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MULTI-PURPOSE DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT CENTRES:
THE CASE OF BARINGO DEVELOPMENT TRAINING CENTRE. (BDTC)

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ABSTRACT

The paper first discusses the general notion of multi-purpose training centres with the intention of putting B.D.T.C. in historical context. A brief survey of some of the developmental aspects of Baringo district is then presented with the intention of putting B.D.T.C. in developmental context. A framework for analysing B.D.T.C. is then outlined. The underlying argument in the paper is that despite the shift in emphasis by the government from traditional community development centres to the notion of District Training Centres, the latter cannot perform a significant developmental role because of certain structural constraints which in most cases are likely to be district specific.

District Development Centres - Introduction

In March 1969, the then Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services issued a policy paper No AE 2/2 setting out the guidelines for the establishment of District Training Centres. The thrust of the policy paper was that District Training Centres should be an integral part of social services if adult education was to have any meaning. Consequently the policy paper directed that District Adult Education Officers take over major responsibilities for the operations of the Centres. These responsibilities would include drawing the annual programme for the Centres; preparing yearly and half-yearly reports, keeping the departmental headquarters informed of specific needs of the Centres etc. In addition to his administrative duties, the Adult Education Officer was instructed "to teach once or twice a week at the Centre especially in civics and current affairs." The policy paper, while strengthening the role of the Adult Education Officer in each District, made it very clear that the major financial responsibility and responsibility staffing the Centres would "still remain that of the Local Authority."

Subsequent to the issuing of the policy paper, a seminar for the Principals and Wardens of District Training Centres was organised at the Institute for Adult Studies Kikuyu in July 1970. During the seminar an attempt was made to systematize the role of the Training Centres in rural development. What seems to have emerged from this seminar was an awareness of the need to relate adult education to the development efforts in each district. The seminar made the point, albeit by implication, that adult education cannot be looked at from a purely pedagogical point of view. It must also be looked at from the point of view of the specific developmental requirements of each district, if not each division or location. Although the seminar did not explicitly say so, it was in effect recommending District Development Centres as opposed to adult education centres - the latter implies a bias in favour of pedagogical skills. Thus, it was recommended that adult training for rural development should be undertaken in such areas as farming and agriculture, leadership, co-operative management, rural industry, organisation of self-help; womens activities etc. In addition it was recommended that priority should be given to those who could "get immediate benefits from the courses."

By the time the third Development Plan was drawn, there were 22 District Development Centres in the country which were all originally built by local authorities. By 1974 they were all administered and supervised by the Adult Education Division of the Ministry of Housing and Social Services. During the Plan period, the Government intends to provide Kf224,000 for improvement of the centres at Kitui, Kakamega, Nandi, Kisumu, Meru, Machakos,

Nakuru, Kajiado and Lamu. It is expected that this list would later include the centres at Embu and Kwale currently financed by the same West German Foundation that started the Training Centre at Kabarnet in Earingo District.

It is evident that the government conceives the District Training Centres as something independent of but complementing the four other aspects of Adult Education in Kenya viz the national literacy programme which currently averages about 30 classes per district; the publications unit which is supposed to produce training material on functional literacy; the formal adult education programme which is intended for those who have had to cut short their formal schooling and for working people in both private and public sectors; and the Broadcasting programme by the Voice of Kenya.

According to the third development Plan,¹ District Development Centres can be justified on a number of basis. First, they are different from say Farmer Training Centres, in that they are multi-purpose in nature. Multi-purposedness, however, is not supposed to be an end by itself. Rather it is supposed to be a means for "eliminating the existing uneconomic duplication of adult training facilities." Secondly the centres are supposed to co-ordinate training programmes "which currently do not support or complement each other". Thirdly, the centres are expected to provide better facilities and better qualified instructors, thereby providing the means "for developing an adequate career structure for the training of staff." Finally the Centres can be justified by the fact that the training programmes they are expected to other would be "directly geared to comprehensive and balanced development of the districts and will become the focus for all extension work in the district".

It is surprising that the authors of the plan do not dwell a little bit more on the notion of extension in relation to the District Development Centres, for the latter appears to be one of the two organising concepts - the other being adult education - behind the Centres. It seems quite clear that the Centres are meant to offer knowledge that would lead, at least initially, to increased efficiency of the people "in their every day work" as opposed to offering skills that would lead to new employment. That is to say, the Centres are meant to improve and expand already existing skills. If new employment should result from the improved skills it would be well-come but only as a by-product. Extension is, therefore, a rather central idea to the Development Centres. This, of course, is not to the exclusion of basic pedagogical skills

1. Part I: Chapter 22 pp 483-485. Government Printer Nairobi, 1974.

in adult education.

Ideally there should be a balance between the specialised element to be extended e.g. agriculture, health, nutrition etc. and the wider training in general adult education techniques. However, the balance is in most cases difficult to achieve for a number of reasons. First, it requires the planned and concerted efforts of all extension workers and this presupposes a maximum of co-operation and genuine integration **between** agricultural instructors, community development workers, health **experts** etc. The integrating agent is not clearly identifiable unless we want to assume that this function will soon devolve on the D.D.O. Secondly, it means that each group must have an understanding of the basis of work of all the others. The structure of government - divided into functional departments - often militates against genuine co-operation and integration.

Whether any District Development Centre can overcome the expected problems and provide a programme "geared towards comprehensive and balanced development in each district," is a question that can only be answered after an examination of most of the District Centres, followed by an analysis of district specific problems. It is only after this that one can assess the validity of the general claims made for the District Development Centres in the Development Plan, and even more important assess the degree of realism of the specific objectives set for each Centre. Baringo Development Training Centre is meant to be a case study which hopefully can lead to a discussion of more general questions relating to District Development Centres.

2. B.D.T.C. - A brief History

Baringo Development Training Centre was established towards the end of 1968, as result of an agreement between the Kenya Government and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Foundation of Federal Republic of Germany. This agreement stipulated, inter alia, that social centres and similar institutions will be established by the Foundation to serve the people of Kenya in the medical, social welfare and educational fields. The Ministry of Local Government signed this agreement on behalf of the Kenya Government on 26 March 1968.

In establishing Baringo Development Training Centre the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Foundation worked in collaboration with the County Council of the Central Rift. There was however, no formal agreement between these two co-operating organisations. A draft agreement setting out the terms of their co-operation was never signed. In a later paper we shall comment on the relationship between the donor agency and the recipient County Council. In the draft agreement between the Foundation and the County Council of the Central Rift, it was stipulated that the FES Foundation was to be responsible for the annual budget from November 1968 to the end of 1973. Thereafter, the Council was to take care of part of the budget, progressively, until 1977 when it was to be responsible for the entire budget of the Centre (in 1974 - 30%, in 1975 - 50%, in 1976 - 80% and in 1977 - 100%). However, the County Council of the Central Rift could not honour its obligations. In September 1974 this County Council was dissolved and was succeeded, for the purpose of this Centre, by the Baringo County Council. Baringo County Council did not however have resources and manpower to take the responsibility of this Centre. The responsibility of taking-over this Centre was then passed to the Ministry of Social Services who became responsible for running the Centre in July 1975. The FES Foundation has continued giving some financial support to the Centre. All West Germany personnel was withdrawn from B.D.T.C. by 30th June 1975.

Initially, the Centre was called Citizenship College, thereby emphasising intended goals of the institution, which were

- (a) to train local leaders and junior government officials in Baringo District and
- (b) to provide training facilities for the local population to acquire skills needed for their development.

As the Centre developed in the period between 1968 to 1975 it acquired new responsibilities and widened its scope of training. In this period the Centre started a child care and antenatal clinic, a youth centre, a demonstration farm,

poultry farm, sewing and tailoring course and adult education classes. Although the Centre is no longer responsible for the child care and ante-natal clinic and the youth centre, it has widened its responsibilities beyond what it was stipulated when it was established in 1968. With the takeover by the Ministry of Social Services, the centre has lost some of the momentum it had gained previously. We hope to find out some of the reasons behind the loss of momentum. For the moment, however, we would like to emphasise the rather obvious point that the developmental role of District Development Centres cannot be understood in a vacuum, but in the proper context. In other words, it cannot be assumed that the centres have a uniform role to play regardless of their geographical/historical and social/economic context. It is therefore necessary to establish at the outset the context of each centre before proceeding to examine the actual functioning of the Centre. The section which follows is a sketchy introduction to Baringo, dealing with some of the developmental aspects of the District. A more complete survey will be given in a later report.

3. Baringo District

3.1. Administration:

Baringo district with an area of 10,790 sq.km ranks fifteenth as the largest district in Kenya. In the Rift Valley Province it is the fifth largest district. Baringo is sandwiched between six districts; to the north are Turkana and West Pokot districts, in the west is the Elgeyo-Marakwet, in the eastern side are Samburu and Laikipia districts and in the south is Nakuru district. The present district boundaries were demarcated in 1962 by a Boundaries Commission in preparation for independence constitution. There was however no major adjustments to Baringo district boundaries which had emerged during the colonial period. The present northern, eastern and western boundaries of the district had emerged by 1924. The boundary in the south took a general shape after 1933, when what used to be called Ravine district (European settled district) was incorporated into Baringo. Thereafter no major boundaries changes affected this district.

The district is divided into three administrative divisions, Kabarnet in the north, Marigat in the east and Eldama Ravine in the south. The district headquarters is situated at Kabarnet town in central Baringo. For parliamentary elections, the district is divided into four constituencies, North, Eastern, Central and South Baringo. Mr. Daniel T. Arap Moi, the Vice-President and Minister for Home Affairs is the M.P. for Baringo Central and the dominant political force in the district.

In September 1974, Baringo County Council was established disbanding of the County Council of Central Rift which had its headquarters in Nakuru. Baringo County Council is a financially weak council and thereby its impact on the development of the district is very limited. Previous local authorities in this district (Local Native Council 1924-1951 and African District Council 1952-1963) experience serious financial problems in carrying out their duties. Their annual budgets were and are still small compared with local authorities like Kiambu and Kericho.

3.2. The Land and the People

Baringo district has 1.9 per cent of the total national land which of inhabited by 1.5 per cent of the total population in the country. The district has four main geographical features which to a large extent have shaped the general pattern of development in the district. First, there are the rocky Tugen Hills which are in the centre of the district and form the traditional land of the Tugen people. These hills are usually over 5,000 ft. The second feature is Kerio Valley which divides Elgeyo-Marakwet range and the Tugen Hills. River Kerio runs across this valley forming a natural boundary between of the the Elgeyo and the Tugen people. The third feature district is the semi-arid north and east. Land here is usually below 5,000 ft. Lakes Baringo and Bogoria are in this part of district. The north is inhabited mainly by East Pokots, while in the eastern side are Ilchalmus (Njemps). The high land (over 5,500 ft) in Eldama Ravine division in the south of the district form the fourth feature. Here, the land is fertile, less hilly and has adequate rainfall. Some of the land here was alienated for white settlement during the colonial period. Some of the large farms have been converted into settlement schemes while others are owned by rich Africans.

Most of the land in Baringo district is of low agricultural potential. This comprises about 75 per cent of the total agricultural land (1001,000 hectares). in Baringo and has annual rainfall of 612.5 mm or less. The high potential land make about 17 per cent (166,000 hectares) and has an annual rainfall of 857.5 mm or more. Kabarnet location in the north and Eldama Ravine in the south Baringo have an average annual rainfall of more than 860.0 mm., which make the agricultural land in these two areas to be classified as high potential. It must however be noted that the land in the north Kabarnet Division is hilly and rocky which makes arable farming difficult, despite the high annual rainfall.

Another 8.4 per cent of the land in Baringo is of medium agricultural potential (84,000 hectares) and the average annual rainfall is between 600.0 to 850 mm. In addition to the agricultural land, there is another 66,000 hectares

of non-agricultural land.

In 1969, the district had a population of 161,741. The ethnic composition of this population is given below:

Table I	<u>Ethnic group</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Main Location</u>
1.	Tugens	119,156	73.6	Tugen Hills (South, Central and North Baringo)
2.	Pokot	17,412	10.8	North Eastern Baringo
3.	Kikuyu	12,122	7.5	Eldama-Ravine (South Baringo)
4.	Ilchalmus	5,933	3.7	Eastern Baringo
5.	Others	7,118	4.4	Eldama Ravine (South Baringo)
	Total	<u>161,741</u>	<u>100.0</u>	

Source: Kenya Population Census, 1969. vol. I

The indigenous people of this district are Tugen, Pokot and Ilchalmus. The large proportion of Kikuyus found in the district started migrating into South Baringo during the colonial period. Some of these became workers in the large-scale European farms, while others became forest workers. With the coming of independence large number of Kikuyus have moved into this district in search of land and opportunities for making a living. Tugen and Kikuyu are agricultural people while Pokot and Ilchalmus are still pastoralists.

The table below shows the distribution of the population by the administrative divisions.

Table II The Distribution of the Population by Administrative Units

<u>Division</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Area sq. km.</u>	<u>Density of Population</u>
1. South Baringo	59,351	2,512	24
2. North Baringo	61,842	2,608	24
3. Eastern Baringo	37,856	5,576	7
4. Eldama Ravine Ward	<u>2,692</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>378</u>
Total	<u>161,741</u>	<u>10,703</u>	<u>15</u>

Source: Kenya Population Census 1969. vol. pp.49-51

An analysis of the 1969 population census data shows that out-migration was higher than in-migration. The net migration was calculated to be about 9,000 people. Baringo district is not however, one of the leading sending out districts in the country. Machakos, Kakamega, Nyeri and Kiambu

are the leading districts in terms of net out-migration. The destinations of those who leave Baringo district are the other districts in the Rift Valley Province, taking about 80 per cent while another 13 per cent ended up in Nairobi and Central Province. The main sources of internal migration to Baringo district are Rift Valley (34 per cent), Central (30 per cent), and Nyanza (17 per cent). Most these have settled in South Baringo (Eldama Ravine division).

3.3. Agriculture:

Baringo district shows a varied patterned of land use. The physical features and the distribution of rainfall is crucial in the emergence of the present agricultural activities. In the north and eastern Baringo where rainfall is scanty, the land is semi-arid. Here cattle, sheep and goats are kept by East Pokots, Ilchalmus and Tugens. Growing of crops is only possible most of the year through irrigation. Perkerra irrigation scheme started in 1950's by the Colonial government through African Land Development (ALDEV) agency is a major attempt to utilise the streams from the Tugen Hills for irrigation in semi-arid areas of the district. This scheme is under management of Kenya Irrigation Board, and land is allocated to Ilchalmus and Tugens. In 1969/70 about 583 hectares were irrigated in this scheme. Crops grown (mainly onions and Chillis) were valued at gross figure of £73,625. Fishing in Lake Baringo is another money making activity carried in eastern Baringo. In 1970, the value of fish caught was £12,400. A factory to process this fish was established at Kampi Samaki.

The main occupation of the people in north and eastern Baringo is rearing of cattle, sheep and goats. The main problem is water for people and animals in the dry season. The population is usually affected by famine and especially when there are long spells of drought. There have been attempts to encourage the pastoralists to grow food crops, but these have not been successful.

In the Tugen Hills where rainfall is adequate, smallholder agriculture is dominant. The average land size per smallhold is between 1 to 2.5 hectares. Fixed farming is practised. Grade cattle and cash crops like coffee, pyrethrum and sunflower have been introduced. However, most of the farming is on subsistence scale.

In the South large-scale farming is carried out. The average farm size here is between 16 - 20 hectares. In 1970, about 7,821 hectares were still farmed as large scale farms (average size over 700 hectares) Dairy cattle are

very important in this area. The main crops grown are maize, wheat, and pyrethrum.

In the Kerio Valley cotton growing was introduced in 1971. The potential for cotton growing in this valley is tremendous. Bananas and other food crops are also likely ^{to} do well. This valley has the potential of becoming an important agricultural and economic area of the district.

The development of agriculture in Baringo and this applies to the overall development of the district must be viewed in the context of the former scheduled areas for white settlement. In the whole of Rift Valley the white settled areas formed the centre of agricultural development while the African areas were being underdeveloped. The African districts in the Rift Valley and other parts of Kenya became labour reserves for the settler community. Ominde writing in the early sixties summed up the position of the African districts in the Rift Valley when he said:

Prior to the opening up of the former scheduled areas for settlement by non-Europeans, the Rift Valley could be defined largely as alienated land with the peripheral African districts of Nandi in the extreme Western margin and the Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet and West Suk (West Pokot) in the extreme north. In these two land units, different approaches to land utilisation have led to wide differences in economic opportunities.
p. 33.

The differences between the two land units are evident within Baringo district, between North and east on one hand, and the south on the other. We intend to discuss the implications of this relationship between Baringo district and the former white highlands in a later paper.

3.4 Education:

In 1972 Baringo had about 43.0 per cent of its school-age population in school. This placed the district in the middle category of areas which had more than a third, but not more than national average (66 per cent 1972) of its school-age population enrolled in primary schools. The girls enrolled in primary schools formed 41 per cent of the total primary enrolment. There are however differences within the district in the overall development of education. South Baringo runs as the most advanced educationally, followed by the whole range of Tugen Hills. North and east Baringo and Kerio Valley are the most educationally backward areas in the district. East Pokots and Ilchalmus who are found in these areas are lagging behind in formal education.

In the period between 1968 to 1974, Baringo has experienced a high rate of annual growth in primary enrolment. An annual growth rate of 12.1 per cent was achieved in this period as compared with annual growth rate of 9.5 per cent and 8.6 per cent for Rift Valley Province and the whole country respectively. Most of this rapid growth in enrolment has been achieved in South Baringo Division.

Table III Enrolment in Primary Schools 1970 - 1975

Year	No. of Schools	Std I	Std VII	Total Primary enrolment
1970	92	2,368	1,327	12,244
1972	105	3,916	1,642	17,149
1974	157	12,591	2,089	32,367
1975	163	12,130	2,322	41,086

Secondary education has also development very rapidly since independence. In 1963 there was only one secondary school with an enrolment of 120 pupils in the district. In 1975 there were a total of eleven secondary schools, five being aided and six unaided. These schools had enrolled about 2,000 pupils.

Table IV Development of Secondary Education 1963 - 1973.

Year	No. of aided Sec. Schools	Total Enrolment	Unaided Schools	Total Enrolment	Grand Total
1963	1	120	-	-	120
1970	4	614	2	208	822
1973	4	951	3	152	1103
1975	5	1100	6	700	1800

On the whole Baringo has been lagging behind in education. It has also been difficult for the district to retain its educated people as they migrate elsewhere in search of employment opportunities. An analysis of 1969 census data ^{showed} that only 1.8 per cent of the population aged 25 years and over had acquired some primary education (between one and eight years of schooling). The census figures also showed that only 0.1 per cent of the total population aged 25 and over in the district who had any secondary education. These figures should be compared with provincial and national figures for the same age group. The proportion with primary education was 5.2 and 6.9 per cent for Rift Valley Province and the whole country respectively. The repropotion with secondary education was 0.6 per cent for Rift Valley Province and 0.9 per cent for Kenya.

3.5 Summary

Baringo is one of the least developed districts in Kenya though this has not been established in the short introduction to the District. In addition to providing more details on some of the developmental aspects mentioned above it is necessary to provide more information on such historical factors such as ethnic relations, relations with the Central authorities, attitudes towards farming and education etc. Some of these historical factors, we believe, can explain the current state of development in Baringo.

How then does one establish the current developmental state of Baringo? It is necessary to have information on the following aspects.

- (a) The development priorities of the District as stated both by the local leaders and the national leaders from Baringo.
- (b) The position of Baringo vis-a-vis other Districts in the Rift Valley or outside the Rift Valley, in terms of internally generated resources and in terms of centrally allocated resources.
- (c) The pattern of the distribution of resources within the district.
- (d) The basic socio-economic and demographic facts about the district. These would include population patterns, levels of education, patterns of agriculture and animal husbandry etc.

Most of this information can be obtained by analysing the contents of the District Plan, the District Annual Reports, the minutes of the District Development Committee and Divisional/locational committees. In addition, invaluable information can be obtained by interviewing the leaders, both national and local. Once the information has been obtained, then it would be possible to ascertain. 1) whether the internal potential has been exhausted 2) whether the externally allocated resources have been sufficient. 3) whether the allocated resources have been equitably and efficiently distributed.

After establishing the context along the lines suggested above, it is then meaningful to examine and evaluate Baringo Development Training Centre.

4. B.D.T.C. - Proposed Evaluation

A multi-purpose district development centre can only, at least initially play a limited role because it is functioning within certain structural constraints which are determined by both the historical and the current developmental context. By way of exploring this hypothesis we propose to examine the following:

- 4.1 The possible role of multi - purpose training centres in a District like Baringo, given the expected constraints. What would such a centre hope to achieve in terms of development, and more specifically by way of reducing social - economic inequalities.
- 4.2 Given the possible role, have the objectives of BDTC been realistic? The main objective has been stated as "to promote economic and social welfare especially for the people of Baringo District."
- 4.3 If the objectives have been unrealistic what factors best explain the lack of realism? Here we would examine in particular, 1) the political foundations of BDTC. 2) the initial planning of BDTC with specific reference to the relationship between the donor, the recipient, and the general historical and current developmental factors.
- 4.4 If the objectives have been realistic how well have they been pursued? The chosen methods for pursuing the objectives are: a) Courses and seminars. b) Follow-up programmes. c) Professional advice. d) Demonstration by the presence of both the vegetable garden and the plant nursery. (The latter is intended for more than demonstration since it also provides seedlings for farmers).

In order to answer this question we would need to assess the benefits and costs of pursuing the objectives. This would involve an examination of the following: a) The way the centre has coped with unintended objectives e.g. social hall functions such as T.V. watching; Dances; and hotel functions (such as accomodation) sale of surplus grown at the centre (originally the farm was intended for demonstration and self-sufficiency) etc. b) The structure of the course programme and where possible the course content. In particular we want to assess the effect of courses on participants, by interviewing current and past participants. c) The consciousness the centre has of the developmental context in terms of areas of recruitment, social background and frequency of visits to the centre by the participants. d) The actual and intended target groups taking into account the fact that one of

the stated functions of the centre is to offer courses for "local leaders and junior officials of the Baringo District" and "to provide facilities for the local population to acquire know-how useful to their daily life".

e) The nature of the follow-up action. f) The nature of the professional advice. g) The economic and education value of the garden/Nursery and animal husbandry at the centre. What type of farmer for example is the major client of the pyrethrum garden? Have the clients undergone any major changes in life style and what to extent can the latter be attributed to the demonstration, provision of seedlings and the course programmes at the centre?

4.5 If the objectives have been well pursued what factors best explain the success? Here we would examine inter alia a). The role of the administration of BDTC. b) The role of the staff at BDTC. c) The role of the district administration. d) The role of the general public. e) The role of the planning and Advisory Committees. f) The role of the courses demonstration and follow-up.

4.6 If the objectives have not been well pursued what factors, apart from the possible lack of realism in setting the objectives, best explain the failure? Here we would examine among others a) The leadership of the centre. b) The staff situation at the centre. c) The financial situation at the centre. d) The infra-structure at the centre. e) The relationship between the centre and the provincial and District administration. In particular we would try to assess the effect of the high rate of District staff turnover at Kabarnet given the fact that at present the staff is in charge of initiating courses. Also we would like to assess the integrating role of the centre. To what extent can the centre really integrate, even if it had a full-time staff, without running into conflict with the priorities of active district development committee? In the case of an inactive District Development Committee, would the centre be expected to merely co-ordinate or to integrate by providing the basic developmental framework or should the role of integration be left to the individual participants after they have received the courses as determined by either the centre or the various ministries?

4.7 Finally; we would like to focus particularly on the initial planning of of the centre, and especially the planning of the aid from an external donor. We believe that the aid was not planned well and consequently some of the current problems of the centre can be directly attributed to the initial bad planning. True, some of the circumstances, could not have been foreseen, but still the broad question arises as to who should be the appropriate counterpart in a situation of financial insecurity especially on the part of the local authorities.

In addition, we would like to assess the effect of the various expatriate personnel (before the take over), on the current state of the Centre. While most of the effect would be expected to be indirect, there are certain aspects, for example, budgetary matters that seem to have a direct effect.

