go a long way in improving the information base of the district, which is a necessary tool in planning.

To improve community involvement in district development activities, the study has recommended that the people's literacy levels and organizational skills must be raised through public training campaigns and adult education programmes. The study has further recommended that co-operative and harambee movements should be incorporated in the organizational machinery, to be used as effective channels for mobilizing the people for collective action.
It is the contention of this study that if the above recommendations are taken into consideration, they could improve the institutional framework of district development planning.

Since District Focus for Rural Development is a national Strategy, recommendations and observations made in this study can be used in other districts within the country.

However, this study cannot claim to have exhausted all the institutional aspects of district planning. Other dimensions and parameters related to the planning process at the district level need to be studied too. There is need for further research in evaluating the capacities of all the administrative levels in order to establish a criteria for development planning. There is need for comparative studies to be carried out in different Districts in the country with the purpose of assessing the institutional framework. In this way different issues will be raised, which could be used to improve the institutional framework of district planning generally.
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APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEMBERS OF THE D.D.C.

THIS INFORMATION IS CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL BE USED
FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY

A. GENERAL INFORMATION:

1. Name of Respondent (Optional) ....................
2. Sex of Respondent M/F
3. Age of Respondent ................................
4. Marital Status ....................................
5. Level of Education ............................... 
6. Occupation ........................................

B. THE D.D.C.

1. How long have you been a member of the DDC .............................
2. What is your position ................................
3. How were you selected into this position .................................
4. What would you say are the functions of the DDC ........................
5. How does the DDC relate the Divisional Development Committee, The Locational Development Committee and the Sub-locational Committee ........................................

13. What other bodies are involved in the development of the District

14. How does the DDC relate to these other bodies

15. What major problems do you face?

16. What changes would you like to be undertaken if any
APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS
(DOs, CHIEFS AND ASSISTANT CHIEFS)

THIS INFORMATION IS CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL BE USED
FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY

A. SUB-COMMITTEES

1. Are you a member of any Sub-committee
   Ye/No

2. If Yes, which one? ......................

3. What is your position ................

4. For how long have you been a member ..... 

5. What would you say are the functions
   of the sub-committees ................

6. How often do you meet ................

7. How do you relate to the DDC ............

8. How many projects have you been involved
   in ................................

9. How are these projects approved by the
   DDC ................................
10. How do you identify projects

11. How are they initiated and by whom

12. What role does the community as the individuals or collectively play in the identification and initiation of projects

13. Did the initiator seek the opinions of the community Yes/No

14. If yes, what did he seek for and how

15. If No, had you been given a chance to give your opinions on the community's need in your location Yes/No

16. What would be the order of needs in terms of priority

17. Which of the above need have been addressed satisfactory so far

18. What roles do you play in the process of project implementation
19. How do you mobilize people at the local level to participate ..............................................................................................................

20. Do you get any problems with number (19) above Yes/No If Yes, what problems ...........................................................................................................................

21. How do such problems affect the implementation of projects ...........................................................................................................................

22. How do you solve such problems ......................................................................................................................................................

23. How do you get information to or from the community .........................................................................................................................

24. How do you make sure that their grievances are met ..........................................................................................................................

25. Do you get any problem from the DDC Yes/No If Yes, what problems ........................................................................................................


26. Do you experience any other problems apart from the above? Yes/No
If yes, what are they ........................................

27. How do you solve such problems ........................

28. What improvements would you suggest

29. Any additional information .............................
APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LOCAL PEOPLE
THIS INFORMATION IS CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL BE USED FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY

A. GENERAL INFORMATION
1. Name of Respondent (Optional) ...............
2. Sex of Respondent M/F
3. Age of Respondent ........................
4. Marital Status M/S....Head of Household....M/F
5. Level of Education ...........................
6. Occupation .................................

B. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
1. Name of the Project ........................
2. When was it initiated ......................
3. Who in your opinion initiated the project........................
4. How did you know about the project and when ..................................................
5. Did the initiator seek your opinion when initiating the project - Yes/No ............
6. If yes, what did he seek for and how ......
7. How did you personally contribute to the project through ideas
   Finance...................................
   Material ..................................
   Labour .................................
8. In how many projects have you participated

9. How often do you attend a baraza

10. Do you do this voluntarily Yes/No

11. Are you ever consulted by the Government on your developmental needs Yes/No

12. Do you appreciate, the fact that this project was initiated Yes/No and Why

13. Which needs would you say have been satisfactorily met by this project

14. Are you a member of any, other organization(s) or group(s) Yes/No. If yes which one(s)

15. How do you benefit as a member

16. In your opinion what are the community problems

17. How do you think they can be solved

18. Where do you expect your help to come from