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"THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT IN KENYA:

A STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PERSONNEL

AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT"

by

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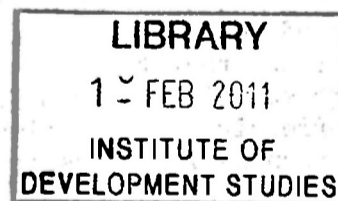
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ABSTRACT

        The paper focusses on a particular organisation concerned
with rural development - the community Development Division of the
Department of Social Services. In particular, attention is paid to
the position occupied by the 'grass-roots' workers in this organisation -
the community Development Assistants (CDAs)

        The history of the organisation is briefly outlined. This
is followed by an analysis of the factors within the organisation which
tend to produce fragmentation and, conversely, integration. It is
argued that the tendencies towards fragmentation are strong: and
those which might make for a more integrated organisation are not as
effective as they might be. The consequence of this is that the
organisation finds itself placed in an insecure position. The
self-help movement in Kenya is likely to be weakenend as a result.

Our concern in this paper is to look at the way in which a particular
formal organisation operates. The focus is on the Social Services department
of Kenya's Ministry of Housing and Social Services, and, in particular,
upon the community Development Division within it. The approach employed
is primarily derived from two books: Herbert Simon's 'Administrative Behaviour'
(20) and Herbert Kaufman's 'The Forest Ranger' (13). The latter's study is
what may be described as an attempt at 'administrative anthropology' (13pp 6,7).
By focussing attention on a particular 'front line actor' in an administrative
system, he succeeds in throwing a great deal of light on how that system
functions. He in turn, derives his approach for Herbert Simon, quoting the
latter's view that, "In the study of organisation, the operative employee
must be at the focus of attention, for the success of the structure will be
judged by his performance within it. Insight into the structure and function
of an organisation can be gained by analysing the manner in which decisions
and behavious of such employees are carried out" (20, p.3).

By examining the work of the U.S. Forest Ranger, the "operative
employee", Kaufman was able to develop an analysis of the whole forest
service. The "operative employee" stands in a crucial position from the
point of view of carrying out the objectives of the organisation in question.
His approach/ involved not just the normal methodological equipment of the student
of public administration - interviewing senior officials, perusing documents,
reading history and so on. Of more importance to him was to get close to the
stuation (and the subculture) in which the Forest Rangers work. In this way
his aim was to take the study of formal organisation a long way from merely
formal analysis.

The focus of this paper is / similarly upon an "operative employee" -
in this case, the Community Development Assistant (CDA) whose role in Kenya's
rural development is, at least in theory, an important one. The approach used
is, to some extent, derived from Kaufman. The usual methods were followed,
but, in addition, a large element of participant observation also entered.
This was made possible by the Ministry of Housing and Social Services and
UNICEF, for whom I played a consultancy role on the training of CDAs. Similarly
the Ministry enabled me to look at other programmes of theirs, especially
within the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP). This, too, gave a
vantage point through which to examine the behaviour of CDAs and to relate
this to the objectives of the organisation.

The history of the CDA in Kenya goes back at least as far as the
1940's. This was a period when, throughout the areas colonised by the British,
what was variously called "mass education", "basic education", and, later,
"community development" become something of a fetish. It was, to some
idealists, a magic wand which, once waved, would solve a very large number of
/ _problems_ then facing colonial systems. Its greatest appeal was that it was both
a _political_ and an _economic_ instrument. It was political in its naive/of _image_
the 'good African' practising village democracy and blissfully unaware of
any larger issues. It was economic in its emphasis on making better use of
existing resources available to the community and the use of inexpensive
technology. In both its economic and political aspects, it was regarded as
a means by which colonial stability could be achieved.

For our more immediate purposes it has to be noted that, in Kenya
and elsewhere, some kind of organisation had to be developed in order to
carry out these ideas in the field . This is how the role of the CDA came
into being. In 1946 a few so called "african welfate workers" were appointed
(5,p.34) and worked directly under the provincial administration, there
being no separate welfare or community development organisation at that time.
Although in each district they took orders from the D.C. or a D.O. their
salaries were paid by the local authorities (the African District Councils).
In 1950, the job title was changed to "community development assistant" and
the post of D.O. (CD) was created - i.e. a District Officer who was supposedly
a specialist in community development work. Only a few districts, however,
received the services of these officers - Kisumu, Kakamega, Kisii, Fort Hall
Kiambu, Kitui, Machakos and Nyeri. The employment of the CDAs was similarly
concentrated in these areas. Thus, there was little attempt at this time to
bring Community Development to such areas as the present Coast, North-Eastern
and Rift Valley provinces. It is not mere coincidence that these latter provinces
were those considered the more politically "stable" from the colonial point
of view. They were thus regarded as less in need of "mass-education".

The nature of the CDA's work at this time was manifestly political.
Community-Development was never very far away from "propaganda" and the CDA
was the "operative employee" concerned with its transmission. In a
legislative debate in 1951, the chief Native Commissioner (then the senior
civil servant in charge of community development) betrayed this ambiguity
rather vividly:

> On the Community Development side I would
> say that the Commissioner (for CD) is now
> responsible for discovering the particular need
> of the districts for material, educational
> material. I can never get the word for
> this, educational is the best word I can
> give. I loathe the word 'propaganda', it is
> not propaganda, it is information, education,
> whatever you like to call it" (14)

In 1952, one locational CDA in Machakos district described his work thus (3)

> I give talks at chiefs' baraza on
> good agriculture, community development, current
> affairs, cooperatives, school education etc. I
> also help the ex-soldiers with various problems
> -- also I give talks and advice to the locational
> council. I am a member representing education and welfare.

In the same letter this CDA added that his work involved literacy clubs (evening classes run by volunteers), women's clubs, locational sports meetings and film-shows. Much of the work of CDAs at this time seems to have centred on the community hall, a building where the CDA could organise shows and "leaders" courses concerning such matters as nutrition, public health, current affairs, farming and so on. Thus, from the earliest days, the CDA was something of a multi-purpose worker, with the related possibilities of "border-disputes" arising with other field-workers. If he had any special competence, this was in adult education, a field for which most of them received considerable training. In 1950 23 CDAs attended a 12 month training course at the then Jeanes school (now (K.I.A.), the emphasis in the curriculum was "placed on the practical aspects of mass education, mass literacy, projection work, and information services" (5,p.35). In that year there were 53 CDAs and 10 D.O (C.D.) posts (5,p.1)

The outbreak of the "mau mau" emergency in 1952 gave a considerable impetus to the growth of community-development organisation in Kenya. Although one year earlier the posts of D.O. (CD) were deleted on the grounds that such officers were a luxury, the long term effect of the emergency was to enhance the perceived value of community Development methods in generating and controlling social change in the countryside. At this time, a particularly strong enthusiasm developed for the "District Course". Throughout the country a total of 447 students attended such courses in 1952. They were drawn from a number of branches of the community including chiefs, headmen (i.e. what are now assistant chiefs), teachers, agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. The purpose behind these courses was summarised as follows:

1.   To acquaint individuals considered to be
     of influence in their respective communities with
     the complexiti·· of modern local government
     and administration.

2.   To show them what has been and is
     being done by officers of the various
     departments at work in the district.

3.   To give instruction with a heavy practical
     bias and capable of local application in
     Agriculture, veterinary, health and forestry matters.

4.   To inculate the will to disseminate
     the knowledge so acquired among those
     with whom the students live and work (6 ¯p. 7).

     In 1954, the Community Development Organisation becomethe
"Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation". The work of
rehabilitation became more and more important (8,):

          The provincial administration was
          handicapped in this work (rehabilitation)
          through shortage of staff caused by the
          Emergency. Nevertheless, D.Cs in Kikuyu, Embu
          and Meru districts were emphatic that the
          second state in over coming Mau Mau
          must largely be conducted oñ community
          development lines with particular emphasis
          on the women.

     Special emphasis in the programme was placed on the"affected areas",
and also on those felt to be 'potentially' "mau mau", notably Machakos
district where the first 'pilot-project' on community development lines was
run in Mbooni location under· the leadership of an African administrative
assistant (1, ch. 3) . It is noteworthy that no CDO was involved in the
exercise, but CDAs played on important role. The important principle was the
development of a locational "team", consisting of CDAs, departmental staff,
and the chief and his headmen. More CDAs than the usual locational complement
of one were made available by sending a party of CDAs in training at Jeaness
school at Mbooni for their fieldwork. The objective was to use community
methods to achieve home improvement, the idea being that ·)y working
together more work could be done than by working individually. Leaders were
brought together and given instructions .by this team. Unfortunately, it
is not clear how these leaders were selected, except that, in some sense,
they were "chosen by the people" (1,p.20). These leaders, having received
training, would then return to their area and convince their people of the
value of this approach, and also organise the work with the assistance of the
locational team. The scheme seems to have been a success (1,p.21), its
strength apparently lying in the way it combined traditional patterns of

behaviour ("mwethya") with newly created administrative inputs (back-up work by
the locational team, the organisation of training courses etc.). Askwith,
the commissioner for community Development at this time undoubtedly thought
that his department had made a real contribution to keeping the Kamba,
at least to some extent, out of mau mau (1, p.22):

> During the emergency, it was thought extremely
> probable at one time that the tribe would
> join with mau mau. The fact that this did
> not occur was undoubtedly due to good
> administration, but it should not be forgotten
> that one of the prophylactic measures taken was
> a considerable increase in CD work. In the
> event the tribe on the whole remained loyal
> to government, and is now probably one of the
> most progressive and prosperous in Kenya.

Whether Askwith's analysis of the situation is correct or not is
perhaps open to question. But these views are of interest in so far as they
illustrate how 'CD' was perceived at the time; whatever the operational realities
we can be sure that political factors figured prominently amongst the objectives.

During the Emergency,   : was another important aspect of community
development which took on an added emphasis especially in Central Province.
This was the so-called 'women' programme. An officer at headquarters was
placed in charge of the programme, and played a vital role in the creation
of a new organisation, "Maendeleo ya wanawake" (progress for woem). In some
areas, womens' groups, which were already in existence, were given more help
by CDAs; in other cases, the latter took the initiative and set about forming
such groups themselves. In 1952, throughout the country, the number of
"known clubs" was 172 (6,p.16), but it is very likely that many more that
that were in existence. The clubs were seen as being of great value to
the security forces, and one club played an important part in the capture,
of a mau mau general (8,p.7). This impetus led to the appointment of a
number of women CDos with special duties in the womens' programme, the
appointment of more female CDAs and the creation of the post of womens'
leaders to be employed by the African District councils.

These circumstances, which were primarily political, gave rise to
the growth of a large and complex government department employing a large
staff. In turn, further organisational complexity stemmed from the close
involvement of the local authorities who were the employer of the CDAs -
the central government department employing the more senior officers from
CDO upwards. By 1957, there were 97 CDOs in the field (four of these were
Africans, the first to be appointed). There were also 183 CDAs, 447 women
leaders and 89 Training staff (ie. instructors attached to District Training
Centres). There is little doubt that this expansion was a direct consequence

of the political situation at the time. The emergency did not formally end
until 1960, but by 1957 or 1958 the urgency of the situation had diminished
considerably. Hence a large part of the organisation's rationale (combating
mau mau) was eliminated by the late 1950's New goals, however, arose with
the coming of independence. The meeting of these new goals, however, was
considerably facilitated by the capacity of the organisational framework
which had been baqueathed to independent Kenya during the emergency period.

Community Development since Independence

After independence, a new impetus was given to community Development
work in Kenya. The 'harambee' idea, encouraged by the national political
leadership from the President downwards, spread rapidly especially in those
areas of the country which came to independence with a legacy of marked
social change stemming from the colonial experience. Yet this movement was
not an entirely spontaneous one. Bureaucratic inputs, which were not
always positive in kind, also made a substantial impact. Community work
tended to move away from the home - improvement - good citizenship syndrone
and become very much more concerned with 'enabling' communities to meet their
'felt needs' in terms (usually) of the provision of various facilities on
a self-help basis, the most important of which were primary, secondary and
nursery schools. Health facilities such as Health centres and dispenseries
also figured prominently.

At the 'take off' point of this movement (Circa 1963 or 1964) the
community development department played a substantial role. In fact, there
is some evidence that other government officials came to feel that this role
was becoming too important (interviews with a number of CD workers suggest
this to be so). A 'planning vacuum' at district level, there being no officer
from the planning ministry posted there, facilitated the takeover, by CD
workers/a co-ordinating role. The only rivals to them, the provincial
administration, were (a) largely concerned with law and order rather than
developmental matters. (b) less well-equipped, in terms of training, to
carry out such a role. The history of harambee since 1963 can be partly
interpreted as a continual latent tussle between the two organisations.

The work of the CDA underwent considerable changes during the 1960's.
In his capacity as a virtual 'registrar' of self-help projects, the sheer
quantity of work increased greatly. / Furthermore the CDA's crucial role
in channelling aid. (not just from Government sources) expanded greatly.
Also, as time went on, new programmes were added (e.g. village polytechnics,

functional literacy) which also required the attention of the CDA. In 1973, a job description for locational CDAs was drawn up by a senior officer in the Community Development Division. According to this description, (4)
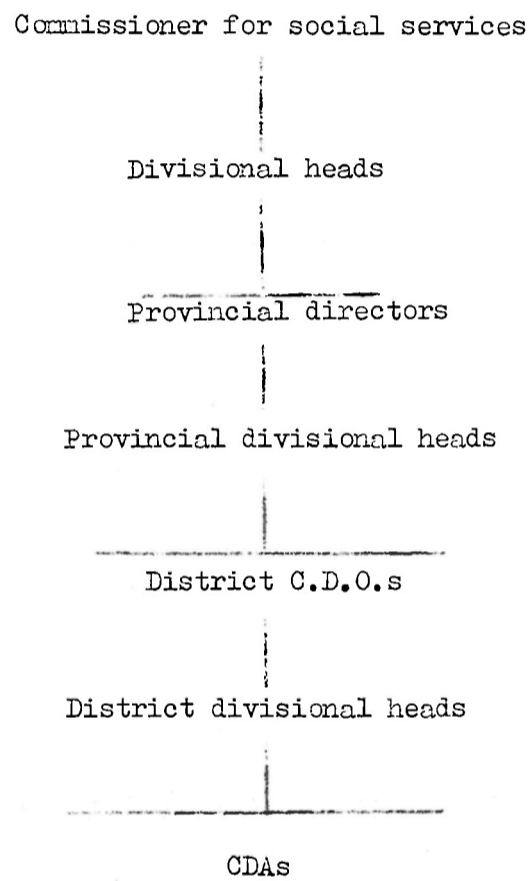
the CDA is expected to:

[1] Act as secretary and Executive officer to village Development Communities and sub-locational self-help committees.

[2] Help self-help groups to plan their projects more effectively.

[4] Help self-help groups obtain technical assistance when and as required.

[5] Help organise people in groups for the solution of their problems.

[5] Help people identify and fully utilise local resources.

[6] Organise local leadership training courses aimed at local leadership development.

[7] Ensure that groups embark on projects which are within the development plan and thereby accord with Governments' priorities.

[8] Give regular feedback to the Department by means of statistical reports and evaluation.

[9] Advise and service youth programmes - that is, village polytechnics, Centeres and Youth Clubs.

[10] Advise and service day care centres, adult education and welfare programmes.

[11] Help in the development of sport and culture.

CDAs are employed by local authorities - some by area councils until they were abolished earlier this year and by County Councils. This is a direct continuation from the situation prior to independence when they were employed by the then African District Councils. However, their day - to - day supervision is carried out by officers within the social services department of the Ministry of Cooperatives and social services. At district level, the senior officer is the CDO, who shares office facilities at headquarters with such officers as the Adult Education officer, the sports officer, the District Nursery supervisor, and so on. All of these officers depend on CDAs to carry out work for them at divisional and locational levels. The C.D.O. and his district level colleagues, in turn, are responsible to provincial headquarters which is headed by the provincial director of social services. The chain of command then passes upwards to central headquarters in Nairobi. An organisational 'chart' can be drawn, thus:

Diagram 1

Department of social services organisational chart

Commissioner for social services

Divisional heads

Provincial directors

Provincial divisional heads

District C.D.O.s

District divisional heads

CDAs

But charts do not tell us very much about how organisations work. Such an undertaking may be enhanced by looking more directly at how the CDAs themselves perceive and eract their roles. In doing this, I wish to employ two concepts derived from Kanfman's work(13) - tendencies towards (a) fragmentation and (b) /integration By looking at CDAs in action, it is hoped that the way both these tendencies manifest themselves in Kenya's community development organisational network will be clarified.

Fragmentation

All organisations contain/ centrifugal tendencies, i.e. which weaken unity, and hence reduce the capacity of the organisation to operate in line with its stated objectives. Any organisation requires a system of communication and methods of enforcing compliance down the hierachy; the larger it becomes the more difficult it is to find satisfactory ways of doing so.

This makes it likely that the organisation will show/   , of
symptoms
                              the
fragmentation. In the case of/organisational framework within which the
CDA operates, these tendencies are more marked than in most organisations
in Kenya.[1] There are a number of reasons why this is so.

        A major determinant of organisational unity is the training of its
members in its values,methods of working etc. (20,p.15). Community-
development work has a complex nature, as shown above, and a new recruit
cannot be expected to perform his role without some sort of training.
Development planners, too, have recognised this need and have emphaised
that community development staff should be treated as members of a
profession and, as such, require a suitable level of training (9) As far as
community development is concerned, the training is not just in a set
of techniques (e.g. how to work with groups); it also involves the trans-
mission of certain values, without which it becomes impossible to talk
of 'community-development' at all.
        The problem in Kenya has been that a very

_____
                Leonard
1.   Work by /   (15) and Moris (17) ox the administration of
agriculture indicates the existence of a number of organisational difficulties
but these are not as severe as those experienced in community Development.

⌐arge number of CDAs in the field have not received training. In other words, this particular device for fostering organisational unity has been under-utilised. A survey carried out in April 1974 shows that, in some districts (e.g. Machakos, Kiambu) well over half of the CDAs have not had any professional training (23). Of the total of 650 CDAs, about 220 have not been trained for the job. It is clear that this raises considerable d difficulties in the field. All of the CDOs perceive a very considerable gap between the performance of trained and untrained CDAs. Each of them were presented with a series of statements concerning the possible differences between the two groups. Where less difference was perceived was in such areas as discipline, practicality and initiative - all qualities less amenable to manipulation through training. The strongest agreement was with the statement that "If, in talking to a trained CDAs, I use such terms as "felt needs" or "human relations", he understands me, but an untrained CDA does not", twenty eight CDOs agreeing strongly, seven agreeing and none disagreeing. Other statements where agreement was strong were:-

(a) "I need to give less supervision to trained CDAs than untrained ones" (Fourteen CDOs agree strongly, nineteen agree, two / disagree)

(b) "I find it easier to explain policies and programmes to trained CDAs than to untrained ones" (twenty seven CDos agreed strongly eight agreed, and none disagreed)

All of this is quite obvious anyway, but the survey helps to document how the problem is perceived by the officers who supervise the CDAs in the field. That /severe ; organisational difficulties arise from the large number of untrained CDAs there is no doubt. It is far more difficult to explain policies and programmes to untrained CDAs, they need more supervision (which is very time consuming in the usual field situation), they are not as good at addressing meetings (and may, in fact, make statements which are positively misleading) and write reports which are less satisfactory.

Having made this point, it is necessary to explain how this situation arose. The two main training institutions, the Kenya Institute of Administration and the Government Training Institute, Maseno, seem to have placed their emphasis on quality rather that quality. Only 25 CDAs per year have been passing through each of these institutions. Furthermore, no training has taken place since 1972 as UNICEF, which had been subsidising the courses, withdrew its support, having spent approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ million shillings

over a fourteen year period. The problem was that no systematic evaluation
of CDA training had been carried out during that period. In fact, UNICEF
had very little idea what this money had been spent on. The net result is
that there are no longer adequate financial resources for CDA training.
Negotiations are now under way to see whether funds can be found and
training resumed. Meanwhile, the 'backlog' of untrained CDAs is swelling
since recruitment, although it has slowed down, is continuing.

Training at district level can partly compensate for this deficiency
However, although may districts have training facilities financed by
their respective local authorities, financial constraints make it difficult to
organise anything more than the occasional . short seminar of the districts have
done a little training along the lines in the last two years. Given the
financial weaknesses of virtually all of Kenya's local authorities, however,
it would be unrealistic to expect anything effective to be done within the
existing organisational framework.

                    helps
Whilst training/in gearing employees to behaviour which meets the
organisation's needs, financial incentives may be expected to be of greater
importance. Until March 1971 the local authorities all determined rates
of pay for their employees. In 1970 negotiations began between the Kenya
local government workers union (KLGWU) and the local authorities to
coordinate terms and conditions of service throughout Kenya.

It was agreed that locational CDAs throughout the country should
start at £210 per year, rising to £390. Divisional CDAs would be in the
range £330 - £570, and District CDAs £660 - £840. It is clear that,
although these are the agreed rates, they are not being honoured by all the
local authorities. Some CDAs in fact start at £50 per year; this is £40 less
than the minimum for an assistant chief <u>before</u> the implementation of the
Ndegwa Report on Civil service salaries, and over a £100 less than the current
rates. It is not surprising that the morale of many CDAs is low.

The situation in many districts is even more serious. In some
districts (admittedly a minority) CDAs are not being paid their salaries
at all. Several county councils, mainly in western Kenya, are virtually
bankrupt. Thus, the county council of Gusii has not paid its' staff salaries
for at least two years (11,22) In other parts of the county a similar situation
exists in some districts, e.g. Meru, Tana River, and Lamu. Under these
circumstances, the CDos feel that they have to refrain from ordery their
CDAs to do anything at all. So even the routine statistics collection
procedures are unlikely to be followed. It is clearly unwise to attach

much credence to official statistics in view of the fact.[1]   Even in areas
where non-payment of salaries has not occurred (e.g. Embu, Kwale),
the CDAs know that the local authorities are in difficulty and naturally
feel very insecure as a result.   None of this helps morale, as is clear
from the writer's observations in the field.

          Although non-payment of salary is the most serious problem of
CDAs' working conditions there are others which ought not to be neglected.
The locational CDA often is required to cover a large area (and in some
districts, e.g. Kwale, one locational CDA many have to cover more than
one location) but receives no transport expenses for the travelling
involved.   CDAs may receive expenses for travelling outside of their
locations, but nothing for their travel within it.   This can, of
course, mean that the CDA will 'scale down' the job to fit the
circumstances, developing and maintaining good contacts with the
local leaders close to his base.   However, he is likely to avoid
longer journeys unless (a) these are absolutely necessary.   (b) a GK
vehicle happens to be available.   But even solution (b) is not,
strictly speaking, feasible.   CDAs, being non central government
employees, are not insured if they travel by GK vehicles, and the CDO
is therefore taking a risk if CDAs are allowed to travel in this way.
But if this is not permitted, then what is the alternative?   The CDA
becomes virtually immobile, unless he is prepared to spend his own
money on official business.   Further, if he is so immobilised, he
cannot fulfil the requirements of the job.   Many CDAs have worked in
one location for two or three years without visiting projects in the
remote areas.

          Because of the employment of CDAs is not so much dependent
upon central government requirements as upon local authority decisions,
there tend to be great variations in the numbers of CDAs employed in
each district.   There are also large differences in the ratios of
CDAs to population.   The figures in table 1 show this:

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1.   This leaves open the issue of whether the self-help
movement suffers greatly from this staffing deficiency.   Notionally,
it should be possible to establish this, but the process would be a
most complex one since a number of other variables are involved.
However, from our point of view, the main significance lies in the
fact that this situation clearly affects the internal operations of
the organisation.

Ratio of CDAs to population in each district of Kenya

District	Population	Total no. of CDAs	Ratio of pop. to CDA		
Kiambu	475,576	30	15,833	:	1
Muranga	445,310	43	10,358	:	1
Kirinyaga	216,988	23	9,434	:	1
Nyeri	360,845	33	10,934	:	1
Nyandarua (N/A)					

Eastern Province

District	Population	Total no. of CDAs	Ratio		
Embu	178,912	23	7,778	:	1
Kitui	342,953	22	15,589	:	1
Machakos	707,214	39	18,134	:	1
Meru	596,506	50	11,930	:	1
Isiolo	30,135	4	7,534	:	1
Marsabit	51,581	4	12,895	:	1

Coast Province

District	Population	Total no. of CDAs	Ratio		
Kilifi	307,568	8	37,446	:	1
Kwale	205,602	10	20,560	:	1
Lamu	22,401	2	11,201	:	1
Taita	110,742	12	9,229	:	1
Tana River	50,696	3	16,899	:	1

Nyanza Province

District	Population	Total no. of CDAs	Ratio		
Kisii	675,041	43	15,699	:	1
Kisumu	400,643	16	25,040	:	1
Siaya	383,188	26	14,738	:	1
South Nyanza	663,175	42	15,790	:	1

Table 1 continued.

Rift Valley Province

Baringo	161,741	7	23,106	:	1
Elgeyo Marakwet	159,265	11	14,479	:	1
Kajiado	85,903	7	12,272	:	1
Kericho	479,135	14	34,224	:	1
Laikipia	66,506	10	6,651	:	1
Nakuru	290,853	16	18,171	:	1
Nandi	209,068	19	11,004	:	1
Narok	125,219	8	15,652	:	1
Samburu (N/A)					
Trans-Nzoia	124,361	7	17,766	:	1
Turkana	165,225	2	82,613	:	1
Uasin-Gishu	191,036	12	15,920	:	1
West Pokot	82,458	10	8,246	:	1

Western Province

Bungoma	345,226	35	9,864	:	1
Busia	200,486	10	20,049	:	1
Kakamega	782,586	21	37,266	:	1

North-Eastern Province

Garissa	64,521	7	9,217	:	1
Mandera (N/A)					
Wajir	86,230	8	10,179	:	1

(Source: 1969 Census and UNICEF Survey /¯ 23 ¯/

It is also possible to establish differences between districts in
terms of the ratios of CDAs to projects. Table 2 shows the pattern for
Eastern province:-

<u>Table 2</u>

<u>CDA: Project Ratio, Eastern Province</u>

District	CDA/Project Ratio
Machakos	1 : 65.5
Kitui	1 : 34.5
Embu	1 : 25.2
Isiolo	1 : 20.7
Meru	1 : 24.5
Marsabit	1 : 17.2

(This table includes projects which were abandoned in the course of the
year, as these, too, should contribute to the size of the CDA's work load)

So, it seems clear that in terms both of projects and population
there are great variations between districts as far as CDA recruitment is
concerned. This pattern seems to be governed by two considerations:-
the availability of local authority financial resources, and the place
occupied by CDA staffing on the priority lists of councillors and staff.
These factors give rise to great variations between one part of the country
and another.

Kanfman (13,p.66) draws our attention to another variable which is
likely to produce organisational fragmentation. Internal communication
problems are bound to arise in the CDAs' usual field situation. In most
districts, the available means of communication are limited. Furthermore,
given the nature of CD work, face to face contact seems to be necessary
in order to ensure that the content of the communication is well understood.
We have already made reference to the transport problems confronting CDO
workers (the CDO, although provided with a Land Rover, also faces constraints);
face to face contacts are thus bound to be limited. The CDO, futhermore,
has to communicate with a geographically far - flung staff. In Kwale, not
one of the country's largest districts, some CDAs are posted to locations
as much as 80 miles from district headquarters.

Another communication difficulty can arise from the fact that
the local authorities, not the social services department, if the employees
of the CDAs. This gives ample room for the 'conflicting directives' problem
to arise (13) Whilst the CDA's formal job-description may indicate that
his responsibility in the field is to the CDO, the issue may not always be
perceived this way in reality. In some districts, especially those
reckoned politically 'sensitive', this can be a real problem. Councillors
may find strong incentives to 'use' the CDA against rival politicians, and
justify this on the ground that the CDA is, in any case, an employee of
the local authority. At the same time, the CDO may have received policy
guidelines from his superior which run counter to objectives of the councillor
concerned. The CDA is then, liable to be caught in the 'cross fire', a
situation which can be exacerbated by the fact that he is himself part of
the community in which the political contest is taking place.

Three main factors tending to give rise to fragmentation within
the administration of community development have now been discussed –
1) The large number of untrained CDAs 2) The large number of unpaid CDAs
3) communication difficulties of various kinds. Devices are, however,
available to organisations to develp a degree of unity. The discussion
in this paper now turns to the ways in which this can be done.

Integration

Given the tendencies towards fragmentation which exist, the degree
of integration which has been achieved is remarkable. It has been difficult
but a measure of success has been achieved. Ideally, identification of
all the contributory factors requires detailed analysis and some method, if
possible, of of attaching weights to them. In this paper, we try, more
modestly, to sketch out what appear to be the important factors. Inevitably,
this analysis has to stop short of ranking these in any order of importance.
The analysis is indicative rather the definitive.

In Kaufman's terms; organisations like the U.S. service or the
Kenya Community Development Division require a method of "preforming decisions"
(13,ch.1V). If field officers make entirely independent decisions, the
organisation can collapse. Thus, methods are required to ensure that when
CDAs make decisions they more or less know in advance the applicable
decision for each specific situation. At the same time, it should be
stressed that the CDA must make most decisions himself; the organisation
would also be in severe difficulty if the CDA came to rely too heavily on
the CDO to make them for him.

A variety of methods can be used to achieve this purpose. These
are (a) procedures (b) Supervision (c) training (d) recruitment.

(a) <u>Procedures</u> - whilst the CD Division has not used the sophisticated
systems used by agricultural and livestock extension staff (2), measures do
exist to enable CDAs to plan their work effectively and and to let supervising
officers know what is happening in the field as far as community development
is concerned.

Each month, CDAs draw up monthly programmes. This is usually done
independently of the CDO, although sometimes a degree of consultation takes
place. However, these programmes are quite limited from the point of view
of detail. A typical programmes / ^{gives} very little guide to the <u>kind</u> of work
the CDA will be doing in the coming month. In it he indicates (a) which
days he will be in his office and (b) if not, the whereabouts he will be.
Whilst this may seem inadequate from the point of this who would like to
turn administration into an elaborate programming exercise, it is probably
undertandable that this should be all that can be considered feasible in
the CDA's field situation; 'felt needs' of a community are, almost by
definition, unprogrammable, and detailed programmes, in any case, can take
a lot of time to prepare. Copies of these programmes are sent to CDos and
also others who might be involved such as the D.O. of the division concerned.
Thus the programmes can be some sort of administrative control. For example
by examining them a CDO may be able to see that a particular sub-location
is getting an apparently unjustifiably large number of visits, whilst
other sub-locations seen to be / ^{neglected}   This is something which he can
take up with the CDA concerned. Although this is a <u>potential</u> control, it
is not often used as such; preparing monthly programmes is largely seen
as a formality.

A similar difficulty arises with respect to reporting from junior
to more senior levels. It appears that reporting by CDAs is not as regular
or as useful, as it might be. Although reports should be either monthly
or quarterly, some CDAs rarely report at all, others might report once in
six months. Often the reports are vague and lack sufficient detail on which
to base any form of administrative action. Also, these reports often contain
unexplained inconsistencies, e.g. the number of women's groups in a particular
location might be reported as varying greatly from one month to another,
but with little or no explanation as to why this is so. However, the reports
do contain some information which may be of use to senior officers. The
writing of them also provides an opportunity for CDAs to express their

views on the situation in their locations, e.g. to point out that the
cattle dip programme is suffering because adequate technical assistance has
not been forthcoming from the "department concerned". Also, many CDAs
feel isolated; and suggest, in their reports, that more visits from senior
officer would be valuable. So reporting can be a vehicle for expressing
frustration - an 'outlet' or 'safety valve',and, in   that sense,
     rather than the opposite.

                                                 integration
       Another procedure which can contribute to organisational/
is 'nat which involves the CDA in recommending particular projects for
assistance (eg. the Ministry itself, CARE, UNICEF). Forms are /distributed
for this purpose and the CDA is required to decide which projects within
his area deserve to be assisted. This necessitates the CDA making a reasonably
detailed investigation of various projects in order to give a fairly well
informed assessment. The criteria normally employed are, admittedly, fuzzy
in parts. However, the CDA does have to decide on such matters as:-

    a) Are the leaders of the project able to maintain support for
it in the community?

    b) Have the lezders made optimal use of existing local resources?

    c) Is there a real need for this project in terms not only of
the local community, but also in terms of wider planning criteria?
This procedure does help the CDO to check on how the CDA keeps informed,
and whether he is able to make a balanced estimate of the 'state of progress'
of various projects in the area. Again there are some deficiencies in the
working of the system. One agency which gives assistance has complained that
whilst it tries to assist all areas equally, some CDAs did not process
applications and thus could not obtain assistance for projects in their
locations. Improvements have now been made, but officials of this agency
still feel that if CDAs' performance could be improved their own programme
would be much more effective (private communication from offials concerned, 1974)

    b) Supervision. In the community - development field situation,
opportunities for close supervision are rare. This is not, however, to say
that supervision is impossible; some face to face contact does occur, and
plays a useful role in organisational intergration. Surveys were carried
                                              contact
out in Embu and Kwale to discover the extent of /   between the CDA
and other officers. In this way, information was obtained for 61 'CDA
weeks'. We take here the three most important departmental officers
who rely on the CDA to carry out work for them in the field - the CDO, the

Adult Education Officer and the Social Welfare Worker. The following table indicates the frequency of contacts between the CDA and these three officers.

Table 3

CDA contact with other personnel in social services Dept.

CDA in contact with:	3 or more times per week	1 or 2 times per week	Not at all
CDO	21	25	15
AEO	10	25	26
S.W.W.	5	26	30

Given the transport constraints to which we have already referred these figures show a relatively high frequency of contact - especially with the C.D.O. The fact that some of the CDAs concerned are involved in the SRDP excercise may have made the figure higher than it would otherwise have been. Although the adult Education officer and the Social Welfare worker are able to make less contact, it should be noted that they frequently to communicate to CDAs through the CDO who is in a position to undertake more frequent visits to the field.

Although personal visits by the CDO are the most vital component of this contact, staff meetings are held quarterly in most districts. Occasionally, it is not possible to maintain this kind of frequency and two districts usually only manage to hold two such meetings per year. Unfortunately, constraints imposed by the financial difficulties of Country Councils have created obstacles to holding meetings more regularly. One CDO informed us that monthly meetings used to be held "but due to the financial crisis facing our county council, this has not been possible. This situation is not expected to improve unless the county council finds ways and means of getting funds".

A typical staff meeting might have on its agenda such matters as:

- Reorganisation and Recruitment of
  "Maendeleo ya Wanawake"
- Social Problems survey reports
  (carried out by CDAs)
- Adult Education Classes
- Self- help registration procedures
- Transport for field staff.
- Sport and recreation
- K.I.A. and Maseno courses for CDAs
- Tour of another district by self-help leaders.

Such meetings can be of great value. First, CDOs
can in this way get an up to date picture of what is happening
throughout the district. Secondly, CDOs can clarify the nature
of various tasks which he requires his CDAs to carry out
(this is especially important for those CDAs who are untrained).
Thirdly, good supervision must involve two-way communication;
these meetings provide a forum for CDAs to transmit to CDOs
(and other Senior Officers) their views about the nature of
particular problems. Such meetings assist in building 'team'
involvement, and hence help to ensure that the CDO links
national CD policy requirements as far as possible with needs
which are perceived locally.

c) **Training**

We have earlier drawn attention to the fact that a
large number of CDAs in Kenya are untrained. However, the
majority of them have undergone training either at the Kenya
Institute of administration or the Government Training
Institute, Maseno. Between 1957   and 1972 UNICEF
sponsored training for 520 trainees (combined total for
both institutions). The length of the courses has varied
considerably. In 1972 both K.I.A. and Maseno offered 7
month courses; in 1971, KIA offered 1 year and Maseno 7
months. In theory, K.I.A. was to provide training for
'senior' CDAs,   and Maseno
for more 'junior' ones, but the evidence suggests that this
distinction has not been observed in practice. The content
of training and the background of the trainees has not varied
greatly from one institute to another.
                               of
Evaluation/ training is a hazardous exercise. In
view of this, it is understandable that neither the training
institutions or the Community Development Division have
tried to undertake such an exercise other than in a very

impressionistic way. Under UNICEF' auspices, however, a work-shorp was held in Karen in July 1974 with the inten of improving somewhat on this pattern.[23] Asking CDAs whether they have found their training useful is not a fruitful exercise. The answer is invariably 'yes', and among the reasons for this that training produces confidence and compensates for what are perceived as inadequate levels of attainment in the educational system. A degree of prestige is attached to having attended a course at M.I.A. Further, training, at any rate in theory, can lead to promotion and salary increases. So, there are a lot of reasons independent of the content of either the training given on the job which lead trained CDAs to describe the courses they have attended as "very useful".

Whilst there is unanimity among CDAs about the usefulness of the training given, that does not mean that there are not ways in which training can be improved. At the end of 1972 the emphasis remained fairly firmly upon the inculcation of the CD 'idea' to the relative neglect of certain practical skills which the field situation appears to require. Thus, a U.N. CD adviser lecturing at Maseno in 1968 [12]:

> (CD is) <u>Democratic</u>. Perhaps this quality should have been stated first. It expresses a belief in people, in the competence to govern themselves and direct themselves, and in their ability to make good decisions. It means a demonstrated ability to practise the democratic process and also to teach it. It manifests a faith in the fundamental freedoms. It recognises human dignity, the essential worth of the individual, and the sacredness of the human personality.

Admittedly, not all the training of CDAs was like this, but a far larger portion of it was along these lines rather than on such technical matters as the construction of nursery schools etc. The emphasis in training has been to encourage CDAs to work according to what are generally agreed to be the 'correct' CD principles, i.e. the opposite to the 'directive' approach which, it is argued, is too often used, with damaging results, in other kinds of extension work. Mbindyo's work in Machakos (15) and careful observation of the kind of work CDAs are doing in the field suggests very strongly that these attitudes are carried by CDAs into the field. An article by two CDA students at Maseno in 1970 portrays this point vividly (21):

C.D.A. (to Veterinary Scout and Agricultural Instructor):
You know, our CD working principles are somewhat different
from yours.

Veterinary Scout: How?

Agricultural Instructor: You tell us how they are different.

CDA: Your programme is directed from above - from the
Government whereas ours is from down.
It springs from the people.

Veterinary Scout: Do you mean to say that people can plan any
sensible programme? I mean, can they plan a project which
will be a success in the end?

CDA: Why not?

Agricultural Instructor: Oh nO! That isn't possible. It is
like putting the cart before the horse. People do not have
any leadership knowledge so as to make any progressive programme
without our presence.

CDA: Look here, my friends. Our working principles are that
people's own development begins with:

    Their level of living
    What they have
    What they give priority, need most, and
    which they can give full support and take
    participation in voluntarily according to
    their own resources and leadership.

Perhaps this is a caricature, and it must be noted that the
Ministry of Agriculture is moving nearer now towards what may be described
as a 'human relations' approach (the curriculum of the newly created
Bukura Institute of Agriculture in Western Kenya indicates this). But,
like all good caricature, the above quotation focusses strongly on an
important point - that CDA training has had an emphasis which differentiates
it from other kinds of extension work. This does not mean that CDAs do
not manipulate or propagandise in order to make their perception of what
should be a community's felt need equate to a need which is then actually

articulated in the community. Nor does it mean that, in certain programmes, the CDA's approach does not have to give way to that of other officers (e.g. Chiefs) who have a different attitude towards these matters (in a later paper, I wish to deal more fully with these issues).

For our purposes, what is important is that the CDA does receive from his training the norms and values which enable him to act according to the organisation's purposes, i.e. he knows he should respond to 'felt needs', he should 'enable' those needs to be met, he should 'train' leaders in the required skills etc. The point made by Simon seems appropriate here (20, P. 103):

> The organi_ .tion trains and indoctrinates its members. This might be called the "internalisation" of influence, because it injects into the very nervous systems of the organisation members the criteria of decision that the organisation wishes to employ. The organisation member acquires knowledge, skill, and identifications or loyalties that enable him to make decisions, by himself, as the organisation would like him to decide.

Recruitment. Effective recruiting of staff can greatly reduce the problems an organisation may have in obtaining the correct behaviour from its operative staff. The normal procedure for recruitment is (a) The Ministry of local government to approve the advertising of a vacant post (b) the post to be advertised on the D.C.'s noticeboards, Chief's centres etc and sometimes, but not usually, in the national press (c) candidates to be short-listed and then interviewed by a panel consisting of representatives of the local authority concerned, the CDO, possibly some other departmental heads and the D.C. There is, however, no officially specified procedure, and there have been cases, albeit few, where a CDA has been appointed by a local authority without the CDO's knowledge.

What is the background of people who are recruited as CDAs? A survey of 4 districts - Embu, Meru, Taita - Taveta and Kwale gives the following information on age, sex - composition, formal educational attainment and previous employment experience of 47 CDAs working in the 4 districts. For various reasons,, it was not possible to interview all the CDAs in each district. However, I am fairly confident that we have interviewed a reasonable cross-section of those working in the 4 districts.

Table 4

Age at Time of 1st Employment

Age	No. of CDAs
Below 20	6
20 - 30	31
30 - 40	9
40 - 50	1

There is little to comment on here, but the tendency seems to be for CDAs to be a bit younger than the CD 'conventional wisdom' suggests. One leading textbook on Ghana (10, p. 157) argues that for such workers:

> A minimum age in selection has been found to be essential. It is clear that a young girl fresh from school is unlikely to be a convincing exponent of child care or better home making to women old enough to be her mother, and a young man who is fresh from the School Certificate examination has little knowledge of the world and of the human beings with whom he is to be in close contact.

This is of possible significance to Kenya; such CDAs may not find it easy to provide effective leadership in social situations where substantial deference is still paid to age. My own feelings, from field experience, is that factors of this kind can be easily over-emphasised.

In the survey referred to above, the sex composition was 27 male CDAs and 20 females. The Ministry's own figures (which may not quite be accurate) show that 3/4 of the CDAs are male, and 1/4 female. Interestingly, in some districts (e.g. Embu, Kwale) there is rough equality of sexes, whereas in others (e.g. Taita - Taveta) there are no female CDAs - this could be a problem at a time when women's programmes are coming to play a greater part in CD work in most districts. Perhaps this is the kind of situation which can result from local authority employment of CDAs; it may not always be possible to reconcile the needs of the job from the point of view of the administering agency with the views of the employing agency (i.e. the local authorities).

As far as formal education is concerned, the figures show little inter-district variation. Most CDAs have completed primary school; few have been to secondary school. More of the latter, however, are likely to emerge in the next few years if CDA work continues in its present form.

scope and complexity of CD work. Other factors also contribute to the
situation which has been described in this paper so far.

Burton Clark (7) employs the concept of "precariousness of
values" to explain the problems experienced by the adult education
movement in California. Where the values and norms which affect members
of the organisation are ambiguous or unstable, the organisation itself
is likely to become insecure. Within the heterogenous network which is
the bureaucracy in Kenya, various pressures have come to be exerted on
Community- development which have contributed to these difficulties.
The planners, for example, are concerned with the mushrooming of projects
without a proper (in their view) degree of control (9, P. 523/524) Other
affected Ministries (e.g. Health) have felt the same way. The community-
development approach is not well geared to the function of control; it
is much better when what is needed is motivation and guidance. This seems
to explain some of the problems that the organisation has had in
obtaining resources (for two years, no CDA has been trained as no
resources have been obtained from the treasury so that training can be
resumed).

The community-development approach has had to compete in the
field with that of the provincial administration. The differences
between the organisations are not as clear-cut as might appear the case
at first glance; the former is not entirely 'non-directive, the latter
not entirely the opposite. This having been said, however, there are
differences which have tended to weaken the position of the community-
development organisation. Part of this seems to stem from the way in
which the provincial administration has come increasingly to play a
positive role in "harambee" - the Colleges of Technology are a good
case in point. Meanwhile, CD staff continue to carry the work load
involved in more modest, and therefore less publicised ventures. All
this has tended to reinforce the misleading notion that 'harambee' is
dominated by the provincial administration - an assumption which weakens
greatly the bargaining position of the Department of Social Services when
it wishes to compete for scarce resources.

Another obvious destabilising element in the overall picture
is that the organisation is heavily dependent upon local authorities to
fulfil its staffing requirements in the field. It is not necessary here
to describe in detail the financial difficulties being faced by such

bodies. Suffice it to note here that since the late '60's Central
Government controls over local authorities have greatly increased to
the detriment of the resource base of the latter. The most recent
measure was the abol tion of the area Councils (24), bodies which up till
then were the employers of many of the CDAs (the County Councils may well
prove unable to take over their employment). All these problems certainly
reinforce the feeling that the present organisation in Kenya for the
fostering of community - development is in an insecure position. Can it
be rescued? Following the October 1974 Election, an ex-CDO was given the
Social Services portfolio. In a speech at Kericho Club the new Minister,
Mr. Arap Towett, pointed out that this background well qualified him for
th job (25). An organisation in such a precarious position requires a
skillful, knowledgeable and committed leadership. If this is forthcoming,
CDAs may still contribute something to rural development in Kenya.

The approach of this paper has been anatomical. By dissecting the
way in which an organisation operates, it should be possible to identify
major weaknesses and suggest remedies. By presenting a portrait of the
organisation in this way, it is hoped that this paper has performed two
tasks - 1) it has filled a gap in our knowledge of how self-help works in
Kenya (most papers on the subject make very scant reference to the
organisational phenomena discussed here), 2) it has added some empirical
flesh to the arguments which have been made concerning the extent of the
developmental capacity of the Kenyan bureaucracy (19). For one part of the
bureaucracy, at least, this paper suggests the nature of the constraints
within which development administration operates in Kenya.

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