

PROBLEMS OF PLANNING
AND MANAGEMENT WITHIN THE NAIROBI
CITY COUNCIL //

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' A Thesis submitted in part fulfilment for the
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This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my (our) approval as University supervisor(s).

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ABSTRACT

The nature of urbanization problems is a world-wide one but presents its peculiarities in developing countries. The major peculiarity being the rapid rate of growth. The rapid population increase (1975 population of approximately 700,000) of City Council of Nairobi due to the role it plays as a political, commercial, industrial, administrative and cultural centre for the whole country has not only placed a lot of strain on the resources available to meet the demands of the increasing population in terms of infrastructure and services by the existing authority; but also the proportion of the total labour force is higher than the number of jobs available. Such problems if left unchecked could lead to an urban crisis. Thus the problems enumerated call for a need to re-examination of both the goals and the limited resources available.

The thesis tries to critically examine how the role of the planners and the administrators in the City of Nairobi has evolved over the past seventy-five years. Thus it has attempted to determine whether these are addressing themselves to the changing problems. It has also attempted to determine their role in the future shaping of the City. It has been found that both the planners and the administrators are not playing their role satisfactorily and will not be able to meet the demand of population expected to be between 3,000,000 and 4,200,000 by the year 2,000. Problems that are highlighted in connection with these are :-

a) the inability of planners to participate in decision

making and implementation of projects.

- b) Lack of public participation in planning.
- c) Lack of coordination between the various departments of the Council, and with the Central Government Ministries; more especially the Ministry of Local Government.
- d) The limited financial resources to provide the infrastructure and services for the growing population.
- e) Lack of trained manpower who can manage the Local authority efficiently.
- f) The weakness in the administrative structure.

All these problems have called for a reorganization in the Nairobi City Council's structure whereby more power should be given to the Chief Executive (The Town Clerk) rather than lie with the Councillors as it is at the moment. It is hoped that some form of co-ordination machinery must be found to help in the implementation of projects. The Town Planning section needs to be uplifted to a higher status of a Department and be given a bigger hand in policy formulation. The department must adopt a forward planning outlook. This can be achieved through formulation of a programme that must be followed strictly.

Externally, there must be closer intergration of the City Council and the Ministry of Finance and Planning, with close consultations with the Department of Physical Planning.

Regarding the limited financial resources, it has been proposed that the Nairobi City Council be given more powers to raise funds locally. To go with this, the council needs to determine its manpower requirements and embark on a

training programme. At the same time public participation from the time plans are being formulated through to implementation must be encouraged.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Although urbanisation in Africa is a new form of Social organisation, it has been coupled with a very rapid rate of migration of population from the rural areas. Professor Akin L. Mabogunje 1971 in his paper on 'Urbanisation Problems in Africa' states that in 1900 about one per cent of the total population lived in cities of 100,000 people and by 1960 the number had risen to 8½ per cent of the total. R. Becker in his paper presented to the Workshop on 'Management of Large Cities in Africa' on 'Problems of Urbanization in Africa' states that since the 1950s there has been a rapid increase in urbanization. The remarkable increase in urban population has caused a number of challenging problems to the planners. The problems have even been felt more in the so called primate cities, which have tended to attract the majority of the migrants.

1.2 One of the major problems of urbanization in Africa is that of organization and management. The cities have grown so fast in terms of industries and commercial activities that it has been impossible to develop appropriate administrative skills of community leadership and urban managers, to efficiently manage them. A significant point to note is that the majority of urban migrants do not take the city as their permanent home, but rather as a working place with a home in the rural area. Since the emphasis is on ethnic original forests very little emphasis is placed on the development of the city. A

problem facing many cities is the shortage of well trained administrators and technical personnel who would play a major role in the development of the city. Another feature that is characteristic of most African cities is the limited financial resources. Due to the limited resources, shortages of skilled manpower, lack of proper management and the rapid population increases there has been a strain on the housing stock and infrastructure available. It has not been easy to organise real solutions to those planning problems. The position is even aggravated by lack of a Data Bank to reveal the problems and show the need of immediate solutions. There has been a general failure to plan ahead to meet the demand and as a result of which there has been rapid development of shanty areas and uncontrolled developments. Another problem facing many cities is the lack of social welfare services for example reception centres to receive migrants and deal with their adjustment problems.

1.3 These various problems are especially true of the primate cities in Africa. The rapid population increases have indeed placed a stress on the availability of jobs, housing and infrastructural services. These problems are no exception to Nairobi which is the primate city of Kenya.

1.4 Problems facing Nairobi can only be appreciated by examining the role it plays in the context of East Africa and Kenya. Even before the second World War¹, Kenya was

the most urbanized of the East African countries. In 1962, 6.9² per cent of its population lived in Urban centres of 10,000 inhabitants and over (John Hutton - 'Urban Challenge in East Africa, 1970).

1.5 Nairobi's establishment dates as far back as 1899 when it started as a railway depot. It is today the largest town in East Africa. Its importance can be explained in terms of the role it plays as a political, economical, and cultural capital of Kenya, which is the richest of the three East African countries. Because of its importance as the core region, Nairobi has attracted the highest percentage of migrants. The accelerated rate of growth has been felt more after Independence³ in 1963. According to the findings of the Nairobi Urban Study Group the population to the city has been growing at the rate of 7 per cent per annum. The population of the city now stands at approximately 700,000.

1.6 The rapid population increase has thus placed a strain on the limited resources of the Nairobi City Council. It is believed that the City Council of Nairobi is faced with problems originating from within and outside it which delay or hinder implementation of projects. There is consequently lack of public participation with the Nairobi City Council. The functions of Nairobi City Council are to provide infrastructure and services to the public for which it has limited powers of late. Even minor decisions have to be approved by the Ministry of Local Government.

To be able to understand these weaknesses better, one needs firstly to examine the functions of the planning x section in relation to its own department i.e. the City Engineer's Department and thereafter with other departments of the Council - namely (i) the co-ordination that exists between these departments; (ii) the various management functions of each department; (iii) the manpower requirements; (iv) the existing planning legislation. Also along with these are the outside x factors originating from other Ministries and more especially the Ministry of Local Government.

1.7 Integration between the different sections of the City Engineers Department and the co-ordination between the various departments is a very important tool for effective implementation. The existing machinery that helps city administrators and planners solve the problems facing the city will be examined critically. In so doing, a more appropriate machinery will be proposed which will bring about intergration of the departments at various levels. With closer coordination more realistic priorities for development will be proposed but not just for departmental pride as it exists at the moment; thus, working as a team. It is important to suggest ways and means of managing such a large city which continues to grow at a fast rate both in terms of population and investment.

1.8 The problems enumerated in 1.6 are so significant that they do affect the proper functioning of the Nairobi City Council. Their significance is seen in the fact that in most cases wrong decisions are made regarding priorities; less emphasis is placed on the infrastructure and services which are Council's responsibility; for example the provision of low-income housing; and yet, it is the only public body that can provide housing at subsidized costs. The decision makers need to think of themselves as working for the benefit of the Council and its inhabitants, but not for personal or departmental gain.

1.9 As stated earlier on, the Council is of late a very weak body in that it is dependent almost entirely on the Ministry of Local Government to sanction all its capital expenditure. This state of affairs therefore leaves the Council with several capital projects planned for but cannot be implemented because approval has not been received from the Ministry. To say the least on this arrangement, one can see that apart from obvious delays, there is the question of costs which keep soaring up with time. Thus when approval has been given, revised costs are necessary and approval must be sought for once more. However, such as one now levels the blame on the Ministry, the thesis hopes to highlight the causes that led to this state of affairs. The Nairobi City Council must share part of the blame.

1.10 The purpose of the study is to identify some of the problems facing the Nairobi City Council, in particular the Planning Section and come up with a critical analysis regarding the existing planning machinery in terms of its application to

modern problems; Examine other management aspects especially administration which includes manpower planning, budgeting and financing and the Council's limitations in relation to the Ministry of Local Government; Ways of improving the functioning of the Council must be sort.

1.11 It is noted and accepted that, one has to work within the limitations of a given political system. Thus drastic changes are considered not appropriate as these may have a tendency of having adverse effect.

1.12 A brief outline of what is discussed in each chapter will give the reader a picture of the highlights of the paper.

Chapter two deals with the historical background, which details the origins of settlements in Africa and East Africa. It then discusses how Nairobi developed. Chapter three examines the growth of Nairobi at various stages of development. The chapter highlights some of the planning and management problems facing the city then. It goes on to evaluate the kind of solutions that were adopted and states to what extent these achieved the set goals. The different periods examined are:-

(i) 1900 - 1947

(ii) 1948 - 1962

(iii) 1963 - 1967

(iv) 1967 to the present period.

It will be observed that the present period has been discussed in detail as here are present and most immediate problems facing the Council which require immediate solutions. Such problems are to be found in the existing planning legislation; in the functioning

of various departments particularly the coordination that should exist towards implementation of plans, the financial resources available and to what use these are put; and finally the availability of manpower for implementation. The fourth chapter then gives a summary of the problems identified above and makes suggestions as to ways of improving the existing system. Chapter five deals with future prospects of the city. The last chapter deals with the summary and conclusions. Here some solutions to the problems facing the City Council are proposed.

1.13 Nairobi has been selected as the area for study because it is the primate city of the country and as such is faced with a magnitude of problems which are a challenge to the planners. It is hoped that other towns in the country will learn from experiences of Nairobi and not repeat the same mistakes.

1.14 So far one major research has been carried out in this field. Frederick Temple in his Thesis 'Planning, Politics and Housing within NCC' analyzes the policies and political administrative structures that the Local Government of Nairobi has adopted in response to the problems of accelerated Urban growth. In analysing the political administrative structure and the various policies adopted he concludes by emphasizing the impact on policy making in Nairobi by four types of influential groups who are the elite:

- (i) The Residents
- (ii) The Politicians
- (iii) The Bureaucrats
- (iv) The experts (Expertriates)

What the study hopes to achieve is to provide suggestive hypotheses

about behaviour of similar sets of actions elsewhere. In his conclusions he sites the problems involved in accumulating executive power under a British style local authority system. He also brings out the politics involved in urban policy making.

1.15 The difference between the present research and the previous one is that, the present research lays emphasis on examination of evolution of planning in Nairobi from the period 1900. By so doing the thesis intends to find out the level of influence the planners have in decision making and implementations of various projects within the present administration set up. Through examination of the various tools that planners are equipped with in carrying out their role, it is hoped that, development of new skills or improvement in the existing tools will make the role of the planners in development of the city more effective.

1.16 What happens at the moment in planning is that it is very centralized. The Nairobi City Council may be the authority over its area of jurisdiction, but still approval for all decisions made must be granted from the Central Government. At the same time there is very little public participation in planning and decision making. The assumption here is that there is need to decentralise all the operations, giving local authorities more power under the present structure but place more emphasis on public participation in planning and decision making. The model also places emphasis on proper coordination of the various departments which will result in more effective implementation of

policies passed by the council.

1.17 Various research methods have been used in collection of the data. The most important of these has been the various reports written in this field. Another source that has been of great importance is the City Council documents - for example, the Council minutes and the various By-Laws. It has been necessary to have discussions with various people who have had a lot of experience in the workings of the Nairobi City Council. Other discussions have been held with people who have had some experience from elsewhere in the same field. The sort of interviews held with the people have been rather informal and no set questionnaire has been used.

1.18 During the research several problems have been experienced. There have been cases when a certain report has been missing at such a critical moment. This kind of problem has hindered or delayed the research. Another problem experienced has been the limited times that has been available with the interviewees. A third and most important problem has been the discontinuity in the work brought about by the closure of the University for five months in 1974. The uncertainty prevailing during the period was very demoralising.

Introduction Foot notes to the Introduction.

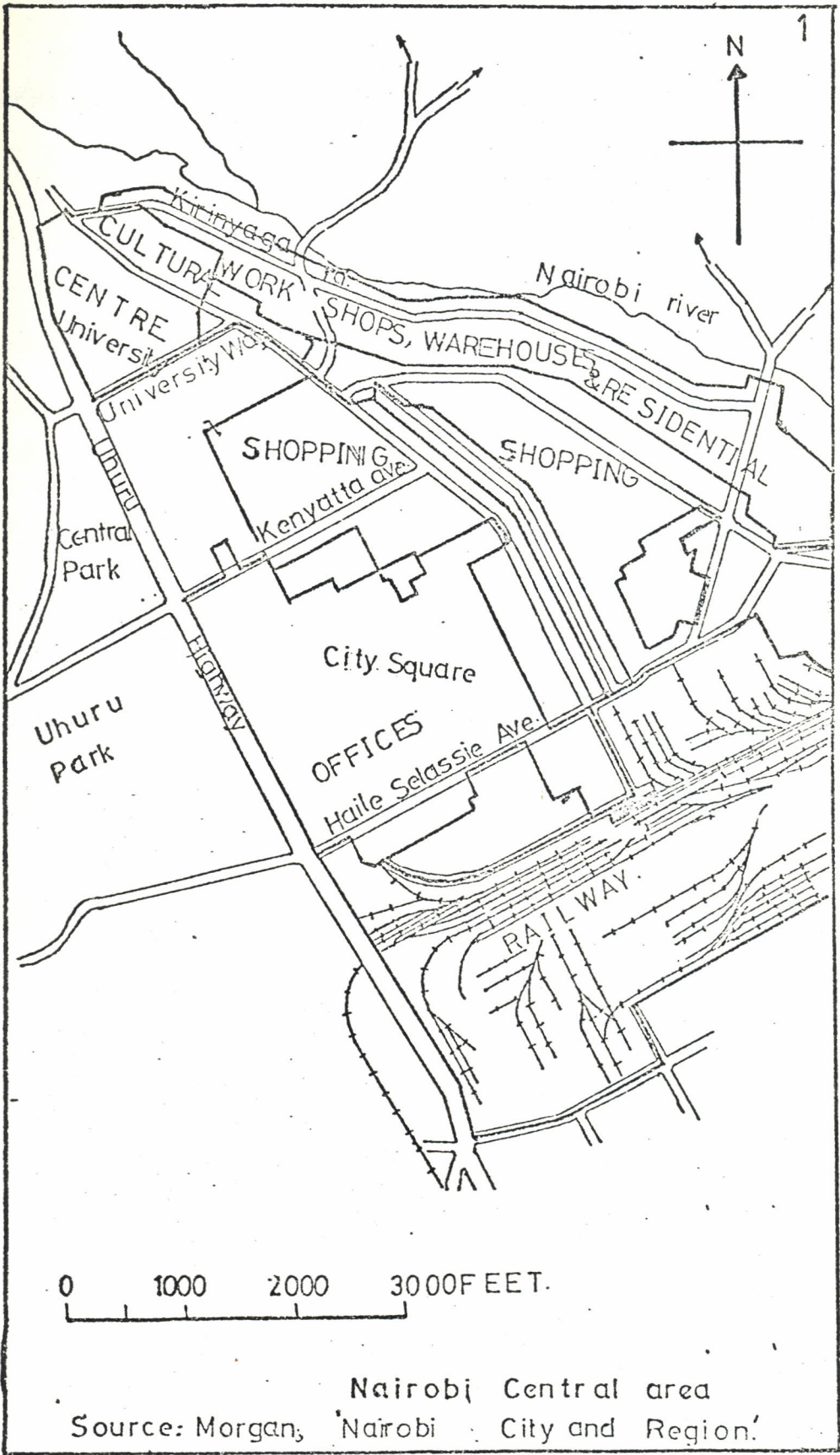
1. Second World War took place in 1939 - 1945
2. Around the same period Tanzania had 3.8 per cent and Uganda 3.0 per cent in 1959.
3. The rate of growth now seems to stand at 7 per cent per annum.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1.1 Urbanization in Africa is a recent phenomena and as such social ties between the rural and urban areas are still strongly entrenched within its indigeneous population. Apart from North Africa and Nigeria, urbanization in Africa is hardly a century old. In 1920 the urban population in Africa was only 4.8 per cent of the total population but the urban growth accelerated so fast that in 1960 it rose to 13.2 per cent.

2.1.2 Africa is thus a rural continent. Its towns are a creation of colonial powers which often build them according to their own ideas and desires. The creation of the towns was mainly for the exploitation of the hinterlands for agricultural products for exportation. Thus towns like Accra in Ghana, Mombasa and Nairobi in Kenya came to be. Most of these towns were and still are characterized on the one hand by well planned Central areas, (see Central area map of Nairobi¹) and the residential areas formerly occupied by Europeans and on the other hand by squatter developments, and other major problems that accompany it within areas formerly zoned as African residential areas. These types of developments have come out as a result of a high rate of migration into urban areas due to the push and pull factors. Thus the Continent has the highest rate of urban growth of 4.6 per cent per annum between 1960 - 1980. The growth discussed above is unevenly spread, thus towns like Nairobi have a higher growth rate of 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum.

2.1.3 Let us now examine the development of urbanisation in East



Nairobi Central area
 Source: Morgan, 'Nairobi City and Region'

Africa and what factors underlie this type of development.

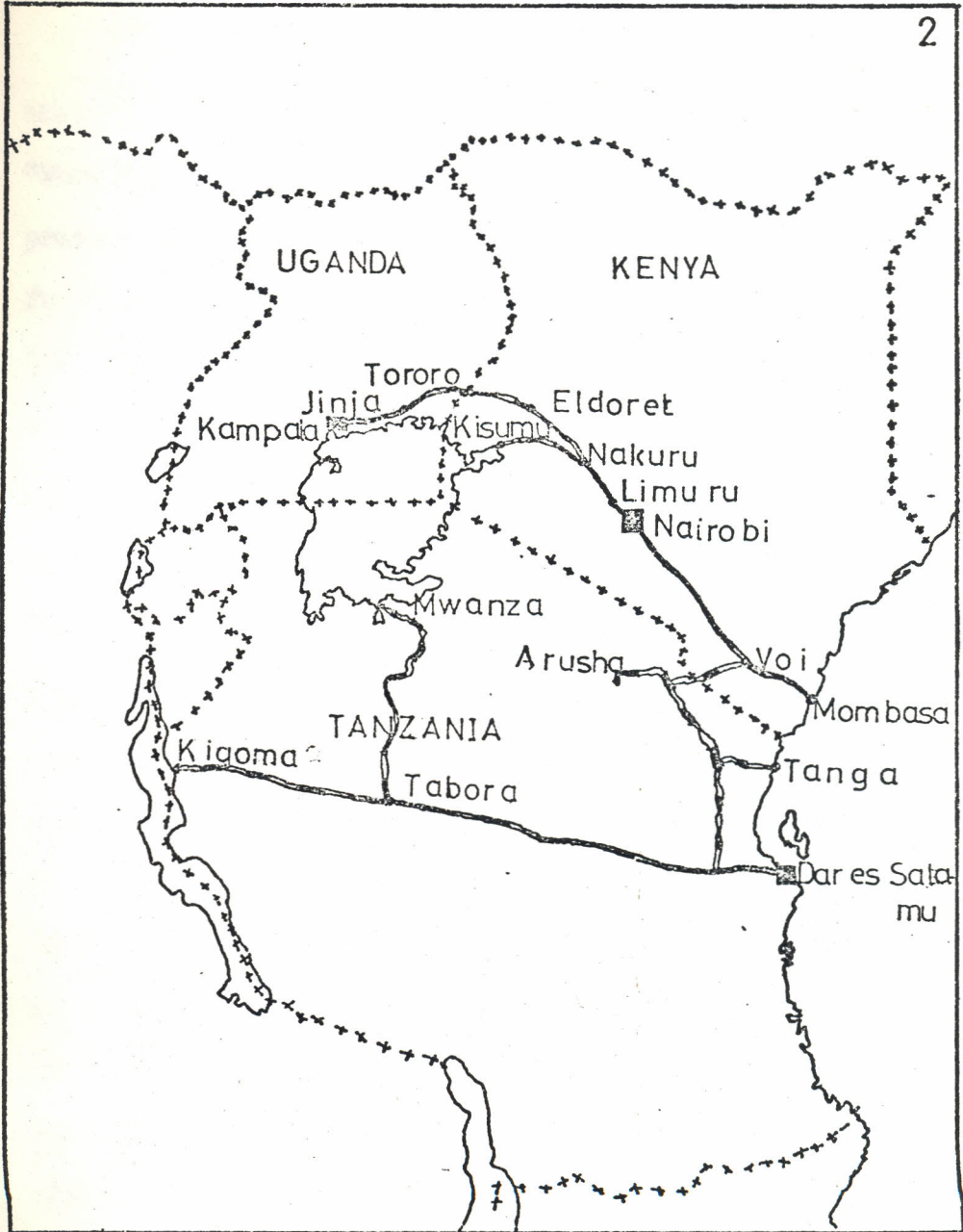
2.2.0 Apart from the coastal towns, there were few towns in existence in East Africa. Most of the coastal towns date as far back as the 7th century at the time when trade between East Africa, India and China was thriving. Many of these towns developed as trading centres¹, as during those days trade was mainly in ivory and slaves.

2.2.1 Most coastal towns at the time were occupied by Arabs and were marked by crude structures which housed Mosques, tombs and narrow streets. Remains of these can be traced in the Old Mombasa Town. During these early days most of the coastal towns were destroyed by the coming of the Portuguese, but their influence came to an end with the establishment of the British and German rule.

2.2.2 The European aim at the time was to explore the interior of East Africa. A decision was then made by the British to colonize Uganda. It became necessary to link Uganda with the coast; thus a decision was made to build the railway line. Many inland towns developed along the railway line and others around the lake ports (see map No.2). There were other towns which developed as purely administrative centres as and when the Europeans brought new areas under their administration.

2.2.3 The towns were then composed of European administrators and Indian traders, while the African in those days was considered as a temporary immigrant who would later return to the rural area.

2.2.4 It is stated in the 'East Africa Royal Commission 1935 - 55



Scale : 0 100 200 Miles



The Railway Impact on Town Establishment in East Africa.

Source: Hance, 'The Geography of Modern Africa'

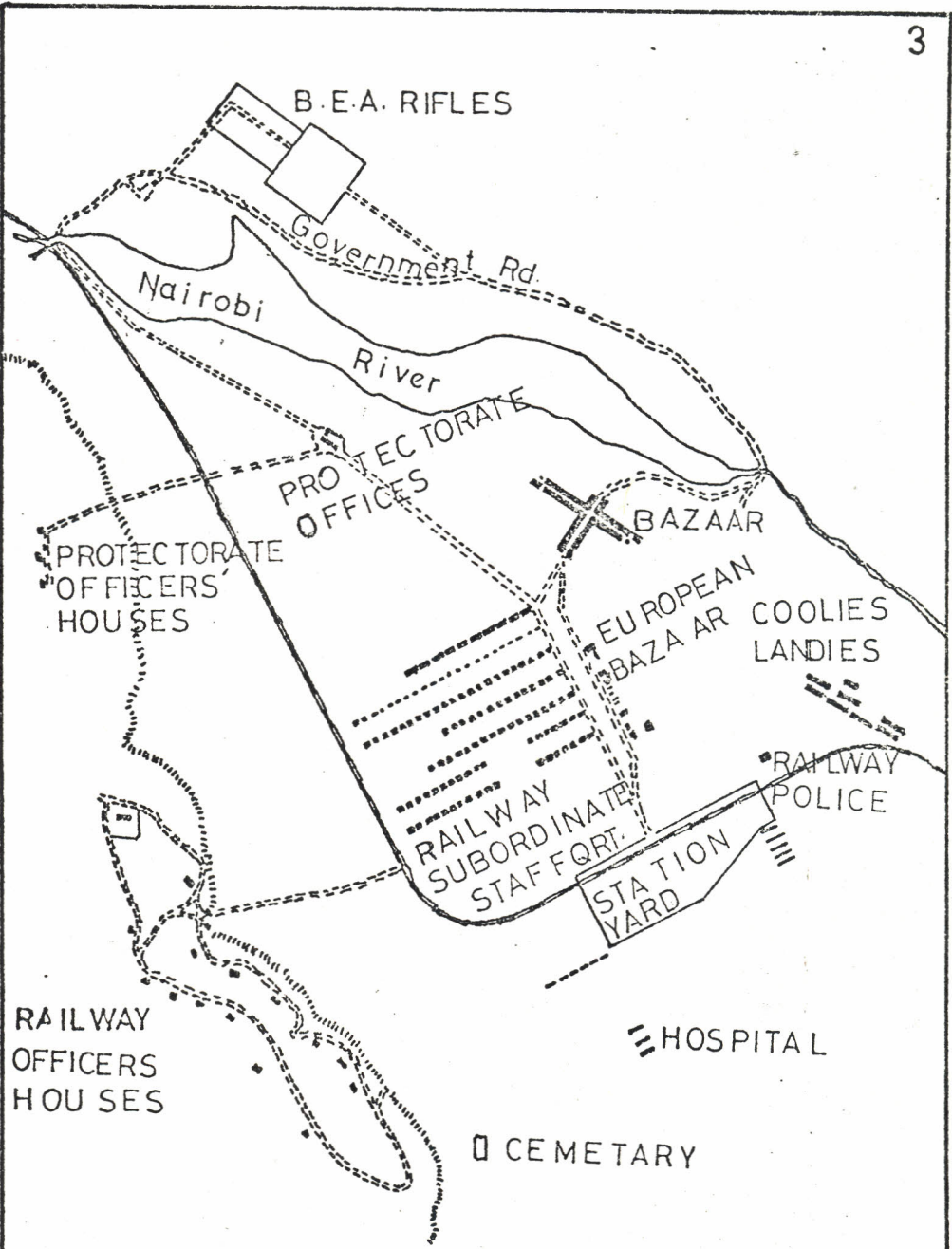
that;

"When European Administration was established early in the present country, the East African territories were unhealthy for Europeans. Centres had to be established where they could live free from the dangers of tropical diseases and from which the surrounding country side could be administered."

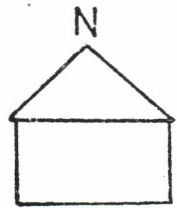
2.2.5 It could be summarized here that interior towns in East Africa grew up as centres of trade, administration, and railway depots. The establishment of Nairobi follows the same pattern.

2.3.0 The establishment of Nairobi dates as far back as 1899 when the construction of the railway reached the site. The railway authorities thought the site was suitable as a resting place before starting work on the most difficult part; the escarpment, which posed a lot of construction problems. Nairobi was first established as a railway depot; later in the same year the authorities moved their railway headquarters from Mombasa to Nairobi. A short while later Government also moved its administration from ~~Machakos~~ to Nairobi. Thus the Nairobi began to play its role as a commercial, administrative, industrial and transportation centre in the early days. Map number 3 shows Nairobi as it was at its establishment.

2.3.1 No doubt Nairobi like any other town was faced with many problems at the time. When the site was selected, it was thought to have all the advantages; the water in Nairobi river was considered adequate for settlement; the topographical nature also offered advantages for the railways, and the higher ground cooler areas for suitable housing for the officials.



Nairobi 1901



Source: Morgan, 'Nairobi City and Region.'

Chapter 2

Footnotes.

1. From Hutton - in his book *Urban Challenge in East Africa*
page 1.

Chapter 2

Footnotes.

1. From Hutton - in his book *Urban Challenge in East Africa*
page 1.

3. HISTORICAL GROWTH OF NAIROBI

3.1 STAGE I - 1900 - 1947

3.1.1 Nairobi was established as a railway depot in 1899, but later in the same year the Government moved its administration offices from Machakos to the same site; the creation of a second authority created friction especially regarding matters of land. During this period commercial activities were established, residential development took place, according to peoples desires. Definite land use zones began to emerge and the pattern that developed then still underlies the present pattern of development. Within the central area the layout was guided by the physical features that surrounded the site, for example the Nairobi river to the North and the Nairobi Hill¹. These do account for the grid-iron pattern of roads which is still noticeable in the central area. Map number 4 shows the extent of development during this period and the extensions of the boundaries. In most cases the boundary extensions were arbitrary and did not have any justification. The first boundary covered a radius of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles ($2\frac{2}{5}$ kms). During this period the centre of railway activities comprised of the station, the marshalling yards, loco sheds and offices. Government offices had also been located, European business area was placed in a different location from the Indian Bazaar. Residential areas were also dispersed and were characterized by racial segregation.

3.1.2 The section that follows highlights some of the management problems that faced the town during this period. It is evident from its inception that there was no coordinated planning taking

place. This is seen in the fact that there existed no overall authority responsible for the development of the town; a result of which led to uncoordinated planning and friction between the various authorities regarding the use of land. The lack of coordinated planning is seen in the fact that the Indian Bazaar had to be burnt down twice due to plague caused by the insanitary conditions resulting from overcrowding and lack of adequate infrastructure and other social amenities needed in a settlement of the like. These problems that characterized Nairobi's early development led to strong representations made to the British government by the local administration to move to a healthier site. Thus Winston Churchill's comment in 1908 was, "It is too late to change and thus lack of foresight and of a comprehensive view leaves its imprint on the countenance of a new country".²

3.1.3 It is also clear that speculation in land was ripe. This led to residents to live according to their own desires. Implications of which were scattered developments in areas like Karen-Langata, and Spring valley. Such developments made it difficult and costly to provide infrastructural services like water, roads and sewerage facilities. These facts do emphasize the lack of a planning authority then to control development; which resulted into haphazard layouts of the city.

3.1.4 The pattern that developed in the central area has influenced the development that is presently taking place. For example, the grid-iron pattern is characterized by intersections that are too close. This has meant installation of traffic signals

too close together thus tremendously increasing the costs.

3.1.5 The lack of an overall authority to coordinate development of the town meant that most of the managerial aspects were lacking. It is clear that there was no legislation to control development, neither were the financial aspects catered for. All these coupled with land speculation and the tremendous rights that individuals had on the land led to scattered development. No doubt the weaknesses were seen and measures were considered to control this type of development.

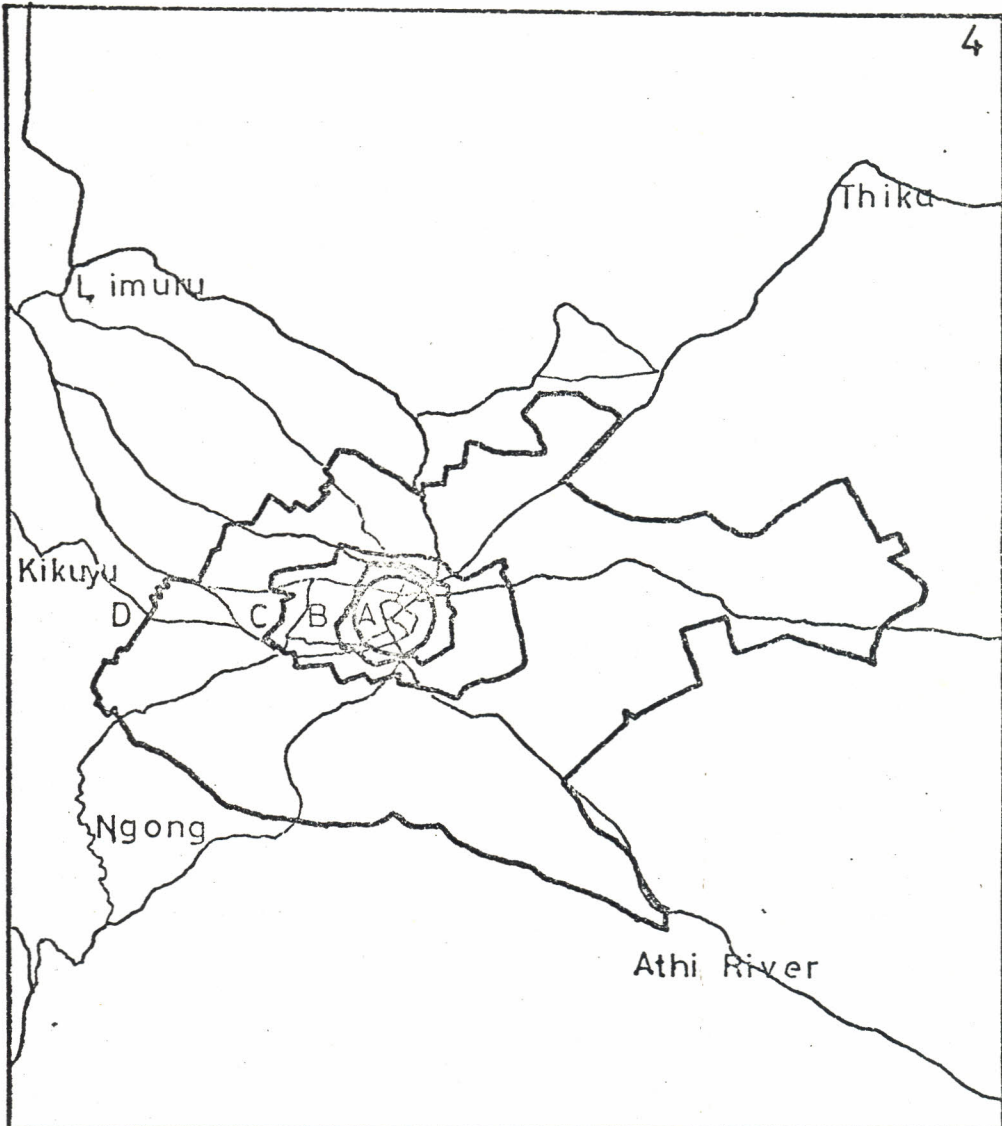
3.1.6 It is believed by some that in 1900 the Nairobi Municipal Regulations were published;³ in which the municipal boundary was defined as "that area within a radius of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the present office of H.M. Subcommissioner in Ukamba". The boundary seemed to be very arbitrary.

3.1.7 In 1919 Nairobi became a municipality with a corporation. The new corporation undertook provision of public housing in the eastern parts of the city for the lower income groups. During this period the municipal's boundary was extended (see map 4).

3.1.8 In 1926 the Local Government Commission was established to investigate every aspect of Nairobi Municipal's workings.

Boundary changes were again recommended (see map 4).

The authority and Regulations were established during this period but one needs to find out how effective these were in achieving aims of their establishment. The most important factor that seemed to stem out of all these was the extensions of the boundaries at various stages, although arbitrary (see map 4). The effect on



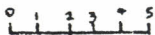
NAIROBI: Boundary Changes Since 1900

A - 1900

B - 1920

C - 1927

D - 1963

Scale:  Miles

Source: Morgan, 'Nairobi City & Region'



planning resulting from this is not revealed anywhere in the literature available. To summarise, one could state that there was no organised authority to control and carry out forward planning of the town. As such planning was characterised by lack of foresight in terms of expansion of the town; inadequate water, lack of drainage, resulting into development of slum areas. Since there was such a weak local authority to manage the affairs of the municipality, its management affairs rested in the hands of the then Protectorate Government. Thus from the very early days Central Government played a major role in the running of municipalities' affairs, thus a weak local authority from the very start. During this period the council, made up of elected councillors, took up several responsibilities. It had financial autonomy, powers to acquire land compulsorily and could also layout 'native locations'⁴, erect buildings, acquire and maintain bus services, erect aerodromes, laund^ries, welfare institutions, run its own water and electricity, sewerage and drainage services, make by-laws as to licensing and matters referring to safety, health and well-being of the inhabitants. The 1928 Ordinance was road conscious and also dealt with water and sewerage. Although the ordinance gave the local authority power to supply water to the settlement, in 1938 the provision of water to the town was still a problem and the town was faced by serious shortages due to its fast growth. During the Second World War its population was 109,000 and it was during this period that Nairobi became the Headquarters of the East African Command. During this period the provision of housing became the responsibility of the Municipality. Provision of some of the oldest housing estates in

the Eastern area of Nairobi came up then e.g. Shauri Moyo. To go along with the provision of housing were schools, dispensaries and social halls.

3.1.9 Although the responsibilities of the council were clearly defined planning still had its weakness as there was no plan to guide development; and the rivalry between the Government administration and the railway authorities still continued.

3.2 PERIOD BETWEEN 1948 - 1962

3.2.0 Before 1948 as already indicated, there was no long term plan which could guide development, and the rivalry that had existed between the railway and the administration authorities seemed to be hindering development. It is during this period that the need for a Master Plan was felt. It was felt that "A layout that will satisfy both the Municipality and the railway has to be evolved".

3.2.1 At the time the question had been whether Nairobi should be encouraged to develop further or whether further enterprises should be pushed in the country side leaving Nairobi sparsely populated. The argument was that further development of Nairobi hindered development of other areas, and it was necessary to decentralize industries and services. The need was therefore felt for some policy guideline on the matter.

3.2.2 At this time Nairobi was the largest town in East Africa with a population of over 100,000, the capital of Kenya and surrounded by a rich hinterland. Its importance led to the attraction of majority of the population. In the preparation of

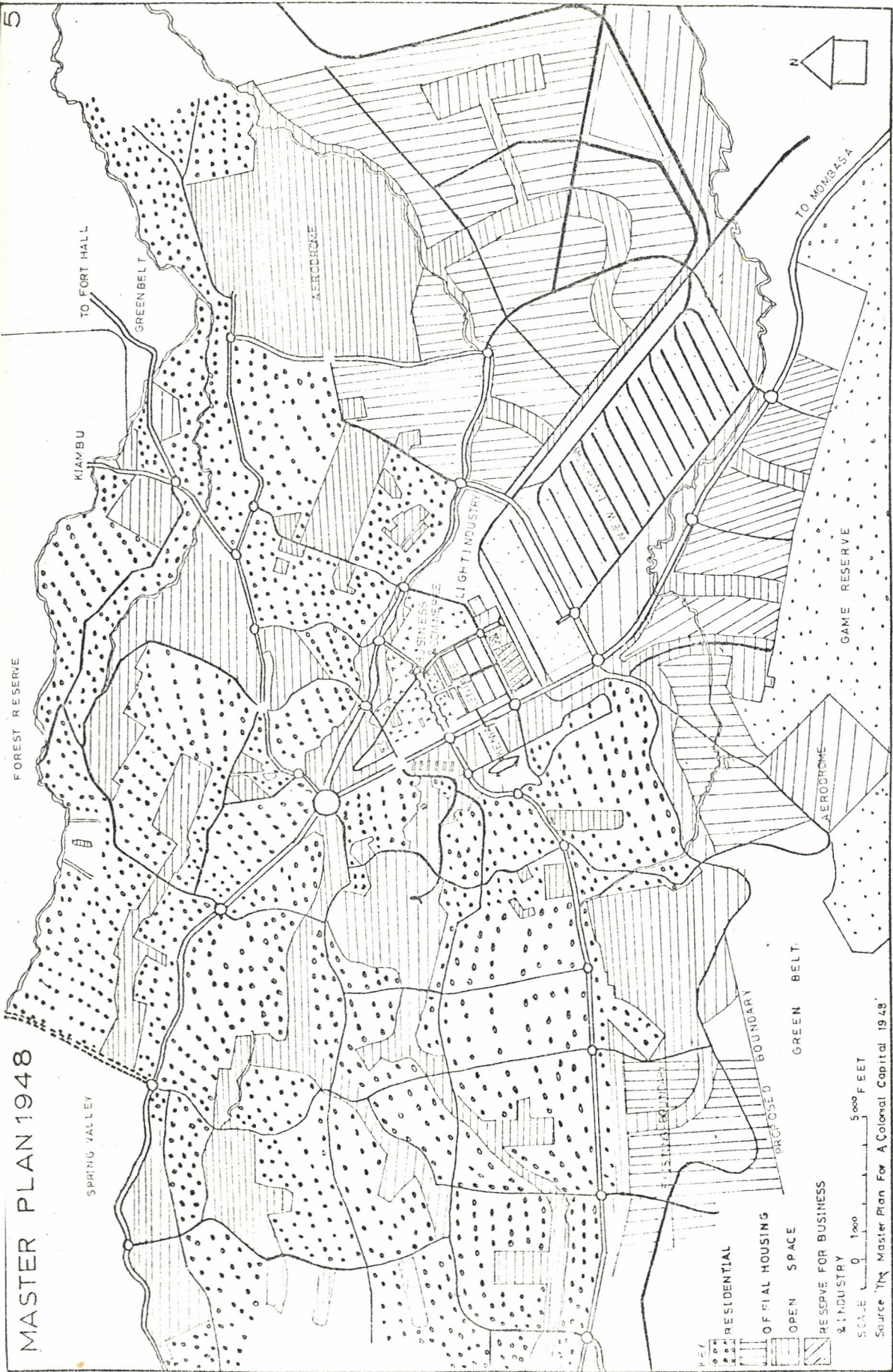
the 1948 Master plan, the aim was to prepare a zoning plan, whose goals were:-

- (i) 'raising of standards of living and cultural quality of communities life.
- (ii) Reduction of tension and the opening of opportunities to the aspiring and progressive'.

The plan aimed at providing a lot of open space where tall buildings should come up; a factor that was meant to counter-balance the appearance of the place. To achieve this, the Garden city concept was adopted where planning was viewed as landscape gardening. Through the idea the plan aimed at preserving as much as possible of the rural area, allowing for a great deal of open spaces. The plan also aimed at limiting the growth of the city within the then existing city boundaries.

3.2.3 The plan that was formulated was based on the grid-iron pattern (see map 5) with a lot of open spaces to counterbalance development of tall buildings. The plan also stated that the population would continue to grow at the rate of 3 - 4 per cent anticipating Nairobi to have a population of 270,000 by 1975. These projections have been proved false as the population of the city as at 1975 is over 650,000. But their lack of foresight can be qualified by the fact that they were working under different political circumstances which controlled the african population movement into the city. At the time it was impossible to think of Africans gaining independence. Another factor that the plan examined was whether the periurban development that was taking place could be allowed to continue, as this type of development

MASTER PLAN 1948



Source: The Master Plan For A Colonial Capital 1948

usually caused problems at a later date as some could become areas of uncontrolled development. In fact these are some of the problems being experienced in the planning of the city to-day.

3.2.4 Within the industrial area the plan tried to establish the relationship of industry vis a vis the rail and road transport. They attempted to segregate light industries from heavy industries, with the former relying on road transport while the later on the rail transport. Nobody ever foresaw the industrial area developing to its present size, nor the industries relying more heavily on the road rather than rail. Thus the main road now to industrial area is heavily used, resulting into heavy traffic congestion. Due to lack of foresight, no provisions were made for a road reserve thus limiting the chances of expansion.

3.2.5 One finds that as early as 1948, the planners then were aware of the regional planning approach. They were aware of the necessity to have coordination between the local authorities and the Central government especially regarding periurban development. However, despite their awareness to this need the means to enable them carry it out were lacking largely due to shortages of manpower resulting in the now uncontrolled development in these areas.

3.2.6 It is during this period that the by-laws were introduced. These are the 1948 Building By-Laws ('Planning'). The by-laws gives some policy guideline regarding development and use of land. The control of development was achieved by use of a zoning policy

limitation of the number of buildings permitted per plot and thirdly through provision of services especially sewers. The emphasis has been laid mainly on the type of building and its size regarding plot coverage.

3.2.7 It can be safely stated that these building By-laws have guided development of Nairobi more than the 1948 Master Plan, as this was prepared but hardly implemented.

3.2.8 The period that follows is characterized by planning on day to day basis, with no plan to guide development. Some planners believe that there was no need to have a plan to guide development due to the fact that the size of the city was manageable. It was only towards the end of the period that african migrants began to stream to the city. Because the planners had not anticipated the fast growth, the results have been a strain on the infrastructure and services.

3.3 STAGE III - Period Between 1963 - 1967

3.3.0 It was in 1963 that Kenya attained Independence from Britain, and a lot of changes took place. The restrictions put on african migrants from coming into the city were lifted, and the drift of the african population from the rural areas began. During the same time the boundaries of the city were extended to cover 690 square kilometres including areas like the National Park, Embakasi Airport and some of the ranching areas. The demarcation of this boundary was based on political grounds therefore did not form a cohesive planning unit.

3.3.1 Nairobi has been characterized by a fast population growth rate of 7% per annum, which has laid a strain on the housing stock, a result of which has been squatter developments e.g. in Mathare valley and uncontrolled settlements in areas like Dagoretti. Coupled with it is the strain laid on the infrastructural services like sewers, roads and water. During the period Nairobi was faced with major problems of water shortages. The strain was also felt on education and health services. The population increase coupled with lack of forward planning have made it impossible to meet the demand. Planning carried out during this period was on sectoral basis. Implications of this type of planning were the waste on the limited infrastructure available. At the same time, it placed strain on the minimum manpower that was available. Other repercussions that were brought about were, for example during 1967 the City Council tried to apply for a loan from the World Bank for provision of water to the city, but this was turned down on the grounds that there were no population figures to back it up. Another problem that faced the City Council during this period was lack of experienced local manpower. To most of them the responsibility came too fast and they found themselves overwhelmed by the new experience. It took them sometime to understand the challenges of their new experience hitherto under the control of the foreigners. Coupled with all this there was no organized training programmes for the local technicians to assist them. Thus for quite a long while after Independence there has been continuous reliance on expatriate staff. The problem that immediately arises from this heavy reliance on expatriates is two-fold in that

on the one hand they come on short term basis of two to three years. Once they leave there is a discontinuity in their work, and those who take over usually have to start afresh. This practice has partly contributed to the weaknesses that exist within the city council, and as such projects are not followed through to implementation. On the other hand they have a tendency of imposing ideas from their countries of origin rather than adopting their ideas to suit the local context.

3.3.2 During this period, the 1948 Legislation was still operative. There were no amendments to the law to take into account the problems as had developed by then. The law was too rigid and the population for which it was formulated to apply to did not understand its implications or if they did either thought it unfair or unrealistic. This led therefore to the creation of squatter settlements and other uncontrolled forms of developments that have taken place in many parts of the city. The legislation maintained very high standards which the ordinary person could not afford.

3.3.3 Neither is the financial position of the local authority able to meet the demands of the population although they insist on maintaining such high standards; consequently, there have been shortages in the housing stock and strain on the infrastructure and services. The city has never been able to meet the backlog in all these services and the responsibility rests entirely on it.

3.3.4 The problems arising from sectoral planning coupled by a lack of forward planning and the fact that the World Bank turned down an application for a Water loan led the Nairobi City Council

into the formation of the Nairobi Urban Study Group.

3.4 PERIOD BETWEEN 1967 -

3.4.0 The concept of a comprehensive plan to direct Nairobi's growth emerged in 1967; from sectoral pressures of shortage of housing, inadequacy of water, road system and rapid development of shanty areas. All these problems emerged from the rapid population migration into the city after Independence in 1963. During this time ad hoc study groups were established to deal with each problem independently. It was later found out that the work was overlapping and uncoordinated. A factor which came out of these studies was that, the magnitude of the problems facing the city were highlighted and the authorities concerned recognized the need for a comprehensive planning approach.

3.4.1 Thus the formation of the Nairobi Urban Study Group made up of United Nations personnel, a British firm of consultants and council's personnel guided by a steering committee consisting of Government and City Council officials.

3.4.2 The objectives of the study were to provide the context within which:-

- a) "employment may be maximised, the attraction of⁵ modern sector non-agricultural employment. Informal sector in this context is seen as a complement of the modern sector.
- b) residential areas may be developed to as high a standard as is compatible with available resources and the occupants ability to pay.
- c) Severe budgetary constraints are recognised; hence housing and

employment opportunities may be located in such a way as to maximize public expenditure.

- d) unnecessary encroachment onto valuable agricultural land may be prevented."

3.4.3 To achieve the above objectives certain assumptions were made regarding the growth of the city up to the year 2000.

- (i) "That the population of Nairobi will increase from its⁶ present level of 700,000 in 1973 to between 2,880,000 and 4,200,000 by the end of the century. The population applied in the strategy is 3,000,000.
- (ii) Jobs available by the turn of the century will be 750,000 in both modern and informal sectors.
- (iii) That average household incomes would increase but those in the lowest income groups would remain the same.
- (iv) Between 1973 - 2000, 540,000 additional households will be required.
- (v) The number of cars within the city is likely to increase tenfold over the next thirty years if no measures of restraint are taken. The number of roads and car parks needed would rise and associated costs needed would increase even more sharply."

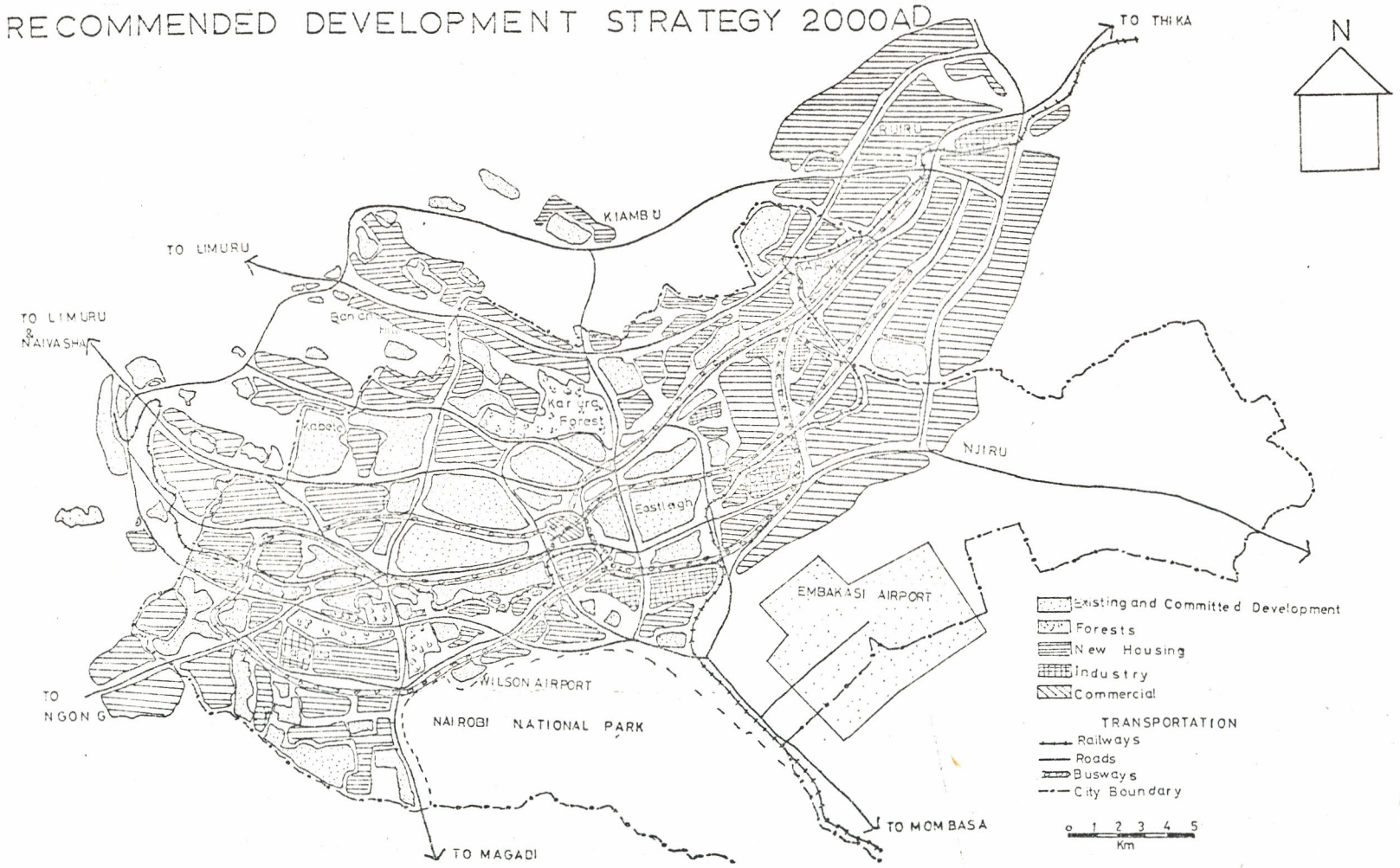
3.4.4 The physical structure assumes that Nairobi has adequate land for future development but the basic question in planning is the minimization of the service costs. The physical structure that is recommended is determined by the constraints and the following considerations:-

- a) " the need to ensure the recommended physical form has the capability to grow beyond the limits implied by the population without distorting its basic principles.
- b) the need to minimize the costs of human settlements and infrastructure, particularly with respect to movement of human settlements.
- c) The desirability of locating centres of industrial activity in the vicinity of concentrations of low-income people.
- d) The necessity of striving for congruence of authority and responsibility; i.e. encouraging that the planning area is subject to effective policy-making and implementation machinery."

Within the above guidelines it was concluded that the expansion of Nairobi could best be handled within the corridor stretching from Ngong, north eastward towards Thika (see map 6). It follows the main transportation routes of National and International importance; and the industrial areas are located next to these routes, and the railway linked with a bus-mass transit system.

3.4.5 An evaluation of the findings of the Nairobi Urban Study Group will give a clearer insight. Let us first examine how successful the findings have been in achieving their set goals of maximizing employment, having residential areas built to as high a standard and recognition of the severe budgetary constraints. In consideration of the first objective of maximizing employment; one finds that the only work achieved was to locate other industrial centres nearer the low income groups. Yet it is the Government's policy to decentralize industries to other towns

RECOMMENDED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2000AD



in the country. Why then should the Urban Study Group go against the Government's policy rather than encouraging more industries to be located elsewhere. From this point of view Nairobi should not have been looked at in isolation but in relation to other growth points in the country, thus upholding the government's policy of decentralization. Nairobi Urban Study Group did not consider what type of industries would be located in the designated centres. These should have been looked into and incentives to attract more industries should have been put forward as proposals. The second objective is that of developing housing to a standard the people can afford. The strategy has tried to achieve this by allocating cheap land for low income housing and even locating low income housing next to the industrial areas which reduces the site value. Most of the low income population are faced with an acute shortage of housing. The council and probably the Government and its institutions are the only bodies that can be involved in the development of low income housing. Yet it is these same bodies that are running away from the problem and building middle income housing. If these bodies cannot build low income housing then no private developer will be able to do it. So far there are plans under way for the council in conjunction with the World Bank to build low income housing on a site and service basis. The project originated from the findings of the Nairobi Urban Study Group and if similar projects were adopted by these public institutions then the strategy as proposed would be achieved. Thirdly is the recognition of severe budgetary constraints.

This has been achieved by locating housing and employment areas in such a way that transportation costs are minimised. However, very little work was done regarding ways of overcoming these budgetary constraints. Suggestions of ways to overcome these problems will be discussed in latter chapters. Let us then examine the assumptions made to achieve the goals.

3.4.6 The assumptions as mentioned in chapter 3.4.3 regarding the growth of the city up to the year 2000 need a critical examination. According to Nairobi Urban Study Group's findings the population of the city will increase to between 2,880,000 and 4,200,000 by the turn of the century. The figures quoted above do to a large extent restrict the growth of the city to its areas of jurisdiction and yet the present situations reveal that areas surrounding the city are very much dependent on it, in terms of employment opportunities, its goals and services, and transportation wise; infrastructure like water etc. If Nairobi and its region are so dependent on one another should the Nairobi Study Group have restricted their study to the area of jurisdiction. To be successful the study should have examined the whole metropolitan area and come up with suggestions of how to manage such a huge metropolitan area. Hence the need for a regional approach. The assumption regarding the availability of employment assumes that the opportunities will grow. According to the ILO report on "Employment Incomes and Equity" several ways of increasing employment opportunities have been tried by the Government; for example the Tripartite Agreement. The report states that the agreement was a failure as it did not increase the job opportunities, but rather the exercise resulted in

filling the already established positions and in many cases these employed were later laid off. More positive approach to increasing job opportunities must be found. The solution apparently lies in encouraging the informal sector. The third assumption which is more realistic is the need to build more houses to meet the needs of a fast growing population. The most important factor guiding development is the need to minimize costs and the type of strategy recommended was a linear growth. The recommended linear corridor development was nothing new to the City Council as its own local staff had already come up with the suggestion. To a large extent apart from the statistical data, the Urban Study Group did not contribute much to the physical form that the city had to take for future development. Another factor that the Urban Study Group should have examined was the type of administration structure, and the manpower requirements needed to implement their findings. Without these, the work looks incomplete.*

* Having stated that the structure proposed by Nairobi Urban Study Group had already been put forward by the local staff, one cannot say that the goal set was too ambitious. The group could have achieved more, and in fact gone a long way towards helping the Nairobi City Council to solve some of their administration problems, by coming up with concrete suggestions regarding the administrative structure and how best to go about implementing the set out structure. In fact according to a Thesis by F. Temple, a lot of time was wasted through quarrels that went on amongst the leadership of United Nations personnel and the consultants. It looks therefore that more work could have been achieved.

3.4.7 The findings as recommended above were completed in 1973. The Nairobi City Council approved their findings but according to the existing machinery, it was necessary to seek the approval of the Government; that is, the Ministry of Finance in conjunction with the Ministry of Local Government which has control over all local authorities in the country. Discussions on the report started in April 1975 and have not been completed as yet and as such the report has not been approved and is not an official document. The publication of the report has been faced with a lot of delays which do mean that development could still continue haphazardly. However, the present trend of development tend to some of their recommendations e.g. Dandora Site and Service Scheme.

3.4.8 From the above it could be safely said that, many plans are formulated, but are never implemented wholly. The reasons that are lying behind the delays and therefore lack of implementation are that:-

- (i) The reports have been treated as the possession of the Nairobi City Council, therefore given second priority within the Government circles.
- (ii) There has been lack of coordination especially on the technical side, between the city council and other Government Ministries. The only form of coordination that has existed has been the 'Liason Committee' which deals with approvals or disapprovals of applications regarding the use of land.
- (iii) A third factor which has hindered development of many local authorities is the lack of finance to meet mainly the

infrastructural costs.

(iv) Fourthly, the Urban Study Group did not consider in detail whether the existing machinery would be able to control a development of such a huge project.

To be able to understand the delays in implementation of council's programmes, it is best first to understand its own working machinery and its relationships with Government Ministries.

3.4.9 The Council is comprised of fifty elected councillors. Their function as a body are to rectify and recommend all council policies related to administration of the council; once they have passed their resolutions, they usually have to seek the approval of the Ministry of Local Government. Below the council are various standing committees dealing with functions of various departments. The council is made up of seven departments⁸ (see Appendix) all headed by Chief Officers. The functions of these departments are to make technical recommendations to a council of elected councillors regarding various policies to be adopted and when approved to see to their implementation.

3.4.10 The City Engineers department's primary functions is to provide technical services required by the city council and all its departments as well as making recommendations of a technical nature to the council. The department is made up of several sections. The engineering section deals with design, construction and maintenance of all roads and surface water drainage within the city's jurisdiction area. Secondly they deal with preparation of structural designs for the council and

do approve structural designs submitted by private developers. Thirdly, deals with traffic management within the boundary together with highway planning. The second section is Architectural which deals with design construction and maintenance of all city council buildings. The highway section deals with highway maintenance and several construction of new works. The Parks section provides and maintains the parks as well as various planted areas. Electrical section is responsible for all street lighting, all electrical works and installations within the city council buildings. There are other smaller sections like the Fire and Transport sections; whose functions are self-explanatory. Within the City Engineer's department there is the administration section which coordinates all clerical activities for all the sections of the department. The Town Planning section deals with the general layout of the whole city in respect of housing, social facilities, shopping centres, roads, industrial areas etc. Their function is a continuous process which keeps reviewing the plans as social, economic and political factors change. The functions described above do involve the consultation of the Chief Planning Officer with other sections of the City Engineer's department, other departments of the council and Government Ministries that are involved in the development of the city. A coordination of the various sections of the department is necessary for successful implementation of policies. From the description of the functions of the various sections, one finds that some of these are overlapping. For example the functions of the roads section, highway section and the town planning section. Problems with this type of arrangement are that if functions of

each section are not clearly defined, then it would be difficult to identify the department which fails to implement plans. It is necessary to define the functions of each section to avoid this. Another factor that is a result of this is that there is duplication of work ending up in wastage of manpower. These could even cause ill-feelings amongst the staff, a result of which is little output in the council's work. There is need therefore to consolidate the various sections and allow for better coordination.

3.4.11 EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The education department within the Nairobi City Council is headed by an Education Officer. The department caters for the provision of primary education throughout the city's area of jurisdiction and although a number of primary schools are privately owned, the department plays a coordinating role. The principle role of the department is to advise the council through the education committee on all related matters regarding the distribution of schools and future demands of the city. The department has the function of administering the school system. In more detail the department prepares and submits to the Minister for Education, approval or disapproval of plans to establish or close up any schools. It also deals with estimates of revenue of expenditure in respect of all council schools. It administers funds set aside for education purpose and submits to the Minister any reports or information that he may require. The department does receive part of the school fees. The department has been one of the best run in the city council. It has been run smoothly because of the able leadership of the Education Officer

who takes a keen interest in forward planning.⁹ It has been also stated that its smooth running is owing to the fact that education enjoys the highest priority in the country's budget. What type of coordination exists between the department and other departments of the Council. The City Treasurer's department deals with all financial aspects related to education. It administers this through the Finance Committee. Integration with various departments especially the City Engineer's department does exist, but there are certain weakness which do prevail. One would expect there to be an established link between the Education department and the town planning section, especially with regard to the planning of schools. It has been found that, the integration of these two really depends on the officer's initiative. Without it each department or section works independently of each other. It is felt necessary to establish a continuous link between the town planning section and the Education department, in order to achieve proper planning. Another problem that is currently facing the department has been brought about by the abolition of primary school fees in the first four grades. This has reduced the revenue and has hindered development of primary education facilities to a certain extent.

3.4.12 WATER AND SEWAGE DEPARTMENT

It assumed its responsibilities as a department in 1970. The department is responsible for the city's water supply and sewerage collection and disposal services. The department controls water from outside its area of jurisdiction. It is its responsibility to deal with financial planning, budgeting, expenditure and

collection of revenue from the above services; in conjunction with the City Treasurer's department. For example the department's budget for 1973 was:

TABLE I

WATER AND SEWERAGE DEPARTMENT BUDGET

Running Expenses	KE	1,214,000
Capital Expenses	KE	2,282,000
Net Income	KE	2,277,000

The department is characterized by a lot of inefficiencies. This is clearly seen in the outcry from the public, especially regarding the amount of time one has to spend in clearing a bill, the inefficiency in reading the meter and the irregularities involved. These factors could be springing from the fact that the calibre of manpower employed is low, or the management of the water department is poor. It is felt necessary to centralize all the functions, computerize the whole system and embark on a training programme that will improve the efficiency in the department. Through these changes more revenue could be collected leading to a reduction in the council's deficit rather than a decision to increase the water charges.¹⁰

3.4.13 It is the responsibility of the Social Services department to provide various services and facilities for the well being of the Nairobi residents. Their responsibilities also include the allocation of council housing. It is one of the most sensitive departments as it deals with provision of services that each councillor would like to have in his area. These political scrabbles do affect the efficient functioning of the department.⁸

* It is necessary to have close link between this department and the various city council departments but more especially with the City Engineer's department which will help achieve proper forward planning.

3.4.14 The Health department is headed by a Chief Medical Officer.

The functions of the department is to provide health services in terms of Health Centres and dispensaries to the residents of the city. It is also the department's responsibility to provide nursery schools for the residents of the city. The priorities of the department are to promote and offer preventive health services. It also offers curative services at health centres and encourages environmental sanitation. The aim of the department is to improve and expand health services. However, the department has been faced with a lot of problems. It has been faced by lack of information for proper planning, inadequate qualified staff, and due to uncontrolled migration, there has been a strain on the health facilities. In fact most of the rural population in the periurban areas of the city have depended heavily on the health services of the city. From the existing situations it is clear that, there is lack of coordination, not only between the health department and other departments of the city council, but also with the Ministry of Health. The need for planning at both national and local level is important especially regarding the training programme for the kind of manpower requirements. The need for integration is clearly seen in the fact that the services provided do not cater for the population of Nairobi alone, but the population from the

region. It is felt necessary to plan at the regional level rather than limiting it to the city's area of jurisdiction.

3.4.15 THE CITY TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT

The Nairobi City Council is supposed to be a legally independent entity and as such has responsibilities of providing certain services to the area under its jurisdiction. The level of services provided entirely depends on the financial standing of the local authority. Thus the city treasurer's department has the role of coordinating all the works and projects formulated by the various departments of the council and finding the finances for all the projects. It is important to point out that, the various departments are not involved in finding ways of financing the projects. A result of which are formulation of unjustified priorities which are difficult to implement due to lack of availability of financial resources. The City Treasurer's department has the responsibility of preparing the Annual Revenue Budget and the Capital Budget. The former runs over a period of twelve months and the latter runs over a five year period. The¹¹ Annual budget is a quantitative financial statement that expresses in qualitative terms the policy to be pursued during the budget period. The need for an annual budget arises from the need:-

- (i) to comply with statutory requirements?
- (ii) to serve as an opportunity to review the performance during the previous budget period.
- (iii) to fix the level of taxes for the following year.
- (iv) to facilitate a reasonable basis for budgetary control.

The following figures illustrate the growth of both revenue and capital expenditure between 1967 - 1972.

TABLE II

THE GROWTH OF REVENUE AND CAPITAL EXPENDITURE 1967 - 1972

Year	Gross Revenue Expenditure KE	Charges for Services	Net cost of Services	Total Income from taxes	Capital Expendi- ture
1967	4,810,411	2,013,824	2,643,202	3,178,068	2,060,458
1968	5,192,616	2,295,127	2,897,489	2,988,009	2,587,470
1969	5,457,329	2,446,143	3,011,186	3,573,751	2,170,989
1970	6,138,685	2,803,755	3,334,930	3,813,751	1,664,625
1971	6,644,206	2,713,286	3,920,920	6,261,559	4,101,403
1972	8,369,440	2,937,390	5,432,050	5,434,000	4,478,837
1973	9,224,010	3,195,340	6,028,670	5,780,000	3,000,000

The figures above do illustrate that without proper management, both income and expenditure can be erratic for example in 1971; when the expenditure exceeded the income. The problem facing the city therefore is how to marry the scarce financial resources with the increasing demand in services due to the rapid rate of population growth. The scarcity of the financial resources in the last two years has been aggravated by the fact that the Government abolished the Graduated Personal Tax which catered for half of the city's revenue. What then are the sources of the council's revenue. It is clear that other than charges for services the rest of revenue expenditure is financed from rates. Rates are governed by the 1964 Rating Act. In Nairobi the Unimproved Site Value Method is applied. Rates therefore account for almost 50% of the total revenue income. The capital expenditure cannot be financed

from already mentioned sources of income and as such the council has had to find alternative sources to meet the demand. The sources of income are through loans mainly from foreign governments and agencies; for example the World Bank. Local sources are also available. For instance through periodical stock issues, loans from Government through various public corporations, like the National Housing Corporation. The local authority can also secure the finances through Government grants. It is important to note that although all these ways are open to the local authority they are not automatic as they must seek the guarantee and approval from the Minister for Local Government who usually scrutinizes the decisions in depth; especially regarding the terms of loans, rate of interest, the nature of capital project under consideration and availability of finances from other sources. It is worth noting that the Nairobi City Council's capital programme has not been approved for the last three or four years by the Ministry of Local Government. These have had serious set-backs on the running of the council in that no implementation of capital projects have been carried out, resulting into long delays and wastage of manpower. Before suggesting ways of improving the functioning of the Nairobi City Council it is important to examine the relationship between it and the Ministry of Local Government and other Government Ministries that have a role to play in the running of the council.

3.4.16 The question to be answered here is whether the control of the Ministry of Local Government over the Nairobi City

Council is necessary. If so, does it encourage or discourage development. The amount of control that the Ministry of Local Government has over the local authorities stems from the inefficiency the councils have had in managing their resources. Due to the scarcity of the resources it has been necessary to have some kind of control. Let us first examine the controls exerted over the local authority. Under the 1963 Local Government regulations the Minister has been given a wide range of powers:-

- a) "He has to approve any action that the Local authority has to undertake.
- b) He issues orders for the establishment and composition of the local authorities.
- c) He could change areas of local authority.
- d) Approves allowances paid to councillors.
- e) Makes rules for conduct of local authority elections.
- f) Approves the appointment and removal of certain chief officers.
- g) General supervision of the local authority.
- h) Approves the capital and revenue estimates.
- i) Auditing and financial management of local authorities. He also has power to veto decisions of the council and give such directives and guidance needed."

What then are the implications of such great powers that the Minister has over local authorities. Some of the controls are necessary; for example the control over allowances paid to councillors. If the control was not available then judging from past experiences councillors would be paying themselves disproportionate allowances. If the powers are used correctly,

they should bring about cooperation between the local authority and the Ministry, but there is a danger in that the powers can be misused. It has already been stated that the capital programme for Nairobi has not been approved for a period of about four years. Are these delays necessary or should the Ministry try and give guidance to the council as to where they go wrong. It is necessary to have cooperation between the two from the time the capital programme is in preparation, so that if it is the technical assistance the council requires this is given. What happens at the moment is that, whenever the council feels the need for the Ministry of Local Government to attend a certain meeting then they are invited. The invitation does not bind them to attend. In many cases no one attends the meetings; for example at the current discussions taking place on the Nairobi Urban Study Group report the Ministry of Local Government has not been able to send any representative to attend. The reason could be due to the shortage of skilled manpower that faces the Ministry. The question here is should the Ministry have such controls over the workings of the council. The outcome is usually a lot of delays in studying the work and approving when other Ministries have already done so. These delays do result into lack of implementation or partial implementation. The problem is that no established machinery exists for consultation from the beginning of a project to the time of approval and finally implementation. The direct consultation between the Nairobi City Council and the Ministry of Finance is important in form of technical discussions and this should be encouraged. In fact it is suggested that controls

given to the Ministry of Local Government should be passed onto the Ministry of Finance and Planning at least regarding Nairobi City Council. On the other hand, if the Ministry of Local Government has to have the control, then cooperation between the two should be an overriding factor. It is necessary to cooperate rather than to have the rivalry which leads into each one trying to show its power whenever it has the overhand. This kind of rivalry results into delays in implementation thus aggravating the weak financial resources already facing the council.

Chapter 3Footnotes

1. Morgan, in Nairobi City and Region, 1967, page 104
2. From Morgan. Nairobi City and Region 1967, page 104
3. Morgan, Nairobi City and Region 1967 page 102
4. The term 'Native Locations' refers to residential areas that were designed for Africans during the colonial days. The term is no longer applicable.
5. City Council of Nairobi in Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy.
6. City Council of Nairobi in Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy.
7. City Council of Nairobi in Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy.
8. The Town Clerk's Department, City Engineers, Health, Education, Social Services and Housing, Sewerage and Water, City Treasurer's Department.
9. From, F. Temple's Thesis on Planning, Politics and Housing within the Nairobi City Council.
10. Daily Nation of 22nd May, 1975. It states that the problems facing the Council is the failure to collect their dues.
11. From Management of Large Cities in Africa.

4.0 PROBLEMS OF PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT.

4.1 No doubt the Nairobi City council has been able to achieve a lot since the time of independence as an organization. For example they are the only local authority that can borrow external finance for their projects. In certain instances they have been able to attract firms like the World Bank for finance. Such finance has been used for funding water resources to meet the needs of the urban population. Late they have been able to attract finance for a site and service scheme to provide housing for the low income population. To a certain extent the council has succeeded in providing the services to its residents.

4.2 The problems identified here are seen in the light of a fast growing metropolis. What role should the Nairobi City Council be playing in the new context? Since the society is undergoing changes, then the structure and functions of the City Council must change to address themselves to the changing society. It is important to view the problems identified in the light of the changing circumstances.

4.3 The role of the City Council in the past has been viewed as that of providing service to its residents. The role has been misinterpreted by the population who have assumed that everything should be provided free of charge. It has been realised that with a fast population growth such as the one of Nairobi the possibility of providing services of a high standard free of charge is not there. However, despite the fact that they have to pay for these services the council has been unable to adequately provide the requisite infrastructure. This fact has caused a lot of concern to the

masses. It has been felt that one of the factors responsible for this state of affairs is that the set standards are too high. Other factors are also considered in the following paragraphs.

4.4 The number one problem facing the council is that of availability funds. This situation was even more aggravated by the abolition of the Graduated Personal Tax which used to provide the council with a revenue of approximately £2,000,000 per annum. The weak financial position facing the council has partly been brought about by mismanagement or misuse of funds by the local authority. This state of affairs led the Ministry of Local Government into imposing very tight control over their finances. One other factor is squarely due to the councils' own inefficiency in collecting their outstanding debts, for example rates and water bills. It is also possible that there is a general shortage of staff to effectively collect all the dues. It would also appear that the legal machinery to bring to book all defaulters and to deter others is weak and ineffective. For a defaulter who for several months has not paid his water bill all he gets as a penalty is a disconnection of the supply and this is not immediate. It is also important to note that much as the council may require to raise finances in any other manner the approval of the Ministry of Local Government must be attained, which fact always causes undue delay or in fact never obtained.

4.5 As stated above in connection with the collection of outstanding dues the entire Nairobi City Council is faced with a general shortage of skilled-manpower in all technical fields. The problem here originates from the fact that there

has been no policy guiding manpower requirement thus leaving ground for political factors to come into play and in most cases recruitment has not been on merit. This has been particularly in respect of Senior Officials. To remedy this as it is not possible to recommend that these employees be dismissed the council should embark on an intensive training programme to increase the output and to define for future purposes the available jobs and the criteria for filling them. It is hoped that with well qualified staff the Council will be able to implement their programmes funds permitting.

4.6 The roles of the various departments of the City Council have been defined elsewhere (see appendix). It has been established that there exists only two forms of coordination:-

- (i) Through the weekly meetings of the Chief Officers
- (ii) Through circulation of plans for comments.

This system has been found to create a lot of delays in the workings of the various departments as certain departments or sections may not appreciate the urgency of a plan prepared by another. There appears therefore a need for a better established machinery or programme of work giving targets for the year.

4.7 One fails to see the positive role that the Ministry of Lands and Settlement's department of Physical Planning plays in the development of Nairobi. The only form of contact that exists between the two is through the liason committee which deals mainly with development control in terms of the use of land. Their role is even more inconspicuous when one

considers the role of the Ministry of Local Government. It is important to try to examine the role of the Ministry of Local Government and the Department of Physical Planning and suggest ways of achieving better coordination which would help a great deal towards the implementation of planned projects.

4.8 The Liason Committee that was mentioned earlier is a form of contact between the Physical Planning Department and the Nairobi City Council's Planning Department. These two are supposed to meet frequently to coordinate their projects. However, the physical planning department of Government appears to be ineffective in assisting the Councils planning department push ahead with its projected plans. The Council therefore is faced with a backlog of problems requiring immediate attention which it cannot do anything about as the prerogative of approval rests with the Ministry of Local Government. It should be noted that although the Town Planning Section has a comprehensive full year programme this is never in practice followed. This is partly because of shortage of manpower and secondly because there are no specific jobs or projects assigned to the few staff available. This state of affairs to say the least tends to create a sense carefree attitude and lack of interest to do his bit for the final success of the project. One only feels like a small part of a machine and only concerns himself with his bit of work and does not care whether it will coordinate with other bits done by his colleagues. The tendency now prevailing is for the staff to work on a day to day basis amid alot of interruptions

from influential people. It would appear that the Town Planning Section presently caters more for influential people rather than the ordinary person. However, this is not because of the planners liking but that their hands are forced into changing their plans to satisfy the politicians. A case in point is that of an area earlier zoned for residential purposes which for no good reasons becomes changed to allow development of an Industrial Estate. The city planner therefore feels subjugated and feels weak to refuse any form of alterations to his original plans without justification. This position is probably worse because it is only a section under the City Engineer's Department and thus the planners views can always be overridden by the engineers. The question to be asked here is whether the planning section is necessary and if so then what can be done to make it a more effective section to formulate and implement projects. It is noted that once the prepared plans have been approved the section is not fully involved in the implementation thereof. This weakness is due to the poor machinery in coordinating the activities of the various departments of the Council. It is also felt that there has been a general lack of forward planning. For example since the Urban Study Group report was completed there have been no follow up plans prepared. It is possible in this case to levy the blame on Government for having sat on the report for so long, however the council has lacked machinery to push Government to realise the urgency of the report to the Council.

4.9 The legislation used in planning in Nairobi was formu-

lated in 1948. These are the Building By-Laws (Planning) which deal with plot size and the coverage of buildings. The importance of the law as it exists is its use in development control. The law, however, has its weaknesses. For example, if anyone put up a building not conforming to the set standards the Council appears to have no powers to demolish it. Even if it had the powers it would once again the force of influence overrides their requirements. For example the Gitathuru Company put up houses next to Kariobangi in Nairobi whose standards fell short of the required standards and yet for one reason or another these were never pulled down. Perhaps it should be said here that the standards set down by the Council are far too high for the majority of the population. The legislation appears not to have developed side along with the problems facing the City and consequently there is an urgent need to revise them to meet the present needs. In revising them an element of flexibility should be applied so that those concerned with development control can vary it in keeping with changing circumstances.

4.10 With the completion of the Nairobi Urban Study Group's findings more weaknesses have been revealed. The strategy proposed does not have any legal backing and as such does not bind anyone to implement it. There is no where in the preparation of structure plans have legal backing. If planners have to be successful in carrying their work to logical conclusion then they must be strengthened by legal backing.

5. FUTURE PROSPECTS.

5.1 As the city expands in all fields one would like to see the administration structure and the planning department change their outlook to address themselves to the social change.

5.2 So far there is one proposal already put forward regarding development of Nairobi. It seems that somewhere in the Central Government there are feelings that the City Council is not doing enough in terms of development and as such a proposal has been put forward for the formation of District Development Committees. These committees have been established in most districts in the country as proposed by the 1974 - 1978 Development Plan. According to the plan the Government has realized the need for greater equality in standards of services and to achieve these it is felt that each district must participate in development programmes in order to make ^{them} aware of planning and to seek the participation of the communities in implementation.

5.3 The functions of the District Development Committees is are :-

- a) The provision of schools and health facilities;
- b) The identification of resources available;
- c) Provision of housing and urban development;
- d) Preparation of plans.

5.4 The composition of the Committee consists of representatives of the people, including members of parliament and a few councillors, Government officials and City Council officials. The committee will get the assistance of the District Development Officer who will be trained in project

formulation and development planning.

5.5 In the light of the functions and composition of the committee enumerated above one would like to critically examine the whole idea. It has been stated that in most cases committees are formed to make the public believe that something is being done for them, when in the actual sense the problems still remain unsolved. During my discussions with the District Officer of Nairobi the only impression given regarding the formation of the committee was that it would be able to attract special grants from Central Government which other districts in the country do get except Nairobi. But surely does this justify the formation of the committee? If one examines the functions enumerated, one finds that the Nairobi City Council is performing the same role at the present moment. Thus by allowing the District Development Committee play this role a conflict is sure to arise rather than solve any problems. The implication of it all would be a negative effect on Nairobi's development rather than a positive one.

5.6 The composition of the committee as stated would mean that only members of parliament representing Nairobi would be the new input. How effective these would be in policy formulation would depend on the personalities involved and what position they hold in Government circles. The conclusion is therefore foregone that the formation of such a committee would not have any influence on policy formulation in the city council.

5.7 However the role of the District Development Committee

can be clearly understood in terms of the districts in the rest of the country where the local authority here is weak as far as financial and manpower requirements for implementation of projects is concerned. It must be made clear that Nairobi is unique because of its strong representation of the public by the councillors. Besides, Nairobi enjoys privileges that other districts do not have, that of directly negotiating for loans from international institutions which are guaranteed by the Central Government. At the same time, although Nairobi has a shortage of manpower requirements to carry out implementation it is better equipped, to a certain extent, than the rest of the districts of the country.

5.8 From the above analysis of the situation, it would seem rather unrealistic to form the District Development Committee as it would create conflicts with the council's role and therefore retard development. The type of authority needed in Nairobi region to deal with the same area of jurisdiction but rather an authority responsible for planning and management for the region. With close co-ordination between the two, Nairobi's growth would be more successful.

5.9 According to the findings of the Nairobi Urban Study Group, the development of Nairobi, apart from the Ruiru area is limited to its area of jurisdiction, with very little thought put into its Metropolitan region. A point that has not been discussed in detail is that the growth of Nairobi Metropolis cannot be taken in isolation from its region and the Nation for that matter. The City Council does not have the resources, nor the jurisdiction to take

on the development of the metropolitan region, and yet this is an area that needs serious consideration. One would like to see Nairobi examined from a metropolitan region point of view. This would be achieved by having a metropolitan area development authority, separated from the existing structure, under the leadership of an Executive director with representatives from all fields. The authority would be responsible for the development of Nairobi region and liaise closely with the Nairobi City Council, but it would draw most of its financial resources from the Central Government. Such an authority is needed if Nairobi is not to be caught unprepared by the physical and social consequences of most primate cities in Africa. Such an authority could contribute to the development of the region rather than the proposed District Development Committee.

5.10 The existing structure is based on the British Local Government system where the elected council holds legislative and administrative responsibilities and the Town Clerk co-ordinates all the work of the various committees and the Council, but who has no power to make sure that his advice is accepted. In such cases the best advice from the technical officers is usually over-ridden by the councillors. Yet in many instances although the councillors involve themselves in the day to day running of the Council and they appear to have no know-how to really determine the priorities of the public that they represent. Therefore the City Government is not as democratic, efficient and closely co-ordinated with central government as it should be. The so called British model of Local Government that our system is based on has

itself undergone drastic changes, in order to be in a position to manage the ever changing problems. For the future, it would seem inevitable to change the existing local structure so as to achieve the maximum efficiency that is required. A ^{structure} structure that could be introduced is to have Corporation bodies to manage the affairs of the councils. Looking at the situation existing in Nairobi under the present system it would appear necessary to give the Town Clerk, who is the Chief Executive, more powers so that proposals placed before the Council by him would be almost automatically accepted. In this state of affairs the professionals will make sure that public participation is present from the time plans are being prepared until the implementation stage is reached. This, of course, will be through the councillors who are the public representative.

5.11 In Liverpool, for example, a structure that is now being applied is based on the Corporations Departments where the Chief Executive has been given power to coordinate the work of the various departments under him. The Chart below shows the structure of the Corporation.

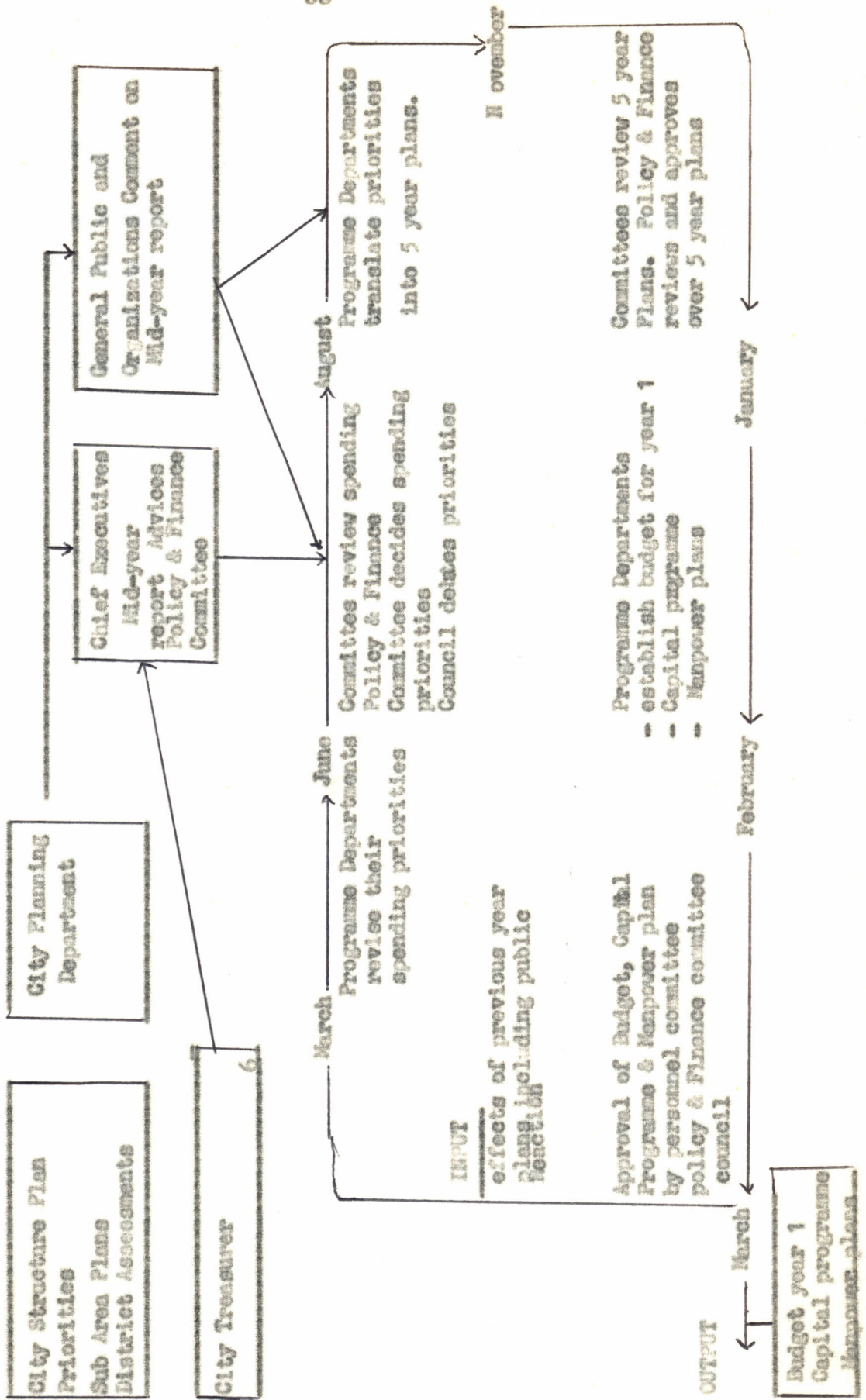
CHART 2 : THE CORPORATIONS DEPARTMENTS - LIVERPOOL**CHIEF EXECUTIVE**

<u>Functional Departments</u>	<u>Programme Departments</u>
Programme Planning	Housing
City Treasurer	Education
Administrative Services	Personal Health
City Planning	Social Services
Land and Property Services	Recreation and Open Spaces
Medical Officer of Health	Environmental Health and Protection
	Transportation and Basic Services.

The Functional departments listed have the responsibility of overall management, through the Chief Executive, of the relationships between the services. These do prepare programmes which have to be approved by the Council, after which more detail proposals are made. Composite action plans are then prepared from these. During this period close inter-action between the programme Planning Departments and the City Planning Department is needed. The data then forms the content for the City Structure Plan (a factor that seems to be lacking in the planning of Nairobi , where each of such departments carry on their planning without their having to consult the planning section). At this same time the directors of departments prepare statements on the quality and levels of services they wish to provide. The

statements also indicate the methods and costs by which the present services should be improved. These are then considered by the various City Council Committees and form a basis for the programme budget. The Chief Executive then has the responsibility of preparing the mid-year report ensuring that the spending and activities of the various departments in the next five years are in line with the long term strategies and policies of the City. This will incorporate assessments and findings of the City Planning Officers policies and the findings of the City Treasurer on financial matters. The Chart that follows gives an indication of the programme of work that is followed by the City of Liverpool in order to achieve its set goals; something lacking not only in the Planning Section but within the entire structure of City Council. It is hoped that in future a programme of this type will be prepared and followed strictly if further development of the City is to be achieved.

Chart 3 Programs of Work in Liverpool



Foot-notes.

1. From Francis J.A.Amos The Development of Corporate Planning In Liverpool.
2. From Francis J.A.Amos The Development of Corporate Planning In Liverpool.

6.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 It is clear from an examination of the historical development of Nairobi that, since the country attained independence in 1963, the city has been growing at a fast population rate of 7 per cent per annum. According to John Hutton in his book 'Urban Challenge in East Africa', the growth is higher than that of the so called developed countries at an equivalent stage in their economic growth. It is even higher than was expected. Compared with other towns elsewhere in Africa. The attraction to Nairobi could be attributed to the position it holds as a core region of the country but also due to the increasing pressure of population of working age on the land.

6.2 Several problems are created by the influx of such population into the city. On the fringes of the city large populations are faced with problems of not generating enough capital from the employment and as such have to develop some form of subsistence farming, trading, etc. In many cases some form of squatter development has taken place here. These are bound to bring about problems in terms of planning for the city authorities. The other problem emerging from the fast population increase, is the lack of resources by the city authorities to accommodate the new migrants in a serviced city structure. There is lack of organiza-tion by which the energies of these new settlers can be channelled into productive activities. If such problems are left as they are, there is a possibility that the situation will continue to deteriorate. New thinking by the planners and administrators must be sought which will go a long way towards solving the problems.

6.3 ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

6.3.1 So far, some planners have advocated for limitation of the size of the city. But, there are those that are against such a move, especially the politicians who feel that, by so doing one would be forwarding the colonial policies that were practised before Independence. In this context, the size of the city cannot be limited. In the National Development Plan the Government proposals do refer to decentralization; in fact partial decentralization of industries into other urban centres. Those that are responsible for Nairobi future development must note this factor and try to work closely with Government officers to try and suggest incentives for the development of other towns, hopefully, this would slow down the fast population increase to the city. Even if the above measures were taken Nairobi would still have problems of making enough provisions of infrastructure and services for its population. The crucial question is how the planners and the administrators can solve the problems already facing them.

6.3.2 The present administration set up of having a council of elected councillors, who then form different committees, under which the Chief Executive who is the Town Clerk and other Chief Officers fall, has its merits and demerits. The Chief Officers do usually provide advice to the councillors as to what policies to be formulated. But of late there has been an outcry from the Chief Officers in that, their advice is not usually accepted. The fault could possibly lie with the Chief Officer who may present only one solution to a problem to the councillors. It is felt that if the proposals put forward by the Chief Officers are

to be accepted, then all the possible solutions must be presented to councillors giving reasons for not accepting one solution to the other. The important thing being that this group of people must feel involved from the start since they are representatives of the people. This approach will make them aware of the problems and limitations that planners face in formulating plans.

6.3.3 Some planners or administrators have advocated that the present structure of having councillors as policy makers is not conducive to development, and that it would be best if these were abolished. In the Kenyan circumstances it would be unwise to abolish the system, but rather make them planning conscious.^{ve co} They must also be ^{made} aware of the administration problems that face the Chief Officers in their work. It is felt that such involvement will go a long way towards educating them. This will create an atmosphere of understanding between the politicians and the professionals; and atmosphere that will foster development.

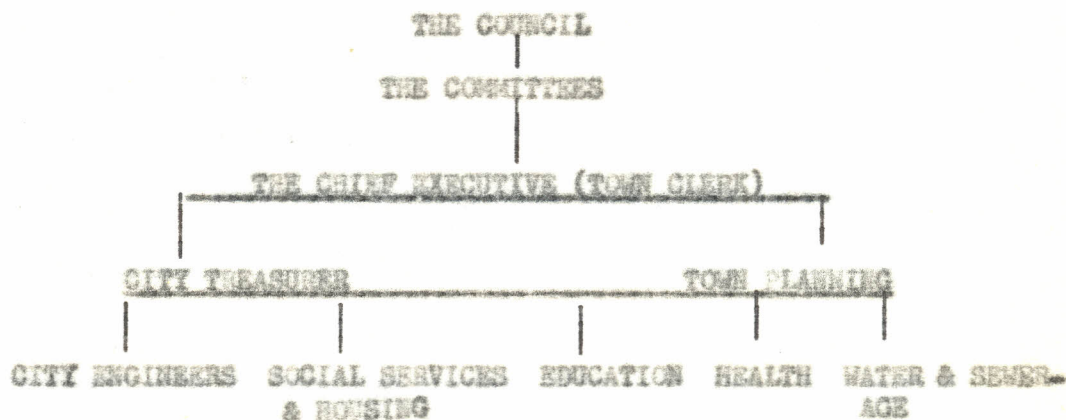
6.3.4 The role that the District Development Committee discussed earlier on is ineffective and should be varied or changed. One would rather like to see the strengthening of coordination between the City Council officers and Central Government officers through more frequent technical officers meetings, similar to the Liason Committee, but dealing with different aspects of planning, like, ^{ve co} transportation, provision of social services, etc. The close contact will bring about understanding and awareness of each others problems; hopefully solutions can come by more easily.

6.3.5 At the moment the Nairobi City Council is responsible for development of its area of jurisdiction. From past experiences,

where boundaries of the city have been extended, it has proved difficult to control development (a case in mind is the Dagoretti area) due to the fact that the Central Government has not been able to control development in such areas before incorporation, probably due to lack of manpower. It is felt that Nairobi Metropolis cannot develop in isolation of its metropolitan region. What is needed is to establish a strong metropolitan area authority who will be responsible for the growth of the region. Given the two authorities, it would be necessary to work side by side in close collaboration so as to be successful in plan formulation and implementation in the whole region.

6.3.6 The other problem is the position the Town Planning Section holds in the ranking of the City Council (see Appendix on the City Engineer's Department). Given such a position, it is very difficult for the planner to be effective in policy formulation or even implementation for that matter. Consequently, most of their efforts are frustrated. One would have hoped that, since the Town planners are responsible for shaping the growth of the city, they would have a bigger say in the policy matters. It is proposed that the Town planning section be uplifted to a department and be given more authority. It is proposed that it be on the same level as the City Treasurer's Department, since the two are responsible for forward planning. With coordination of these two departments, the council will be able to have and provide more efficient services. The chart that follows shows the proposed structure.

CHART 4

The Proposed Structure of HCC

With such a structure, it is hoped that the Chief Executive who will be the Town Clerk will be able to coordinate the work of the council through the City Treasurer's and the Town Planning Departments, and the other departments would be able to fall in their programme. The sort of coordination required is not just horizontal but lateral as well. The integration of the various departments must be established, through technical meetings of the Chief Officers as well as at a lower level. The success of such meetings could possibly depend on the good will of the individuals involved. The Town Clerk who is the Chief Executive must also be given more power to make sure that decisions reached at by the Chief Officers are approved by the council and implemented. It is felt necessary for the officer not to be a political appointee, but rather a person competent in administration.

6.3.7 The Town Planning section in its endeavour to make planning more effective has decentralized the section, by dividing the city into three major areas; Central, Western and Eastern area, each headed by an Area Planning officer. This type of administration

could be good in that it would bring the officers concerned in close contact with the public, therefore get to know the crucial problems facing them. But this would depend on the initiative of the officers concerned. On the other hand such a structure does limit the officers to certain localities and as such never get to know what developments take place in other areas of the city. For such a structure to be successful it is felt that some form of coordination must be established whereby everyone gets to know the overall city policies. One method that could overcome this would be through rotation of staff where one could work in a particular section for six months to one year. Another form could ^{be} through the present weekly meetings of the area heads but also through weekly meetings of all the staff where each area presents its review of the work done. The present structure still holds good except for the foregone recommendations. The call is for decentralization of the work of the various departments into similar units and close coordination to make the council more efficient. It is hoped that some of these suggestions coupled with others to be discussed later will make Nairobi City Council more efficient in meeting the needs of its population.

6.4 FINANCIAL RESOURCES

6.4.1 The problems regarding financial resources facing the city council stem from the fact that, in the past some of the officers have misused the funds available, due to the weakness in the way the budget is prepared. It could also be possible that the outcry from the politicians to have certain services in their areas,

not in the budget, has contributed to this. Eventually money budgetted for a certain item usually goes for a different use altogether. This is a weakness not just common at the local level, but even at the Central Government level. The weakness calls for better methods of budgeting and giving of more power to the technical officers rather than to the politicians.

6.4.2 Another factor that has aggravated the council's financial position has been the sudden abolition of certain sources of revenue e.g. the Graduated Personal Tax, without the council's prior knowledge. It has even been felt that the grants given do not equal the abolished source of revenue. It is felt that the council must be given more powers of implementing some other form of taxes. For example, the council should get a part of the Road Tax, which at present goes to Government. This is justified by the fact that the council is responsible for laying out the roads within its area of jurisdiction, and maintaining them. Another form of taxation could be introduced on industrial and commercial buildings. But what seems to be lacking is the strong coordination between the Nairobi City Council and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. It is hoped that in future, when a source of revenue is to be abolished prior consultations will have taken place between the council and the above mentioned Ministry, to establish other sources of revenue. It is therefore proposed that the Nairobi City Council's year budget should fall in line with that of the Central Government, whereby the year begins in July and ends in June to be able to coordinate the planning. Another factor that has caused concern to the council has been the failure to have their capital programmes approved

by the Ministry of Local Government. This could be due to the fact that projects are planned without prior knowledge as to where the finances will come from. Since finance is a major constraint in many local authorities, it is proposed that before embarking on any planning, the sources of finance must be known. With the structural changes proposed earlier on, the planning and the City Treasurer's department must be able to establish this factor before hand. These must be liased closely with the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning to establish sources of revenue.

6.5 MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS

6.5.1 Lack of qualified staff has been a problem facing the council for a long time. The problem stems from the fact that the professional staff; more especially of the local origin are able to get better terms of service elsewhere. The Nairobi City Council should therefore try to offer better terms of service to their local staff in future. Secondly there is a general lack of manpower planning. The exercise must be carried out for each department, clearly showing job description, the terms and any future prospects. This is a factor that has made most of the staff trained by the council to resign. Eventually the council finds itself having to be content with the staff that are not well qualified. This kind of atmosphere has severe impact on implementation of projects, in terms of provision of services, infrastructure and housing comes about partly as a result of this. It is hoped that with better terms of service, the council would be able to attract some of the most qualified staff around who would be able to make it a more efficient place.

These are the general problems facing the council and do affect the efficiency of the town planning section as well. Let us now examine the problems of the town planning section.

6.6 PLANNING

6.6.1 An area that needs consideration is the role the planners play in policy formulation. The aim of planning in the past has been to provide land for development mainly on an ad hoc basis. This is true of Nairobi as it has been observed in the development of planning. It has been sited in the legislation and control of development. Those that have practised the control have not allowed for any flexibility; but rather insisted on the zoning, density standards and the use of the concept of a 'Master Plan'. This type of planning has therefore failed to meet the needs of a fast growing population. It is felt necessary, that planners change their outlook and play a more positive role in policy formulation, since they are responsible for straping the future structure of the city. If they were involved at the policy level, they would bring about changes in the type of planning that is being practiced and make planning more flexible. This type of planning would be able to consider factors like lowering of standards having considered the costs involved. This new planning concept would also allow for public participation in plan formulation and implementation from the grossroots. By so doing, the public would come to accept the concept of planning which would eventually make the work of planners much easier.

6.6.2 The town planning section has the city divided into several areas. It is the responsibility of each area to prepare a programme of work for the year. This is usually prepared from

January to December. But, during the conversation with various leaders, one found that beautiful programmes are prepared but not strictly followed. Eventually the year ends without having achieved much. It is therefore proposed that a strict programme for each area is formulated starting in July ending in June. Within the programme deadlines must be set as to when a certain piece of work is required. Several meetings must be organized to evaluate the progress, during the period, of the various divisions. Together with these will be the sectional heads meetings. These suggestions should be able to make each area achieve the aims of their set programme for the year. At the moment the programmes seem a failure due to the fact that, the sections are bogged down with day to day work and have hardly any time for forward planning. One finds that since the completion of the Nairobi Urban Study Group work in 1973 very little work has been done; for example there should have been follow up work on preparation of structure plans and action area plans. Not much has been achieved in these areas. These must be done so that when developers come forward, the planners have plans for each area ready. All these factors are attributed to shortages of personnel. No doubt although the town planning section has achieved a lot firstly in the training of local personnel as planners, but due to the frustrations, brought about by lack of clearly defined job description, and better opportunities offered elsewhere a lot of resignations cannot be ruled out. Secondly the planning officer is not just made up of graduate planners. At the lower level are draughtsmen. This category of people is not usually recognized as part of the planning team; in fact there seems to be no future

prospects for them. Such factors have tended to be very demoralising to this group of people, as a result their out-put within the working of the town planning section is almost nil. It is proposed, that the Architectural Association of Kenya, under the Town Planning chapter, examine the possibilities of making this group of people more beneficial to the town planning profession, either by establishing a course in planning at the Kenya Polytechnic or at the University of Nairobi. At the same time the officer concerned must create future prospects for this group of people; by involving them more in town planning work. By so doing they will be aware of planning, so that, even when they draw plans, they really understand what the plans aim at. This category of personnel could be more useful in such a field as research. However, the main point is that, the group must be made to feel part and parcel of the town planning section or department.

6.7 PLANNING LEGISLATION

6.7.1 It is felt that the existing legislation has not been developed to control the degree of problems facing the city. The legislation applied dates as far back as 1948. The law was formulated during colonial days, when the size of the town was small. The legislation does maintain very high standards in terms of provision of infrastructure, housing and zoning. This may have been justified during those days. But with independence, there has been such a high influx of population into the city, to the extent that such high standards cannot be maintained. It is felt that if the needs of the population have to be met, the present legislation must be revised to slightly lower the

standards. A further point about the legislation is that it has made the functioning of the town planning section difficult especially in new areas that were added to the city with the changes in boundaries in 1963. In some cases grade II By-Laws have been formulated to control development; but in many instances it makes the planners work difficult. All these problems do call for a revision of the planning legislation.

6.8 RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE & ECONOMIC PLANNING

6.8.1 Throughout, it should have been noticed that a lot of emphasis has been placed on the relationship between, the Nairobi City Council and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. This is because it is felt that the department of physical planning, presently under the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, would have a greater impact of policy formulation and achieve better coordination if they were part of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. Being part of the Ministry their ideas would be taken better and even be able to get a vote, which will help in implementing their plans for the other local authorities. Many of these plans have been prepared and not implemented. With the physical planning department responsible for preparation of plans for other local authorities and Nairobi responsible for its own planning, one fails to see the role of the Ministry for Local Government (apart from shouldering the responsibilities of finance on the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning). If it is the controlling of their powers, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning would be able to do it. It is therefore recommended that the department of physical planning in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement moves to the Ministry of Finance

1
and Economic Planning , and the Nairobi City Council deals with this Ministry in close collaboration so as to follow the national policy. It is also felt that the Ministry of Local Government does not appear to play a major role regarding the development of Nairobi. This Ministry should be done away with altogether or not concern itself with Nairobi. With the development of close coordination mentioned above, the Nairobi City Council must also establish close links with other Ministries that play a major role in the development of the city. It is further suggested that the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning be split into two separate Ministries that is, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economic and Physical Planning. Thus the Ministry of Economic and Physical Planning will concern itself with development strategies on a National basis in close coordination with planning development of Nairobi City Council. In effect it is suggested that with the dissolution of the Ministry of Local Government all its present responsibilities should be rested on the new Ministry.

6.9 CONCLUSION

6.9.1 In the analysis it has been established that the present structure of the city council and other outside influences have limited the ability of the council to meet the demands of the increasing population. It has been necessary to make proposals which will help make the system more efficient, rather than leaving it as it is, in its deterioration stage. Since urban problems are on the increase the system adopted must be flexible enough to be able to adjust whenever new problems arise. It is necessary for both the planners and administrators to see that the system works for the benefit of the public.

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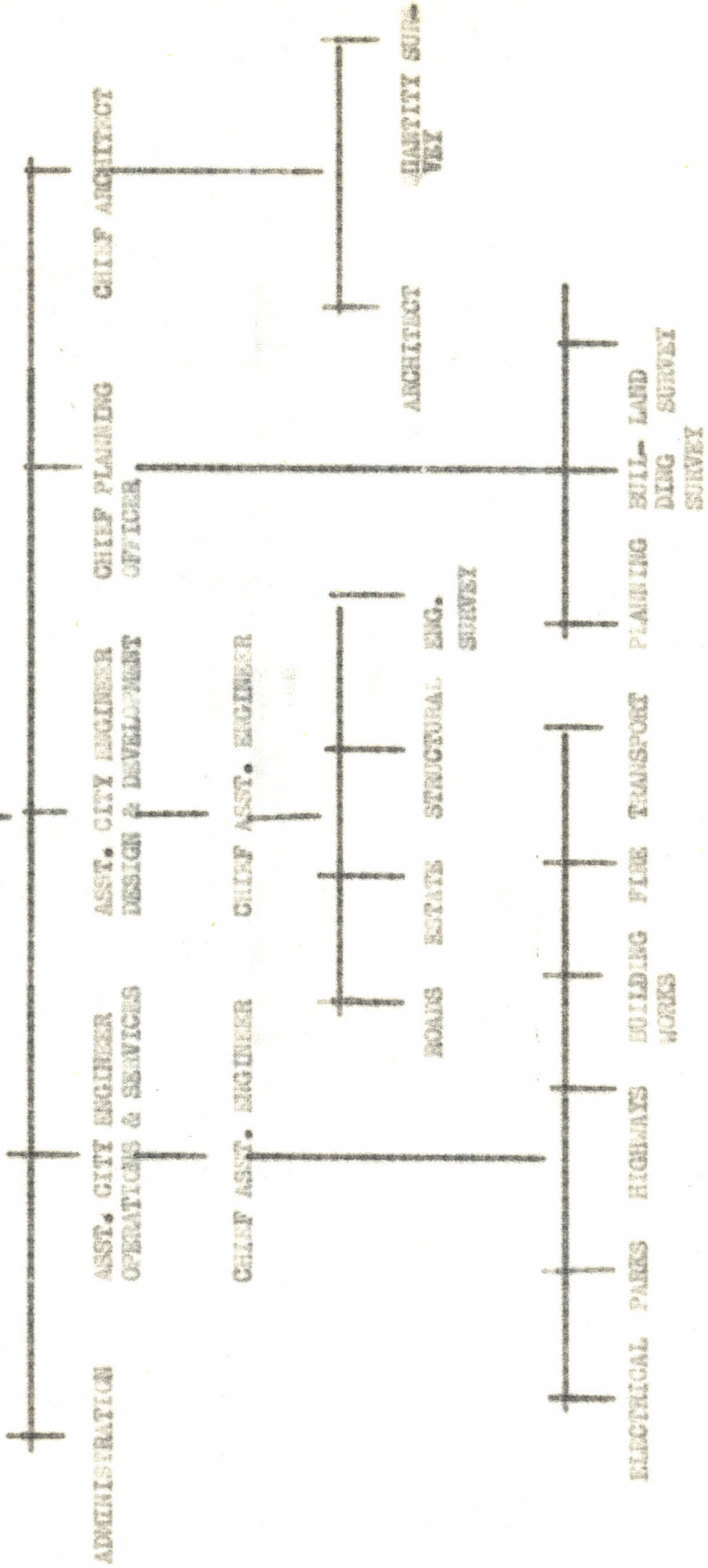
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APPENDIX

CITY ENGINEER

DEPUTY CITY ENGINEER



ADMINISTRATION

ASST. CITY ENGINEER OPERATIONS & SERVICES

ASST. CITY ENGINEER DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT

CHIEF PLANNING OFFICER

CHIEF ARCHITECT

CHIEF ASST. ENGINEER

CHIEF ASST. ENGINEER

ROADS

ESTATES

STRUCTURAL

ENG.

SURVEX

ELECTRICAL

PARKS

HIGHWAYS

BUILDING

FIRE

TRANSPORT

PLANNING

LAND

BING

SURVEX

ARCHITECT

QUANTITY SURV.
V.V.

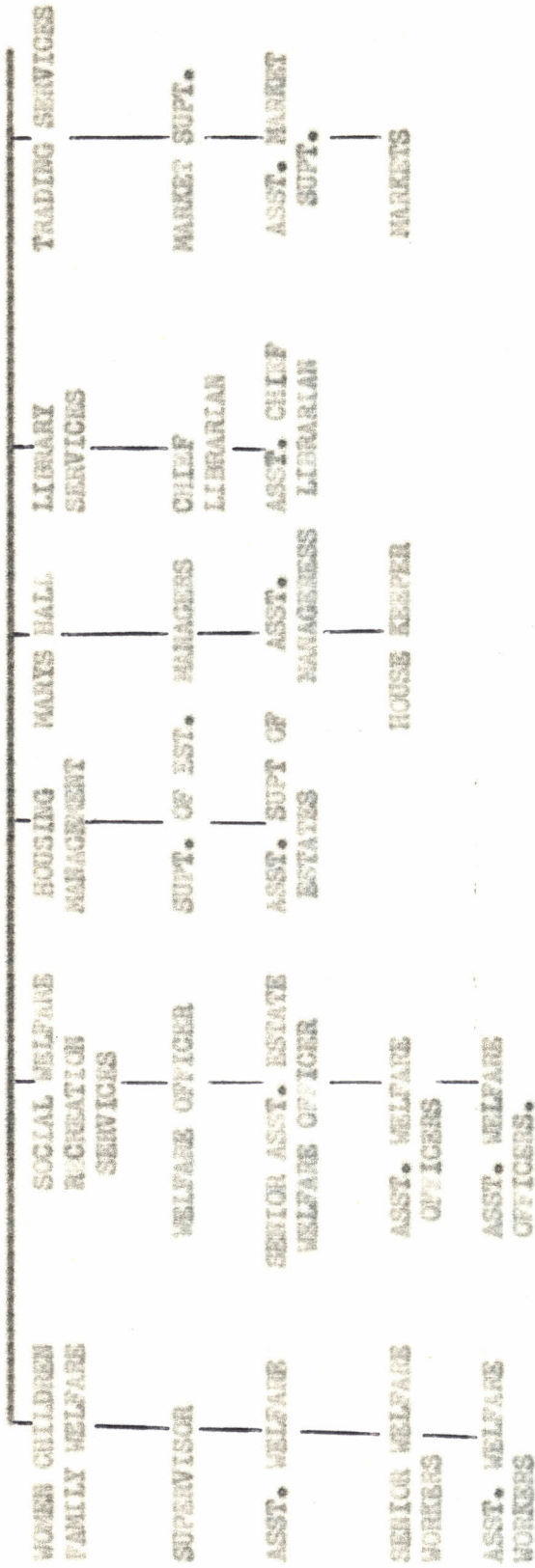
SOCIAL SERVICES AND HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL SERVICES & HOUSING

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

ASST. DIRECTOR

HOUSING MANAGER



TOWN CLERK ADMINISTRATIVE

TOWN CLERK

DEPUTY TOWN CLERK

ASSISTANT TOWN CLERK

CHIEF ASST ATTORNEY (C)

CHIEF CITY SUPT.

ASST. LICENSING OFFICER

CHIEF ASST SENIOR COM. CLERK

CHIEF VALUER

PRINCIPAL ADM. ASST.

ORGANIZATION & METHODS OFFICER

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS OFFICER

PUBLIC CITY RELATIONS OFFICER

HALL SUPT.

PRINTING SUPERVISOR

RECEIPTIC POUND MASTER

OFFICER l/c REGISTRY

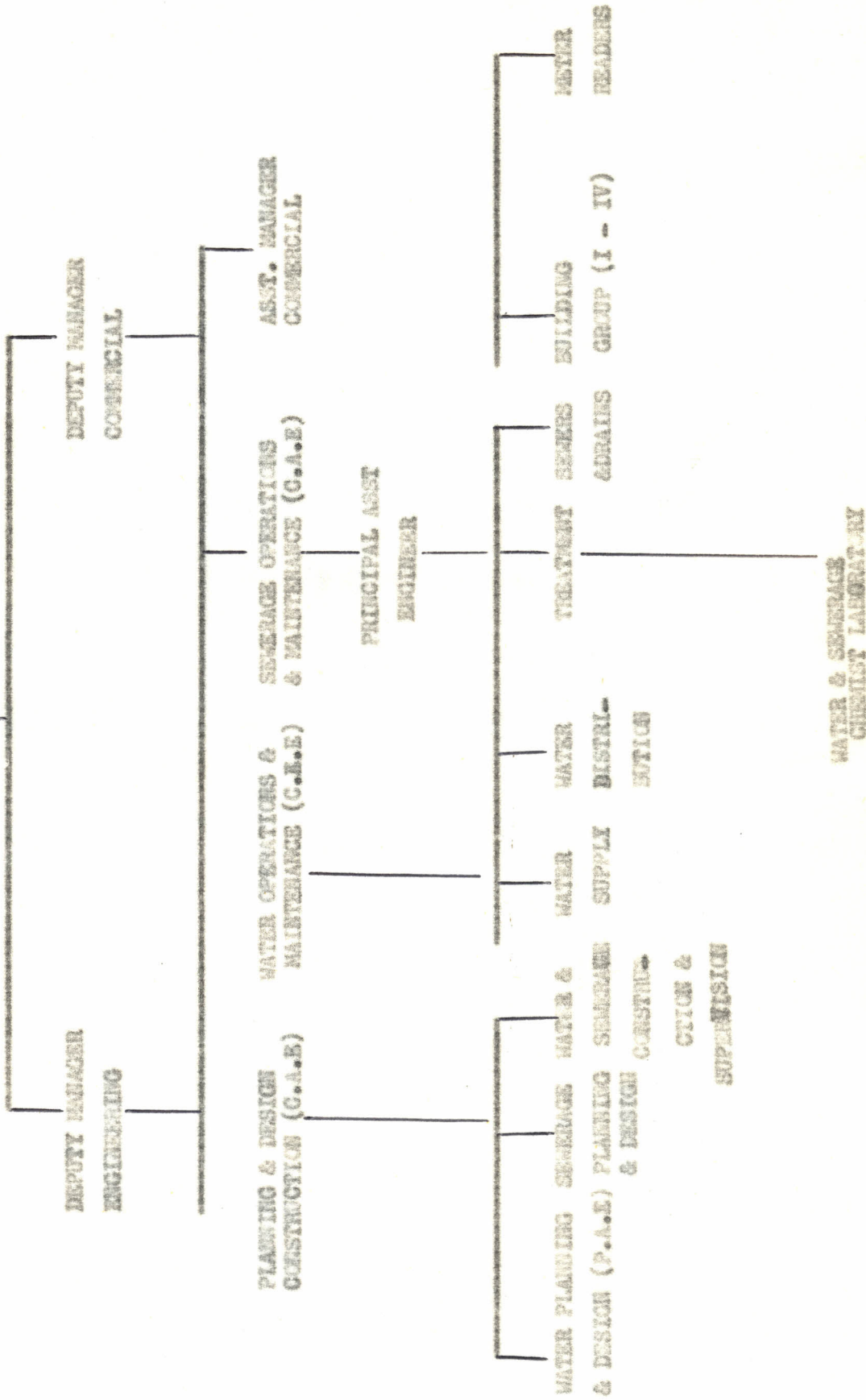
ADMINISTRATIVE ASST. I

STENOGR. TEL. GENERAL OFFICE

COPI SUPERVISORS

ADMINISTRATIVE ASST. II

GENERAL MANAGER



DEPUTY MANAGER
ENGINEERING

DEPUTY MANAGER
COMMERCIAL

PLANNING & DESIGN
CONSTRUCTION (C.A.E.)

WATER OPERATIONS &
MAINTENANCE (C.E.E.)

SEWERAGE OPERATIONS
& MAINTENANCE (C.A.E.)

ASST. MANAGER
COMMERCIAL

PRINCIPAL ASST
ENGINEER

WATER PLANNING
& DESIGN (P.A.E.)

SEWERAGE
SUPPLY DISTRI-
BUTION OFFICE

TREATMENT

BUILDING

METER
READERS

WATER & SEWERAGE
CHEMIST LABORATORY

CITY TREASURER ADMINISTRATION

