DISTRICT FOCUS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT: PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN ITS INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND LOCAL INTEREST GROUPS IN BUTERE AND KHWISERO DIVISIONS OF KAKAMEGA DISTRICT

BY

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Dedicated to Junior Shirumba.

DECLARATIONS

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

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This thesis has been presented with our approval as University Supervisors

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ABSTRACT

The declared objective of the Kenya Government is to expand the base of rural development by involving the citizens through local interest groups such as cooperatives, self-help groups, churches and the political party. In order to ensure such involvement, development committees have been set-up at all levels of the administrative hierarchy in what is now known as the, "District Focus for Rural Development Strategy".

The rationale for involving local people in development is based on the belief that their participation ensures mobilization of local resources as well as maximum utilization of Government and external resources.

This thesis addresses two issues. The first is that of factors influencing participation of local people in self-help groups. These are local organisations that are mainly started and run by the people themselves. The second issue is that of factors influencing participation in local development committees. The factors are socio-economic characteristics and leadership style of the members of these committees. The committees have been initiated by the government in its desire to bring about participation of local people in development efforts.

Participation was measured in terms of contributions in the form of materials, labour and cash made by local people to their self-help groups. In local development committees participation

was measured in terms of contributions made by their members in the form of suggestions and criticisms during meetings as well as their frequency of attendance of the meetings of the committees.

Data was collected in Khwisero and Butere Divisions of Kakamega District, Kenya. In the divisions the study was focused at development committees, community development committees and self-help groups. The latter are registered by the Department of Social Services.

The data was collected using questionnaires administered to a representative sample of leaders of local development committees and to both leaders and non-leaders of self-help groups. The thesis is also based on secondary data, direct observations and informal interviews of key informants.

Frequency and cross-tabulated tables are used in presenting data collected through structured interviews. Chi-square is calculated to show whether there were relationships between the variables studied. The Phi and Contigency Coefficients are also calculated to show the strength of relationships between factors studied.

The main findings of this study are as follows:

1. Harambee self-help groups are found to be engaged in a variety of activities. They are also involved in mobilization of labour, materials and financial resources from their members' contributions of shares. Some of the groups have received financial assistance from both

government and non-government organisations. In other words, the self-help groups studied satisfy the basic requirement for local participation. This is because they ensure people's involvement in their initiation and identification of projects.

2. Participation in activities of self-help groups is influenced by factors which include; local leaders' initiative, that is, articulation of problems and taking action aimed at eradicating the problems; local leaders' informedness about the history and objectives of their groups; the regularity of receiving benefits from self-help groups; and leaders' commitment to their self-help groups.
3. Participation in activities of local development committees is influenced by the local people's lack of representativeness. Local representation in development committees decreases as one moves from sub-locational to locational and the divisional development committees. Community development committees appear more representative of the local people.
4. The study shows that there is high participation in activities of the committees among those with high income, high formal education, those who are formally employed and among males. It is found that the development committee members' leadership style affects

the extent to which they participate in the committees. That is, those who are authoritarian tend to participate more in the activities of their development committees.

One policy implication of these findings is that of the need for training leaders of self-help groups in communication and planning skills. There is also need for understanding how the apparent high participation of people in local interest groups could be encouraged by local development committees. There is also need for continuous monitoring and evaluation of activities of the committees. Their meetings need to be planned ahead of time to enable members to participate effectively. Effective discussions in the meetings of the committees could be possible where minutes of previous meetings were prepared and passed to the members early enough. Finally, participation could be increased where government agents like Social Development Assistants, chiefs and assistant chiefs are well trained in community organisation techniques, including planning and programming of chosen actions.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Local participation in development programmes and projects is a central feature in present thinking about national development in Kenya. It is often conceived as a means, a tool or crucial element that leads to eventual development of local initiative and organisational skills that are necessary to complement government efforts. Lisk (1985:17) has noted that the rationale for involving local people in development stems from the belief that their participation ensures the mobilization and channelling of available, though often underutilized, local resources for programmes meant for the people's benefit.

Kenya has unusual and widespread experience with small scale self-help development activities in the name of "Harambee". The communities contribute funds, ideas, materials and labour for development projects such as construction of school buildings, water supplies, health centres, cattle dips, social halls as well as a myriad of income generating activities like farming, business and development of various properties like rental houses. This may demonstrate the enormous capacity of the local people to develop through self-help efforts.

The 1984-88 Kenya Development plan as well as the policy document on District Focus for Rural Development (1983)[1] declared that the government will establish a favourable setting within which Kenyans can help themselves through self-help. This is to be done by creating new opportunities for coordination of local initiatives. Therefore self-help contributions of money, labour and materials are to be planned for by development committees set up at all levels of the administrative hierarchy from the district through the divisional, locational and down to sub-locational levels.

There are two sides to ensuring local participation in development efforts is attained. On one side are the local people themselves and on the other are the organisational structures that seek to provide opportunities for local participation in development efforts. Ngethe (1977) looking at self-help in Kenya cautioned that the ability of people to participate cannot be taken for granted just as benefits accruing from their involvement cannot be assumed to reach them. Solomon (1981) points out the inability of the rural poor to express their views effectively in the same organisations with the rich and powerful.

Thomas (1980) argued that harambee projects were not providing scope for development of local initiative, self-reliance and organisational skills for those involved. In fact, their leadership was dominated by government officials and a few prominent personalities.

Several problems have often been raised about self-help in Kenya. It has been suggested that contributions are sometimes involuntary; local people are manipulated to start projects which may be beyond their capacity and projects are often duplicated not to mention failed projects.

Since the government is committed to local participation through utilization of interest groups like harambee self-help groups some questions need to be answered in order to understand how meaningful participation is to be attained.

This thesis will therefore find out whether self-help groups' leaders demonstrate initiative and if this has any bearing on their level of participation in self-help projects. Another question raised in this study relates to local leaders' informedness, and whether this has any bearing on their level of participation in self-help groups.

The benefits from self-help activities cannot be assumed to be equally reaching those involved and yet this seems to be the aim of collective efforts like those of harambee. It is therefore worth asking whether any benefits accrued from self-help groups and whether this has any bearing on the level of participation in these groups.

Scholars like Mbithi (1974) have pointed out that harambee groups by the nature of their organisational structures cannot be easily included into national planning as sometimes they represent goals that are in contradiction with those of the government. Now that the government is committed to involving them, it should be asked here whether the local people are committed to their groups and how their goals and priorities deviate from those of the government?

It should be noted that Harambee self-help in Kenya is considered as a major means for local involvement in development efforts. Mbithi and Almy (1973) went as far as advocating concentration of efforts on self-help groups as these would ensure local participation in district planning.

It is therefore crucial to consider the issues of local leaders' initiative, informedness, benefits and committment in self-help groups. These may affect the effectiveness of the groups in involving local people in betterment activities and thus ensure high local participation in development activities.

An examination of past efforts to ensure local participation reveals that organisational structures that have sought to promote participation have never been lacking. Kenya has adopted the use of development committees that have sought local involvement in development efforts since 1963. Community Development Committees (CDC) were set up in 1963 to encourage local participation through self-help efforts. These CDCs are reported by the Department of Community Development (1965) as having managed to interest the local people to use their own initiative and voluntary efforts to raise their standards of living. They were, however, co-opted into District Development Committees' (DDCs) structures set up by the 1966 Kenya Development plan. In this plan Development Committees (DCs) at the divisional and locational levels of the administrative hierarchy were supposed to initiate and coordinate local development efforts. These committees, however, never achieved effective local participation as they consisted mainly of government officials. Heyer et al. (1971)

noted that community development committees which had more representatives lacked facilities like typing machines, and stationery. They also lacked funds as well as the necessary advice.

In pursuit of local involvement through self-help groups the 1970-74 Development Plan aimed at including the groups in national planning. During this plan period, Kenya embarked on the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) as the prototype testing machinery of district planning. Among other things, it was hoped that the local leaders' initiative would enlist resources through self-help and thus encourage participation. Reynolds and Wallis (1976) have pointed out that the committees set up during the 1970-74 period failed to gain local participation neither in planning and coordination nor in directing self-help group's activities. Their efforts to use the "District Development Grant" which they administered for local development projects to gain influence over the self-help movement did not fair well. Apart from developing a dependency notion it also tended to promote competition and conflict for the limited grants. Even in the SRDP areas, Almy and Mbithi (1973) reported that local involvement was never achieved; goals, objectives and strategies of the programme were unclear and therefore not understood by those supposed to participate.

The 1974-79 Kenya Development Plan formally endorsed local participation through the policy of undertaking projects at the district level. These do not seem to have done any better, as meetings were few, agendas long and membership biased towards

government officers and a few local elites. It is doubtful if they achieved any success as districts were unable to formulate their plans in time for incorporation in the 1979-83 Development Plan.

The 1979-83 Kenya Development Plan[2] was basic-needs oriented It sought to involve people through their development Committees. Ghai et al (1979:140) argued that the Committees operated like "Miniature Central Administration" as they consisted mainly of government officers and leading local personalities drawn from provincial or district headquarters.

Towards the end of 1983 the government in pursuit of local participation implemented the District Focus Strategy which works through a system of representative committees at the district down through the divisional, the locational and sub-locational levels. The community development committees continue to be sub-committees of the development committees and make recommendations which are acted upon by the former committees.

This brief examination of the past efforts seems to point to the persistent government desire to achieve local participation through representative committees. Certain issues seem to have inhibited the attainment of local involvement in the past. This thesis examines the socio-economic factors that may influence participation in activities of development committees.

As the development committees are a form through which local needs and priorities can be ascertained, questions about their leaders need to be raised. Thus, the study seeks to find out whether these committees still operate like the earlier ones which were referred to

as "miniature central administrative units" and what bearing this may have on the level of local participation in activities of the committees.

All in all, this thesis addresses itself to the sociological questions posed by Cohen (1968), which were: why do members of a community or group continue to participate? Where does the impetus or desire to participate come from? And, what ensures continued participation? This study therefore analyses two basic problems of local participation. That is, participation in self-help groups and that in development committees at sub-locational, locational and divisional levels.

1.2 OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF STUDY

This study focuses at local participation in self-help groups registered by the Department of Social Services. The aim is to examine whether local leaders and non-leaders in self-help groups demonstrate initiative and commitment to their self-help groups, and how these relate to their participation. Further, this thesis aims at examining the knowledge or informedness of the local people and how this relates to their participation in their self-help groups. This study also examines benefits perceived as deriving from self-help groups' activities and whether they affect the leaders and non-leaders participation in activities of self-help groups.

This study also focuses on participation in development committees set up by the government to attain local involvement in development efforts. These committees are the development committees

at the divisional, Locational and sub-locational levels. In theory these committees are supposed to ensure local involvement in development planning.

This study therefore seeks to understand the nature and operations of the development committees. The aim is to understand the representative nature of the committees by analysing the socio-economic characteristics of their members and how these affect their level of participation in activities of the committees. This thesis further considers leadership style used in decision making by the members of the committees and how this relates to their level of participation in the activities of the committees.

This study utilizes sociological theories and concepts and seeks to provide insights regarding the dynamics of social participation in development planning. It could also shed light on why government efforts at decentralization of development efforts aimed at increasing local participation have not always been successful despite continued emphasis and noble intentions.

Harambee self-help groups, like other interest groups, are often seen as underutilized potential for achieving local participation in development matters in Kenya. However, the nature and operations of these organisations are not fully agreed upon by students and scholars of rural development. This study will attempt to give some understanding of the nature and operations of self-help groups. Their suitability as local units in ensuring sustained and effective local participation in development programmes and projects is assessed. It

may in that respect generate findings that may be useful for all those involved in the implementation of the "District Focus For Rural Development Strategy".

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter a review of literature related to the central issues of this study is provided. The chapter starts with an examination of the literature on local participation. Next participation is examined within the context of local development organisations. This is followed by a review of the literature on harambee self-help organisations as well as self-help projects' Committees. While reviewing Kenya government efforts to achieve participation, development plans, as well as other policy documents that guide development planning, are looked into.

Finally, theoretical conceptions of leadership inluding its meaning, as well as the methods that have been used in its study are examined. Factors that have been addressed in various empirical studies on leadership have also been considered. Conclusions highlighting the key issues raised are also drawn and gaps are identified. It is also made clear what this thesis intends to do fill the gaps. Hypotheses are formulated at the end of chapter.

2.1 LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The need for local participation in development had its genesis in the fact that it had not been emphasised in earlier years in most Third World countries. Nevertheless, the countries soon after gaining independence heralded participation as "the key" to rapid and radical improvement encompassing all aspects of life (Johnstone, 1982).

Local participation in most development Literature is treated as if it were a "missing ingredient" or a "tangible input" into the development process. It is in this respect seen as crucial for the total development of society. Oyugi (1973) has noted that in the process of development planning the people for whom planning was being done for were often left out. This is so despite their being viewed as critical to the success of planned programmes.

In the same mood Mbithi and Chitere (1976) were critical of the colonial development model designed in 1945 for Kenya in as far as it overlooked the local populace. They argue that this led to misconception of plans and projects, suspicion of the motives of developers and eventually development of dependence on the part of the local people on the government.

Although several scholars have attempted to interpret participation, there does not appear to be a universally accepted definition. Nevertheless, a wide range of statements about the concept of participation have been made. These statements reflect the social situation or occassion to which the concept','participation' is being applied.

Johnstone (1982) in what she refers to as "the Labyrinth of Community Participation" has noted that;

1) Participation can be in response to order or threat. Local people have no share in decision making in such a case.

2) Participation can be stimulated by reward; that is, it can be voluntary insofar as the people have to make a choice.

3) Participation can also be prompted by the local people's awareness; that is, it can be voluntary.

Although she considers these issue as showing different levels of participation, they appear to be reasons or factors that influence participation. Johnstone (1982) also shows what participation should encompass:

1) Local involvement by giving and making suggestions and criticisms aimed at improvement of some activity.

2) Local involvement by taking initiative to solve some collective problems or anomalies. This kind of participation is associated more with locally organised interest-groups.

3) Involvement through creativity, defining situations, determining priorities, planning, implementing and evaluating development programmes and projects.

What is clear is that participation involves contribution in collective perception of problems, giving ideas, and in initiating, planning and implementing development projects.

Okafor (1982) in a field study in the Bendel State of Nigeria distinguished between "informing" and "involving" local people in development planning. When participation is viewed as "informing", it amounts to decisions being taken elsewhere then telling the people about them. In this case local people could be persuaded that the decisions taken are the correct ones. On the other hand if participation is viewed as "involving" then it entails what Mbithi and Rasmusson (1974) have referred to as grassroots participation. In this case the people are consulted and engaged directly in contributing ideas from which organisational goals, policies, and proposals are generated.

Oyugi (1973) on his part gives two broad views about participation; that it can be either 'direct' or 'indirect'. In the 'direct' form of participation local people are allowed to give their views and suggestions in open public forums. In the 'indirect' form of participation, the local people are represented by a few in decision making organisations. Representation could be sanctioned; that is, agreed upon or voted for. It could also be, non-sanctioned in which case rural elites and other conspicous community leaders are co-opted into development committees that are initiated by the government.

What is clear from a review of literature on participation in development is that it is stressed as a crucial element in the development process of many Third World countries. It has been stressed in Kenya due to various reasons.

Mbithi and Chitere (1976) have shown that much of the fear and uncertainity about early development projects in Kenya were consequences of misunderstanding and misconceptions arising from lack of local involvement.

Another reason why participation is stressed is that in some cases the local people have been found to be more familiar with and knowledgeable about certain circumstances of their localities than government planners or outsiders. Oyugi (1973) showed how local people rejected local experts' plea that tractors be used in preparation of fields because the terrain was not suitable for them. Chambers (1983) demonstrated how local people were more informed about medicinal plants available in their localities. This knowledge has been acquired through experience and from a long period of interaction with their environment. To this extent, therefore, local people could make valuable contribution to decision-making on matters affecting them and their environment.

Ghai et al. (1979) and Lisk (1985) seem agreed that participation in the development process is an invaluable and often effective means of mobilizing local resources for development

projects. The various Kenya Development Plans since the 1966-70 one have viewed local people's involvement as not wholly attained in development programmes.

Furthermore, as Conyers (1982) pointed out if people are involved in the planning process, they ensure effective implementation as well as proper utilization of completed projects.

These interpretations of participation seem to consider it within the context of formal planning emphasizing that,genuine participation is the direct involvement of local people in development planning.

Participation can perhaps best be looked at from the community development point of view. Batten (1965) writing on the human factor in community work emphasized local participation. To the extent that community development is concerned with people's development, it is viewed as an organised attempt to encourage, educate, influence or help people to become actively involved in solving their common problems. Its success depends on how informed or knowledgeable the people are, how much their interests are aroused and their cooperation in carrying out self- improvement activities.

Recognising that different communities have different needs, community development seeks to enhance local people's capacity to solve, alleviate or prevent problems by reducing dependency on others. Batten (1974) has referred to this as the non-directive approach to

development. Such an approach as Long and Wider (1982) noted permits greater involvement of various interest groups in decision making. In short, it permits local participation.

A review of community development literature reveals, as Constantino-David (1982) has remarked, that urgent call of people's participation has become part and parcel of current development thinking. This seems to be true of Indonesia.

Johnstone (1982) has noted that the development strategy in Indonesia aims at:

i) ensuring of mutual trust between members of the community; between them and their leaders and with outsiders cooperating within the community.

ii) making sure that people are given an opportunity to get involved in development as evident from government's willingness to delegate tasks and responsibilities to the local level.

iii) ensuring that development programmes are considered worthwhile in terms of their ability to achieve tangible and meaningful results within a relatively short time.

iv) ensuring that the local people develop a strong sense of ownership and responsibility of programmes and hence utilize local resources.

Johnstone (1982) has, however, lamented that achievement of participation has been constrained by government's unwillingness to decentralize the administrative structure, presence of ill-trained staff lacking the necessary skills and by lack of or disappearance of community egalitarianism.

The community development strategy in Zimbabwe according to Agere (1982) emphasises rural development, encompasses promotion of labour intensive technology, decentralized patterns of local control and prioritizes the input of the ordinary citizen in the decision making process. Here, failure of development programmes and projects is associated with lack of involvement of the local people and their representative organisations in planning and implementation.

Okafor (1982) noted that in Nigeria success of rural development projects depends on the extent of delegation of initiative and decision making. It also depends on democratization of the development process through direct involvement of the people.

Tanzania's development strategy seeks to create self-reliance, utilize locally available resources and attain equitable standards of living. It has promoted local participation through Village Development Committees. Blue and Weaver (1977) pointed out that these organisations afford local people the opportunity to fully participate in village life.

Kenya on its part has ever since the 1960s tried to use organisational structures that could promote local participation in development planning. The current development plan (1984-88) seeks to create opportunities for widespread participation in an attempt to share the costs of development with the local people.

All in all, there seems to be good reasons why local participation is stressed in development efforts. The question is whether it is possible to bring it about through the organisations that are initiated by the people themselves as well as those started and dominated by the government.

To answer the question of why individuals participate within a social group or community, Cohen (1968) postulates that they may participate because of:

i) The absence of alternative courses or lack of awareness of the existing alternative courses of action.

ii) They are willing to take the risk involved in change.

iii) Moral commitment to some course of action.

iv) Fatalistic acceptence of conditions as they are.

v) Coercion or threat to force one to take some action.

vi) Perceived present and future advantages or benefits.

vii) The need for familiar social association which could be a source of ego-reinforcement.

Thus, participation may result from pressure of some or all these factors combined within a given social structure.

In Kenya, organisational structures exist which seek to promote local participation in rural development programmes through drawing on local people's representatives. Batten (1965) has pointed out that in seeking to involve people through their representatives it should be remembered that those who are coopted may not adequately represent them.

In the next section, Literature on Harambee self-help groups as local level organisations that seek to achieve local involvement in development is reviewed.

2.2 THE HARAMBEE SELF-HELP MOVEMENT

Although there is no universally agreed definition of self-help groups, there is a lot of consensus among scholars on what they encompass. Katz (1981) in a comprehensive review of social science literature on self-help and mutual assistance groups in western countries noted that self-help groups include voluntary ones formed by peers who seek to overcome common problems. The initiators tend to perceive that their needs cannot be met through existing groups. In the groups face-to-face interaction takes place. The groups provide both mutual assistance as well as emotional support to their members. Their origin is spontaneous, personal involvement is valued as members agree and engage in some action. Typically, the groups start from a condition of powerlessness.

In Kenya, during the pre-colonial period members of the same community often came together to assist one another with activities such as planting, harvesting, building of houses and relief of distress (Askwith, 1960). During the colonial days self-help activities like the Kikuyu independent schools were used to oppose colonial programmes. The term harambee was used by Omolo Ongiro as a rallying call in Nyanza in 1957 to oppose the unpopular British led land registration programme in Siaya district (Owino-Ombundo, 1972). Nevertheless, since independence (1963), harambee projects sprung up and received the bulk of their labour, materials and cash requirements from members of communities.

The Department of Community Development Annual Report (1965)[1] indicated that during these early years, the government had deliberately encouraged self-help groups to use their own resources and initiative to improve the living standards of their members. However, this initial government encouragement was set within a development planning system which, as Mbithi (1974) has pointed out, tended to impose change programmes upon rural communities irrespective of their expressed needs or abilities.

The involvement of local people in harambee activities has been perceived differently. Ngethe (1977) in attempting an administrative re-interpretation looked at it from both the official and academic points of view. He pointed out that officially harambee is considered as a form of community development whose function is to create participatory mechanisms, especially for the smallest collective

groups. It is in fact viewed as a means of promoting local saving and investment. The central idea then is to encourage the enormous demonstrated capacity of the people to develop through self-help. Therefore, the focus of the government is to motivate and include self-help in overall development planning.

Under the academic view Ngethe (1977) noted several themes. Firstly, is the social tradition theme or community development approach, where participation in self-help is seen as a means and an end. It is justified on the basis of the need to allow people to deal with their own felt-needs as they know them better. This theme does not deviate much from the policy of the Department of Social Services.

Second is the development theme which looks at harambee as a pre-emptive development strategy in so far as there is a tendency to choose goals that are unlikely to be chosen , but likely to be taken over by the government. The political theme deals with the question of whose strategy is harambee. Harambee self-help is seen as local people's expression of a political need by deciding to do something about their felt-needs. Harambee is therefore a reaction to national programmes which fail to meet local needs. Politically, harambee is also seen as an 'arena' for elite competition to the extent that despite local initiative decisions on self-help projects are often made elsewhere.

Ngethe (1977) argues that it does not seem to matter whose strategy harambee is. If the ideological character of the strategy is considered it seems to serve to mystify the inequalities between various societal strata by making it appear legitimate to accumulate so long as one is doing one's duty by participating in development.

Under the theoretical theme Ngethe (1977) posed questions that need to be answered empirically. These include: why people do contribute? Is it due to their felt needs? And, are they being rational when they contribute?

Several other scholars have studied harambee self-help and provided three broad conceptual frameworks (Mbithi and Rusmusson, 1977).

Firstly, is Holmquist's view (1970-71) of harambee as a pre-emptive grassroots development strategy which operates in terms of articulation and dramatization of local perceptions that government planning and development approaches are in essence not responsive to local needs. Therefore, the only way local people could attract government attention to local needs is to dramatize the irrelevance and lack of utility of government programmes by disregarding their rationale as well as deliberately choosing and pursuing divergent strategies and goals.

This approach seems to emphasize perception of irrelevance of government programmes hence issues of how the perception is developed become important. It is also important to question what may happen with harambee once planning becomes relevant or is perceived as relevant.

The second conceptual approach is the centre-periphery relationship associated with Mutiso (1971 and 1973). This approach looks at harambee self-help as some form of political expression. It argues that the polarisation of western defined patterns against an equally well defined indigenous and neo-indigenous value interaction patterns represents a cleavage, making the latter the periphery and the former the centre. Participation by the periphery in harambee is therefore seen as a re-affirmation and willingness to co-opt leadership from the centre.

Kayongo-Male (1983) has, however, cautioned that conceptualization of harambee groups as similar or linked together in opposition to the centre is an over-emphasis of cooperation among self-help groups. In Kenya cooperation among the groups is lacking and instead competition is the dominant mode of interaction among them.

The third conceptual approach is attributed to Mbithi (1974) who treated harambee self-help as a social movement similar to a religious or a fashion movement. He argued that involvement in self-help groups was influenced by social factors such as age, kinship and sex. Mbithi further pointed out that individuals used self-help groups as

reference groups and a source of ego-reinforcement. The members of the groups develop strong group identity, they are hostile to individualism and operate in a totalitarian manner. Dramatization by use of uniforms, flags, totems and elaborate verbal expressions is yet another feature of harambee self-help groups. Often groups define their lack of development as caused by advancement of others. Although this may be imagined it could, as Kayongo-Male (1983) pointed out, be a reality especially if certain groups are favoured in terms of financial and other assistance from external sources.

The first two approaches like Ngethe's (1977) theoretical interpretation seem to consider harambee self-help as reaction or response to the government's (centre) planning, goals, choice and allocation of resources. They, therefore, seem to suggest the need for an articulate leadership for harambee self-help groups to exist, be it for dramatization of the irrelevance of government plans, or co-optation of leaders from the centre. The third approach focuses on the social characteristics of these groups. It puts the analysis of behaviour in harambee self-help groups within the frame-work of community interrelations.

Barkan et al. (1980) while questioning whether "small is beautiful" Outlined the trends in the initiation process of self-help projects. They noted that in few areas most citizens had been involved in one or more self-help projects. These scholars further noted that while the initiation process of self-help projects is characterized by careful planning, the hierarchy of development

committees have began to exert some influence as well. Thus, the degree of planning that has developed comes from citizens' own awareness, politicians' awareness and the government's long desired need for local participation.

Barkan et al. further noted that there is a marked tendency towards organising clusters of projects as self-help proceeds. In such circumstances a wider range of leadership is brought into self-help as more and more people assume leadership roles.

Like in Holmiquist's (1970-71) pre-emptive approach, these scholars suggested that virtually all projects entailing reasonable costs are started with the hope of being taken over by the state. Commenting on self-help schools, Heyer et al. (1971) noted that in starting them communities hoped to put pressure on the government to take them over at a later date.

It has often been pointed out that contributions to harambee self-help are not entirely voluntary; chiefs, have been known to go round collecting money for small projects. Ngethe (1977) has questioned why group pressure should not be seen as coercion. The answer could be as Barkan et al. (1980) noted that harambee has been internalized to a point of acquiring ideological weight that compels people to contribute to it.

Increased duplication of projects and increased competition is a problem that has been associated with operation of the self-help groups. Mbithi and Rasmusson (1974) in their study of harambee in Nyeri observed that people were being manipulated to start projects

that may be beyond their resource capacity. They cautioned that there was a danger of "killing initiative" of harambee by over-subscription to local efforts either in terms of expanding the scope of a project or publicly setting contribution standards which local leaders must attempt to meet or "lose face". This led to some leaders to dodge or even sabotage projects initiated by other leaders.

2.3 COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

An organisation has been defined by Wilden (1970: 171) as the mutual agreement of individuals in any social situation to work together in pursuit of desired objectives. This definition implies the need for coordination and agreement on goals.

There are broadly two types of organisations that are considered here. Firstly are the self-help groups which are locally-based organisations, initiated primarily by the local people themselves. The other types considered are the government initiated organisations; that is, the community development committees and the development committees set up by the government in order to achieve local involvement in development efforts. These can be referred to as outside organisations.

2.3.1 Locally-based Organisations

Early studies of organised interest groups and their place in community interrelations have been traced back to 1910 in the United States of America by Kolb (1958). These early studies discovered that

organised association marked the existence of a real community. The people mingled quite freely in all organisations and this helped to make the community. In his study of local organizations, Kolb found that most interest groups had been stimulated into action from outside the community. Actual promotion work of the organisations was done by outside change agents and a few local influentials. Further, meetings were the most common characteristic of the organisations and they included some educational feature, business session, and time for 'sociability' and refreshment.

Kolb noted that the number of interest groups increased rapidly during the 1950s and that they became more complex needing professional or paid leadership. There was also an increasing tendency towards amalgamation of groups into county or even state and federal affiliations.

An outstanding aspect of Kolb's (1958) work is the study design utilized. Thus, in looking at uneven response of families to organised interest groups, he compared three classes of families differentiated by their level of affiliation. He found that the extent of affiliation was associated with factors such as cash income, distance to shopping centre, books owned, number of periodicals received, and on time spent reading and radio listening. In dealing with participation he arranged an index where the amount of attendance of group meetings, contributions in committee work and leadership were

weighed. High scores of participation were found to be associated with almost similar factors as those affecting family affiliation to organised interest groups.

These early studies although based in the United States of America where factors like literacy are high seem to have pointed to the fact that socio-economic characteristics may determine families' affiliation to organised interest groups as well as their participation in the activities of the groups. One wonders whether socio-economic factors will be associated with organised interest groups in other places like Kenya where the use of local organisations are seen as crucial in achieving widespread involvement in decision-making.

Self-help groups once they are formed necessitate the formation of a committee to run their affairs. Barkan et al. (1980) noted that leadership even of the most parochial variety is essential. Thomas (1980) also noted that whenever self-help groups are formed committees are formed. This gives ample opportunity for involvement of local people in development projects. Membership to these committees has, however, been found to be skewed towards the more affluent socio-economic groups; leadership roles were dominated by a few people who monopolised decision making and management of projects. The committee structures were found to be dominated by the same leaders.

Barkan et al. (1981) emphasising the importance of broad based leadership noted that apart from the fact that projects do not encourage commitment , leadership skills and political clout reside disproportionately among the rural elite.

Heyer et al. (1971) noted that self-help committees could, working through government initiated committees, bridge the gap between the government and local people's development aspirations. Ghai, Godfrey and Lisk (1979) looked at self-help groups as a valuable means for mobilization of resources for collective action.

Solomon (1981) while looking at involvement of farmers in local organisations emphasised the need for creating organisational structures that would encourage local people to participate in these organisations. He suggested that either the government provides policies, educational guidance and infrastructures that could facilitate local people to organise themselves for development, or provide the organisations themselves or a marriage of both.

Kenya seems to prescribe to the marriage of both. Thus, as Lisk (1985) has pointed out it is widely accepted that participation in decision making can best be achieved through organization of local people into groups for articulation of their felt-needs. The idea of people organising themselves is widely accepted in Kenya. Harambee self-help, therefore, despite various interpretations is a widespread phenomena in Kenyan rural development efforts.

Having looked at harambee self-help organisations, next we turn to the types of local organisations that the government has evolved over the years in an attempt to achieve participation in development efforts.

2.3.2 Outside Organisations

These are mainly committees which may have various representatives from within the community but have been initiated by the government.

Kenya has ever since independence in 1963 been using local level planning organisations in an effort to promote local people's involvement in development programmes. By local level planning organisations is meant government initiated committees at the district and lower levels.

The nature of planning up to 1964 involved "Target Setting" where production targets were set for every sector of the economy. These were then disaggregated to the district and sub-district levels. Chambers (1973) noted that the targets idea raised a lot enthusiasm. The targets were, however, unrealistic and the local level staff could not readily attain them. Thus, the targets amounted to a crude and ineffective attempt to provide local level staff incentives for high performance in the areas they worked in. In the 1963-64 period of, regionalism in Kenya "lists of proposals" were prepared at the

district and sub-district levels and submitted to the government. Chambers (1973) noted that these lists were never incoporated into the national planning process.

These approaches left out the local people for whom targets and lists of proposals were being set and made. Probably due to this realisation two types of committees were set up:

(a) Community Development Committees (CDCs)

CDCs were initiated by the government at all levels of the administrative hierarchy. It was spelt out in the Department of Community Development, Annual Report (1965)[2] that these committees although initiated by the government, their membership included representatives or leaders of various self-help groups. In order to ensure that self-help projects were in keeping with the national development plan, the District Community Development Committees (DCDCs) were provided with limited funds to aid self-help projects. The Government's experience with this fund showed that self-help proposals demanded more resources than those available. As a result not all proposals could be assisted; this contributed to disillusionment of local people with the fund.

Commenting on community development committees below the district level, the Department of Social Service, Annual Report (1972)[3] revealed that in several areas the work of the locational and divisional community development committees was hampered because, meetings were irregular, and some committees were not clear about their responsibilities.

According to the Department of Social Service Policy guidelines (1983)[4], representatives of self-help committees form the sub-locational and locational committees which elect representatives of the divisional development Committees; these in turn elect the representative to the District Community Development Committees.

It is, however, noted in the guidelines that to date the committees, especially those at the sub-locational, locational and divisional level are not active and need strengthening. These committees have remained sub-committees of development committees set up since 1966.

Although they may include representatives of local organised interest groups they play only a minimal part in the development Committees. Thus, only the chairmen of the community development committees of a lower level committee represents it in the next higher committee. To this extent then the proposition that, if effective local participation in the planning process is to be attained by local organisations then, the "representative" nature of the community development committees could be a strong starting point as posited by Heyer, et al. (1971) need to be examined.

In view of the dominance of self-help committees by government officials like chiefs and assistant chiefs and a few local people who are more literate and economically "well off", the representative nature of these committees is highly questionable.

(b) Development Committees

A review of Kenya's development plans since 1966 reveals that the government has been committed to achieving local participation through a system of development committees.

On attainment of independence Kenya inherited the colonial development model which has been referred to as "target setting". However, in 1965 the Sessional Paper Number 10 entitled "African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya" was adopted to guide development planning in Kenya.[5] This paper emphasised the need for people to be responsible for one another, political equality and freedom, and equitable distribution of resources among the populace as a major basis for economic development.

Guided by this paper, the 1966-70 Kenya Development Plan[6] emphasised the need to involve local level planning organisations that could ensure that coordination and participation are effected. Provincial and district development committees together with respective advisory committees were set up.

After these initial government attempts to use development committees in achieving local participation in planning without success, the 1970-74 Development Plan[7] re- emphasised the need to use local level organisations to achieve local involvement in rural development. The roles of development committees were spelt out to include coordination and stimulation of development at the local level

by involving both government officials as well as the people through their representatives in the formulation and implementation of programmes.

Although the government remained supportive and easily created formal institutions, the ability of the local people to participate in planning has remained doubtful. Oyugi (1973) noted that local planning efforts tended to waste resources through non-operational projects. He pointed to illiteracy, lack of educational materials for local people, lack of direct or visible benefits, political conflicts, and rural elite capturing planning at local levels as responsible for this problem.

Heyer et al. (1971) noted that complaints about the District Development Committees included too long agendas which were of limited interest and poor information flow with lower level organisations. Moreover, these committees were entirely composed of government officials. Even the development advisory committees which were composed of members of parliament, councillors, party officials and a few prominent personalities and were required to react to development plans remained largely dormant. In fact some never met at all.

The 1974-78 Kenya Development Plan[8] formally endorsed local level planning. It aimed at utilizing District Development Committees in ensuring local participation in development planning. These committees were therefore charged with the responsibility of seeking active participation of local communities in identifying and defining

local projects. These committees which were composed of government officials at the district level under the chairmanship of District Commissioners were provided with limited resources in the name of the "District Development fund" for providing part of the resources needed by local self-help projects.

Reynold and Wallis (1976) noted that the DDCs were not effective in gaining local involvement in planning nor in re-directing self-help activities. This was attributed to few meetings which had long agendas but limited time for their effective discussion, composition of the committees which was mostly made of government officials, and lack of adequate representation of local interests. It was, therefore, difficult to bring about genuine local participation as the committees were not functioning well.

The 1979-83 Kenya Development Plan[8] whose theme was "alleviation of poverty" addressed itself to rural development. It stressed the need for Small Scale enterprises and self-help projects and reliance on local level planning organisations. This plan which emphasized a basic-needs approach to development planning recognized the need for increased local participation in decision making and proposed changes aimed at decentralization of development administration to local levels in order to raise the standards of living of the people (Ghai et al 1979).

Thus, the role of local level development committees in planning was to be strengthened to involve local people. This was to be accompanied by deployment of technical and administrative personnel to local levels to support planning and implementation of projects at these levels.

In order to ensure coordination, all local level committees such as the District Educational Boards and the Community Development Committees were to be sub-committees of the District Development Committees. These committees were to approve harambee self-help projects before they were initiated.

In theory there was a hierarchical arrangement of development committees from the district through the divisional and the locational and in some cases sub-locational and village levels which could provide opportunity for local involvement in development planning. In practice, however, Ghai et al.(1979) note that the system offered little scope for broad based participation mainly because of the rigid administrative mechinery within which it operated. Furthermore, committees below the division, especially at the sub-location and village level,never existed.

Ghai et al.pointed out that these committees tended to operate as miniature governments in so far as they consisted almost entirely of civil servants who took decisions without consulting local people. While they co-opted local influentials in most cases such people were

from the business community and from major towns in the areas. This effectively denied local people at the sub-district level a chance to participate in the planning process.

The theme of the 1984-88 Kenya Development Plan is "mobilization of domestic resources". It aims at creating opportunities for wide spread participation through many forms of organisations. The plan spells out the responsibilities of the government as:[10]

1) To enable Kenyans help themselves individually and collectively.

2) To ensure cost-sharing in distribution of services with those who benefit in order to improve their quality.

3) To provide suitable incentives for production and investment and ensure all share the benefits.

This plan describes cost-sharing and self-help as important forms of national saving that enhance both the pace of development and participation. The District Development Committees are therefore expected to plan the use of self-help contributions of money, labour, and materials as complementary to other resources.

A review of local development committees would be incomplete without mention of the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP). This programme which was a prototype testing machinery for district planning was launched in 1971/72 financial year in six administrative divisions. It stressed experimentation and replicability of programme

designs. Four experiments were carried out on agricultural group extension, unsecured credit, labour intensive roads and development administration (David, 1975).

The SRDP had an institutional organisation based on project committees whose membership included divisional departmental heads, with an Area Coordinator as the chairman. David (1975) observed that although these committees proved themselves useful for generating and reviewing activities, they lacked decision-making power.

Oyugi (1977) observed that the effectiveness of the project committees depended on the ability and commitment of the area coordinator. Local involvement was sought through co-optation of local leaders at the discretion of the Area Coordinator. Coordinators for various reasons stopped inviting local leaders to project committee meetings.

Lele (1975) noted that in some SRDP areas the local people were neither consulted nor informed in advance of the projects to be implemented. Local people were not adequately involved in planning projects such as roads, cattle dips and water construction. Lele sites an example of a water project where it had been envisioned that self-help labour would be used, but when it came to implementation contract labour was initially used without consultation with the people. Attempts at a later stage to correct this situation and use labour provided on the basis of self-help failed.

Based on lessons from the SRDP, David (1975) advised that development efforts should not be organised on a large scale; they should avoid rhetoric, and ensure that responsibility reaches lower levels of the development hierarchy. Oyugi (1977) advised that all relevant social units interested in or affected by a project should be involved in the planning process.

The peak of decentralized approach to development planning came in 1983 when the government released a document, titled "District Focus for Rural Development Strategy". The District Focus Strategy apart from shifting planning and implementation of rural development from headquarters of ministries to the district is based on the principle of complementarity between the government and the local people. This is to be achieved through delegation of responsibilities for local rural development projects to the district level organisations.

District projects are seen as those planned for and specifically implemented by the district. The criteria for their identification include: the target population must be localized; there must be substantial local contributions in terms of labour, cash and materials; projects should meet needs that are unique to a particular district; and they should include local projects that are part of a national programme but planned for and implemented locally.

A major objective of the District Focus Strategy is local participation, which is seen as increased communication between local communities and government officers working in the districts. This

strategy is organised around a series of development committees and thus does not deviate much from previous government efforts at decentralization. Nevertheless, Provincial Monitoring and Evaluation Committees (PMEC) with the responsibility of facilitating inter-district coordination have been set up.

The District Development Committees (DDCs' are considered as the pillar of this strategy. The DDC is composed of several people, but dominated by civil servants. It includes the District Commissioner (Chairman),District Development officer (Secretary), departmental heads of all ministries represented at the district, members of parliament, the K.A.N.U. District Chairman, District Officers, chairmen and clerks of local authorities, invited representatives of development-oriented organisations including self-help groups and women groups' representatives.

This committee is supposed to meet at least four times a year to

1) Review on-going projects to ensure that they are rapidly implemented, completed and effectively operated.
2) Consider proposals submitted by Divisional Development Committees (DIV.D.Cs).
3) Establish development priorities.
4) Endorse ministries' projects.
5) Review and endorse project proposals of local authorities, parastatals, regional development authorities and NGOs.

Technical support in preparation of plans and in management and implementation is to be provided by the District Executive Committee (DEC). This latter Committee is composed of the District Commissioner, District Development Officer, departmental heads of all ministries at the district, clerks of local authorities and representatives of development oriented parastatals.

Looking at the responsibilities of the DDC, one wonders, whether the members who are predominently civil servants will be able to grapple with broad development issues besides their own technical responsibilities. The size of this committee is no doubt large and is biased towards civil servants for whom it is mandatory to attend meetings. The composition of the DEC seems to reinforce the dominance of civil servants in decision making.

To ensure that local people have some input in the development efforts, local level committees have been established at the divisional, locational and in some rare cases at sub-locational levels. The composition of the Divisional Development Committee (DIV.DC) does not deviate from the lines of that of the DDC.

The membership of the DIV.DC includes the District Officer (D.O) as the chairman, District Development Officer (DDO) or his assistant as Secretary, members of parliament, party sub-branch chairmen, chiefs, clerk of local authority, councillors, all government departmental heads represented at that level, invited members of NGOs, Self-help groups and representatives of women organisations.

Like the DDC they meet four times a year with the responsibility of assembling initial project proposals, sorting them out, and prioritizing them before forwarding them to the DDC. Although local participation seems to be stressed at this level, it is not clear how this committee could achieve this. Like the DDC it is dominated by civil servants. A question that may be raised is whether the co-opted members articulate local people's needs. Locational development committees which are at the grass-roots are composed of the chief (chairman), staff of technical departments like agriculture, assistant chiefs, locational party chairman, locational representatives of parastatals, headmasters of secondary schools, co-opted local leaders and representatives of cooperatives, NGOs and self-help groups. Below this is the sub-locational development committee composed of assistant chief, sub-locational KANU chairman, councillor, departmental officers at that level, headmasters of primary schools, co-opted local leaders and representatives of cooperatives, NGOs, women organisations and self-help groups.

These two committees are responsible for discussing community needs and initiation of projects addressing these needs. Batten (1965) has cautioned that oftentimes such leaders do not represent local people as they are likely to be far removed from the people due to their socio-economic statuses. Furthermore, the capability of those co-opted as local peoples' representatives is often questionable.

Several issues become clear from the foregoing discussion on local development committees. Firstly, ideally local involvement is to be achieved by the lower level committees, where community needs are discussed and project proposals made. Second, the committees are composed of several people of varying interests ranging from administrators like D.C., D.Os and chiefs whose primary function is to maintain law and order to technical representatives of ministries whose interests are varied and could be water development, fisheries, agriculture, livestock or even social services. They also include other influentials like politicians, businessmen, and teachers. The question of whether these people will have the time and competence to involve themselves actively in development planning should therefore be raised. Thirdly, and especially because attendance of meetings is mandatory for civil servants, they are likely to out-number any other members. It is this clique that may effectively contribute to decision-making.

Reporting on previous efforts of local development committees, the 1984-88 Kakamega District Development Plan[11] lamented that even though there were 29 locational development committees, they had rarely met and even when they met minutes of their proceedings were not prepared. This plan further lamented that even DIV.DCs met only when given tasks to perform by the DDC. This raises doubt on the extent to which district planning is a product of ideas and proposals channeled from the grass-roots through the system of committees.

Kayongo-Male (1985) has pointed out that although these committees should involve a broad spectrum of local people, women are due to the nature and functioning of these committees minimally involved.

All in all, what seems clear is that although local organisations have been set up at all levels their composition and mode of operation do not elicit the much desired local involvement. Examining the factors that curtail participation within the committees should help in determining how best these organisations will ensure articulation of local needs and priorities and mobilization of local people and resources for participation in rural development projects.

2.4 LOCAL LEADERSHIP

That some form of leadership is present in many,if not all instances of collective action,is almost true by definition. Tacher (1966) argued that there is a direct relationship between the ideas and values held whether consciously or not by the influential members of a society and the standard of living of that society. This scholar sees leadership as a process which always involves attempts on the part of the leader to affect or influence the behaviour of others in a particular situation. Its success depends on the willingness of the followers to be influenced.

Tannenbaum et al. (1961) similarly saw leadership as interpersonal influence exercised in a certain situation and directed towards the attainment of specified goals. These views do not differ

much from Haiman's (1951) that leadership is the process whereby an individual directs, guides, influences, or controls the thoughts, feelings or behaviour of others. It essentially implies a purpose and thus although it may not be a carefully planned or deliberate act, it is always goal-oriented.

What these definitions stress is the dynamic goal-oriented interaction between the leaders, the followers and their situation.

There are several theoretical approaches to the study of leadership. Hollander (1978) outlined the following;

i) Person and times approach which focuses on the unique qualities of the leader.

ii) Trait and leader function approach which distinguishes between leaders and non-leaders.

iii) Description of leaders' behaviour approach. This focuses on defined leadership roles vis-a-vis others' expectation on performance of the roles.

iv) Transactional approach focusing on followers' perceptions of leaders' actions, motives and intentions.

v) Situational approach which focuses on the characteristics that the leader brings to the situation and are appropriate for the particular occasion.

vi) Contingency approach relates to the style of the leader and the demands of the situation; it also focuses on the leaders' assummed role to the situation where leadership is to be exercised.

Although the first four approaches (i-iv) consider the roles of those who are not leaders, they do not take into account the social situation or occasion in which leadership is exercised. The fifth approach limits itself by focusing only on those characteristics of the individual that are suitable to the situation where leadership is exercised. The last (vi) approach seems to offer much scope for predicting the effectiveness of organisations as it considers the dynamic relationship between the style of the leader, the demands of the situation and the way in which leaders perform their roles in the situation.

Tacher (1966) considers community leaders' commitment as a crucial element in effective pursuit of the goals of local organisations. Leaders who are committed are likely to devote their time, energies and other resources for furtherance of the goals of their organisations. Such leaders are unlikely to be leaders of other organisations in the community. In these circumstances, committed leaders must be knowledgeable or informed, concentrate energies on areas of organisational interests, are able to solve problems within their areas of competence and interest and do not spread themselves thinly by being leaders in many organisations. They are also through

educational devices likely to delegate responsibilities, encourage criticisms and stimulate followers to be active members of their organisation.

Perry and Angle (1981) in an empirical assessment of organisational commitment and organizational effectiveness saw commitment as a predictor of members' efforts and performance. To measure it, they looked at three components which were: a strong belief and acceptance of organisational goals; willingness to exert considerable efforts on behalf of the organisation; and a definite desire to maintain membership in the organisation.

Small group research on leadership although not deviating from the leaders' functions and traits approach have sought to examine leadership roles in differing situations. Paul (1976) in his handbook of small group research has explained that different leadership styles may be adopted to create differences in the interaction process. To him, to specify the leadership style is in effect to give explicit direction of influence, the type of communication network permitted as well as the emotional tone that pervades the interaction (Paul, 1976:302).

Several scholars have carried out studies on various aspects of community power structure. Common about these studies, as Clark (1975) noted, is that they start from a series of interrelated questions which include who governs? where? how? and with what effects?

Mbithi (1974:155) has enumerated the four methods in the study of community leaders. These include:

1) Reputational method which determines the most influential or reputed persons within a community. This method identifies leaders by asking informants to identify the most influential people. Informants (judges) then evaluate them by consensus in terms of influence. These are then ranked.

2) Decisional method which determines the most influential persons in community decision-making. This method identifies opinion leaders, specialists and politicians. These are identified by the participation index on a set of decision in different areas involving choice and affecting all sectors of the community.

3) The positional method which considers only those who occupy important or key positions in both informal and formal organisations.

4) Socio-metric nomination method which isolates particular socio-economic categories and then determines the nature and extent of participation in community affairs by persons in these categories or the degree to which they are consulted on certain issues relative to other members of the community.

Hunter (1974) in his pioneering study of decision makers dealt with the question of who governs? Using what has come to be known as the "reputational" method, he collected quantifiable data on influential persons of a community. He listed formal leaders like leading civic, professional and other organisational leaders. They included government personnel, business leaders and other local influentials. The leaders having been chosen on the basis of wealth and 'societal connections', Hunter used a team of judges to select by mutual choice the 40 most influential. The total list had 175 names of influential persons.

Hunter (1974) was concerned with the structuring of power. He found that one's position within the structure of his organization automatically made him eligible for leadership. Hunter, therefore identified those who held conspicous positions in economic institutions as the top clique of decision makers in the community he studied. This method seems to downplay influential persons who hold political eminence and high social status in the community. Furthermore, as Mbithi (1974) points out, there is no control or check on the 'judges' perception of influence or power.

Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) considered leadership patterns in harambee self-help organisations. They looked at the characteristics of the leaders, role of government officers, continuity of leadership, criteria of leadership selection and actual selection of leaders of harambee self-help projects. They found that although at the local level leadership was dominated by local farmers, chiefs and assistant

chiefs were the most important category especially in mobilisation of resources. The conspicous leaders like politicians, and businessmen played only a limited role and women were rare. Mbithi and Rasmusson noted that while the chiefs and assistant chiefs acted as middlemen between the government and local people, their resource extraction role was very unpopular. This could make it difficult for them to remain close to the people as they tend to lose legitimacy as leaders. These scholars advocated for training of chiefs and assistant chiefs in more persuasive methods of extracting resources. They also called for improved information flow between the national and grass-roots levels.

Evaluating the functioning of self-help project committees, Thomas (1981) noted that apart from membership being skewed towards the more affluent socio-economic groups, their style of operation was authoritarian. Only a few persons make decisions on behalf of the committees; there was also absence of planning skills. She seems to view decision makers in self-help projects committees as having numerous linkages among themselves just as Hunter (1974) identified coalition of power among the top community power actors.

Thomas (1981) further points out that self-help project committees undergo institutionalization in the sense that once a committee has been established for launching a project it continues, as the management committee when the project is completed. The question that could be raised therefore is what is the relationship between socio-economic factors and involvement in local organisation.

Looking specifically at womens self-help groups, Kayongo-Male (1983) has evaluated the impact of one type of intervention; that is, training of leaders of such groups. Using perhaps the trait and leader function approach she compared groups whose leaders were trained and those where leaders were untrained. She has shown that socio-economic status could be a basis for training opportunities which may have unintended effects. Thus, she found training had no impact on participation in formal meetings. This result may not have been intended by the trainers.

What this seems to point to is that just as selection to leadership positions is influenced by socio-economic factors, so also is actual involvement within organisational structures or in what Hunter (1953) referred to as a community power structures.

Stockton (n.d) in looking at leadership in Nyeri, applied the positional method to identify grass-roots leaders. He choose all those who identified themselves as holders of formal leadership positions. He focused his study on a few questions which included; who are the leaders? How are they different from non-leaders? How are leaders perceived by non-leaders? And, how do leaders and non-leaders differ in attitudes and opinions?

Stockton found that leaders were younger educated people, who were locally employed; they were mature but not aged people and had worked in their youth in the cities or European farms. They also included few old people who gave the dignity of age and wisdom on committees. The leaders had worked outside more often, and were more literate than their neighbours. Further, they were also more

knowledgeable about the political matters than the non-leaders. In terms of agricultural development, Stockton found that leaders had developed their farms better than their neighbours. He found that leaders were perceived as responsive to public opinion and served as the link through which local people's demands are channelled upwards. They also served as a selection mechanism which sorts out and processes these same demands.

Nypan and Vaa (1974) applied the positional method in selection of a group of subjects who held formal leadership positions in various organisations in two villages in Meru area in Tanzania. These scholars found extensive contact between local leadership and technical expertise. Leaders who held political positions claimed to cooperate most with the experts. Nypan and Vaa found a concentration of a few leaders in several positions. They argued that this meant a corresponding concentration of influence and power. Like Stockton these scholars noted that plans, priorities, demands and suggestions that are channelled 'downwards' reached local leaders first. Also, demands, needs and reactions were quickly channelled 'upwards' by the same mechanism.

These empirical studies of leadership seem to have looked at the issue of who the leaders are and their unique characteristics. They give an impression that socio-economic characteristics are the most important determinants of who becomes a leader at the local level. These leaders are the intermediaries between local people and outside change agents.

The studies, however, do not seem to question what determines the behaviour of the leaders once within the community power structure. Do their relative socio-economic status further affect the extent to which they will be influential within the organizational structures? What effect is there in relation to the interlocking of leadership positions which are concentrated among a few people in particular organisations? What determines more involvement in one organisation in relation to that in another?

Performance of individuals within an organisational structure has often been associated with the individual's ability, role clarity and motivation. This is further influenced by the magnitude of rewards, the leaders' expectations and their commitment (Shamir and Bargal, 1980).

This points to the need to raise questions on the leaders' capability or informedness in order to understand their performance. Benefits and expectations should be questioned, especially in the light of the fact that, local action is goal-oriented and based on some assumption about the benefits to be obtained from carrying out certain action.

In Kenya it has been seen in the previous section that often a few influentials monopolize decision-making in self-help groups and self-help projects committees. Even in the development committees organised by the government, but which coopt local people, it has been seen that the chairmen, or at best the government officers, dominate the decision making process.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter the interpretations of participation though difficult to state precisely have been provided. What all the interpretations stress is that participation should include consulting the local people, give them access to decision making and seek to involve them directly in the implementation and management of development projects. This should be differentiated from mere 'Informing' of the local people. It has also been shown that local participation is desired in national development planning. The nature of people's involvement in these organisations has been made clear. As the literature review shows participation is often not examined within local institutional setting. In this study participation is to be examined within local development committees as well as self-help groups.

Important attributes that define self-help groups were considered. Self-help has been in existences in Kenya for a long time. Various conceptual frame-works of its origin and operations have been examined. They show local leadership as crucial for the successful operations of the self-help groups. Studies of leadership that have been reviewed describe their socio-economic charateristics. There have been no studies of effectiveness of the leaders of self-help groups. In this study the performance of leaders within self-help groups is examined. There have also been no studies of leadership commitment. This is done here.

Early studies on organised interest groups attributed people's involvement in the organisations to the socio-economic characteristics of the individuals. In Kenya there have been very few studies of interest groups like self-help organisations started by people themselves and government in the form of development committees. This study examines the socio-economic characteristics of leaders of both development committees and community development committees.

A review of literature on self-help projects' committees whose members can be loosely described as the "power cliques" in the Self-help projects reveals that entry to this 'clique' is influenced by Socio-economic Status. Furthermore, just as Hunter (1953) identified power pyramids, self-help projects committees seem to have a few influential people who monopolize power. The tendency of spread of few local influentials in various leadership roles gives the impression that the local organisational structures like these committees are not offering scope for widespread participation and for development of local initiative. The role of the local leaders as links between the local level and outside organisations was also highlighted.

Various theoretical approaches to the study of leadership have been examined, none of them singularly allows a clear understanding of leadership.

Empirical works about what has come to be known as "community power structures" have been looked into, methods of identifying leaders and how they are applied were also brought out. It has been seen that, these studies concentrated on the characteristics of leaders, organisational structures and on leadership style. The

studies emphasised the need for commitment as it is a predictor of the performance of the leaders once they get into leadership positions.

2.6 HYPOTHESIS AND VARIABLES OF STUDY

The main concern of this thesis is local participation or involvement in local level organisational structures within the context of District Focus For Rural Development Strategy.

The study in examining participation focuses on two types of local level organisations. On one hand are locally initiated organisations or local interest groups. Specifically the thesis addresses itself to Harambee self-help groups, and committees. On the other hand focus is on government initiated organisations whose aim is to attain local involvement in development planning. Specifically, both the Community Development Committees and Development Committees at the divisional and locational level are considered.

Thus in analysing the level of participation in self-help groups and local development committees the following hypothesis are tested in this thesis.

1) Local leaders initiative is associated with their participation in self-help groups.
2) Local leader informedness determines their participation in their self-help groups' activities.
3) Perception of benefits by leaders is positively associated with their of participation in self-help groups.
4) The more committed the leaders of self-help groups, the higher their participation in their groups' activities.
5) The socio-economic characteristics of those involved in

development committees determines their participation in the committees' activities.

6) The leadership style of those involved in development committees determines their participation in the committees' meetings.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter starts with giving operational or working definitions of the variables studied. The chapter further provides the geographic description of the area of study, pointing out its demographic characteristics as well as the physical and climatic conditions. The methods used in collection of data and the type of data collected are also explained.

Finally, this chapter looks at the types of statistics used in analysis of data. As most of the data is at either the nominal or ordinal levels of measurement statistics used are those suitable for these two levels of measurement.

3.1 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES STUDIED

This study focuses on the level of participation in local organisations both locally initiated as well as those started by the government. Specifically it focuses on participation in self-help groups and projects which are local interest groups started and run locally. Participation in local development organisations is also addressed.

In order to understand the nature of operations of these local organisations, participation has been taken as the dependent variables and is of two types; participation in self-help groups and

participation in development Committees set up by the government. In explaining the level of participation in the organisations various independent variables are covered including: local initiative, local informedness, perceived benefits and commitment in self-help groups. Others variables related to government initiated Committees are socio-economic characteristics of the members and their leadership style.

These variables are operationalized so as to allow for their measurement.

a) The Dependent variable.

As noted the dependent variable is level of participation which is of two types;

(i) Participation in Development Committees.

This refers to the extent to which members attend meetings and offer suggestions and criticisms in development committee meetings. Local level committees by coopting local representatives of various interest groups seek to solicit their suggestions and opinions on community needs and projects addressed to them. The suggestions then guide development planning. As seen in the literature review, Kolb (1958) in operationalizing participation, used an index score which considered averages of attendance and contribution to committee work and leadership. Participation is highly sought within the development committees both as a means of achieving self-reliance or

cost-sharing and as an end in itself. It is therefore important that different levels of participation be identified in order to explain the variations in the committees.

Level of participation in this study is seen as the extent to which those involved in development committees, attend meetings of the committees, make suggestions and criticize decisions during the meetings. This constitutes criteria by which local participation in these committees can be examined.

In order to measure participation, indicators used are;

1) frequency of attending development committee meetings.

2) frequency of offering suggestions.

3) offering criticisms on any decisions made.

In measuring frequency of attending meetings the year preceeding the survey, attending all the 4 meetings was treated as always and assigned 3 scores; attendance of 2-3 out of the 4 meetings was treated as regularly and assigned 2 scores; while attendance of 1 out of the four meetings was treated as occasionally and assigned 1 score. Lack of attendance of meetings was assigned zero (0) score. The second indicator offering of suggestions to the group, was scored in a similar manner. Where suggestions were made on both external and

internal matters it was classified as regularly and assigned 2 scores, where suggestions were made on either external or internal matters it was classified as occassionally and assigned 1 score. Where no suggestions were made a zero (0) score was assigned and classified as none. The third indicator of participation was criticisms of decisions made and was also scored along the same line. Where criticism was made more than once then it was classified as regularly and assigned 2 scores, if done only once then it was classified as occasionally and assigned 1 score. Zero score was assigned where no criticism had ever been made. The indicators and the scores assigned including their totals are shown in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Measurement of Participation in development Committees

Frequency	attendance of meetings (scores)	offering suggestions (scores)	offering criticisms (scores)	Total (scores)
Always	3	-	-	3
Regularly	2	2	2	6
Occassionally	1	1	1	3
None	0	0	0	0

The total score on all the three indicators is 7, while the minimum is zero (0). With this range two categories of level of participation were arrived at as shown below:

1) Less than 3 Scores - Low participation

2) 4 Scores and more - High participation

ii) Participation in self-help groups.

This refers to the extent to which members of the groups contribute resources through provision of labour, materials and money for their self-help groups activities. This refers specifically to action oriented' behaviour. Self-help groups in bringing members together aim at soliciting their labour, materials and cash for collective activities. Students of harambee have advocated for its inclusion in government's formal planning efforts as a means through which local efforts and aspirations can be harmonized with national-development planning. Questions as to whether this can be attained can only be answered after establishing the nature of involvement within the groups. This will enable explanation of the variations in participation in these interest groups in terms of specific factors that are considered crucial.

Focus on action oriented behaviour in self-help groups provides criteria by which participation can be evaluated. It is therefore seen as the total contribution of labour, cash and materials measured in Kenya Shillings.

To obtain an ordinal level scale of measurement, index score were assigned to the categories of responses on each of the three indicators. Cash contribution was measured by the total cash contributed by the member to his/her self-help group. The study estimated the value in Kenya Shillings of all the materials contributed. In measuring the amount of labour average number of

hours spent on the groups' activities every week is used. There were three categories; 1-3 hours per week, 4-6 hours and more than 6 hours per week. Table 3.2 shows the categories and the scores on each of the items.

Table 3.2: Measurement of Participation in Self-Help groups

Value Contributions (KSh.)	Cash (Score)	Material (Score)	Labour (Score) (Hours per week)	Total (Score)
None	0	0	0(0hrs)	0
Upto 100/=	1	1	1(1-3hrs)	3
101 - 200	2	2	2(4-6hrs)	6
200 and more	3	3	3(more than 6 hrs)	9

The maximum possible score on the three items is 9 while the minimum possible is zero. The two categories of level of participation in self-help groups are therefore;

1) 0 - 4 scores- Low Participation

2) 5 to 9 scores - High participation

b. Independent Variables.

The independent variables were; local leaders' initiative, local leaders informedness, local leaders commitment, and perception of benefits by leaders of self-help groups. Others are socio-economic characteristics of the members of development committees and their leadership style. They were measured as follows:-

(i) Local Leaders' initiative

This refers to the extent to which local people perceived the problems that their self-help groups sought to solve. Some studies of harambee self-help like Thomas' (1981) seem to indicate that initiative comes from outside change agents, yet other studies like that of Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) seem to point to local leaders initiative as important in starting self-help groups. It is therefore important to establish the extent of local leaders' initiative and how it relates to their participation in self-help groups. Only then could we agree with scholars like Heyer et al. (1971) who argue that Self-help provides ready organisational structures that can be used for involving local people in government initiated Committees.

In this thesis, initiative refers to whether the local people identify their felt-needs, initiate projects and utilize local resources in addressing these needs. In order to measure local initiative, the following indicators are handled separately.

1) Perception of the need or problem that necessitated the initiation of the Self-help groups' activities. Since the groups studied were already operational, the question was whether the need for these groups' activities were felt by the respondents. Thus perception of need or problem was categorized into:

(a) Need or problem was felt by the local people themselves.

(b) Need or problem chosen by local people to attract government attention.

(c) Need or problem felt by outside agents of both government and non-governmental organisations.

2) Perception of initiators of the self-help groups' activities. The categories are:

(a) Local persons.

(b) Outside agents.

3) Types of responsibilities members undertook within their groups. The responsibilities could be purely manual, supervisory or both. It is those leaders who undertake supervisory tasks who demonstrate initiative as they see the need for self-help and encourage others to get involved by offering labour. Thus tasks assigned were as under;

a) Manual tasks.

b) Supervisory tasks.

c) Both manual and supervisory tasks.

4) Perception of source of resources for self-help groups' activities. The question was whether locally available materials are perceived or not. The categories of perceived sources are:

a) Local sources of resources.

b) External sources of resources.

c) Both local and external sources.

ii) Informedness.

Students of local organisations have pointed to the need for people to be informed or to be aware about the organisations as a prerequisite for their active involvement in them.

Informedness therefore refers to the extent to which the local people are aware of when their respective groups were started, the initiators as well as the objectives of these groups. Further, it also includes their awareness of development Committees.

In this thesis the following indicators used for measuring informedness are analysed separately as under:

1) Awareness of when self-help groups were started. The categories are

   a) Yes.

   b) No.

2) Informed of who the initiators of Self-help groups were. The categories are;

   a) Yes.

   b) No.

3) Members' awareness of objectives of their self-help groups. The categories are;

   a) Aware of one (1) objective.

   b) Aware of two (2) objectives.

   c) Aware of three (3) or more objectives.

4) Awareness of the existence of local development committees initiated by the government was also examined. The committees include, the District, Divisional and Locational Development Committees. Thus knowledge or lack of awareness of these committees is categorized as;

a) Yes.

b) No.

iii) Benefits:

Students of Harambee self-help like Ngethe (1977) have cast doubt on whether members of these groups benefit at all from activities of the groups. In this study benefits refer to the rewards both in cash and in kind that accrue from involvement in self-help groups' activities. In this thesis the following indicators are used separately to measure benefits:

1) Whether members of self-help groups have received any rewards in the form of cash, materials, services or provision of certain skills or useful knowledge. The categories are;

a) Yes - if any of the above benefits have been received.

b) No - where none of the benefits have been received.

2) Regularity with which the benefits were received. That is, were the benefits received on a regular timed basis like weekly, monthly, or yearly, or were they received in an untimed manner or have they never received any benefits. The categories are;

a) None - where benefits have not been received.

b) Irregularly - where the benefits are received but in an irregular manner without any schedule.

c) Regularly - where the benefits are received on a regular time schedule.

(iv) Commitment.

Studies of organisational effectiveness like that of Perry and Angeles (1981) have looked at commitment as a predictor of performance of individuals within organisations. Commitment in this thesis refers to the extent to which members of self-help groups concentrate their energies to single self-help groups.

The study of this variable may give an indication of the nature or level of participation in local interest groups. Specifically, commitment to self-help groups in this study refers to the number of years members had been affiliated to the self-help groups studied, number of other self-help groups that respondents were affiliated to, and their perception of the importance of the self-help groups relative to the one studied.

This definition allows the measurement of commitment along the same lines as Perry and Angles (1981) did. Thus, to measure commitment the following indicators are considered separately:

1) Duration in years that respondents had been affiliated to the self-help groups which was:

(a) Up to 3 years.

(b) More than 4 years.

2) The number of groups that respondents were affiliated to was obtained. Thus, membership could be maintained in a few or more organisations. The categories are;

a) Only the one studied.

b) Affiliated to a few (that is, 1-2) organisations.

c) Affiliated to many (that is, 3 or more) organisation.

3) Respondents' perception of the importance of self-help groups relative to the one studied. Thus, did the respondents who belong to two or more organizations perceive the one understudy or those others as important. For this thesis the perceptions were categorised as under;

a) Group studied perceived as more important.

b) Other groups perceived as most important.

The foregoing independent variables are specifically addressed to self-help groups in order to find out whether they have any bearing on participation in such local interest groups. They have been defined and their indicators clearly spelt out to allow for statistical analysis of their relationship and the dependent variable.

(v) Socio-economic characteristics.

Literature reviewed suggests that where people of varying socio-economic attributes participate in the same organisation, those with certain socio-economic attributes will not be active. Local development committees include members of varying socio-economic

characteristics. Thus, it is important to analyse these characteristics in order to find out how they relate to participation in the committees.

In this thesis socio-economic characteristics refer to education, annual income, major occupation and gender of the members of local development committees. These are measured as follows;

1) Formal Education refers to the number of years or standard of formal education including adult education attained. In this study education was categorized as below;

a) Up to 4 years - Low education,

b) 5-8 years - Average education.

c) 9 or more years - High education.

2) Annual income: This refers to a respondent's earnings from all possible sources like employment, business, spouse(s), farm produce sales, money from relatives etc. in the year preceding the study. The total annual income is therefore categorized as;

a) less than Ksh. 7,500 per year - low income.

b) Kshs 7,501/= - 15,000/= per year - average income.

c) More than - Kshs. 15,001/= per year - high income.

3) Major occupation refers to what the respondents claimed to be doing for a living; that is, whether they were formally employed, or involved in business or small scale farming (self employed). Here occupation has three categories of;

a) Employed persons.

b) Business persons.

c) Small scale farmer (self-employed persons).

4) Gender:

This is strictly not a socio-economic characteristic. Scholars like Hoskins (1981) seem to treat gender as a socio-economic attribute. Based on the popular notion that women are disadvantaged against men as far as social status is concerned, gender or sex is categorized in this thesis as:

1) Female.

2) Male.

(vi) Leadership Style

This as indicated by Paul (1976) involves the identification of the dominant mode of Communication as well as the emotional tone that pervades this Communication from leaders. It refers to the decision making pattern in Local development committees. It specifically relates to the direction of perceived influence, the nature of Communication, how conflict or disagreements are resolved and who makes major decisions of investment and distribution of benefits.

The requirements of achieving local involvement in rural development dictates that the decision making pattern or direction of influence flows from lower units to the higher ones. It is, therefore, important to study this pattern of decision making within local development committee so as to understand how it may affect the level of participation in such unit. This variable was measured as follows;

1) Direction of perceived influence.

It relates to persons who are perceived as most influential. These could be government officials, or politicians (members of parliament, Councillors and KANU party officials), or local persons (farmers, businessmen and other persons). In this thesis two categories of perceived influence have been developed

a) Local persons.

b) External (other) persons.

2) The mode of communication.

The mode of communication frequently used by the members of development committees to communicate with local people is important. It includes personal face-to-face consultation either individually or in small groups like self-help groups. It could also be public through assistant chiefs, chiefs and District Officers' public meetings (barazas). It may be impersonal through letters, radio and newspaper announcements. In this study the categories of this factor are:

a) Impersonal mode of Communication.

b) Public mode of Communication.

c) Inter-personal mode of communication.

3) Resolution of disagreements.

This also gives an indication of the mode or style in development Committees of resolving disagreements. To do this, coercion or force can be used to bring agreement among members. Persuasion and voting on the issues where there is disagreement can

also be used. Finally withdrawal of suggestions could also be used to resolve disagreements. Thus, the categories of this factor are as below:

a) No disagreement experienced.

b) Suggestion was withdrawn.

c) Persuasion/voting was used.

d) Force or coercion was used.

In conclusion, operational definitions of variables used in this study have been provided. The variables have been categorized to permit cross-tabulations between them. Next, we discuss the geographic area where this study was carried out.

3.2 GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF STUDY

The data in this study were collected in Kakamega District. This district with an area of 3,520 square kilometres is one of the three that comprise Western Province.[1] The district is divided into ten administrative divisions of Mumias, Butere, Khwisero, Vihiga, Emuhaya, Hamisi, Ikolomani, Lurambi, Kabras and Lugari. Khwisero and Emuhaya were created at the beginning of 1983. Previously they were part of Butere and Vihiga divisions respectively. There are twenty nine Locations and One hundred and seventy four sub-locations in Kakamega District.

The district lies within the high agricultural potential zone of the fertile Lake Victoria basin. It has a good system of rivers mainly river Yala, Nzoia and their tributaries. The soils are fertile

and well drained. The annual rainfall experienced according to the district's development plan (1984-88)[2] varies between 1,250 mm and 2,000 mm per year.

The district is suitable for various agricultural activities like maize, coffee and exotic cattle. Most of the land (3,250 km^2 of the total 3,520 km^2) is arable according to the Kakamega District Development Plan (1984-88).[3] Land registration was completed in 1976. The major cash crops are tea and sugarcane, while the most popular food crops grown are maize and beans. Maize is often grown in various farm configurations with vegetables, bananas, cassava, potatoes, and even fruit trees like mangoes, pawpaws and citrus. Livestock, especially cattle and other small ruminants like sheep and goats, are kept. Mostly indigenous breeds are kept. However, zerograzing of exotic breeds is being adopted by a few farmers.

The area is populated by a virtually homogeneous ethnic group; the Luhya. According to the 1979 population census,[4] Luhyas comprised 94.6% of the total population of 1,037,887. The population growth rate between 1980 and 1990 is estimated at 3.46%.[5] This has meant that overall population density is as high as 349 per km^2.

The population is made up of more than 60% dependents; that is, those aged below 15 years and those above 50 years of the total population. It has one of the highest sex-ratios in Kenya with an estimated 128 female to every 100 male of the productive population of ages 15 to 50 years.[6] This is attributed to migration of males to

towns. An estimated 57.3% of the district labour force are out-migrants. The majority who remain behind are occupied as small scale farmers; few are employed and some are in business or self-employment.

The reasons which lead to the choice of Kakamega District as a study area included our familiarity with the area and ability to speak the local language as well as limited finances. Concentration on this site enabled collection of data related to participation in local organisations, specifically self-help groups, and committees as well as local level development committees initiated by the government in an effort to ensure local involvement in development planning. Similar local organisations are found in all the districts of Kenya. The study of participation in this district would permit generalization to other similar areas of Kenya.

This study was done in Khwisero and Butere Division which were purposely sampled from the ten administrative divisions of Kakamega District. These two occupy part of the southwestern position of the district. The main reason for their choice was our familiarity with the divisions as our home area and limited finances. According to the 1984-88 Kakamega District development plan,[7] the population of Butere and Khwisero is put at 77,493 and 70,449 people respectively. The population density was estimated as 362 persons per square kilometre in 1979. Agricultural activities are similar to those of the district in general. In these divisions the major cash crop is sugarcane. There are four locations and 13 sub-locations in these two divisions.

3.3 SAMPLING OF RESPONDENTS

In this section the units of study are discussed. As already noted two divisions namely Butere and Khwisero were purposively chosen. The units of study that were sampled in these two divisions were leaders and members of harambee self-help groups and members of development committees.

(a) Leaders and Members of Harambee Self-help groups

Self-help groups in the two divisions of Butere and Khwisero were the units that were studied. The study specifically focused on those groups that were registered by the government Department of Social Services. Most of the groups were those that drew their entire membership from within the communities in which they are situated; that is, the sub-locations. These groups had usually more than twenty members, a constitution and officials or a committee comprising of a chairman, secretary, treasurer and committee members.

These groups engage in a wide range of development activities like farming, business, social welfare, visiting and eating together and construction of community water facilities. These groups' activities result from village or neighbourhood use of collective local initiative. The groups studied should be viewed against this background and do not deviate from Katz's (1981) conceptualization of self-help groups.

In 1980, Butere Division had sixty-nine (69) registered self-help groups. Out of these, sixty of them were pure women groups in terms of their membership. This may be attributed to the selective

nature of out-migration from the district in general. It may as well be due to the efforts of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO) and the governments Women's Bureau which since 1976 vigourously encouraged women to form self-help groups. These groups pool resources of the members and use them in activities such as farming, market business, handicraft, purchase of land and construction of rental buildings.

This situation is almost similar in Khwisero division, although 64 self-help groups were registered out of which 52 were pure women groups in terms of their membership. There, thus, appears to be more women groups in Butere than in Khwisero Division. Nevertheless in dealing with the two divisions effort is made to obtain representative samples of all the groups.

Lists of all the self-help groups registered in Butere and Khwisero divisions during 1980 were obtained from the Department of Social Services office, Kakamega. The lists were checked by the two Divisional Social Development Officers in Khiwesero and Butere.

Simple random sampling technique was used to select two groups from each of the 4 locations studied. By assigning numbers to each group then writing on pieces of paper which were put in a container and mixed thoroughly, 2 self-help groups were selected from the list of for each location. This gave a total of 8 self-help groups (4 from Butere and 4 from Khwisero).

Those sampled were:

Location:		Name of Group Sampled.
North Marama	-	Buchenya women self-help group
	-	Bahati self-help group
South Marama	-	Cocacola women group
	-	Shiunya self-help group
West Kisa	-	Ebukwala women group
	-	Inaya women group
East Kisa	-	Eshiunya mothers union self-help group
	-	Mwihembee self-help group

The subjects of analysis within these groups comprise both the leaders and ordinary members. The sampling of leaders of each group was purposely done and included the chairman, secretary and one committee member. The committee member was suggested by the chairman and secretary of each of the sampled groups. A total sample of 24 leaders of self-help groups was drawn in this manner.

As for the ordinary members, a list of names of the members of each group was obtained from its secretary. The list excluded the names of leaders of the group. A simple random sample of 4 members was drawn from each group. The procedure involved first assigning numbers to each member's name which was written on equal sized pieces of paper, then shuffled in a container and four pieces picked. A total sample of 32 ordinary members of the groups was obtained.

Table 3.3: gives a summary of the number of self-help groups in the study area, and the groups, leaders and ordinary members sampled.

Table 3.3: The Number of self-help groups, leaders and ordinary members Sampled.

Division	Location	Total No. of S/H Groups	No. of S/H Groups Sampled	Total No. of Members of S/H groups Sampled	No. of Ordinary Members Sampled	No. of Leaders Sampled
Butere	North Marama	33	2	70	8	6
	South Marama	36	2	85	8	6
Khwisero	West Kisa	34	2	71	8	6
	East Kisa	30	2	70	8	6
Totals		133	8	296	32	24

As can be seen a total of 56 respondents (24 leaders and 32 ordinary members) were sampled from the self-help groups. The data analysis on self-help groups, their leaders and members are based on this sample.

(b) Members of Development Committees

These include Locational and Divisional Development Committees as well as the Community Development Committees at these levels. These committees are initiated by the government and had been in operation even prior to 1983 when the District Focus Strategy was introduced.

In the District Focus Strategy, decisions at the divisional level are influenced by those taken at the locational level. The development committees incorporate representatives from various sub-committees such as the community development committee. The chairmen of community development committees represent this committees in the development committees at a higher level. The development committees themselves exist in a hierarchy from the sub-location to the location, division and district levels.

The committees studied were both the Butere and Khwisero Divisional Development Committees (Div.DC) and Community Development Committees (Div.CDC). At the locational level all the four Locational Development Committees (LDCs) and the four Locational Community Development Committees (LCDCs) were studied. As noted earlier there are two locations in each of the two divisions.

In sampling of respondents from these committees the random sampling method combined with purposive sampling of the chairmen and secretaries were used. The procedure employed in sampling of the units was as follows:

(i) Development Committees.

The officials of both Locational and Divisional Development Committees were sampled. There were 4 locational and 2 divisional development committees in the study areas. The chairmen and secretaries of these committees were selected through purposive sampling.

A list of members of Khwisero Divisional Development Committee was obtained from minutes of the committee's pervious meetings. There were 43 members excluding the chairman and secretary. It was clear from the list that out of the total, eleven of the members were recorded as absent during that meeting. For Butere Divisional Development Committee, neither previous minutes nor a list of the members were obtained from office records. The divisional clerk, however, provided a list of 27 members excluding the chairman and secretary.

Lists of members of locational development committees were obtained from their chairmen and secretaries. These revealed that, North and South Marama Locational Development Committees had 20 and 23 members respectively. East and West Kisa had 23 and 28 members on their Locational Development Committees.

To obtain a sample of three officials from each of the 4 locational and 2 divisional development committees, each member was assigned a number written on equal sized pieces of paper which were put in a container, mixed then, only three picked from each committee. In this manner a total sample of 18 respondents was randomly drawn, (i.e., 3 members from each of the 6 development committees in the area of study). Added to this were the 12 chairmen and secretaries of the committees who were purposively sampled. This gave a total sample of 30 (i.e. 18 members and 12 chairmen and secretaries) officials of Locational and Divisional Development Committees.

(ii) Community Development Committees

The secretaries of Divisional Community Development Committees provided lists of 20 and 25 members for the Butere and Khwisero Divisions. The Social Development Assistants of East Kisa and North Marama Locations provided lists of members of the their Locational Community Development Committee (LCDCs). There were 20 and 13 committee members in East Kisa and North Marama respectively.

With the assistance of the Chief and Chairmen of the committees, lists of 25 and 20 members of the West Kisa and South Marama LCDCs were obtained respectively. The chairmen of the 2 Divisional and 4 Locational Community Development Committees were purposely sampled.

To obtain a random sample of three members of each of the committees, the procedure used involved writing names of the members on equal sized papers which were put in a container mixed and only three picked for each committee. The total number of respondents sampled from the 4 locational and 2 divisional community development committees were 21 instead of the expected 24 respondents. The reason was that the chairman of one of the Divisional Community Development Committee (Khwisero) had been selected in the random sample of the Divisional Development Committee,two of the respondents had already been selected in the

sample of East Kisa and Marama Locational Development Committees. Table 3.4 gives a summary of the number of subjects sampled from the development committees.

Table 3.4 Members of Local Development Committees Sampled

	Development Committee		Community Development Committee	
	Total No. of Members	No. of Members Sampled	Total No. of Members	No. of Members Sampled
DIV. COMMITTEE				
Butere	29	5	20	4
Khwisero	45	5	25	3
LOC. COMMITTEE				
North Marama	20	5	13	3
South Marama	23	5	20	4
West Kisa	28	5	25	4
East Kisa	23	5	20	3
TOTAL	168	30	123	21

As is clear from table 4.5, the total sample of Local development committees' members is 51 respondents. These are the ones who were interviewed. None of the leaders or ordinary members of the earlier sampled self-help groups was selected in the sample of local development committees. only one sub-locational development committee was found to exist in the area of study. Sub-Locational committees were for this reason not included in the sample. Nevertheless, some information on the existing committee was collected

Having looked at the sampling procedure in detail, the next section looks at the methods used in collection of data as well as at the types of data collected.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data for this study were collected mainly by utilizing the following techniques;

i) Interview schedules (questionnaires)

ii) Participant observation,

iii) Unstructured interviews of key informants.

The interview schedule technique places heavy reliance on verbal responses from respondents. Its advantage is that some issues about the situation can be observed and probed on (Selltiz et al. 1968). Most respondents were interviewed in their homes although some were interviewed in their offices. By interview schedule is meant a set of questions which are asked and responses filled in by the interviewer in a face-to-face situation with the interviewee.

Two sets of interview schedules were utilized for this study. One was administered to sampled officials of local development committees. The other was administered to members and leaders of the sampled self-help groups.

The first interview schedule (see Appendix I) had questions that could reveal the socio-economic characteristics of those in the development committees. The study sought to know the sex, level of education, occupations, total annual income and the main sources and training received by the respondents.

Questions that indicate the prevalent leadership style or the direction of flow of influence were posed, seeking to know how decisions are taken, the most influential persons on the committee, how disagreement within these committees is resolved and how local people channel their suggestions through the committees.

Questions on participation in decision making were also posed seeking to know how often committee meetings were held, frequency of attendance of the meetings and whether respondents had made suggestions and criticisms.

The second interview schedule (see appendix II) included questions that indicated initiative, informedness, benefits received and expected and commitment of the leaders and non-leaders to their self-help groups.

They were asked what problems or needs they perceived that necessitated formation of their self-help groups and who among them played a leading part in getting the groups started? Or, when had they become aware of the groups?

Questions on informedness included those seeking to find out whether the respondents knew of the goals, objectives, activities, and rules or procedures of the self-help groups.

Questions on benefits respondents had received included how frequently they had benefited and their expectation of benefits. As regards participation, questions were asked on the respondents' involvement in the planning and their contributions in terms of labour, materials and cash to their groups activities.

Other questions that indicated commitment in self-help groups included the number of organisations in which membership is maintained and which of the organisations were perceived as the most important.

The interview schedules were structured in such a way that probing questions were included in them as an in-built check on the accuracy of the responses given. This, however, meant that interviews lasted long. They averaged 2-3 hours per respondent.

There were some problems with eliciting accurate responses for certain questions. For example, the issue of income where further probing by asking respondents how income claimed to be earned was expended sometimes tended to embarass them. In this case a total of 15% non-responses were recorded.

Effort was also made to collect data from secondary sources. However, most of the data sought were not well kept and in some cases were non-existent. This limited the study to examining records of self-help groups studied, especially their registers. Quarterly reports of the Department of Social Services were also examined. Some minutes of previous development committees' meetings were also made available.

Direct observation of development committee meetings was also carried out. In this cases the chairmen of the committees usually introduced the researcher as a university student. Comprehensive notes were taken without raising the suspicion of the committee members.

The information gathered supplemented secondary data. This enabled us to know how meetings were organised, range of issues discussed, dominance in discussions, how final decisions were reached and projects selected for assistance.

The problem of this technique was lack of enough time which made it difficult for us to attend subsequent meetings. In some cases meetings were not held by some committees during our field work.

Unstructured interviews were carried out with some key informants. These included a retired lawyer who was a member of Locational, Divisional and District Development Committees. Other key informants were the staff of the Department of Social Services like the District Social Development Officer, Divisional Assistant Social Development Officers in charge of Butere and Khwisero Divisions. Others were the District officers in charge of Butere and Khwisero Divisions.

Data gathered from these various sources provided a basis for effective understanding of issues related to participation of local people in development activities.

3.5 STATISTICS USED IN THIS STUDY

The statistics used were influenced by the level of measurement of data in this study. Most of the data are at the nominal and ordinal scale of measurement.

This is because of the nature of the variables studied. In most cases we relied on verbal responses which were then coded to fit into variable categories.

Data collected was subjected to various methods of analysis. Statistical analysis was mostly used on data collected using the interview schedules. These data were analysed with the help of a computer; other data were analysed manually.

The data obtained through participant observation, key informant interviews, and from secondary sources are descriptively presented.

The major statistic used in this study is the chi-square (X^2). This statistic is used to evaluate whether or not frequencies obtained empirically differ significantly from those expected under the theoretical condition of random occurences (Yeoman, 1982).

It is almost like the normal distribution in that it is continuous although it ranges from zero to one.

The chi-square (X^2) is given by the formula

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O-E)^2}{E}$$

Where "O" is the observed frequency, "E" is the expected frequency and the sign Σ is the summation of the differences between the two types of values.

In the case of 2 x 2 tables, X^2 can be expressed as a simple function of the frequencies and marginal totals of:

a	b
c	d

X^2 is then derived by the formula,

$$X^2 = \frac{N\left((ad - bc) - N/2\right)^2}{(a + b)\ (b + d)\ (a + c)\ (c + d)}$$

N/2 is subtracted to correct for continuity since X^2 like the normal distribution is continous (Young and Veldman, 1977).

Chi-square (X^2) only shows whether or not there is a statistical relationship between two variables at a specified level of confidence. In this thesis the level of confidence is set at 95%. The value of X^2 is directly proportional to the number of cases and cannot be used to evaluate the strength of the relationship between variables.

In order to show strength of the relationship the phi-statistic is used where there are two by two contigency tables only. The calculation of phi-statistic is based on the X^2 but makes a correction for the number of cases. It is derived by the formular:

$$\text{Phi} = \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{N}} \quad \text{or} \quad \left(\frac{X^2}{N}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

its value ranges from 0 to +1. That is, it is zero (0) where there is no association between the variables being related and +1 where there is perfect association. In practice, however, it difficult to obtain a phi of more than 0.77. Thus in this study a phi-value of more than 0.35 is considered as an indication of some degree of association.

Also based on the X^2 but for larger table is the contigency coefficient (c) . It is also calculated from X^2 and is derived by the formula

$$\sqrt{\frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}} \quad \text{or} \left(\frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

C ranges between zero (0) to postive one (+1) but in practice it never reaches one. Thus, in this study a contigency coefficient of more than 0.35 is considered as an indication of considerable association between the study variables. The only disadvantage of C as Young and Veldman, (1977) noted is that the values are not comparable for tables with different numbers of rows and columns.

Percentages are used in discussing the distribution of respondents according to the study variables. When the data is re-examined to reveal differences between leaders and non-leaders, percentages are used. This applies where data is re-examined to reveal differences between members of development committees and Community development committees.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

In this Chapter the data gathered in the study and their interpretations are presented. A discussion of the units of analysis which are self-help groups and local development committees is provided. The discussion is based on secondary data, direct observations and unstructured interviews of key informants. The relationships between variables are examined and interpreted in light of the study's hypotheses, theory and literature already provided.

4.1 NATURE COMPOSITION AND ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

In this section, we provide an overview of local organisations, especially their composition, activities and goals. The organisations discussed are self-help groups and development committees.

(a) The Self-help groups

Harambee Self-help groups have been regarded as local interest groups that provide opportunities for local people to participate in rural development activities. However, it is important that the groups be understood; that is, their nature, activities and goals need to be clear to change agents seeking to help the groups.

The eight groups sampled had a total of 296 members; that is, an average of 40 members per group. The members contributed money to the groups, initially in the form of membership fees and subsequently in the form of what may be described as shares. For each of the groups, information was obtained on the contributions they had expected and the total contributions they had received from their members. (See table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Contributions made by members to their self-help groups

Division	Name of Group	Year Started	Number of Members	Expected Shares	Average Contribution	Total Received
				(KShs.)	(KShs.)	(KShs.)
Butere	Buchenya	1980	30	10.00	27.80	830.00
	Bahati	1980	40	100.00	300.00	12,000.00
	Cocacola	1980	40	10.00	105.00	4,000.00
	Shiunya	1980	45	10.00	29.60	1,335.00
Khwisero	Ebukwala	1980	50	15.00	9.60	480.00
	Inaya	1980	21	-	-	-
	Eshiunya	1980	30	20.00	283.00	8,500.00
	Mwihembe	1980	40	10.00	7.00	285.00
Total	-	-	296	175.00	428.60*	27,430.00

* The figure is the mean of all the average contributions.

Source: Unstructured interview with the groups' officials and from groups' records.

Expected monthly contributions varied from as low as Kshs. 10.00 to as high as Kshs. 100.00 per month. From the table it is clear that members of groups in Butere Division on average contributed more

money than those of Khwisero Division. Members of one of the groups in Khwisero Division had, however, contributed more money for their groups' activities.

The table indicates that most self-help groups were mobilizing financial resources from among their members. Despite this members of a few groups had not contributed much to their groups. The problem was that some groups had not kept proper records of their members' contributions. Those groups in which records were well kept might have had capable leaders.

The self-help groups carried out a variety of activities. These activities are listed in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Activities carried out by sampled self-help groups

Division	Names of group	Activities
Butere	Buchenya	- Knitting, sewing and weaving of sisal mats, market business and farming.
	Bahati	- Farming and retail business
	Cocacola	- Farming, small business, knitting and sewing.
	Shiunya	- Farming, handicrafts of sisal and Banana fibre, and retail business.
Khiwero	Eshiunya	- Farming, Pig-keeping, knitting and sewing.
	Ebukwala	- Farming, market business and knitting.
	Inaya	- Knitting, sewing, retail business and handicraft of sisal and clay.
	Mwihembe	- Farming and Handicraft using clay and grass.

The activities listed in the table require members' contribution in terms of labour, material, and cash. All groups except one combined business and farming activities. Knitting and sewing activities were widely carried out probably because five of the groups (Buchenya, Cocacola, Ebukwala, Inaya and Eshiunya) were pure women groups; that is, membership was restricted to females only.

All these groups aimed at earning income both for the groups and individual members. For example, knitting and sewing is done within the group where members learn patterns from one another and in some cases from change agents. The completed products are sold by the group. However, income derived from any item goes to the individual who made it, while a small amount is retained by the group. This indeed was also the case of those groups which operated small businesses. The members expected benefits that were proportional to their individual inputs. As regards farming, individual members are assisted with farm work like weeding on a rotational basis so that every individual benefits. The groups may also operate group farms in which members work collectively. Part of the returns from the farms are distributed to members and the other part kept in the group fund.

These observations seem to point to the fact that self-help group activities are undertaken for the purpose of individuals' social and economic welfare. Thus, individuals are helped to earn income, with their farm work and in some cases with food (or farm produce).

Out of the 8 groups sampled three had received assistance from the Women's Bureau. These were Buchenya which had received Kshs. 3,000 in 1981, Cocacola which had received an equal amount of Kshs. 3,000 in 1983 and Eshiunya had got Kshs. 7,000 in 1984.[1] All the assistance was in the form of materials which included sewing and knitting equipment, cloth and thread. The assistance was in the form of grants given by the government through the Women's Bureau. Only one group had received a loan in the form of 2 pigs which were to be repaid with their offsprings. These pigs were given by World Vision, a non-government organisation, in 1983. The pigs had, however, died. The members of the group could not explain why the pigs had died.

From these observations a few issues concerning self-help groups as local interest groups can be made. They are involved in mobilization of finances. They also engage in a wide variety of activities that are invariably aimed at benefiting their members. Therefore, within the action frame of reference put forward by Cohen (1968) it can be seen that the individuals in the self-help group are goal-oriented and collective activities become the means

for achieving their goals. Furthermore, they pursue their goals through a variety of means which include mobilizing their own resources and seeking outside help.

(b) Development Committees

The development committees studied include the Butere and Khwisero Divisional Development Committees and the Locational Development Committees of West and East Kisa as well as North and South Marama locations. Eshibinga Sub-locational Committee was also studied.

In the literature it has been shown that Kenya has since independence used a system of development committees to ensure systematic involvement of local people in developoment programmes. The committees have been set up at all levels of the administrative hierarchy from the district down to the sub-locational level. In the District Focus for Rural Development (DFFRD) strategy these committees have been seen as the pillars for decentralized planning and implementing rural development projects. Thus, beginning with suggestions from villages (where they are organized with committees) and self-help projects' committees, local priorities in developoment are channelled upwards through the sub-locational, locational and divisional development committees. Kayongo-Male (1985) noted that as these ideas move upwards modifications may be made to allow for priorities from those higher levels to be taken into account.

The membership of the committees, especially at the district and divisional levels, is supposed to include a cross-section of civil servants, politicians, local people as well as representatives of non-government organisations.

In the literature review questions were raised as to whether local needs and priorities can be identified and local people's resources including efforts mobilized through institutional structures such as these committees set up by the government.

The representativeness of a few of the committees was examined. Table 4.3 shows the composition of the committees in terms of local people and civil servants. Local people are usually co-opted to the committees.

Table 4.3: Composition of a few selected Development Committees

Type of Members	Type of Development Committee		
	Sub-Locational (Eshibinga)	Locational (East Kisa)	Divisional (Khwisero)
Civil servants	35.4%	60.9%	75.6%
Co-opted Local People	64.6%	39.1%	24.4%
Total (Base)	100.0% (22)	100.0% (23)	100% (45)

Source: Extracted by the author from minutes of meetings held by the three committees in January - December, 1984.

The table reveals that there is poorer representation of local people as one moves up the hierarchy of development committees. At higher levels total membership of the committees increases in favour of civil servants.

From the on set it is clear that while government policy seeks to involve local people in these committees, they are out-numbered as one moves to the locational and divisional levels. It

is at these levels that local proposals are sorted out and ranked. This is done largely by civil servant members of the committees. This raises doubt as to the suitability of the committees for identifying local needs and priorities and for mobilizing local people's efforts.

Information provided in table 4.4 shows that committees make decisions on priority projects to recommend for government and non-governmental organisations assistance.

Table 4.4: Meetings of Development Committees sampled in Khiweso Division; January - July, 1985

Type of Committee and date of its meeting	Time taken	Projects recommended for assistance
Eshibinga Sub. LDC 14th February, 1985.	12:00 noon - 5:00 p.m. (5 hrs)	1) A new youth polytechnic in the Sub-location. 2) A primary school on proposed site near Emalindi Secondary School. 3) Mujiti Cattle dip. 4) Soil Conservation efforts. 5) Protection of local water wells.
East Kisa LDC 16th March, 1985	11:00 a.m. 1:30 p.m. (3½ hrs)	1) Improvement of Khwisero-Kilingili road 2) New Polytechnic at Ematsatsi near the Chief's Centre. 3) Mundaa Harambee Secondary School. 4) Revival of Mwihila Nursing School.
Khwisero Div.DC 11th June, 1985	11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. (3 hrs)	1) Completion of all rural access roads. 2) Completion of Khwisero Water Project. 3) Completion of all Cattle dips. 4) Completion of Khwisero Social Hall. 5) Improvement of Khwisero Health Centre.

A look at projects that were recommended shows some closeness among them at all the three levels. This gives the impression that recommendations of lower committees are carried to the high level committees. A close examination of recommended projects, however, reveals that while the divisional development committee stress on completion of projects, the sub-locational and locational development committees tend to recommend new projects. As a result there seems to exist a strain in the relationship between the two levels. Thus, as lower committees take initiative in recommending projects for assistance the divisional development committees keep them in check by pointing out uncompleted projects in the same areas.

This may appear to indicate poor planning on the part of the lower committees which have more local people on them since new projects are suggested without considering uncompleted ones. However, based on our observations these uncompleted projects are those in which the local people were not actively involved and may not see their need. For example, while Eshibinga Sub-Locational Developoment Committee saw the need for protection of water wells as sources of clean water within their locality, the divisional committee saw the need to complete Khwisero Water Project located at the divisional headquarters.[2] The fact that this divisional project has not been completed while lower committees wish to start others may mean that members of the sub-locational committee may not have been involved in the planning of the Khwisero Water

Project or they did not perceive it as a solution to their water problem. It could also mean that there is conflict in priorities between the two types of development committees.

The procedure at committee meetings was also observed. At one of the Sub-locational development committee meetings attended, the chairman proposed items for discussion. He could mention a topic, give his opinion and then invite others to contribute it. It was clear that most of the members in attendance contributed to the deliberations although they seemed to repeat and amplify the opinion of the chairman all the time. This procedure tended to be lengthy although the pointed raised touched on several aspects of development. In some cases, the chairman tended to ruch through the agenda and voice his own opinions without giving a chance for members to contribute. This was probably because there were many agenda items and no enough time for their effective discussion. Finally, it was not clear as to who was actually taking minutes; the work of the secretary was re-delegated three times to separate persons during this meeting.

On the other hand, our observations of one divisional development committee revealed that the agenda items were few and the meeting took a shorter time. Most of the members in attendance did not offer suggestions during the meeting. Those who contributed tended to dwell on reminding the local coopted members, chiefs and their assistants, that they had to ensure implementation of certain projects. The local civic leaders were however, very active in

offering suggestions and even questioned some previous decisions and actions of the committee. In any case most of the co-opted members did not contribute to the deliberations.

Most projects conceived at the divisional level were not completed despite the committees' call for local involvement. For example the Emalindi - Eshirulo Water Project which aimed at supplying several shopping centres in Khwisero and neighbouring Emuhaya Divisions with piped water was conceived at the divisional level as a local project yet local people never contributed resources for its implementation. What is interesting is that while the divisional development committee placed this project as a priority needing local attention, local people were involved in protection of their own water wells and recommended water projects similar to the divisional one.

At the sub-locational and locational level, development committees involved local people, who were ready to undertake projects that would benefit them. For example, East Kisa location with assistance from Kenya Finland Cooperation Organisation (KENFINCO) had embarked on protection of water wells. Nearly 50 families which use a particular water well would choose a committee to run the affairs of the well. The committee plans the work to be done; members of the families provide needed cash as well as labour. The agency provides technical assistance. The committee agrees to manage the well when it is completed.

The work of the development committees are, however, beset by other problems such as lack of typists and stationery. This has meant that communication between the chairman and secretary and members of the committee is only by word of mouth or telephone in the case of civil servants who are members. As a result even where co-opted members are informed of the meetings, they are hardly aware of the agenda items to be discussed. The Assistant Social Development Officer (ASDO) who acted as secretary to the Butere Divisional Development Committee meetings pin-pointed lack of stationery and typing services as the main reason why minutes of a previous meeting were not available almost five months after the meeting. He also pointed out that although he had been appointed by the District Development Officer as secretary to the Divisional Development Committee, their meetings were not well planned in advance and as a result he was unable to attend others. Besides he depended on a bicyle which is a less effective means of communications.

In conclusion, the discussion of local development committees seems to bring out the following issues. First, local representation seems to narrow as one moves up the system of committees. At the locational and divisional levels, it is clear that the committees include more civil servants than the people's representatives or co-opted members.

Second, the committees do come up with priority projects for government assistance. However, while the sub-location and locational committees demonstrate a lot of zeal in recommending new projects, the divisional development committees stress on completion of those already initiated. While this may indicate the control the division has on lower committees it minimizes chances of local participation by the people due to their lack of perception of the need for projects designed at the divisional level. It also reflects a conflict in priorities between lower and higher level committees.

Observations of some of the committee meetings revealed that the sub-locational development committees meet for a slightly longer time and give opportunity to their members to contribute to the deliberations. Nevertheless, participation in the discussion is controlled by the chairman who gives his views and ensures that certain decisions are made. At the divisional level meetings are somewhat short and purposeful. However, the members who are predominantly civil servants emphasized the need for completion of projects that had been launched. Chiefs and assistant chiefs were seen as most ideal officials to ensure that local people participate in the implemention of the projects. It was also clear that the perception of priorities at the divisional level were not the same as those at the locational and sub-locational levels. That is, the priorities of local people were not given the

attention they deserved at the divisional level. Local people did not also participate in designing projects which could help meet their needs.

The committee were handicapped due to lack of stationery and typing services. As a result recommendations of a local committee may not come out in good time to allow the divisional committee members to consider them in their meeting.

4.2. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES OF STUDY

In this section data collected using interview schedules are presented. The dependent variable of study is (i) Level of participation in self-help groups' activities as well as in local development committees. The independent variables are (ii) Local leaders initiative, (iii) Informedness, (iv) Committment of leaders, (v) Benefits received from self-help groups, (vi) Socio-economic characteristics and (vii) Leadership style. Data are presented by distributing respondents according to these variables and in terms of whether they were leaders or non-leaders of the self-help groups studied. Leaders of development committees are also compared to those of community development committees.

4.2.0 Participation of people in self-help groups and local development committeess

This study sought to examine the level of participation of people in Harambee self-help groups as well as government initiated development committees. Respondents from self-help groups were

distributed according to their level of participation in the groups. Table 4.5(a) below shows this clearly.

Table 4.5(a) Distribution of respondents according to their level of participation in self-help groups' activities

Level of participation	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High	16	66.7	20	62.5	36	64.3
Low	8	33.3	12	37.5	20	35.7
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

This table shows that most leaders (66.7%) as well as most non-leaders (62.5%) participated highly in their self-help groups' activities. These data clearly show that members of self-help groups are actively involved in their groups' activities as they contribute their labour, materials and cash for their collective projects.

This study also examines participation in two types of government initiated development committees; that is: Development Committees (DCs) and Community Development Committees (CDCs). Table 4.5(b) below shows the level of respondents' participation in these committees.

Table 4.5(b) Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to their level of participation in the committees' activities

Level of participation	Members of DCs		Members of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High	13	43.3	13	61.1	26	50.9
Low	17	56.7	8	38.9	25	49.1
Total	30	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0

This table shows that a slight majority of the respondents from Development Committees (DCs) (56.7%) participated lowly in their committees activities. This despite the fact that these committees are meant to achieve local participation according to the 1984-88 Kenya national development plan. The table further shows that most (61.1%) of the members of the Community Development Committees (CDCs) participated highly in these committees' deliberations. This seems to be in line with Heyer, et al. (1971) contention that Community development committees exhibit potential for local participation in development planning.

To test the stated hypotheses, the foregoing variables are cross-tabulated with the independent variables.

4.2.1 Relationship between local leaders' initiative and their participation in self help groups

Initiative relates to the local leaders' articulation of problems and ability to influence others to attempt solving them. Self-help groups are started for a variety of reasons. They could

be due to felt-needs of the local people often accompanied with the feeling of relative deprivation as Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) argued, or they could be started in-order to attract outside assistance as Heyer et al. (1971) pointed out, or they could be started by outside change agents.

The respondents were asked to give the reasons for starting their self-help groups. Table 4.5 shows the distribution of their responses.

Table 4.5(c): Distribution of respondents according to the reasons why they started their self-help groups

Reason for starting of self-help group.	Leaders		Non-Leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Felt-need for starting the group.	16	66.7	19	59.3	35	63.6
Sought to attract outside assistance	7	29.2	3	9.4	10	18.0
Started by outside agents	1	4.1	10	31.3	11	18.4
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

This table shows that most of the leaders (66.7%) gave felt-needs as the main reason why they started their self-help groups. Even among the non-leaders there is a reasonable majority (59.3%) who gave felt - needs as the reason for starting their self help groups. Meanwhile 29.2% of the leaders compared to 9.4% of the

non-leaders pointed to the need to attract outside assistance as the reason for starting their groups. Only 4.1% of the leaders compared to 31.3% of the non - leaders responded that their groups were started by outside agents.

Thus, it is clear that most of the leaders have perceived felt-needs or problems as having led to the initiation of their groups. This is in line with Mbithi and Rasmusson's (1977) contention that self-help is a result of local people's felt needs.

Other data that measure initiative were obtained from the question of who actually started their self-help groups? Table 4.6 shows the responses to this question.

Table 4.6: Distribution of respondents according to their perception of initiators of their S/H groups

Persons Perceived as having initiated self-help groups.	Leaders		Non-Leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No one mentioned.	8	33.3	4	12.5	12	21.4
Government or outside agent.	3	12.5	4	12.5	7	12.5
Local persons	13	54.2	24	75.0	37	66.1
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

These data unlike Thomas' (1980) contention that harambee groups are initiated by outside change agents, seem to suggest that self-help groups are started by local people themselves. Thus, majority of the non - leaders (75.0%) and a reasonable majority of the

leaders (54.2%) credited local persons as having started their groups. However, 33.3% of the leaders responded that no one in particular could take the credit of starting self-help groups. Only a small percentage (12.5%) of leaders and non-leaders (12.5%) credited government or outside agents for starting their groups.

Involvement in various tasks is also an indicator of initiative. Thus, the respondents were asked the types of responsibilities they carried out in their groups during initiation of the groups. Table 4.7 was derived from their responses.

Table 4.7: Distribution of respondents according to responsibilities carried out in their groups

Responsibilities Carried out.	Leaders		Non-Leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Manual Work	10	41.6	28	87.5	38	67.9
Supervisory Work	7	29.2	1	3.1	8	14.3
None	7	29.2	3	9.4	10	17.8
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

The impression one gets here is that the members of self-help groups not only perceive problems but also go further and take action aimed at solving the problems. A majority (87.5%) of the non-leaders compared to 41.6% of the leaders carried out manual work. Only 3.1% of the non-leaders compared to 29.2% of the

leaders carried out supervisory responsibilities. Further, 29.2% of the leaders compared to 9.4% of the non-leaders did not carry out any specific responsibilities.

The members' perception of sources of resources for their groups' self-help projects is yet another indicator of initiative. The respondents gave their perception of sources of materials, tools, cash and skills that were used in their self-help projects. The table 4.8 shows the distribution of their responses.

Table 4.8: Distribution of respondents according to their perception of sources of resources for self-help groups' projects

Perceived Sources.	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Local	15	62.5	13	40.6	28	50.0
External	2	8.3	12	37.5	14	25.0
Both Local and External	7	29.2	7	21.9	14	25.0
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

A majority of the leaders (62.5%) indicated that resources for self-help projects were locally available. Only 8.3% of the leaders pointed to external sources such as development agencies and the government. The rest (29.2%) pointed to both external and local sources. Slightly more of the non-leaders (40.6%) pointed to local sources while 37.5% of them pointed to external sources of resources for self-help projects. The rest (21.9%) indicated both external and local sources.

Thus, these data on the indicators of initiation seem to suggest that leaders see local felt - needs as the main reason for starting their self-help groups. The leaders also carry out supervisory and manual tasks, above all both leaders and non-leaders perceived resources for their groups' activities as locally available. External sources of resources for self-help groups' projects seem to be perceived more by non-leaders.

It was hypothesised that local leaders' initiative is associated with their participation in self-help groups' activities. In order to test this hypothesis, we cross-tabulated the foregoing indicators of initiative with participation which is the dependent variable in this study. Table 4.9 shows the relationship between participation and reasons given by respondents for initiation of self-help groups.

Table 4.9: Relationship between participation and reasons given by respondents for initiation of their self-help groups

Participation	Reason given for starting S/H group		Total
	Felt - need	Started to attract outside assistance or started by outside agents	
High	24	12	36
Low	11	9	20
Total	35	21	56

$X^2 = 0.39 < 3.84$; df = 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.08.

The Chi-Square (X^2) value of 0.39 and Phi value of 0.08 show that there is no significant relationship between the reasons given by respondents for starting self-help groups and participation in the groups' activities. These data were further examined by considering leaders and non-leaders. Table 4.10 shows the outcome.

Table 4.10: Distribution of respondents according to reasons they gave for initiating their self-help groups and their participation in the groups

Participation	Reason given for starting S/H groups				
	Felt-need		To attract outside assistance or started by outside agents.		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Total
High	68.8%	68.4%	37.5%	69.2%	64.3%
Low	31.2%	31.6%	62.5%	30.8%	35.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(Base)	(16)	(19)	(8)	(13)	(56)

This table does not reveal major differences between the leaders and non-leaders who gave felt-needs as the reason for starting self-help groups; participation was high among both a majority of leaders and non-leaders. It is however, interesting that a majority of the leaders 62.5% who gave other reasons (e.g. to attract outside assistance or started by outside agents) lowly

participated in activities of their self-help groups while a majority of the non-leaders (69.2%) participated highly in their groups. There is therefore some indication that the reason for starting self-help groups may be associated with participation of leaders in activities of their groups. Thus, where the reason is a felt-need both leaders and non-leaders participate more than where the groups were started to attract outside assistance or by outside change agents. This, however, cannot enable us to conclusively infer that local leaders' initiative is associated with participation in self-help groups. Thus, a cross-tabulation of who respondents perceived as the initiators of the groups with their participation was done. Table 4.11 shows the outcome.

Table 4.11 Relationship between persons perceived as initiators of self-help groups and participation

	Persons perceived as initiators of S/H groups		
Participation	Local Persons	Outsiders	Total
High	26	11	36
Low	12	8	20
Total	37	19	56

X^3 = 0.18 3.84; df = 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.06

Looking at the X^2 and Phi values it is clear that the two variables are not significantly related. Therefore, there does not seem to be significant relationship between persons perceived as initiators and participation in self-help groups' activities. These data were further elaborated with separate categories of leaders and non-leaders. Table 4.12 shows the distribution of respondents according to the types of persons they perceived as initiators and participation in self-help groups.

Table 4.12: Distribution of respondents according to the types of persons perceived as initiators of self-help groups and participation

	Type of Person Perceived as Initiators				
Participation	Local Persons		Outsiders		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	61.5	70.8	55.5	62.5	64.3
Low	38.5	29.2	45.5	37.5	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(13)	(24)	(11)	(8)	(56)

This table shows that many of the leaders (61.5%) who perceived local persons as initiators participated more in their self-help groups' activities than those who mentioned outsiders. THis is also true of the non-leaders. This, however, cannot enable us to conclusively infer that local leaders' initiative is

associated with their participation in self-help groups. Further, the nature of responsibilities carried out and participation were cross-tabulated (see table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Relationship between responsibilities carried out in self-help groups and participation

	Responsibilities Carried Out in S/H groups			
Participation	Manual	Supervisory	None	Total
High	27	7	2	36
Low	11	1	8	20
Total	38	8	10	56

$X^2 = 14.82 > 5.99$; df = p = 0.05

C = 0.46

The X^2 value of 14.82 and contigency coefficient of 0.46 indicate that there is a significant relationship between types of responsibilities respondents carried out and their participation in self-help groups' activities. It is clear that participation was high among a majority of those who undertook supervisory responsibilities; participation was on the other hand low among a majority of those who did not undertake any specific responsibilities. A reasonable number of those who undertook manual work participated highly in the activities of their self-help groups. These data were re-examined in terms of leaders and non-leaders. Table 4.14 below shows the out-come.

Table 4.14: Distribution of respondents according to responsibilities carried out in their self-help groups and participation

Participation	Responsibilities Carried Out in S/H Groups						
	Manual		Supervisory		None		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Total
High	Percent 60.0	Percent 75.0	Percent 85.7	Percent 100	Percent 28.6	Percent -	Percent 64.3
Low	40.0	25.0	14.3	-	71.4	100	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(10)	(28)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(3)	(56)

This table seems to confirm the relationship between responsibilities carried out and participation. It is clear that participation was high among 60% of the leaders and 75% of the non-leaders who carried out manual responsibilities. Among those who undertook supervisory tasks, participation was high among 85.7% of the leaders as compared to all of the non-leaders. The table shows that a majority of the leaders (71.4%) and all the non-leaders who did not undertake any specific responsibilities were less involved or participated less in their groups' activities.

For a further examination of the relationship between initiative and participation, perceived sources of resources for self-help groups was cross - tabulated with participation. Table 4.15 below shows the outcome.

Table 4.15: Relationship between perceived sources of resources for self-help projects and participation

Participation	Perceived Source of Resources			Total
	Local	External	Both	
High	15	10	11	36
Low	13	4	3	20
Total	28	14	14	56

$X^2 = 2.95 < 5.99$; df = 2; p = 0.05

C = 0.22

The X^2 and C values show that the relationship between the two variables is not significant. We, however, went further and distributed leaders and non-leaders according to these factors (see table 4.16).

Table 4.16: Distribution of respondents according to perceived sources of resources for Self-help projects and participation

Participation	Perceived Sources of Resources						
	Local		External		Both		Total
	Leaders	Non-Leaders	Leaders	Non-Leaders	Leaders	Non-Leaders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	60.0	46.2	-	83.3	71.4	85.7	64.2
Low	40.0	53.8	100.0	16.7	28.6	14.3	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(15)	(13)	(2)	(12)	(7)	(7)	(56)

It is clear from this table that participation was high among a majority of the leaders who perceived local sources of resources. This was also true among those who perceived both local and external sources. There was on the other hand low participation among those who perceived only external sources of resources for their self-help groups' activities.

All in all, it is evident that leaders of self-help groups perceive the starting of their groups aimed at solving felt-needs and this seems to influence their participation. It is important to recall that where other reasons are given for starting self-help groups, leaders participation tends to be low. Further, when the data on the types of persons that were perceived as initiators are examined in terms of leaders and non-leaders, it becomes clear that

where local persons are credited as initiators, participation was high. Participation was low among both leaders and non-leaders who perceived outsiders as initiators.

When responsibilities undertaken in self-help groups were considered, it was clearly revealed that those who undertook responsibilities participated more in the activities of the groups than those without responsibilities. Finally, perceived sources of resources for self-help groups' activities was significantly associated with participation. Thus, leaders who perceived local sources participated more than those who favoured outside sources of resources.

Some of the data seem to confirm the study's hypothesis that; "local leaders initiative is associated with the level of participation in self-help groups". However, no conclusive statement can be made on some of the indicators of leaders' initiative as they did not appear significiantly associated with participation.

4.2.2 Relationship between leaders' informedness and their participation in self-help groups

Knowledge or informedness is a prerequisite for participation in any collective activity. Knowledge about an organisation precedes involvement in its activities. Respondents were asked when their respective self-help groups were started. Their responses were cross-checked with information provided by the

Department of Social Service office to determine whether the respondents knew the year that their groups were started. Table 4.17 shows the out-come.

Table 4.17: Distribution of respondents according to whether they knew when their self-help groups were started

Whether respondents were aware of the year their groups were started	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	10	41.7	1	3.1	11	19.6
No	14	58.3	31	96.9	45	80.4
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

A reasonable percentage of the leaders (41.7%) knew precisely when their groups were started compared to only 3.1% of the non-leaders. The reason why a majority of the leaders and nearly all non-leaders were less informed about the year their groups were started should be because most local people do not keep records of dates. They, however, seem to recall events or incidents much easily. Thus, when asked whether they knew the initiators of their groups, it turned out that a majority knew. Table 4.18 shows this clearly.

Table 4.18: Distribution of respondents according to whether they were aware of the initiators of their self-help groups

Whether respondents were aware of initiators of their groups	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	24	100.0	28	87.5	52	92.9
No	-	-	4	12.5	4	7.1
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

All of the leaders and most non-leaders (87.5%) were aware of the initiators of their groups.

Another measure of informedness is whether the respondents were aware of the existence of local development committees initiated by the government with the introduction in 1983 of the District Focus for Rural Development (DFFRD) strategy. The respondents were asked whether they were aware of local development committees. Table 4.19 shows the distribution of their responses.

Table 4.19 Distribution of respondents according to whether they were aware of local development committees

Whether respondents were aware of local development committee	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	20	83.3	21	65.6	41	73.2
No	4	16.7	11	34.4	15	26.8
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

The impression here is that a majority of the leaders (83.3%) and non-leaders (65.6%) were aware of the existing local development committees in the areas. It should be recalled that it is through these committees that local people by representation, sanctioned or otherwise may voice their priorities, needs and problems to development agencies. The respondents were further questioned about their awareness of the objectives of their respective self-help groups. Table 4.20 gives the outcome of their responses.

Table 4.20: Distribution of respondents according to the number of objectives of their groups that they knew

Number of objectives known	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
One (1)	3	12.5	3	9.4	6	10.7
Two (2)	3	12.5	11	34.4	14	25.0
Three (3) or more	18	75.0	18	56.2	36	64.3
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

This table shows that a majority of the leaders (75.0%) compared to only a reasonable majority of the non-leaders (56.2%) were informed about 3 or more objectives of their groups. Twelve and a half (12.5%) percent of the leaders compared to 34.4% of the non-leaders were informed about 2 objectives of their groups. Only 12.5% of the leaders and 9.4% of the non-leaders were informed of only one objective.

These data seem to suggest that leaders of self-help groups are well informed about the objectives of their self-help groups. The data show that most leaders of self-help groups are aware of their groups' initiators, the year the groups were started and the existence of government initiated local developoment committees. Further, most of the leaders were aware of three or more objectives of their self-help groups.

It had been hypothesized that local leaders' informedness determines their participation in self-help groups' activities. In order to test this hypothesis we examined the relationship between the various factors that measure informedness and participation in self-help groups' activities.

We started by cross - tabulating awareness about the year when self-help groups were started and participation (see table 4.21).

Table 4.21: Relationship between awareness of the year self-help groups were started and participation

Participation	Whether aware of the year groups were started		Total
	No	Yes	
High	27	9	36
Low	18	2	20
Total	45	11	56

$X^2 = 2.91 < 3.84$; df = 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.23

The X^2 value of 2.91 and Phi statistic of 0.23 indicate that a significant relationship is not attained at the expected level of confidence. That is, there is no significant relationship between awareness of when self-help groups were started and participation in the groups' activities. The relationship was further analysed by considering leaders and non-leaders. Table 4.22 gives the outcome.

Table 4.22 Distribution of respondents according to whether they knew when their groups were started and participation

Participation	Whether aware of year their S/H groups started				Total
	No		Yes		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	42.9	67.7	80.0	100.0	64.3
Low	57.1	32.3	20.0	-	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(14)	(31)	(10)	(1)	(56)

This table reveals that a majority of the leaders (80%) who knew when their groups were started participated more than those who did not (42.9%). A reasonable percentage of non-leaders who did not know when their self-help groups were started had highly participated in their groups activities. It is therefore evident that knowledge about when self-help groups were started may determine leaders' participation.

Further, the issue of whether respondents were knowledgeable about the initiators of the group was cross-tabulated with participation. Table 4.23 gives the outcome.

Table 4.23: Relationship between knowledge of the initiators of Self-help groups and their participation

Participation	Whether knew inititors of S/H groups		Total
	No	Yes	
High	1	35	36
Low	3	17	20
Total	4	52	56

$X^2 = 5.03 > 3.84$; df = 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.30

The X^2 value shows a significant relationship between the two factors. The degree of association is however low as indicated by the value of Phi statistic of 0.30. The table reveals that there is a relationship between knowledge of initiators and participation in self-help groups' activities. This supports the hypothesis relating informedness about initiatiors and participation in self-help groups.

These data were elaborated by considering leaders and non-leaders (see table 4.24).

Table 4.24: Distribution of respondents according to whether they knew the initiators of their self-help groups and their participation

Participation	Whether knew initiators of their S/H groups				Total
	No		Yes		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	-	25.0	53.3	75.0	84.3
Low	-	75.0	41.7	25.0	35.7
Total	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	-	(4)	(24)	(28)	(56)

This table reveals that participation was high among 53.3% of the leaders who knew the initiators of their groups compared to 75% of the non-leaders who knew. Participation was low among most (75%) of the non-leaders who did not know the initiators of their groups. Thus although nothing conclusive about the influence on participation of the leaders' informedness about initiators of self-help groups can be drawn from these data, it appears evident that knowledge of initiators of groups influenced the participation of non-leaders in self-help groups' activities.

Further, the relationship between respondents' awareness of local development committees and participation in self-help groups' activities was analysed (See Table 4.25).

Table 4.25: Relationship between respondents awareness of development committees and their participation in self-help groups

Participation	Whether aware of Development Commitees		Total
	No	Yes	
High	3	33	36
Low	12	8	20
Total	15	41	56

X^2 = 17.50 > 3.84; df = 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.60

The Chi - square value revealed a statistical relationship between the two factors. That is, the table reveals a significant association between respondents' awareness of development committees and their level of participation in self-help groups' activities. The Phi value of 0.60 shows that the degree of association is very strong. To examine this relationship further, these data were distributed in terms of leaders and non-leaders. Table 4.26 shows the outcome.

Table 4:26: Distribution of respondents according to whether they were aware of development committees and their participation in self-help groups' activities

Participation	Whether aware of Development Committees				Total
	No		Yes		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	25.0	18.20	65.0	95.2	64.3
Low	75.0	81.8	35.0	4.8	35.7
Total	100.0 (4)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (20)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (56)

This table seems to confirm the relationship revealed between the two factors. Thus, a majority of the leaders who were not aware participated less than most of those who were. In fact a higher percentage of the non-leaders who were not aware participated lowly compared to a majority of those who reported high participation in self-help groups' activities. It is therefore clear from these data that informedness in terms of respondents' awareness of local development committees was related to their participation in self-help groups.

Finally, in analysing informedness, the relationship between the number of objectives of self-help groups known by respondents and their level of participation was considered. Table 4.27 shows this relationship.

Table 4.27: Relationship between the number of objectives of self-help groups known and participation

Participation	Number of objectives of S/H groups known			Total
	One (1)	Two (3)	Three (3) or more	
High	2	10	25	36
Low	4	4	16	20
Total	6	14	36	56

X^2 = 3.65 < 5.99; df = 2, p = 0.05

C = 0.25

The X^2 value indicates that there is no significant relationship between the two factors. The contigency coefficient value of 0.25 does not reveal a high degree of association. Thus, there does not appear to be significant relationship between the number of objectives known by respondents and their participation in self-help groups' activities. These data were, however, examined further by considering the number of objectives known by leaders and non-leaders and their participation in self-help groups' activities. The results are presented in table 4.28.

Table 4.28: Distribution of respondents according to the number of objectives of their groups known and participation

Participation	Number of objectives of S/h groups known						Total
	One		Two		Three or more		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	
High	66.7	-	33.3	81.8	61.1	77.8	64.3
Low	33.3	100.0	66.7	18.2	38.9	22.2	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(11)	(18)	(18)	(56)

This table shows that a majority of the leaders who knew three or more objectives of their self-help groups reported a high level of participation. This also applies to the non-leaders since most of them who knew three or more objectives participated highly. The number of respondents who knew one and two objectives only are too few for conclusive statements to be made about their participation.

All in all, the data seem to confirm our hypothesis that; "local leaders' informedness determines their participation in self-help groups' activities".

The data have shown that leaders and non-leaders of self-help groups studied were well informed in terms of their awareness of when their groups were started, initiators of the groups, existing local development committees and objectives of their groups. Relying on X^2 and Phi and C statistics no association was found between awareness of respondents about the date when their self-

help groups were started and their participation in the groups' activities. However, when the data were re-examined with separate categories of leaders and non-leaders it become clear that a majority of the leaders who were not informed in these matters lowly participated in the activities of their groups. A significant relationship was obtained between awareness of initiators and participation. Nearly all leaders were aware of initiators of their groups. Respondents' awareness of development committees was found to be related to their participation in self-help groups. Most of the leaders who were aware participated more in the activities of their groups than those who were not. The number of objectives of self-help groups known by respondents was not found to be statistically related to their participation. A further examination of the relationship showed that those who knew more than three (3) objectives participate more in the activities of their groups than those who knew less.

It is therefore, conclusive that the data support the hypothesis that: "leaders' informedness determines their participation in Harambee self-help groups".

4.2.3 Relationship between benefits perceived by leaders and participation in self-help groups

In a previous section, it was noted that members of self-help groups carry out projects on a collective basis and that benefits from such projects tend to be passed to individual members of the

groups. Cohen (1968) showed in his theoretical conception that people may participate in groups or communities because of rewards to be received.

Benefits from self-help groups could be material, labour and cash. The materials may include kitchen utensils, water tanks and handicraft products. Benefits in terms of labour may include assistance for weeding of crop-fields and building of houses. Benefits in the form of money may be valuable for meeting school-school fees or medical payments. Self-help groups also assist their members to learn and acquire new skills and knowledge in activities such as knitting, sewing, farming, business, family life and even about the need for cooperation with others.

The respondents were asked whether they had received any of the above benefits (see table 4.29).

Table 4.29: Distribution of respondents according to whether they had received benefits from their self-help groups

Whether received Benefits	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	14	58.3	16	50.0	30	64.3
No	10	41.7	16	50.0	26	35.7
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

It is apparent in this table that 58.3% of the leaders compared to 50% of the non-leaders had received benefits from their groups. The respondents were also asked the regularity with which they received the benefits. The responses were fitted into categories as shown in table 4.30.

Table 4.30: Distribution of respondents according to the regularity with which they received benefits from self-help groups

Regularity of receiving benefits	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Regularly	1	4.1	3	9.4	4	7.2
Irregularly	13	54.2	13	40.6	26	46.4
None received	10	41.7	16	50.0	26	46.4
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

It turns out that a majority of the leaders who had received benefits did so on an irregular basis. That also applied to the non-leaders. The groups had no clearly laid down schedule for

providing benefits to their members. Thus, most benefits are not regularly provided. This is probably because benefits from self-help projects accrued only when members are in need. Thus money for school fees or labour is provided only when a member is in need. This is also the case of materials such as food which are provided to the needy members. In these circumstances it can be said that 58.3% of the leaders have received benefits from their groups compared to 50% of the non-leaders.

It had been hypothesised that perception of benefits by leaders is positively associated with their participation in self-help groups' activities. This hypothesis is tested by examining the relationship between perceived benefits and participation in self-help groups. Cross-tabulation was done between whether benefits had been received and participation in self-help groups (see table 4.31).

Table 4.31: Relationship between whether respondents had received benefits and their participation in self-help groups

Participation	Whether respondents hd received benefits		Total
	No	Yes	
High	14	22	36
Low	12	8	20
Total	26	30	56

X^2 = 3.23 < 3.84; df = 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.24

Going by the X^2 value of 3.23 this table does not show a significant relationship between the two variables. Even the Phi value of 0.24 does not reveal a strong degree of association between these variables. Thus, benefits received from self-help groups did not influence their members' participation in the groups' activities. This was further re-examined by considering the two categories of leaders and non-leaders (see table 4.32).

Table 4.32: Distribution of respondents according to whether they had received benefits from their groups and their participation

Participation	Whether respondents had received benefits from their groups				Total
	No		Yes		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-laders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	20.0	75.0	85.7	62.5	64.3
Low	80.0	25.0	14.3	37.5	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(10)	(16)	(14)	(16)	(56)

This table reveals that a high proportion of the leaders (85.7%) who had received benefits participated more in the activities of their groups than did non-leaders. A majority of those leaders who had not received benefits (80.0%) lowly participated in their groups' activities. It is, however, clear that a majority of the non-leaders who had not received benefits (75%) participated actively in their groups' activities.

From these data, there is indication that perception of benefits by leaders is related to their participation in their self-help groups.

Further, the regularity with which benefits were received by the respondents was examined in relation to their participation in self-help groups (see table 4.33).

Table 4.33: Relationship between the regularity with which benefits were received by respondents and their participation in self-help groups

Participation	Regularity with which benefits were received by respondents			
	Not Yet Received	Irregularly	Regularly	Total
High	23	12	1	36
Low	3	14	3	20
Total	26	26	4	56

X^2 = 13.03 > 5.99; df = 2; p 0.05

C = 0.42

This table reveals a significant relationship between the two variables. This is clear from the X^2 value and the contingency coefficient of 0.42 which shows considerable degree of association between the two variables. It is clear that most of those who had regularly received benefits had not participated much in their groups' activities. In comparison a majority of those who had not received benefits participated more.

These data were further examined to bring out the differences between leaders and non-leaders in relation to these factors (see table 4.34).

Table 4.34: Distribution of respondents according to the regularity with which they received benefits from their self-help groups and participation

Participation	Regularity with which benefits were received from S/H groups						Total
	Not yet		Irregularly		Regularly		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	80.0	93.7	53.8	38.5	33.3	-	64.3
Low	20.0	6.3	46.2	61.5	66.7	100.0	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(10)	(16)	(13)	(13)	(3)	(1)	(56)

This table shows clearly that participation was low among a majority of leaders who had regularly received benefits from their groups. Participation was unexpectedly high among a majority of those who had not yet received benefits from their self-help groups. This was also true among the non-leaders. This could be because as Cohen (1968) noted people may participate expecting to receive rewards, although they may not have actually benefited.

These data seem to confirm the hypothesis that, "there is a relationship between benefits received by leaders and their participation in their self-help groups".

All in all, the data on benefits perceived by leaders show that, although a reasonable percentage had received benefits from their groups, it was on an irregular basis. This can be attributed to the types of benefits received like labour, materials and money

for weeding crop fields, kitchen utencils and school fees some of which are only given to the needy members. There was no significant relationship between whether benefits had been received and participation in self-help groups' activities.

A further examination of the data has shown that benefits received by leaders infuenced their participation in self-help groups. A significant relationship was revealed between regularity with which benefits were received and participation in self-help groups. On further examination it was found that those who had not received benefits tended to participate more than those who had received. The reason for this was probably because expectation of benefits may have encouraged participation in self-help groups' activities. As Cohen (1968) has noted it is also possible that participation is due to peple's commitment to some course of action. This is examined in the next section.

4.2.4 Relationship between leaders' commitment and participation in self-help groups

Perry and Angle (1981) in assessing organisational effectiveness considered commitment as a predictor of organisational members' performance. In this section data that indicate leaders' and non-leaders' commitment are presented and related to participation in their self-help groups' activities.

Firstly, as a measure of desire to maintain membership in self-help groups the respondents were asked to state how long they had been members of their groups. Table 4.35 shows the distribution of respondents according to the number of years they had been members of their self-help groups.

Table 4.35 Distribution of respondents according to the duration they had been members of their self-help groups

Duration of Membership	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
4 or more years	14	58.3	18	56.2	32	57.1
Up to 3 years	10	41.7	14	43.8	24	42.9
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

This table shows that most of the leaders and non-leaders alike had maintained membership in their groups for a longer period.

Another measure of commitment was the number of similar organisations in which respondents were affiliated. Table 4.36 shows the number of local organisations in which membership was maintained by the respondents.

Table 4.36 Distribution of respondents according to the number of self-help groups they belonged to

Number of Self-help groups respondents belonged to	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
3o more S/H groups	10	41.7	4	12.5	14	25.0
1-2 Self-help groups	12	50.0	28	87.5	40	71.4
None other than the one studied	2	8.3	-	-	2	3.6
Total	24	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0

A good proportion of the leaders (41.7%) belonged to more than three local organisations compared to only 12.5% of the non-leaders. These were people who, by virtue of their positions or statuses, were co-opted into several groups. It was clear that most of the non-leaders (87.5%) belonged to only one or two organisations compared to only a reasonable percentage of the leaders (50%). Only 8.3%) of the leaders did not belong to any other local organisations other than the one studied.

For those who belonged to more than two organisations we went further to find out which of the goups they perceived as more important vis a vis the ones studied. Table 4.37 below shows which of the groups were perceived.

Table 4.37: Distribution of respondents according to self-help groups they perceived as important

Self-help groups Perceived as important	Leaders		Non-leaders		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Groups studied	7	33.3	15	78.9	22	55.0
Other groups not studied	14	66.7	4	21.1	18	45.0
Total	21	100.0	19	100.0	40	100.0

This table shows that more of the leaders (66.7%) perceived the other groups that they belonged to as more important than the ones studied while only 21.1% of the non-leaders felt so. It is clear that most of the non-leaders (78.9%) perceived the groups studied as more important.

These data suggest that although a fair proportion of the leaders demonstrated the desire to maintain membership in the groups studied, they may not be committed to their self-help groups. This is because they belong to many groups and tend to see groups not studied as more important than those studied.

Tarcher (1966) argued that committed leaders are likely to expend most of their energies and resources to their organisations. It was hypothesised that: "the more committed the leaders were to their self-help groups, the higher their level of participation in

the groups' activities". To test this hypothesis, the duration of membership in the self-help groups was cross-tabulated with participation in activities of the groups studied (see table 4.38).

Table 4.38: Distribution of respondents according to the duration they had been affiliated to their groups and their participation

	Duration of Membership		
Participation	Up to 3 years	4 or more years	Total
High	10	26	36
Low	14	6	20
Total	24	30	56

X^2 = 11.91 > 3.84; df = 1 p = 0.05

Phi = 0.46

The X^2 value of 11.91 indicates that their is a significant relationship between the two factors. The Phi statistic value of 0.46 shows that the association between the number of years respondents had been members of their groups and participation is fairly strong. The table reveals that participation was high among those who had stayed longer than those who had stayed for less than 3 years in the groups.

These data were re-distributed to take into account leaders and non-leaders (see table 4.39) in order to examine them further.

Table 4.39: Distribution of respondents according to the duration they had been members of self-help groups and their participation in the groups' activities.

Participation	Duration of Membership in S/H groups.				
	Up to 3 years		4 or more years		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	30.0	50.0	72.7	83.3	64.3
Low	70.0	50.0	27.3	16.7	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(10)	(14)	(14)	(18)	(56)

This table shows that participation was low among a majority of the leaders (70%) who had been affiliated to the groups for less than 3 years. On the other hand participation was high among leaders who had been affiliated to the groups for more than four years. The situation is also similar among non-leaders. Thus, it is clear that participation was high among both leaders and non-leaders who had been affiliated to their groups for a longer period. These data seem to support the hypothesis relating leaders' commitment to their participation in self-help groups' activities.

Further, the number of self-help organisations' respondents belonged to was related to participation in the self-help groups studied. Table 4.40 shows the outcome.

Table 4.40: Relationship between the number of other organisations respondents belonged to and their participation in self-help groups studied

Participation	Number of groups respondents belonged to.			Total
	None other than the one studied	1 - 2 groups	3 or more groups	
High	-	8	28	36
Low	2	6	12	20
Total	2	14	40	56

$X^2 = 4.59 < 5.99$; df = 2; p = 0.05

C = 0.28

The X^2 value of 4.59 shows that there is no significant association between the two factors. Even the contigency coefficient 'C) of 0.28 does not show a strong degree of association between the two factors. That is, participation in self-help groups was not influenced by the number of groups to which respondents were affiliated. When the relationship was modified by considering leaders and non-leaders, table 4.41 was derived.

Table 4.41: Distribution of leaders and non-leaders according to the number of groups they belonged to and their participation in their self-help groups

Partici-pation	Number of groups respondents belonged to						Total
	None other than the one studied		2 groups		3 or more groups		
	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-leaders	Leaders	Non leaders	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	-	-	83.3	64.3	40.0	-	64.3
Low	100	-	16.7	35.7	60.0	100	35.7
Total	100	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0
(Base)	(2)	-	(12)	(28)	(10)	(4)	(56)

It is evident from this table that participation was high among a larger percentage of the leaders (83.3%) who belonged to only one or two other groups. Participation was low among most (60%) of the leaders who belonged to more than three groups.

All in all, these data about commitment confirm the hypothesis that: "the more committed the leaders were to their self-help groups, the higher their participation in the groups' activities".

4.2.5 Relationship between socio-economic characteristics of members of local development committees and their participation

The Socio-economic characteristics studied included formal education, occupation, income and gender of the members of local development committees. Scholars like Roling et al. (1981) have pointed to the likely influence of socio-economic characteristics in local level development organisations.

In this study the respondents were distributed according to the formal education they had attained. (see table 4.42).

Table 4.42: Distribution of members of local development committees according to formal education attained.

Formal Education	Members of DCs		Members of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 4 years	3	10.0	9	42.0	12	23.5
5-8 years	16	53.3	4	21.0	20	39.2
9 or more years	11	36.7	8	37.0	19	37.3
Total	30	100.0	21	51.0	51	100.0

This table reveals that 90% of the respondents from development committees had attained either average (5-8 years) or a high level (9 or more years) of formal education. The table shows that slightly more than a third of the respondents from both types of committees had attained a high level of formal education.

In terms of occupation, the respondents from the local committees were distributed as shown in table 4.43 below.

Table 4.43: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to their main occupations

Occupation of respondents	Member of DCs		Member of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Small scale farmer	5	18.0	8	37.5	13	25.5
Businessmen and women	9	30.0	4	21.0	13	25.5
Formal employees	16	52.0	9	41.5	25	49.0
Total	30	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0

It is clear from this table that a majority of the respondents from Development Committee (DCs) were either formally employed (52%) or business persons (30.0%). Respondents from the Community Development COmmittees (CDCs) were fairly distributed

with 41.5% as formally employed and 21% as business persons. More members of the community development committees (37.5%) were farmers as compared to only 18.5% of those of development committees.

The level of income as a socio-economic characteristics was measured in monetary terms. Table 4.44 below shows the distribution of respondents of local development committees according to their annual incomes.

Table 4.44: Distribution of respondents according to their annual incomes

Total annual income reported by respondents Kshs.	Members of DCs		Members of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 7,500 (Low)	1	4.0	4	19.0	5	10.9
7,501-15,000 (Average)	2	8.0	6	28.6	8	17.4
More than 15,000 (High)	22	82.0	11	52.4	33	71.7
Total	25	100.0	21	100.0	46*	100.0

*Five respondents did not provide information on their incomes.

This table shows that a majority of the respondents from development committees (82.0%) had high incomes compared to 52.4% of the respondents from community development committees. When it came to average income, 28.6% of the respondents from community development committees compared to only 8% of those from development committees reported their incomes as average. A further 9% of the respondents from community development committees compared to only 4% of those of development committees had low incomes.

Gender is not strictly a socio-economic characteristic. Based on theoretical understanding of the rural setting as noted by Hoskin (1983), it is agreed that women are more apt to be less literate, rarely served by extension services of development agencies and may not openly voice their needs and problems.

Table 4.45 below shows the distribution of the respondents from local development committees according to their gender.

Table 4.45: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to their gender

Gender	Members of DCs		Members of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Males	24	80.0	11	52.4	35	68.6
Females	6	20.0	10	47.6	16	31.4
Total	30	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0

This table shows that 80% of those from development committees as compared to 52.4% of the respondents from community development committees were male.

In sum, it is evident that most members of local development committees had attained an average or a high level of formal education. Most reported high incomes and were mainly formally employed or business persons. Most of the members of these committees were males.

Kolb (1958) in his early studies of involvement in organized interest groups, attributed differential participation to socio-economic characteristics of the members of the community. In this study it had been hypothesised that "the socio-economic characteristics of the members of local development committees influenced their participation in activities of their committees". To test this hypothesis cross-tabulations were done between the socio-economic factors and participation. First, formal education was cross-tabulated with participation. Table 4.46 shows the outcome.

Table 4.46: Relationship between level of formal education of members of local development committees and participation

Participation	Formal education of respondents			Total
	Less than 4 years	5-8 years	9 or more years	
High	3	8	15	26
Low	9	12	4	25
Total	12	20	19	51

$X^2 = 10.15 > 5.99$; df = 2; p = 0.05

C = 0.41

Going by the X^2 value of 10.15 there appears to be a significant association between the two variables. The contigency coefficient value of 0.41 clearly shows that the association between formal education and participation in the activities of development committees is fairly strong. Thus, participation is higher among most of the respondents who have completed 9 or more years of formal education and low for most of those who had attained 5-8 years of formal education. These data were examined further by taking into account the respondents from the two types of committees studied (see table 4.47).

Table 4.47: Distribution of members of local development committees according to their level of formal education and participation

Participation	Level of Formal education of Respondents						Total
	Less than 4 yrs		5-8 years		9 or more years		
	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	33.3	22.2	43.7	25.0	72.7	87.5	50.9
Low	66.7	77.8	56.3	75.0	27.3	12.5	49.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(3)	(9)	(16)	(4)	(11)	(8)	(51)

This table reveals that participation was high among a majority of respondents from both types of committees who had attained a high level of formal education. Participation was low among most of those members whose level of education was low.

Second, occupation was related to participation as shown in table 4.48.

Table 4.48: Relationship between Occupation of respondents from local development committees and participation

Participation	Occupation of respondents			Total
	Small Scale Farmers	Business Persons	Employed Persons	
High	1	8	17	26
Low	12	5	8	25
Total	13	13	25	51

$X^2 = 13.22 > 5.99$; df = 2; p = 0.05

C = 0.45

The X^2 value of 13.22 shows that there is a relationship between occupation and participation. The C value of 0.45 shows that there is a considerably strong association between the two factors. The table reveals that members of the local committees in business and paid employment participated more in activities of the committees while most of the members who were small scale farmers participated less in the committees' activities. The data presented in the table were examined further in light of the two types of committees (see table 4.49).

Table 4.49: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to their occupation and participation

Participation	Occupation of respondents						Total
	Small-Scale Farmers		Business Persons		Employed Persons		
	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	-	12.5	55.6	75.0	75.0	55.6	50.9
Low	100	87.5	44.4	25.0	25.0	44.4	49.11
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(5)	(8)	(9)	(4)	(16)	(9)	(51)

It is clear from this table that participation was low among all the members of development committees who were small scale farmers. Participation was high among a reasonable proportion of those who were in business (55.6%) and a majority of those who were in paid employment (75.0%).

Third, respondents' annual income was related to participation in local development committee (see table 4.50).

Table 4.50: Relationship between local committee members' annual income and participation in activities of development committees

Participation	Annual income of respondents			Total
	Less than 7,500/=	7,501-15,000/=	15,001/= and more	
High	1	2	22	25
Low	4	6	11	21
Total	5	8	33	46

$X^2 = 7.18 > 5.99$; df = 2; p = 0.05

C = 0.37

The Chi - Square value of 7.18 indicates that there is a significant relationship between participation and annual income. The C value of 0.37 shows a reasonable degree of association between the two factors.

Thus, it can be stated that the higher the respondents' annual income the higher their participation in the activities of local development committees. This assertion becomes even clear when the relationship is examined by considering the respondents from the two types of local committees. Table 4.51 shows the distribution of respondents from the two types of committees according to their annual incomes and participation.

Table 4.51: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to the annual income and participation

Participation	Annual income of respondents						
	Less than 7,500/=		7,501-15,000/=		15,000/= and more		Total
	Members of DCs	Members of CDCs	Members of DCs	Members of CDC	Members of DCs	Members of CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	-	25.0	50.0	16.7	63.6	72.7	54.3
Low	100	75.0	50.0	83.3	36.4	27.3	45.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(1)	(4)	(2)	(6)	(22)	(11)	(46)

This table shows that most respondents with low and average income tended to participate less in the activities of both types of committees. Participation is, however, high among most of those with a high income from the development committees and community development committees.

Finally, gender was related to participation (see table 4.52).

Table 4.52: Relationship between gender of respondents from local development committees and participation

Participation	Gender of respondents		Total
	Females	Males	
High	3	23	36
Low	13	12	20
Total	16	36	56

X^2 = 9.42 > 3.84; df = 1 p = 0.05

Phi = 0.43

The Chi - square statistic of 9.42 indicates that there is a significant relationship between gender and participation. The Phi value of 0.43 further indicates that the degree of association between the two factors is considerably strong. That is, participation was on average low among female than among male members of the committees. This relationship was re-examined in light of the two types of committees studied. Table 4.53 shows the distribution of the respondents in terms of gender, types of committee and participation.

Table 4.53: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to their gender and participation

Participation	Gender of respondents				Total
	Female		Male		
	Members of DCs	Members of CDCs	Members of DCs	Members of CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	16.7	20.0	62.5	72.7	50.0
Low	83.3	80.0	37.5	27.3	49.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(6)	(10)	(24)	(11)	(51)

This table shows that participation was low among female members of both the development Committees (83.3%) and the Community Development Committees (80%). Participation was on average high among the male members of the committees.

In sum, these data confirm the hypothesis that socio-economic characteristics of the members of local development committees influences their participation in activities of the committees. It is clear that participation is high among those with higher levels of formal education, high annual incomes, males and among those in business or paid employment.

4.2.6 Relationship between leadership style and participation in local development committees

Paul (1976) noted that to specify the leadership style is in effect to give explicit direction of influence, the type of communication network permitted and the emotional tone that pervades the interaction within a group. In this study the respondents were asked who they perceived as the most important persons in decision

making within development committees. Table 4.54 shows the distribution of respondents according to who they perceived as most important in development committee matters.

Table 4.54: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to the persons they perceived as most important in development committees activities

Persons perceived as important in committee activities	Members of DCs		Members of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Local Persons	10	33.3	16	76.2	26	59.0
Politicians	2	6.7	3	14.3	5	9.8
Administr-ators	15	50.0	2	9.5	17	33.3
None	3	10.0	-	-	3	5.9
Total	30	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0

This table shows that half of the members of development committees saw administrators as most important persons in the development committees activities. A third of them considered local

persons as most important. In comparison, a majority of the members of community development committees (76.2%) perceived local persons as most important in their committees' activities.

The mode of communication used by members of development committees while passing information to local people is yet another indicator of leadership style. Table 4.55 shows the distribution of respondents according to their mode of communication with local people.

Table 4.55: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to their mode of communication local people

Mode of communication with local people	Development Committees		Community Development Committees		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Impersonal media	6	20.0	4	19.1	10	19.6
Public media	14	46.7	13	69.8	27	52.9
Inter-personal media	10	33.3	4	19.1	14	27.5
Total	30	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0

This table shows that public consultations with local people were reported by 46.7% of the members of development committees as compared to 69.8% of those of community development committees. A third of the members of development committees compared to only

19.1% of the members of community development committees reported interpersonal consultations with local people.

Leadership style was also examined in terms of the way disagreements on issues were resolved. The respondents were asked how they resolved disagreements within their committees. Table 4.56 shows their distribution in terms of their responses.

Table 4.56: Distribution of respondents from local development committees according to how they resolved disagreements within their committees

Manner of resolving disagreements	Member of DCs		Members of CDCs		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Force or coercion	4	13.3	-	-	4	7.8
Persuasion and voting	11	36.7	15	71.4	26	51.0
Withdrawal of suggestions	3	10.0	4	19.0	7	13.7
No disagree-ments experienced	12	40.0	2	9.6	14	27.5
Total	30	100.0	21	100.0	51	100.0

What emerges from this table is that 40% of the respondents from development committees had not experienced any disagreements within their committees, 36.7% resolved the disagreements through persuasion and voting; while 13.3% reported using force or coercion to resolve disagreements. On the other hand persuasion and voting was reported by 71.4% of the respondents from community development committees; 19% reported that they withdrew suggestions that had caused disagreements; 9.6% had not experienced disagreement and none reported using force or coercion.

These data suggest that most members of development committees considered administrators; that is, assistant chiefs, chiefs, and District Officers as the most important persons in local development committees matters. In communicating with local people most of them rely on public and interpersonal modes of communication. A reasonable proportion of the members of development committees had not experienced disagreements. Nevertheless, persuasion and voting were the most mentioned means of resolving disagreements where they had been experienced.

It had been hypothesised that leadership style in development committees influenced members' participation in the activities of their committees.

To test this hypothesis we began by relating respondents' perceptions of the most important persons in development committee matters and their participation. Table 4.57 shows the outcome.

Table 4.57: Relationship between respondents' perception of the most important persons in their committees' activities and participation

Participation	Persons perceived as most important		Total
	Local persons	Administrators and Politicians	
High	12	14	26
Low	14	11	25
Total	26	25	51

X^2 = 0.97 < 3.84; df= 1; p = 0.05

Phi = 0.38

The X^2 value of 0.97 does not indicate significant relationship between these two factors. However, Phi statistic value of 0.38 shows a fair association between the two factors. Further association between the two factors is revealed when we take into consideration respondents from the two types of committees studied. (see table 4.58).

Table 4.58: Distribution of respondents' perception of who is the most important persons in committees matters and participation.

Partici-pation	Persons perceived as most Important				Total
	Local persons		Administrators and Politicians		
	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	
High	30.0	66.2	65.0	20.0	50.9
Low	70.0	43.8	35.0	80.0	49.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(10)	(16)	(20)	(5)	(51)

This table reveals that participation was low among a majority of the respondents (70%) from development committees who saw local persons as most important and high among most (65.0%) of those who perceived administrators and politicians as most important in development committee matters. On the other hand participation was high among respondents (66.2%) from community development committees who perceived local persons as important and low among those (80%) who mentioned other persons (administrators and politicians) as most important in committee activities.

Further, the relationship between the mode of communication used and participation in development committees was examined Table 4.59 shows the outcome.

Table 4.59: Relationship between mode of communication used by respondents and participation.

Participation	Mode of Communication used			
	Impersonal	Public	Interpersonal	Total
High	8	15	3	26
Low	2	12	11	25
Total	10	27	14	51

X^2 = 8.50 > 5.99; df = 2; p = 0.05

C = 0.38

This table shows that there is a significant association between mode of communication and leaders' participation in the activities of local development committees. The Chi - Square value of 8.50 shows this clearly. The contigency coefficient of 0.38 further indicates an average association between the two factors.

This relationship is made even clearer when these data are considered in terms of the two types of committees studied (see tale 4.60).

Table 4.60: Distribution of members of local development committees according to their mode of communication with local people and participation

Participation	Mode of Communication used						Total
	Impersonal		Public forums		Interpersonal		
	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
High	66.7	100.0	71.4	38.5	20.0	25.0	50.9
Low	33.3	-	28.6	61.5	80.0	75.0	49.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Base)	(6)	(4)	(14)	(13)	(10)	(4)	(51)

This table shows that participation was high among a majority of the members of development committees (66.7%) who used impersonal media to communicate with local people. Participation was unexpectedly low among majority of those who reported using interpersonal media. Participation was high among most (71.4%) of those who used public fora to communicate with local people. In comparison, there was low participation among the majority of community development committee members who used both public fora (61.5%) and interpersonal media (75.0%).

Turning to the mode of resolving disagreements, table 4.61 shows the relationship between this factor and participation.

Table 4.61: Relationship between the way disagreement are resolved by members of local development committees and participation

Partici-pation	Manner of resolving disagreements				Total
	Force/ Coercion	Persuasion/ Voting	Withdrawal of of Suggestions	None Experienced	
High	3	10	3	10	26
Low	1	16	4	4	25
Total	4	26	7	14	51

$X^2 = 6.38 < 7.81$; df = 3; p = 0.05

C = 0.33

The X^2 value of 6.38 shows that there is no significant relationship between the two factors at 95% confidence level. The contingency coefficient (C) indicates that the degree of association between the two factors was low. The data were further considered in light of the two types of development committees studied. Table 4.62 shows the outcome.

Table 4.62: Distribution of members of local development committees according to the way they resolved disagreements and participation.

Participation	Manner of resolving disagreements.								Total
	Force/ Coercion		Persuasion/ voting		Withdrawal of suggestions		No disagreement experienced		
	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	DCs	CDCs	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	
High	75	-	36.4	40.0	33.3	50.0	66.7	100.0	50.9
Low	25	-	63.6	60.0	66.7	50.0	33.3	-	49.1
Total (Base)	100.0 (4)	-	100.0 (11)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (3)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (2)	100.0 (51)

This table shows that there was high participation among a majority (75%) of those who reported using force or coercion. This is also the case among those who had not experienced disagreements as two thirds of those from development committees and all those from community development committee participated more in their committees' activities. It is, however, revealed that participation in the committees' activities was unexpectdly low among 63.6% of the respondents from development committees and among 60% of the community development committee members who

reported using persuasion and voting to resolve disagreements. Participation was also low among two thirds of the development committee members and half of the community development committee members who reported withdrawing suggestions in order to resolve disagreements.

In sum, the data confirm this study's hypothesis that: "Leadership style influences participation in local development committees".

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter conclusions are drawn on the basis of the findings presented in chapter four. Policy implications and recommendations are made in the light of these conclusions.

5.1 Overview of the Problem, Literature and Methodology

This study set out to examine participation of local people in self-help groups. The study also sought to examine participation of people in local development committees initiated by the government to achieve local people's involvement in planning and implementation of development activities. The main factors which were examined were local leaders initiative, informedness, commitment to their groups and perception of benefits accruing from their groups activities. Other factors that were examined were socio-economic characteristics and leadership style of officials of local development committees.

Various literature were reviewed to highlight the research problem. Literature reviewed show as Oyugi (1973) has pointed out that participation in local development efforts takes the form of either 'direct' or 'indirect' involvement. It has been seen that local interest groups in the name of Harambee have been in existence in Kenya even before independence. These groups have been involving local people in a variety of activities aimed at improving their

standards of living. The theoretical conceptions of harambee self-help have pointed to leadership as the crucial element in the operation of self-help groups. Initiative in starting self-help groups was seen by some scholars like Mbithi and Rasmusson (1974 and 1977) as stemming from local people's felt-needs. Other scholars like Thomas (1981), however, pointed out that outside change agents together with rural elite were the ones to be credited with initiation of self-help groups. Mbithi and Almy (1973) pointed out that participation in activities of local organisations was likely to be high where members of the organisations were well informed of the procedures, objectives and principles of the organisations. Literature has also shown that perception of benefits determine participation in the activities of self-help groups. This is indeed within the theoretical conception of Cohen (1968) on how rewards received as well as those anticipated in a group may encourage people to participate in groups. Perry and Angle (1980), saw commitment to organisations as a predictor of their members' performance in the activities of the organisations.

A review of the literature on efforts made by the government to decentralize the planning processes has shown that the same type of central government organisations such as the District Development Committees (DDCs) have been used. This is so in spite of the failure to achieve local participation in the past with the same

type of organisations. Studies of local interest groups such as Kolb's (1958) attributed the level of participation in such groups to socio-economic characteristics of their members.

In terms of research methodology the study was carried out in Butere and Khwisero Divisions of Kakamega district. The units studied were self-help groups and local development committees. The leaders and non-leaders of self-help groups and officials of development and community development committees at the divisional and locational level were sampled and interviewed.

Data collection was done with the help of questionaires which were administered in face-to-face interviews. The questionaires included closed and open-ended questions. The answers to some questions were cross-checked with those for others to ensure accuracy of response. (see Appendices, I and II). Direct observations were also made and were complemented with unstructured interviews with informed persons from the area of study.

Most of the data used in this study are at the nominal level of measurement. Quantitative data are presented through the use of simple statistics such as, the chi-square, phi and contigency coefficients. Percentages are also used in presentation of some of the data. Secondary data obtained from reports and information obtained from key informants as well as direct observations are descriptively presented.

5.2 Participation in self-help groups

The main findings of the study included highlighting of the nature, composition and activities of self-help groups in the study area. The groups were found to be mobilizing resources from their members which were treated as shares. The groups were involved in a variety of activities like business, handicrafts and farming. These activities were carried out in order to obtain profits for both the individual members' and the groups as a whole. This may mean as Ghai et al. (1979) pointed out that self-help groups are a means for mobilizing local resources for collective development activities.

The self-help groups had received assistance from both governmental and non-governmental agencies. The government had for instance provided assistance in the form of grants to two of the groups studied. One of the groups had received assistance in the form of a loan from World Vision, a non-governmental organisation. The fact that the government provided assistance to some of the groups seems to be in line with its declared objectives of encouraging local people's participation in development activities through such interest groups. The 1984-88 Kenya Development Plan[1] pointed out that creating opportunities for widespread participation was a major aim of the District Focus for Rural Development (DFFRD) strategy.

This study sought to examine whether local leaders of self-help groups had taken initiative in starting their self-help groups and whether this had any relationship to their participation in the activities of the groups. Local initiative was measured by the reasons given by the leaders for starting of their self-help groups. It was clear that leaders of these groups had felt-needs which they perceived would be solved by starting the groups. There is, therefore, no doubt as Barkan et al. (1980) noted that the initiation process of self-help projects is partly due to the citizens' own awareness of the need to do something about their situation. Some leaders, however, noted that the need for attracting outside assistance was the reason why their groups were started. They, however, formed only a small proportion of the leaders interviewed. This does not show as Heyer et al (1971) noted that harambee groups are started with the hope of putting pressure on the government to provide resources for their activities.

The reason given by respondents for the starting of self-help groups did not influence their participation in these groups' activities. Further examination, however, revealed that most of the leaders who gave felt-needs for starting their groups participated more in their groups' activities. In comparison, participation was low among most of those who noted that the groups were started to attract outside assistance or among those who perceived the groups as having been started by outside change agents.

This study found that it is local persons who are credited by most of the leaders and non-leaders alike for initiation of harambee self-help groups. This is unlike Thomas' (1980) contention that the initiative for starting the groups comes from government officials. It is, however possible that these local persons are the rural elite. It is revealed that perception of who the initiators are did not affect participation in self-help groups' activities.

This thesis shows that both leaders and non-leaders of self-help groups undertake certain tasks that help to meet the goals of their self-help groups. More of the non-leaders concentrated on manual tasks, while a reasonable proportion of the leaders (30%) concentrated on supervisory tasks. A further 30% of the leaders undertook no specific tasks.

This study has shown that performance of tasks during the initial stages of self-help groups influences participation. That is there is a tendency of those who had undertaken particular tasks to continue contributing to their groups' activities. It was clear that participation was high among more of the leaders who concentrated on supervisory tasks. Participation was low among those who did not carry out specific tasks.

Officially, as Ngethe (1977) noted harambee self-help is conceptualized as a means of local resources mobilization. This thesis shows that most of the leaders of the groups studied perceived local sources of resources for their groups' activities.

It was found that most of the leaders who perceived both local and external sources of resources tended to participate more in their groups' activities than those who perceived external sources only. It is therefore clear that local leaders' initiative may influence their participation in self-help groups' activities.

Within the frame-work of Community Development, as seen from Batten's (1965) views, its success depends on how much local people are informed or knowledgeable. In this thesis informedness was measured in terms of respondents' awareness of objectives and the year when their groups were started, the initiators of the groups and existence of development committees.

In this study local people's informedness was examined as a possible explanation of their participation in the activities of their self-help groups. Holmquist (1971) and Mutiso (1971 and 1973) also suggest the need for well informed leaders for them to be able to either articulate government plans and their relevance to local situation and to voice local needs and priorities. Informedness was seen by Oyugi (1973) and Chambers (1983) as one of the reasons for local participation in development activities; local people may be more informed of their environment than outsiders.

It was found in this study that a good proportion of the leaders (41.7%) were aware of the year their groups started. It was also found that most of these leaders who knew the year when their groups were started tended to participate more in their groups' activities. This study further revealed that both leaders and non-

leaders were aware of the initiators of their groups. But knowledge of initiators of the self-help groups did not appear to influence respondents participation in activities of their groups. Most of the leaders were aware of three or more objectives of their self-help groups. A reasonable proportion of the non-leaders (56.2%) were also aware of three or move objectives. It is clear that participation was high among most of the leaders who were aware of three or more objectives and low for those who knew only one or two objectives of their self-help groups. More of the leaders (83.8%) than the non-leaders (65.6%) were aware of the presence of development committees. This was found to be related to participation in self-help groups' activities. It was clear that most of the leaders and non-leaders who were not aware of the presence of development committees participated less in their groups' activities; participation was on the other hand high among those who were aware. It should be recalled that it is through these committees that the local people are supposed to voice their development needs and priorities. Stockton (n.d) had noted from his study of aspects of leadership in Nyeri that leaders were more knowledgeable about various development issues than non-leaders. It is evident in this thesis that this informedness is likely to influence local people's participation in local organisations such as harambee self-help groups.

The theory and literature review pointed to the importance of benefits in eliciting local participation in interest groups. Despite this, Ngethe (1977) pointed out that benefits accruing from harambee self-help groups' activities cannot be assumed to be reaching all those involved in the activities.

This study set out to examine the issue of benefits and their relation to participation in self-help groups activities. It had been clear that only 59.3% of the leaders and half of the non-leaders had received benefits mostly on an irregular basis. There is therefore some difference between the number of leaders and non-leaders who had received benefits from their groups. In this study participation appeared high among those who had not yet received benefits from self-help groups. These were, however, very few and hence no effective conclusions could be made about the influence of benefits on participation. It is however likely as Cohen (1968) noted, that anticipated rewards may influence participation in self-help groups.

As already pointed out, commitment was examined along the lines suggested by Perry and Angle (1980) who saw it as a predictor of performance in organisational activities. In this study it was clear that most of the leaders had been members of the self-help groups studied for more than four years. This gives the impression that most leaders were committed to their groups. Participation was found to be high among those who had been affiliated to their groups

for longer periods of more than four years. Participation was low for those who had been affiliated to their groups for a shorter period of less than three years.

More of the leaders were found to belong to many other local organisations than the non-leaders. It was clear that participation was high among those who belonged to one or two group and low among most of those who belonged to three or more groups.

More of the leaders tended to perceive the other groups as more important to them than the one studied. This in effect could mean that leaders were less committed to their groups.

The study confirms Tarcher's (1966) contention that leaders who are committed spend most of their energies and resources for the organisations benefits and do not spread themselves thinly in many organisations.

All in all harambee self-help groups studied permit local participation as measured by contributions of labour, materials and money (Mbithi, 1974 and Kolawole, 1980). In these circumstances harambee self-help groups are potential local interest groups that could be used for maximizing involvement in local development efforts. Such involvement may, however, not be possible if local development committees initiated by the government are not able to facilitate it. This issue is examined in the next section.

5.3 Participation in Local Development Committees

This study set out to examine local participation in local development committees by first looking at the nature and operations of these committees.

The study revealed that local representation on these committees reduces as one moves from the sub-locational to locational and divisional levels. This situation is similar to that referred to by Reynolds and Wallis (1976) in their evaluation of rural development efforts through District Development Committees (DDCs). Thus, it is clear that although the government may provide for organisations to promote local participation, these organisations may not effectively involve citizens in their activities.

The operation of these committees, especially their meetings have been seen to exclude local people. Meetings at the sub-locational and locational levels seem to allow for more local participation than at the divisional level. The civil servants at the divisional level tended to concentrate on "instructing" the co-opted members and the local administrators, especially chiefs about their responsibilities. Thus, the type of participation revealed amounts to what Okofar (1982) had referred to as "informing", rather than "involving" the local people.

It was clear that divisional development committees exercised control over locational ones. The locational development committees tended to propose new projects while the divisional development committees stressed completion of on-going projects. This indicated a gap in priorities between the two levels of committees. It could also indicate poor planning on the part of the locational development committees. Thus, although the lower committees are composed largely of local people, they lacked skills in planning.

Local development committees also lacked stationery; their minutes were not typed and passed on to the next higher committees. At the sub-locational level no member was assigned the duty of taking minutes. Even at locational and divisional levels lack of means of transport prevented the secretary (A.S.D.O.) from attending all the meetings of the committees. These problems minimized the effectiveness of the development committees. Despite this fact, Kayongo-Male (1983) had pointed out that higher level committees should take decisions in light of those made in the lower committees. As the decisions of the lower committees are not ready in terms of minutes for use by higher level committees, doubts are raised on the claims of the DFFRD strategy that the committees will facilitate local people's involvement in decision making on development activities of their localities.

As noted, early studies of organised interest groups attributed participation of people in such groups to their socio-economic characteristics. This study set out to examine the

influence of socio-economic characteristic of leaders of local development committees on their participation in the activities of these organisations. The characteristics considered were formal education, annual income, main occupation and gender of the members.

It was clear that most of the respondents had attained either average or a high level of formal education. Community Development Committees (CDCs) unlike Development Committees (DCs) had slightly more members whose level of formal education was low. It was found that participation in activities of the committees was high among more of the members who had attained high formal education.

Most of the respondents from DCs were either formally employed or in business. This was also true of those from CDCs although slightly more than a third (37.5%) were small scale farmers. This study shows that participation tended to be high among more of the members who were formally employed or who were in business. Small scale farmers participated less in the activities of both the Development Committees (DCs) and even in the CDCs where a fair number of them are included.

More of the respondents from DCs had an annual income of more than Kshs. 15,000/=. This was also true of the CDCs although here a good proportion of the members (47.5%) had annual incomes of less than Kshs. 15,000/=. This study revealed that the higher the respondents' annual income the higher their participation in the committees activities. These findings are in agreement with those of Thomas (1980) who found participation in self-help committees to

have been influenced by similar characteristics of local leaders. As regards gender it was clear that Development Committees (DCs) had less women member, there were more female members (47.6%) in Community Development Committees. This study revealed that females apart from being under-represented in DCs hardly participate in the committees activities. Even in the CDCs where females are fairly represented their participation tended to be low while that of male members was high. This seems to be in line with Kayongo-Male's (1985) contention that women minimally participate in development committees.

It can therefore, be concluded that just as socio-economic characteristics affected involvement in interest groups (Kolb, 1958) or in the community power structure (Hunter, 1974), they also influence participation of respondents in local development committees studied. As the less educated, unemployed, those with less income and females were not adequately co-opted in these organisations, it is clear that there is no widespread involvement of local people in the activities of the development committees as envisaged by government policy on the District Focus for Rural Development Strategy (1983).[2]

Finally, leadership style in the local development committees was examined. Its influence on participation of the members in the activities of the committees was also analysed.

It was found that a majority of respondents from DCs considered the administrators as the most important persons in the activities of the committees. On the other hand a majority of those from CDCs saw local persons as more important. In the literature review it was noted that the government in an attempt to achieve local involvement created development committees. These committees are however chaired by the administrators, for example, the chief is the chairman of the Locational Development Committee. The implication is that administrators have a lot of influence on the working of these committees. This type of situation may not be conducive for achievement of local involvement. It may be similar to the one referred to by Oyugi (1977) in his discussion on the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) where the success of the programme depended on the Area Coordinator who for various reasons stopped co-opting local persons.

It was found that participation was high among members of development committees who perceived administrators and politicians as most important persons and low among those who saw local persons as the most important persons in activities of the committees. This was contrary to the situation in the CDCs where participation was high where local people were considered as most important and low among those respondents who perceived administrators and politicians as the most important persons.

The findings revealed a clear bias for administrators and politicians as concerns influence in development matters. This is probably because administrators, especially District officers (DOs) and chiefs are charged with responsibility of chairing development committee meetings[3]. The politicians, especially civic leaders were active members and could even question decisions taken by some of the committees studied. These findings suggest that administrators and politicians dominate in these committees and thus raise doubt on their effectiveness in attaining local people's involvement in development efforts. The CDCs as noted by Heyer et al. (1971) seem to provide more room for local people's influence. This could be attributed to the policy of the Department of Social Service which provides for a more democratic selection of local people to be co-opted in these committees. Leaders of self-help groups are some of those co-opted in these committees.

The mode of communication was one of the indicators of leadership style. It was found that most of the members of Development Committees (DCs) utilized a public mode of communication, mainly in the form of local public rallies (Barazas). Some relied on impersonal and interpersonal modes of communication. The mode of communication appeared to influence members' participation in the activities of their local development committees. It was, however, unexpectedly found that participation was high among those who used impersonal mode of communication and

low among those who used interpersonal mode of communication. This shows that face-to-face mode of communication does not encourage participation in development committees' activities. This implies that authoritarian style of leadership tends to elicit high participation in development committees' activities. The possible explanation for this is the authority that the impersonal mode of communication carries. This authoritarian communication is usually in the form of memos written by the chairmen (administrators) calling for meetings, requests for information, or instructions. Given the fact that these committees, especially divisional ones are dominated by civil servants their participation in activities of the committees is likely to be high. In these circumstances government efforts at decentralization appear to amount to development of what Ghai et al. (1979) referred to as "miniature central administration centres" at the local level. Reynold and Wallis (1976) had also noted that government efforts to use development committees never eventually helped to attain the much desired local involvement.

Another indicator of leadership style was the resolution of disagreements within local development committees. Although a reasonable proportion of respondents (41.7%) had not experienced disagreements within their committees, most of those who had experienced tended to use persuasion and voting as a means for ensuring agreement. More of the respondents from CDCs claimed to use persuasion and voting in resolving disagreement. Voting was

probably used in situations where an issue has been discussed and not everybody was in agreement with it. Some respondents from DCs used force/coercion to gain agreement. This may mean that most of the members of CDCs use the non-directive approach in resolving disagreements. While a good number of those from DCs use directive approach.

Examination of the manner in which disagreement were resolved and participation did not reveal significant association between the two factors. There was, however, some indication that participation was high among members of DCs who used coercion or force to ensure agreement within their committees. Unexpectedly, participation was low among most of those who used persuasion and voting as well as those who withdrew suggestions that had led to the disagreements in order to resolve them. It is clear that authoritarian style of leadership elicits high participation in development committees.

In the literature review it is clear that participation requires that the people be consulted, given access to and take part in the decision making process. It is clear that local development committees are not adequately involving local people in the decision-making process. Thus, as Ghai et al. (1979) had noted in relation to the development committees of the second half of the 1970s, the local development committees studied do not seem to give scope for widespread local participation as desired by the 1984-88 Kenya Development plan.[4] This does not augur well for the District Focus For Rural Development Strategy.

5.4 Policy Implications and Recommendations

Although this study was done in Butere and Khwisero divisions, Kakamega district, the conclusions embrace other parts of Kenya. It is clear that Harambee self-help groups constitute a viable means through which local people are involved in various development activities aimed at improving their standards of living. However before the groups can be utilized to articulate local needs and priorities it is recommended that their leaders be trained in communication and planning skills The extent to which the leaders could be utilized for articulating local needs and priorities requires further research to establish the types of conditions in which participation in local development activities could be maximized.

Local people's participation in the activities of self-help groups appeared to be influenced by their knowledge of the history of the groups, that is, when the groups were started and who the initiators were. The people must also know the objectives of the organisation's and local development agencies that could provide them assistance. This calls for professional social development workers trained in community planning techniques to be deployed at the local level. They should, as Batten (1965) pointed out encourage, educate and help the local people to articulate and solve their needs collectively.

Behaviour such as participation in local development activities is goal-oriented. Harambee self-help groups seek to gain benefits for individual members and for the groups as whole. There is, therefore, a need to stimulate local people's participation by pointing out the benefits that are likely to result from their involvement in the activities of their self-help groups.

Commitment is a predicator of performance in self-help groups' activities. This implies that for the people to continue to participate actively in activities of their self-help groups they need to be committed, that is, concentrate their energies on their groups and not spread themselves thinly in many organisations. In this case, community development agents as noted by Batten (1965) are the ones who could help to ensure commitment of leaders and non-leaders to their self-help groups.

Similarly, socio-economic characteristics of those involved in local development committees influence their participation in these committees' activities. As people differ in their socio-economic characteristics, efforts should be made to ensure that those co-opted as members of the local development organisations are in terms of these characteristics, representative of the rest of the community. Leaders of local self-help groups, such as women's groups, youth clubs and business, farmers and artisans' organisations could help in choice of the leaders to be co-opted in local development committees. Such representative leaders could be able to articulate local needs and priorities. It is also recommended that the members of local development committees especially administrators such as District Officers, chiefs and

assistant chiefs be trained in community organisation techniques of planning and working with local people to meet their needs. Local seminars should be held to train the members of local development committees in these techniques.

It is not enough to tell government officers and local leaders to encourage participation of local people in development activities, the main challenge is its realisation. It is, therefore, recommended that monitoring and evaluation of activities of local development committees should be encouraged with a view of identifying their strengths and weaknesses. This could help to show how local peoples' participation is being achieved and how far their needs and priorities are being met.

As the minutes of meetings of lower level committees are used in taking decisions at the next higher level of the committees, it is important that the minutes be properly prepared and passed to the next higher level in good time. Thus, it is recommended that the local development committees be provided with stationery, to enable them compile and dispatch minutes in good time.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

1. District Focus For Rural Development, Booklet, office of the President, 1983, Revised, 1984.
2. Republic of Kenya, Development plan, 1979-1983, Government Printers, 1979, Chapter One.

Chapter Two

1. Department of Community Development annual report, 1965. P. 4.
2. See Ibid, P. 16.
3. D.S.S., Annual Report, 1972.
4. D.S.S. policy guidelines, 1983, P. 9-10.
5. Sessional paper, No. 10, 1965.
6. Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1966-1970, Government printers, Nairobi, 1966.
7. _____ Development Plan, 1970-1974, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1966.
8. _____ Development Plan, 1974-1978, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1974.
9. _____ Development Plan, 1979-1983, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1979.
10. _____ Development Plan, 1984-1988, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1984. Chapter Three.
11. _____ Kakamega District Development Plan, 1984-1988, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1984, P. 30.

Chapter Three

1. Republic of Kenya, Kakamega District Development Plan, 1984-1988, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1984, P.1.
2. Ibid, P.1.
3. See Ibid, P.3.
4. Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya population census, 1979 Vol. 1.
5. Central Bureau of Statistics, Population projections for Kenya 1980-2000, March, 1983.
6. See Republic of Kenya, Kakamega District Development Plan, 1984-88, P.6 Op.cit.
7. See Ibid, P.4.

Chapter Four

1. From discussions with District Social Development Officer (DSDO) Kakamega.
2. From discussions with District Officer, Khwisero.
3. From meetings attended at Eshibinga Sub LDC, 14.2.85; East Kisa LDC, 16.3.85; and Khwisero Div.DC, 11.6.85.

Chapter Five

1. Republic of Kenya; Development Plan, 1984-1988, Government Printers, Nairobi, 1984, Chapter Three.
2. DFFRD, Booklet, Office of the President, 1983, Revised 1984.
3. From discussions with District Officer Khwisero.
4. See Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1984-88, Chapter four, op.cit.

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APPENDIX I

Interview schedule for self-help leaders and development committees Members.

Sample number

Name of Respondent

Designation of Respondent

Type of Committee

(1) Project

(2) Locational development

(3) Divisional development

Place of Residence Place of Birth

Sub-location

Location

Division

District

1. Age

(1) 20 - 30

(2) 31 - 40

(3) 41 - 50

(4) More than 51

2. Sex

(1) Female

(2) Male

3. Marital Status

(1) Single

(2) Married (Monogamous)

(3) Married (Polygamous, State number)

(4) Widowed

(5) Divorced

(6) Separated

4. Family Size

(1) Less than 5

(2) 6 - 10

(3) More than 10

5. Education Level attained?

(1) Nil

(2) Adult literacy Classes (State number of years)

(3) Std. 1 - 4

(4) Std. 5 - 8

(5) Above Std. 8 (Specify)

6. Indicate the occupations you have had in the past and at present and state how long you were occupied?

Past Present

7. Indicate the main sources of income and how much earned from each.

(1) Employment

(2) Business

(3) Spouses

(4) Farm Sales

(5) Contributions from other family members?

(6) Others (specify)

8. What are the three major ways in which you spend this income?

9. Indicate types and number of houses in your home?

Roofs	Thatched	Ironsheet	Ironsheet/Tiles
Walls	Mud/Wood	Mud/Wood	Blocks / Bricks
Number			

10.	Farm Size	Acreage	Title deed
(1)	Around home stead		Yes/No
(2)	Elsewhere		Yes/No

11. What job training have you received if any?

How long did it take?

For?

Why?

12. Have you undergone any training that is relevant to this committees activities? Yes/No

If yes, indicate;

Type of training Duration taken When attended where

If a self-help leader; if not proceed to 21.

13. When was this project started?

By whom?

14. When did you first become aware of this project?

From whom?

15. What were the main objectives of this project when it started?

16. Has there been any change in these objectives? Yes/No

    If yes, what changes?

17. Which of the objectives have been achieved? How? Why?

18. What has your committee done to ensure the achievement of these objectives?

19. How are decisions about major issues made?

20. Indicate the three major decisions made by your committee over the past 2 years and how you consulted the local people?

21. What tasks does this committee perform?

22. Who is the most important person on your committee?

    Name

    Position

    Why

23. Is there any member who if lacking a committee meeting will not take place? Yes/No

    If yes, name

    Position

    Why

24. How many times in the last two years have you had to call off meetings because of this person lacking?

25. Has it happened that you could not agree with any decisions taken by the committee? Yes/No

    If yes, indicate

    <u>Decisions not agreed to</u> <u>Reasons</u>

26. What happens when a few members oppose the general concensus?

27. Do you think local peoples opinion about action decided upon by your committee should be taken seriously in decision making?
    Yes/No
    Explain
28. If the local people have something to ask you or a suggestion to make, how do they reach you?
29. What about if you want to announce something or give some suggestion to the local people how is it done?
30. What do you do when some members do not agree with the suggestions made?
31. Indicate some of the issues that some members have not agreed to and why?
32. How long have you been on this committee?
33. Indicate positions you have held on this committee and over what period of time.

Position	Period held

34. How were you chosen to these positions?
35. What other community organisations do you belong to, their objective and office held.

Organization	Objectives	Office held

36. Which of these have you found most useful and in which way?
37. What does being a committee member entail in terms of tasks, time needed and costs involved?
38. Why did you accept to be a member of the committee?
39. Since becoming a committee member have you been chosen as a leader elsewhere? Yes/No

40. If yes, indicate where and position chosen to:

Where leader	Position held

41. How has this affected your performance on this project?

42. How long have you been an ordinary member of this project?

43. What part did you play in the project then?

44. What benefits do you get for being a committee member?

(If not self-help proceed to 76)

45. What are some of the benefits that are got from this project?

46. How frequent are these benefits given?

47. In which way have you found this organisation useful?

To yourself

To all members

If yes, how?

If No why?

54. What part did the local people play in the starting of this project?

55. How did you participate in the starting of this project?

56. When was this project scheduled to be implemented?

57. When was it actually implemented and why?

58. What tasks do you think the members can undertake themselves?

59. Do they undertake these tasks? Yes/No

Explain

60. What technical expertise is (was) needed for the implementation of this project?

61. Who provided these expertise?

62. Are there members in this community who are capable of providing these expertise Yes/No

63. If yes, give example

64. Do they help the project in any way?

Yes/No

If yes, how

65. When you have a problem about this project, which persons do you consult?

66. Give three major problems that you faced and had to consult these people?

67. Are the activities of this project known to:

(1) Sub-location Development Committee?

(2) Location Development Committee?

(3) Division Development Committee?

(4) District Development Committee?

68. Have you been visited by any representative of this committee? Yes/No

69. If yes indicate which committee and reason for visit.

Committee	Reasons

70. Have you or any member of these committees on behalf of the projects? Yes/No

If yes, indicate which committee and reason for visit.

Committee	Reasons

71. How many hours do you contribute to this project activities in one week? (specify the activity)

(1) 1 hrs (4) 4 hrs

(2) 2 hrs (5) 5 hrs

(3) 3 hrs (6) 6 and more

72. What material have you contributed to this project in the last two years?

Material Cost

73. When you have work days in your project what part do you play, if you attend?

74. If you don't attend do you send someone else or pay something instead?

Yes/No?

Explain

75. Have you contributed cash to the project?

Yes/No?

If yes, how much?

How regular do you contribute

76. How often are committee meetings held?

77. How often do you actually attend?

Explain

78. In this meetings, what are some of the suggestions you have made?

Were they accepted?

Explain

79. When it comes to decision about usage of resources available to the project, who is the most influential person?

80. How are contributions to the self-help project decided upon?

81. Have you ever raised any objection to the system of contribution?

Yes/No

Explain

82. Are there any type of resources that you can use at your own descretion? Yes/No

If yes, which resources?

83. How often are members required to contribute?

(1) Cash

(2) Materials

(3) Labour

84. How is this decided upon?

85. Do you have any resources, that have been important for the activities in which this committee is involved in?

Yes/No

If yes, explain

86. Is there any way that you can solicit funds and resources from donors (Government or non-Government) for the purpose of the activities that your committee is involved in? Yes/No

87. If yes, indicate sources from which you have solicited funds from and for what purposes in the last two years?

Source	Amount	Purpose

If Self-help leader proceed to 96.

88. In which ways does your committee help local people assess their needs?

89. Before starting a project or activity that needs peoples involvement, how are they involved in the identification of resources?

90. Indicate the self-help projects that your committee has been involved in the last two years in this area?

91. There are many development projects in this area (e.g. school building, water, cattle dip, projects, women groups etc), how does your committee ensure that they are all monitored?

92. Would you say that these activities are coordinated or uncoordinated?

93. What are the major difficulties that your committee faces in coordination of these activities?

94. How can they be overcome?

95. Are there members of this project/group who have become leaders elsewhere since the project began? Yes/No

If yes, who are they and where are they leaders?

Name	Organization

96. What would you attribute this to?

97. Are there any people who were members of this project and then left? Yes/No

98. If yes, why did they leave?

99. If no, has the project membership increased?

Yes/No

Why?

Any other comment

Thank you very much.

APPENDIX II

Interview Schedule for self-help projects/groups members

Sample number

Name of Respondent

Name of group/project

Place of residence

Sub-location

Location

Division

Date of Interview

1. Age

(1) 20-30

(2) 31-40

(3) 41-50

(4) 51 and above

2. Sex

(1) Female

(2) Male

3. Marital Status

(1) Single

(2) Married (Monogamous)

(3) Married (Polygamous, State number)

(4) Widowed

(5) Divorced

(6) Separated

4. Family size

(1) Less than 5

(2) 6-10

(3) More than 10

5. Education level attained?

(1) Nil

(2) Adult Classes (State number of years)

(3) Std. 1-4

(4) Std. 5-8

(5) Above Std. 8 (specify)

6. Literacy Languages

(1) Read

(2) Write

7. Occupations

Past Present

(1) Farmer

(2) Business man (specify)

(3) Wage employee

(4) Salaried employee

(5) Others (specify)

8. Indicate type and number of houses in your homestead.

Roofs	Thatched	Ironsheet	Ironsheet/Tiles
Walls	Mud/Wood	Mud/Wood	Bricks /Blocks
Number			

9. Size of Farm owned: Acreage Title deed

   (1) Around homestead Yes/No

   (2) Elsewhere

10. Indicate the main sources of income and how much?

Source	Amount earned per year
(1) Employment	
(2) Business	
(3) Spouse (s)	
(4) Farm sales	
(5) Other family members	
(6) Others (specify)	

11. What are the three major ways that you spend this income.

12. How many of your children go to school and how much do you spend on their schooling.

   (1) Primary KSh.

   (2) Secondary KSh.

   (3) Training Institution KSh.

13. What need or problem is this project meant to solve?

14. Who identified the need?

   When?

Why?

15. When did you first become aware of this need?

From whom?

What did you do?

16. When was this project started?

17. What activities were done to start it?

18. What part did you play if any?

19. What are the objectives of this project?

20. Which of these objectives do you think have been achieved.

Why?

21. Indicate type of materials that were used for the implementation of this project and where available?

Material	Where available

22. What problems do you face in obtaining material for the project?

23. Indicate external sources of assistance to this project, type of assistance and amount.

Source	Type	Amount

24. Why did the above sources give assistance?

25. Who in this project suggests new activities most often?

26. What activities has the project done in the last 2 years?

27. What part have you played?

28. Are there any project activities that have been abandoned or discontinued? Yes/No

If yes, indicate the project activity, when and why abandoned?

Activity	When abandoned	Why

29. When some project activity has to be done (e.g. fund raising, Work days) how is this done?

30. When major decisions (e.g. amount of contributions, sharing of benefits) are to be made, how is this done?

31. What benefits do you receive or have you received from this project?

32. Are there any benefits that you are supposed to receive regularly? Yes/No

    If yes, indicate benefit and regularity

    Benefits — Frequency received

33. Why do you receive benefits with this frequency?

34. What skills if any have you acquired due to your participation in this self-help project?

35. What benefits or contribution do you think the project must be giving you?

36. How can this be done?

37. How did you choose the three leaders? Explain)

    (1) Chairman

    (2) Secretary

    (3) Treasurer

    Explain

38. What is the criterion for leadership choice?

39. (a) Which of your leaders is easy to approach?

    (b) If a leader wanted to inform you something how does he do it?

40 Are there some people who particularly enabled the starting of this project? Yes/No

If yes, who are they?

41. How did this project benefit from the efforts of these people?

42. Would you say your leaders are;

(1) Very capable

(2) Capable

(3) Incapable

Explain choice

43. Who plans the activities of this project?

How?

44. Were you involved in any way in the planning of the activities of this project? Yes/No

If yes, how?

If No, Why not?

45. Are there set standards for contribution to this project? Yes/No

If yes, who sets them?

46. Indicate how much you have contributed in the last two years to this project and other projects.

Contribution	Amount	Names of project
(1) Money		
(2) Materials		
(3) Labour		

47. How were the contributions to this project decided upon?

What part did you exactly play?

48. How many hours do you contribute to the project in one week?

(1) 1 hrs (4) 4 hrs

(2) 2 hrs (5) 5 hrs

(3) 3 hrs (6) 6 and above

49. How often are general meetings between you as members and the leaders of this project take place?

50. Of what usefulness are these meetings to you?

51. How often do you actually attend?

52. In these meetings what suggestions have you ever offered in the last 3 meetings?

Suggestion	When	Was it accepted

53. Do you think that the Government or any other agency may take over the running of this project?

Yes/No

Explain

54. Who do you consider is the owner of this project/group?

55. Indicate types of project activities that are your responsibility and why?

56. Would you say that the project is very successful, successful or not successful?

Explain

57. What other community organisations do you beIong to (List)

Name	Objectives	Office held

58. Which of these have you found most useful and in which way?

59. What can be done to strengthen this project?

60. Why has this not yet been done?